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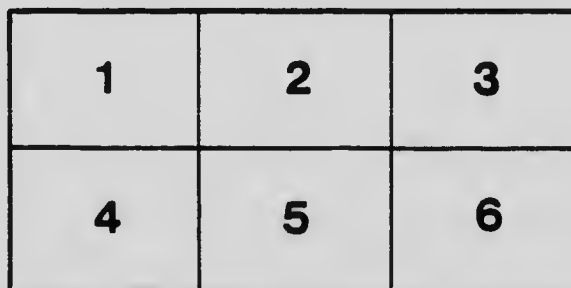
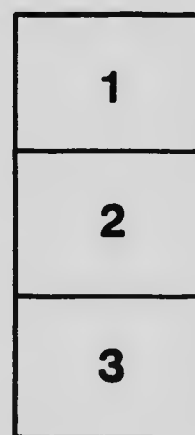
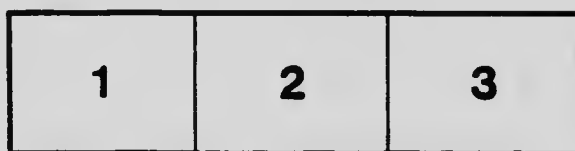
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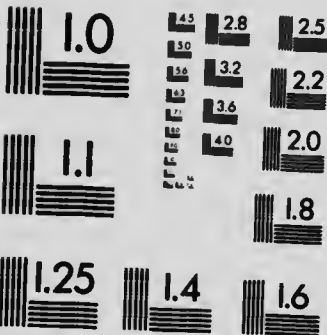
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ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA

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

EDITED BY

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FORMERLY ASSISTANT EDITOR OF THE 'ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA'

VOLUME IV.

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TO THE
MEMORY
OF
WILLIAM ROBERTSON SMITH

COMMUNION OF THE CHURCH

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P R E F A C E

THE idea of preparing a new Dictionary of the Bible on critical lines for the benefit of all serious students, both professional and lay, was prominent in the mind of the many-sided scholar to whose beloved memory the present volume is inscribed. It is more than twelve years since Prof. Robertson Smith began to take steps towards realising this idea. As an academical teacher he had from the first been fully aware of the importance of what is known as Biblical Encyclopædia, and his own earliest contributions to the subject in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* carry us as far back as to the year 1875. If for a very brief period certain untoward events arrested his activity in this direction, the loss of time was speedily made up, for seldom perhaps has there been a greater display of intellectual energy than is given in the series of biblical articles signed 'W. R. S.' which appeared in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* between 1875 and 1888. The reader who is interested in Bible study should not fail to examine the list, which includes among the longer articles BIBLE, CANTICLES, CHRONICLES, DAVID, HEBREW LANGUAGE, HOSEA, JERUSALEM, JOEL, JUDGES, KINGS, LEVITES, MALACHI, MESSIAH, MICAH, PHILISTINES, PRIEST, PROPHET, PSALMS, SACRIFICE, TEMPLE, TITHES, ZEPHANIAH; and among the shorter, ANGEL, ARK, BAAL, DECALOGUE, ELLI, EVE, HAGGAI, LAMENTATIONS, MELCHIZEDEK, MOLOCH, NABATEANS, NAHUM, NAZARITE, NINEVEH, OBADIAH, PARADISE, RUTH, SABBATH, SADDUCEES, SAMUEL, TABERNACLE, VOW.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

To the contributors of signed articles, and to those who have revised and brought up to date the articles of Prof. Robertson Smith and other deceased scholars, it may seem almost superfluous to render thanks for the help they have so generously given. It constitutes a fresh bond between scholars of different countries and religious communions which is surely of happiest augury. But the special services of the various members of the editorial staff require specific acknowledgment, which the editors have much pleasure in making. Mr. Hope W. Hogg became a contributor to the *Encyclopædia Biblica* in 1894, and in 1895 became a regular member of the editorial staff. To his zeal, energy, and scholarship the work has been greatly indebted in every direction. Mr. Stanley A. Cook joined the staff in 1896, and not only has contributed various signed articles, which to the editors appear to give promise of fine work in the future, but also has had a large share in many of those that are of composite authorship and unsigned. Mr. Maurice A. Canney joined the staff in 1898; he also has contributed signed articles, and has been eminently helpful in every way, especially in the reading of the proofs. Finally, the editors desire to acknowledge their very special obligations to the Rev. Henry A. Redpath, M.A., editor of the *Concordance to the Septuagint*, who placed his unrivalled experience at their disposal by controlling all the proofs at a certain stage with special reference to the LXX readings.

20th September 1899.

T. K. CHEYNE.

J. SUTHERLAND BLACK.

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IF in what was written more than three years ago by way of preface to the *Encyclopædia Biblica* any modification were to be thought desirable, it would chiefly perhaps be in the sentences devoted to the immediate prospects of Biblical Theology. It is becoming more and more obvious that the yearly advancing study of the apocryphal and apocalyptic Jewish literature is destined to have considerable effect within the near future on the treatment of the religious ideas of both parts of our Bible. Nor can we doubt that the progress now being made in the investigation of the early Christian literature will also turn to the advantage of the Biblical Theology of the New Testament. It is on this ground that the editors have ventured to include in Vols. III. and IV. a number of introductory and descriptive articles connected with this new subject.

To meet a possible objection, it may perhaps be added that the researches into the original text of the Old Testament with which the name of one of the editors is specially connected are by no means necessarily unfavourable to the study of Old Testament Theology. For even if the religious contents of parts of the Old Testament in their original form should turn out to be somewhat less rich and varied than is agreeable to traditional ideas, yet the text in its present form, even if not the original, has an independent right of existence, and the interpretation put upon this text by Jewish and early Christian students deserves the most respectful attention. The Old Testament was surely not a dead book to the Jews of the great post-exilic age, but was full of light, and susceptible of the most varied and edifying adaptations. At the same time, the historical student may justly cherish the hope that by the researches into the underlying text of precious passages in psalms and prophecies (not to add, narratives) which have just now been referred to, the course of historical development may become more comprehensible than it has hitherto been, while those who have the best of all enthusiasms—the enthusiasm for religion—will be stirred up to more and more admiration of the wonderful dealings of God in the religious training of that Israel within Israel to which the Christian church is under perpetual obligations.

The Editors would also take this opportunity of expressing a natural regret that the discovery of the 'oldest code of laws in the world,' that promulgated by Hammurabi king of Babylon (2285-2242 B.C.), and disinterred in Dec. 1901-Jan. 1902 by M. J. de Morgan on the site of the ancient Susa, was not made a year or two earlier. This code is the most valuable single contribution of recent years to that study of ancient Semitic laws and usages with which the name of Robertson Smith is specially connected, and will not only throw fresh light on the legal codes of the Israelites, but also give a fresh impetus to the critical study of the Hebrew *origines*. On all

POSTSCRIPT

accounts they are sorry not to have been able to make this new find helpful to the readers of the *Encyclopædia*.

To attempt any discussion of the criticisms, whether favourable or adverse, which have been made upon the methods employed or results set forth in the *Encyclopædia* would manifestly be out of place here. Other opportunities will occur; and time, too, will doubtless exercise its mellowing and reconciling influence. It may even be hoped that the confusing practice of denominating some critics super-naturalistic, others naturalistic, some critics sober and safe, others extravagant and unsafe, may soon pass away in the light of a fuller comprehension of the meaning of critical results, the complexity of critical problems, and the variety of legitimate and necessary critical methods. There are some other things of a more general nature which the editors would fain say in all simplicity and earnestness, but they prefer to ask leave to quote a passage from Dr. Hort's *Introduction* to the now famous edition of the New Testament by himself and Bishop Westcott, with the spirit of which they are in deepest sympathy, and the expressions of which, especially in the closing sentences, they can heartily adopt as their own.

'It only remains to express an earnest hope that whatever labour we have been allowed to contribute towards the ascertainment of the truth of the letter may also be allowed, in ways which must for the most part be invisible to ourselves, to contribute towards strengthening, correcting, and extending human apprehension of the larger truth of the spirit. Others assuredly in due time will prosecute the task with better resources of knowledge and skill, and amend the faults and defects of our processes and results. To be faithful to such light as could be enjoyed in our own day was the utmost that we could desire. How far we have fallen short of this standard, we are well aware: yet we are bold to say that none of the shortcomings are due to lack of anxious and watchful sincerity. An implicit confidence in all truth, a keen sense of its variety, and a deliberate dread of shutting out truth as yet unknown are no security against some of the wandering lights that are apt to beguile a critic; but, in so far as they are obeyed, they at least quench every inclination to guide criticism into delivering such testimony as may be to the supposed advantage of truth already inherited or acquired. Critics of the Bible, if they have been taught by the Bible, are unable to forget that the duty of guileless workmanship is never superseded by any other.'

In conclusion, the Editors desire anew to express their gratitude for the invaluable services of the members of the editorial staff—Messrs. Hogg, Cook, and Canney—which have been continued with unabated zeal to the termination of the work; as also, their great indebtedness to Dr. Redpath for having read the proofs with a special reference to the readings of the LXX. In connection with the maps their thanks are due not only to the authors of various articles to which these relate, but also to Prof. Max Müller, particularly for help in the preparation of the map of Syria according to the Egyptian monuments, to Col. Billerbeck for two maps of Syria according to cuneiform documents, and in a very special degree to Mr. (now Prof.) Hogg, who has throughout superintended the whole map-work in the *Encyclopædia*, including the indexing.

T. K. C.
J. S. B.

27th March, 1903.

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GENERAL EXPLANATIONS

THE labour that has been bestowed on even minor matters in the preparation of this *Encyclopaedia* seemed to be warranted by the hope that it might be found useful as a students' handbook. Its convenient use will be facilitated by attention to the principles that have been adopted in regard to the following matters.

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

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

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

iii. *General Articles.*—With the view, amongst other things, of securing the greatest possible brevity, many matters have been treated in general articles, the minor headings being dealt with concisely by the help of cross-references. Such general articles are: ABI (NAMES WITH), AGRICULTURE, APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, APOCRYPHA, ARMY, BAKEMEATS, BIRDS, BREAD, CAINLES, CANON, CATTLE, CHARIOT, CHRONOLOGY, CITY: CLEAN AND UNCLEAR, HOLY AND PROFANE: COLOURS, CONDUITS AND RESERVOIRS, COOKING AND COOKING UTENSILS, CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH, DISPERSION, DIVINATION, DRESS.

iv. *Other Subjects.*—The following are examples of other important headings:—ADAM AND EVE, ANGEL, ANTICHRIST, ASHERAH, AZAZEL, BABEL (TOWER OF), BEHEMOTH AND LEVIATHAN, BLESSINGS AND CURSINGS, CALF (GOLDEN), CHERUB, CHRISTIAN (NAME OF), CIRCUMCISION, COMMUNITY OF GOODS, COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, COVENANT, CREATION, DANCE, DECALOGUE, DELUGE, DEMONS, DRAGON.

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

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

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

The method of reference employed is as follows:—

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

(b) *Synonymous Articles*. — Persons or places of the same name are ranged as 1, 2, 3, etc. (Arabic numerals), under a common heading and cited accordingly. In other cases (and even in the former case when, as in ADNAH in col. 67, one English spelling represents different Hebrew spellings), the articles usually have separate headings, in which case they are cited as i., ii., iii., etc. (Roman numerals), although they are not so marked. Usually geographical articles precede biographical, and persons precede books. Thus SAMUEL i., 2 is the second person called Samuel; SAMUEL ii. is the article SAMUEL. BOOKS OF. If a wrong number should be found the explanation will be not that it was not verified, but that the article referred to is one of a very small number in which the original order of synonymous articles had to be changed: the precautions always taken in such circumstances must have failed in this case. Thus the BERED referred to in the article ALUSH is now BERED i., 1, not, as is stated in the earlier impressions, BERED ii., 1.

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

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

3. Typographical Devices. i. *Size of Type*. — (a) *Letters*. — Two sizes of type are used, and considerable care has been devoted to the distribution of the small-type passages. Usually the general meaning of an article can be caught by reading simply the large-type parts. The small-type passages generally contain such things as proofs of statements, objections, more technical details. In these passages, and in footnotes and parentheses, abbreviations (see below, p. xviii ff.), which are avoided as much as possible elsewhere, are purposely used. (b) *Numbers*. — Two sizes of Arabic numerals are used. (Note that the smallest 6 and 8 are a different shape from the next larger 6 and 8.) In making references, when only the volume is given, it is usually cited by a Roman number. Pages are cited by Arabic numbers except where (as is often the case) pages of a preface are marked with Roman numbers. When numbers of two ranks are required, two sizes of Arabic numbers (5 5) are used whether the reference be to book and chapter, volume and page, or section and line. If three ranks are needed, Roman numbers are prefixed (v. 5 5).

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

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

iv. *Symbols*. — (a) *Index Figures*. — In 'almost always' clear, the 6 indicates footnote 6. In 'Introd.' the 6 means sixth edition. On the 2 in 'D₂' etc. see below, p. xviii. ff.

(b) *Asterisk*. — B* means the original scribe of codex B. If the Egyptian *dobel* were printed **dobel* the * would mark the word as hypothetical in form (*e.g.*, uncertain vocalisation). *v. 5** means *v. 5* (partly).

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

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

(e) *Sign of Parallellism*. — || is the adjective corresponding to the verb =. Thus: 'Aalar of 1 Esd. 5³⁶ AV appears as Immer in || Ezra 2⁵⁹.' || also denotes Hebrew 'parallellism.' See, *e.g.*, CLEAN and UNCLEAN, § 1 (3).

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

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v. *Punctuation.* — As a rule commas are not used between citations, thus: 2 K. 6: 21, 25 1s: 21 7. Commas are omitted and semicolons or colons inserted whenever ambiguity seems thus to be avoided — e.g., the father Achbor [1] is called 'Father of Baal-hanan [1] king of Edom,' and the son Baal-hanan [1] is called 'ben Achbor [1]'; one of the kings of Edom.'

4. *Text-Critical Apparatus.* — As all sound investigation must be based, not on the ancient texts as they lie before the student, but on what he believes to be the nearest approach he can make to their original reading, the soundness of every text is weighed, and if need be, discussed, before it is used in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Much care has been bestowed on the readings, and every effort has been made to secure the highest attainable accuracy. Naturally the Hatch-Redpath *Concordance to the Septuagint* has been freely used. As has been already stated, however (p. xii), the *Encyclopædia Biblica* has also had the benefit of Dr. Redpath's personal help. Unfortunately, misprints and other inaccuracies — accuracies sometimes appearing for the first time after the last proof reading — are especially liable to occur in a work of this kind. Corrections of errors, however minute, addressed to the publishers, will always be gratefully received.

Some typographical details require to be explained: —

(a) In giving proper names, initial capitals, breathings, and accents are dispensed with; they are unknown in the oldest MSS (cp Swete, vol. 1 p. xiii 2).

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

(c) The first Greek reading is given in full; all others are abbreviated as much as possible. Letters suppressed at the beginning of a word are represented by a dash, letters at the end by a period. In every case the abbreviated form is to be completed by reference to the Greek form immediately preceding, whether that is given in full or not. Thus, e.g., $\alpha\beta\epsilon\lambda\sigma\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon\upsilon$. β $\tau\tau\iota\mu$. $\epsilon\upsilon$, $\beta\epsilon\lambda\sigma\alpha$ means $\alpha\beta\epsilon\lambda\sigma\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon\upsilon$, $\beta\epsilon\lambda\sigma\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon\upsilon$, $\beta\epsilon\lambda\sigma\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon\upsilon$, $\beta\epsilon\lambda\sigma\alpha$. That is to say, the abbreviated form repeats a letter (or if necessary more) of the form preceding. Two exceptions are sometimes made. The dash sometimes represents the *whole* of the preceding form — e.g., in $\beta\epsilon\lambda\sigma\alpha$ with a period, as it stood in early impressions of the art. ABEL-SHITTIM, would mean $\beta\epsilon\lambda\sigma\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon\upsilon$.

cases like $\alpha\beta\gamma$, -s — and one letter has sometimes been simply substituted for another: e.g., ν for μ in $\alpha\mu$, - ν . These exceptions can hardly lead to ambiguity.

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

- * = original scribe.
- 1 = his own corrections.
- a, b, c = other correctors.
- ab = first corrector confirmed by second.
- a² b² = a or b.
- a² b = b, perhaps also a.
- a vid = prob. a.
- a vid = a, if it be a *bona fide* correction at all.

- D = testimony of the Grabe-Owen collation of D before D was partly destroyed (see Swete, vol. 1 p. xxiv).
- D^{all} = readings inferred from the collation *c. silentio*.
- K^a = a corrector of K belonging to the 7th cent. (Sw., vol. 2 p. viii; cp. vol. 1 p. xvi).
- K^b = corrector of K^a or K^{*}; see Sw., vol. 2 p. viii.
- K^c = corrector of K^a or K^{*}; see Sw., vol. 1 p. xvi.
- Bedit = B as in Vercellone and Cozza's facsimile ed.

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

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|---|--|------|--|
| K | Sinaiticus (cp. Swete, vol. 1 p. xx). | F | Cod. Ambrosianus (Swete, vol. 1 p. xxvi). |
| A | Alexandrinus (Swete, vol. 1 p. xxii). | 87 | Cod. Chisianus (Swete, vol. 3 p. xii). |
| B | Vaticanus (Swete, vol. 1 p. xvii). | Syr. | Cod. Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus (Swete, vol. 3 p. xiii). |
| C | Cod. Ephraemi Syri rescriptus Parisiensis (Swete, vol. 2 p. xiii). | V | Cod. Venetus (= 23, Parsons; Swete, vol. 3 p. xiv). |
| D | Cod. Cottonianus Genesios (Swete, vol. 1 p. xxiii). | Q | Cod. Marchalianus (Swete, vol. 3 p. vii). |
| E | Cod. Bodleianus Genesios (Sw., vol. 1 p. xxvi). | F | Cod. rescriptus Cryptoferratisensis (Swete, vol. 3 p. ix, f.). |

5. Proper Name Articles.—Proper name articles usually begin thus. The name is followed by a parenthesis giving (1) the original; (2) when necessary, the number of the section in the general article NAMES where the name in question is discussed or cited; (3) a note on the etymology or meaning of the (personal) name with citation of similar names; (4) the readings of the versions (see above, 4 ii.). See for an example AARON. The Hebrew 'ben' ('b.'). 'son of,' 'b'ne.' 'sons of' is often used, partly for brevity and to avoid certain ambiguities (see above, 3 v.) and partly because of its indefinite meaning.

6. Geographical Articles.—The interpretation of place-names is discussed in the article NAMES. The maps that are issued with Volume I, are the district of Damascus, the environs of Babylon, and 'Syria, Assyria, and Babylonia' (between cols. 352 and 353). The last-mentioned is mainly designed to illustrate the non-Palestinian geography of the Old Testament. It is made use of to show the position of places outside of Palestine mentioned in Volume I, which happen to fall within its bounds.

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

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

- Dēr, der,* 'monastery.'
- Haj(j),* 'pilgrimage to Mecca.'
- Jebel (J.),* 'mountain.'
- Kēfr, Kūfr,* 'village.'
- Khān,* 'caravanserai.'

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

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

In the case of proper names that have become in some degree naturalised in an incorrect form, that form has been preserved: e.g., Shalmaneser, Tiglath-pileser. Where there is an alternative, naturally the closer to the original is selected: therefore Nebuchadrezzar (with r as in Ezek., etc.), Nazirite. Where there is no naturalised form names are given in exact transliteration—e.g., Ašur-rēš-iši. In the case of Assyrian names, hyphens are used to separate the component parts, which begin with a capital when they are divine names—e.g., Puzur-Ašur: but Ašur-dān.

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

GENERAL EXPLANATIONS

xvii

On the Assyrian alphabet see BABYLONIA, § 6, and on the Egyptian, EGYPT, § 12. One point remains to be explained, after which it will suffice to set forth the schemes of transliteration in tabular form. The Hebrew ה (ה) represents philologically the Arabic h and ḥ, which are absolutely distinct sounds. The Hebrew spoken language very likely marked the distinction. As the written language, however, ignores it, ה is always transliterated ḥ. The Assyrian guttural transliterated with an h, on the other hand, oftenest represents the Arabic ḥ, and is therefore always transliterated ḥ (in Muss.-Arn. *Dikt.*, 1, for ḫ), never h. There is no ḥ in transliterated Assyrian; for the written language did not distinguish the Arabic ḥ from the Arabic h, ḡ, or ḥ, representing them all indifferently by ḥ, which accordingly does not, in transliterated Assyrian, mean simply ḫ but indifferently ḫ or ה or ḥ or ḡ or ḥ. Hence, e.g., Nabū-nahid is simply one interpretation of Nabū-na'id. Egyptian, lastly, requires not only h, ḥ, and ḥ, like Arabic, but also a fourth symbol ḥ (see EGYPT, § 12, note).

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW (AND ARABIC) CONSONANTS

HEBREW.	ARABIC.	HEBREW.	ARABIC.	HEBREW.	ARABIC.	HEBREW.	ARABIC.
כ	ك	ז	ز	ל	ل	ש	ش
ח	ح	ז	ז	מ	م	ס	س
ב	ب	ח	ح	נ	ن	ק	ق
בְּ (bh)	ب	ח	ح	ס	س	ר	ر
ג	ج	ט	ط	ע	ع	שׁ, שׂ	ش, س
גְּ (gh)	ج	י	ي	פ	ف	ת	ت
ד	ד	כ	ك	פּ	ف		
דְּ (dh)	د	כְּ (kh)	ك	פֿ	ف		
ה	ه						
ו, װ	و						

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

VOWELS

'long'	'short'	very short	almost a glide
Heb. ā ē ī ō ū	a e i o u	ä ē ö or a e o	č or e or ʾ
Ar. ā ī ū		a (e) i (e) u (o)	

Ar. diphthongs: ai, ay, ei, ey, ē; aw, au, ō.

8. Signatures. — Parts of articles as well as whole articles bear the signature of the author or authors, the exact share contributed by each writer being indicated, where possible, at the end thus: A. B. §§ 1-5; C. D. §§ 6-10. When the signature would be too complex, and in a majority of the 'minor articles' even otherwise, no attempt has been made to assign a definite authorship and the articles rest on the editorial responsibility. When in such an article there occurs a suggestion that seems to need a signature, its author's initials are appended to the whole article. A key to the signatures will be found on p. xxvii.

H. W. H.

ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS, AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

The following pages explain the abbreviations that are used in the more technical parts (see above, p. xlv 3 i. [a]) of the *Encyclopædia*. The list does not claim to be exhaustive, and, for the most part, it takes no account of well-established abbreviations, or such as have seemed to be fairly obvious. The bibliographical notes will, it is hoped, be welcome to the student.

The Canonical and Apocryphal books of the Bible are usually referred to as Gen., Ex., Lev., Nu., Dt., Josh., Judg., Ruth, S(a.), K(l.), Ch[r.], Ezra, Neh., Esth., Job, Ps., Pr., Eccles., C(an)t., Is., Jer., Lam., Ezek., Dan., Hos., Joel, Am., Ob., Jon., Mi., Nah., Hab., Zeph., Hag., Zech., Mal.; 1 Esd., 4 Esd. (i.e. 2 Esd. of EV), Tob., Judith, Wisd., Eccles., Baruch, Epistle of Jeremy (i.e. Bar. ch. 6), Song of the Three Children (Dan. 3₂₃), Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, Prayer of Manasses, 1-4 Macc.; Mt., Mk., Lk., Jn., Acts, Rom., Cor., Gal., Eph., Phil., Col., Thess., Tim., Tit., Philem., Heb., Ja[s.], Pet., 1-3 Jn., Jude, Rev. [or Apoc.].

An explanation of some of the symbols (A, K, H, etc.), now generally used to denote certain Greek MSS of the Old or New Testaments, will be found above, at p. xvi. It may be added that the bracketed index numerals denote the edition of the work to which they are attached; thus OTJC⁽²⁾ = *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 2nd edition (exceptions RP⁽²⁾, AOF⁽²⁾; see below). The unbracketed numerals above the line refer to footnotes; for those under the line see below under D₂, E₂, J₂, P₂.

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

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

Abulw.	Abulwalid, the Jewish grammarian (b. circa 990), author of <i>Book of Roots</i> , etc.	AT, ATliche	Das Alte Testament, Alttestamentliche. Old Testament.
Acad.	<i>The Academy: A Weekly Review of Literature, Science, and Art</i> . London, '09 ff.	AT Unters.	Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen. See Winckler.
AF	See AOF.	AV	Authorised Version.
AHT	<i>Ancient Hebrew Tradition</i> . See Hommel.	b	ben, B'ne (son, sons, Hebrew).
AT[est]. Unt.	See Winckler.	Bä.	Baer and Delitzsch's critical edition of the Massoretic Text, Leipzig, '69, and following years.
Amer. Journ. of Phil.	<i>American Journal of Philology</i> , '80 ff.	Bab.	Babylonian.
A[mer.][ourn.][S[em.][Lang.]	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i> (continuing <i>Hebraica</i> ['84-'95]), '95 ff.	Baed., or Baed. Pal.	Baedeker, <i>Palestine</i> (ed. Socin), (2), '94; (3), '98 (Benzinger) based on 4th German ed.
Am. Tab.	The Tell-el-Amarna Letters (= K ^B 5)	Baethg., or Baethg. Beitr.	Baethgen, <i>Beiträge zur semitischen Religions-geschichte</i> , '88.
Ant.	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> .	BAG	C. P. Tiele, <i>Babylonisch-assyrische Geschichte</i> , pt. i., '86; pt. ii., '88.
AOF	<i>Allorientalische Forschungen</i> . See Winckler.	Ba.VB.	Barth, <i>Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen</i> , i., '89; ii., '91; (2) '94.
Apocr. Anecd.	<i>Apocrypha Anecdota</i> , 1st and 2nd series, published under the general title 'Texts and Studies' at the Cambridge University Press.	Baraitha	See LAW LITERATURE.
Aq.	Aquila, Jewish proselyte (temp. revolt against Hadrian), author of a Greek translation of the Old Testament. See TEXT.	BDB Lex.	[Brown, Driver, Briggs, <i>Lexicon A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> , based on the <i>Lexicon of Gesenius</i> , by F. Brown, with the co-operation of S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs, Oxford, '92, and following years.
Ar.	Arabic.	Be.	E. Bertheau (1812-'88). In <i>K'GII: Richter u. Ruth</i> , '45; (2) '83; <i>Chronik</i> , '54; (2), '73; <i>Ezra, Nehemia u. Ester</i> , '62; (2), by Ryssel, '87.
Aram.	Aramaic. See ARAMIC.	Beitr.	<i>Beiträge</i> , especially Baethgen (as above).
Arch.	<i>Archeology or Archäologie</i> . See Beninger, Nowack.	Beitr. z. Ass.	<i>Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. semitischen Sprachwissenschaft</i> ; ed. Fried. Delitzsch and Paul Haupt, i., '90; ii., '94; iii., '98; iv. i., '99.
Ar. Des.	Doughty, <i>Arabia Deserta</i> , '88.	Benz. II A	I. Beninger, <i>Hebräische Archäologie</i> , '94.
Ar. Heid., or Heid.	<i>Reste arabischen Heidentums</i> . See Wellhausen.		
Arm.	Armenian.		
Ass.	Assyrian.		
Ass. HWB	<i>Assyrisches Handwörterbuch</i> . See Delitzsch.		
As. u. Eur.	W. M. Müller, <i>Asien u. Europa nach ägyptischen Denkmälern</i> , '93.		

ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS, AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES nix

- Kön.* *Könige in KHC*, '99.
 Bertholet, *Stel.* A. Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten u. der Juden zu den Fremden*, '96.
 Bi. Gustav Beckell:
 Grundriss der hebräischen Grammatik, '09 ff.; EI, '77.
 Carmina VT metrica etc., '82.
 Dichtungen der Hebräer, '82 f.
 Kritische Bearbeitung der Prov., '90.
Biblioth. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, '43 ff.
BJ *De Bello Judaico*. See Josephus.
BL Schenkel, *Bibel-Lexicon*; Realwörterbuch zum Handgebrauch für Geistliche u. Gemeindeglieder, 5 vols., '69-'75.
 Boch. S. Bochart (1599-1667):
 Geographia Sacra, 1640;
 Hierozicon, sive de Annuitibus Scripturae Sacrae, 1663.
 Boeckh Aug. Boeckh, *Corpus Inscr. Graec.*, 4 vols., '28-'77.
BOB *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, '87 ff.
 Böttch. Friedrich Böttcher, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*, '60-'68.
Böttg. Lat. Böttger, *Lexicon z. d. Schriften des H. Josephus*, '79.
BR *Biblical Researches*. See Robinson.
 Bu. Karl Buhle:
 Urgesch. *Die biblische Urgeschichte* (Gen. 1-12), '83.
 Ri. So. *Die Bücher Richter und Samud, ihre Quellen und ihr Aufbau*, '90.
 Sam. *Samuel in SBOT* (Heb.), '94.
 Das Buch Hiob in HK, '96.
 Klagelieder and Hohelied in KHC, '98.
 Buhl See Pal.
Buxt. Syn. Jud. Johann Buxtorf (1564-1629), *Synagoga Judaica*, 1603, etc.
Buxt. Lex. Johann Buxtorf, son (1599-1644), *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum*, 1639, folio. Reprint with additions by B. Fischer, 2 vols., '69 and '74.
c. cir. *circa*.
Calver Bib. Lex. *Calver Kirchlexikon, Theologisches Handwörterbuch*, ed. P. Zeller, '89-'93.
c. Ap. *contra Apionem*. See Josephus.
CH *Composition des Hexateuchs*. See Wellhausen.
Chald. Gen. *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, by George Smith. A new edition, thoroughly revised and corrected by A. H. Sayce, '80.
 Che. T. K. Cheyne:
 Proph. Is. *The Prophecies of Isaiah*, 2 vols. ('80-'81; revised, '89).
 Job and Sol. *Job and Solomon, or The Wisdom of the Old Testament* ('87).
 Ps. *The Book of Psalms*, transl. with comm. ('88); (2), rewritten (forthcoming).
 Ol's. *The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter* (Bampton Lectures), '89, '91.
Aids *Aids to the Devout Study of Criticism*, '92.
Founders *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, '94.
Intr. Is. *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* ('95).
Is. SBOT. *Isaiah in SBOT* [Eng.], ('97); [Heb.], ('99).
Jeremiah, his Life and Times in 'Men of the Bible' ('88).
Jew. Rel. Life *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, '98.
CIG *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (ed. Dittenberger), '82 ff. See also Boeckh.
CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin, '03, and following years, 14 vols., with supplements.
CIS *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Paris, '81 ff. Pt. i., Phoenician and Lunic inscriptions; pt. ii., Aramaic inscriptions; pt. iii., S. Arabian inscriptions.
Class. Rev. *The Classical Review*, '87 ff.
Cl.-Gan. Clermont-Ganneau:
 Rec. *Revue d'Archéologie*, '85 ff.
 Co. Cornill:
 Ezek. *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*, '80.
 Eint. *Einführung in das Alte Testament*, '91; '94, '00.
 Hist. *History of the People of Israel from the earliest times*, '98.
COT *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*. See Schrader.
Crit. Mon. A. H. Sayce, *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*, '04.
Cr. Rev. *Critical Review of Theological and Philosophical Literature* [ed. Salmon], '91 ff.
 D Author of Deuteronomy; also used of Deuteronomistic passages.
D₂ Later Deuteronomistic editors. See HISTORICAL LITERATURE.
Dalm. Gram. Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, '94.
 Worte Jesu Aram. Lex. *Die Worte Jesu*, 1, '08.
 Aramäisch - Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud, und Midrasch, Teil i., '97.
Dav. A. B. Davidson:
 Job *Book of Job in Camb. Bible*, '84.
 Ezek. *Book of Ezekiel in Cambridge Bible*, '92.
DB W. Smith, *A Dictionary of the Bible, comprising its Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History*, 3 vols., '03; *DB²*, 2nd ed. of vol. i., in two parts, '93.
 or, J. Hastings, *A Dictionary of the Bible, dealing with its Language, Literature, and Contents, including the Biblical Theology*, vol. i., '98; vol. ii., '99.
 or, F. Vigouroux, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, '95 ff.
de C. Orig. Alph. de Candolle, *Origine des Plantes Cultivées*, '82; (2), '96. ET in the *International Scientific Series*.
De Gent. *De Gentibus*. See Wellhausen.
Del. Delitzsch, Franz (1813-90), author of many commentaries on books of the OT, etc.
 or, Delitzsch, Friedrich, son of preceding, author of:
 Par. *Wo lag das Paradies?* ('81).
 Heb. Lang. *The Hebrew Language viewed*

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		<i>in the light of Assyrian Research</i> , '83.			
Prof.		<i>Prolegomena emendatione hebraicam Wörterbuch zum AT</i> , '80.		III.	<i>Historia Ecclesastica</i> .
Ass. HWB		<i>Assyrisches Handwörterbuch</i> , '90.		III[er].	<i>Preparatio Evangelica</i> .
DHM Ep. Denk.	D. H. Müller, Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien, '80.			Chron.	<i>Chronicon</i> .
Die Propheten	in ihrer ursprünglichen Form, Die Grundgesetze der ursemitischen Poesie, 2 Bde., '90.			EV	English version (where authorised and revised agree).
Di.	Liljmann, August (1823-94), in <i>KGH Genesis</i> , 3rd ed. of Knobel, '75; '91; '82; '92 (ET by Stevenson, '97); <i>Leodus und Leviticus</i> , 2nd ed. of Knobel, '80; 3rd ed. by Rysch, '97; <i>Numb. Dent. Josh.</i> , 2nd ed. of Knobel, '80; <i>Josiah</i> , '90; (ed. 1-3 by Knobel; 4th ed. by Diestel; 6th ed. by Kittel, '98).			Ew.	Heinrich Ewald (1803-75):
Dhd.	<i>Didaohé</i> . See ΑΠΟΚΡΥΦΑ, § 31, l.			Lehrb.	<i>Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache</i> , '44; '50.
Doy, Suppl.	<i>Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes</i> , '79 ff.			Gesch.	<i>Geschichte des Volkes Israel</i> : (1) i-vii., '64-'68; ET (2) 5 vols. (pre-Christian period), '60-'80.
Dr.	Driver, S. R.:			Dichter	<i>Die Dichter des Alten Bundes</i> (1), '60 f.
HT.	<i>A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew</i> , '74; '81; '91, '92.			Proph.	<i>Die Propheten</i> , '40 f.; (2), '67 f.; ET '70 f.
TBS	<i>Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel</i> , '90.			Expos.	<i>Expositor</i> , 5th ser., '93 ff.
Introd.	<i>An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament</i> , (1), '91; (2), '97.			Exp[os].	<i>Expository Times</i> , '80-'90 ff.
Par. Ps.	<i>Parallél Psalter</i> , '98.			J and ff.	following (verse, or verses, etc.).
Psalt.	<i>Deuteronomy in The International Critical Commentary</i> , '95.			PPP	<i>Fauna and Flora of Palestine</i> . See Tristram.
Joel and Amos	<i>in the Cambridge Bible</i> , '97.			Field, Hex.	F. Field, <i>Origenis Hexaplocum qua supersunt sive Veterum Interpretum Graecorum in totum Veteris Testamentum Fragmenta</i> ('75).
Lev. SBOT	<i>SBOT</i> (Eng.), <i>Leviticus</i> , assisted by H. A. White, '98.			F[er.]HG.	<i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> , ed. Müller, 5 vols., '41-'72.
'Hebrew Authority'	<i>Sacred and Profane</i> , ed. David G. Hogarth, London, '99.			Fl. and Hamb.	F. A. Flückiger and D. Hanbury, <i>Pharm.</i>
Iv.	<i>Isaiah, His Life and Times</i> , in 'Men of the Bible,' '93.			Floigl, GA	Floigl, <i>Geschichte des semitischen Alterthums in Tabellen</i> , '82.
Drus.	Drusius (1450-1616) in <i>Critici Sacri</i> .			Founders	<i>Founders of Old Testament Criticism</i> . See Cheyne.
Du.	Bernhard Duhm:			Fr.	O. F. Fritzsche (1812-96), commentaries on books of the Apocrypha in <i>KHG</i> .
Proph.	<i>Die Theologie der Propheten als Grundlage für die innere Entwicklungsgeschichte der israelitischen Religion</i> , '75.			Frä.	Sigismund Fränkel, <i>Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen</i> , '86.
Iv.	<i>Das Buch Jesaja in HK</i> , '92.			Frankenb.	W. Frankenberg, <i>Die Sprüche in KH</i> , '98.
Ps.	<i>Die Psalmen erklärt</i> , in <i>KHG</i> , '99.			Frazer	J. G. Frazer: <i>Totemism</i> ('87). <i>Golden Bough</i> ('90); (2) in prep. <i>Pausanias's Description of Greece</i> (translation and notes, 6 vols., '98).
E	Old Hebrew historical document.			Fund.	J. Marquart, <i>Fundamente israelitischer u. jüdischer Geschichte</i> , '96.
Eg	Later additions to E. See HISTORICAL LITERATURE.			⊙	Greek Version, see above, p. xv. f. and TEXT AND VERSIONS.
EB ⁹⁰	<i>Encyclopaedia Britannica</i> , 9th ed., '75-'88.			GA	<i>Geschichte d. Alterthums</i> (see Meyer, Floigl).
Ebers, Aeg. BM	Georg Ebers ('37-'98), <i>Ägypten u. die Bücher Moses's</i> , i., '68.			GÄ	<i>Geschichte Ägyptens</i> (see Meyer).
Einl.	<i>Einleitung</i> (Introduction). See Cornill, etc.			GBA	<i>Gesch. Babeloniens u. Assyriens</i> (see Winckler, Hommel).
Eng. Hist. Rev.	<i>The English Historical Review</i> , '86 ff.			GA Sm.	George Adam Smith. See Smith.
Ent[st.]	<i>Die Entstehung des Judenthums</i> . See Ed. Meyer.			GAT	Reuss, <i>Geschichte des Alten Testaments</i> , '81; '90.
ET	English translation.			Gei. Urschr.	A. Geiger, <i>Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der inneren Entwicklung des Judenthums</i> , '57.
Eth.	Ethiopic.			Ges.	F. H. W. Gesenius (1780-1842): <i>Thesaurus Philologiae Criticae Ling. Hebr. et Chald. Veteris Testamenti</i> , '35-'42.
Eus.	Eusebius of Caesarea (2nd half of 3rd to 1st half of 4th cent. A.D.): <i>Onomasticon</i> ; 'On the Names of Places in Holy Scripture.'			Thes.	<i>Thesaurus Philologiae Criticae Ling. Hebr. et Chald. Veteris Testamenti</i> , '35-'42.
Onom. or OS	<i>Onomasticon</i> ; 'On the Names of Places in Holy Scripture.'			Gramm.	<i>Hebräische Grammatik</i> , '13; (20), by E. Kautsch, '96; ET '98.
				Lex.	<i>Hebräisches u. chaldäisches Handwörterbuch</i> , '12; (1) (Mühlau u. Völk), '60; (2) (Buhl, with Socin and Zimmermann), '95; (10) (Buhl), '99.
				Ges.-Bu.	Gesenius-Buhl. See above, Ges.

Gesch.
GG.1
GG.V
GI
Gl[nsb]
GJV
Glaser
SA
Gr.
Grä.
Ges.
Ps.
Gr. Ven.
GVI
H
HA or LA
Arch.
Hal.
MH
Hamburg
[KE]
Harper,
HC
Heb.
Hebraica
Heid.
Herst.
Herzog, K
Het Herst.
Hex.
Hexap.
HG
Izrob.
Hilgf.
Hst.
Hst. Proph.
Men.
Hli[tz].
HK

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Gesch. . . . *Geschichte* (History).
GG.A . . . *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, '24 ff.
GG.V . . . *Göttingische Gelehrte Nachrichten*, '45 ff.
GI . . . *Geschichte Israels*. See Winckler.
Gi[nsb.] . . . Ginsburg, *Massoretico-critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible*, '94. Introduction, '97.
GJV . . . *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*. See Schürer.
Glaser . . . Eduard Glaser:
Skizze . . . *Skizze der Gesch. u. Geogr. Arabiens*, '90.
Gr. . . . K. Grimm (1807-91). *Maccabees* ('53) and *Wisdom* ('60) in *KGTZ*.
Grä. . . . Heinrich Grätz:
Gesch. . . . *Geschichte der Juden*, i.-v., '74 ff.; ET i.-v., '91-'92.
Ps. . . . *Kritischer Commentar zu den Psalmen*, '82 f.
Gr. Ven. . . . *Versio Veneta*. See TEXT.
GVI . . . *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*. See Ewald, Stade, etc.
H . . . 'The Law of Holiness' (Lev. 17-20). See LEVITICUS.
HA or Hebr. Arch. . . . *Hebräische Archäologie*. See Benzinger, Nowack.
Hal. . . . Joseph Halévy. The inscriptions in *Rapport sur une Mission Archéologique dans le Yémen* ('72) are cited: Hal. 535, etc.
MH. . . . *Mélanges d'Épigraphie et d'Archéologie Sémitiques*, '74.
Hamburger [KE] . . . Hamburger, *Realencyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud*, i. '70, ('92) ii. '83, suppl. '80, '91 f., '97.
Harper, ABL . . . R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the K[uyunjik] collection of the British Museum*, '93 ff.
HC . . . *Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament*, bearbeitet von H. J. Holtzmann, R. A. Lipsius, P. W. Schmiedel, H. v. Soden, '89-'91.
Heb. . . . Hebrew.
Hebraica . . . Continued as *AJSL* ('97).
Heid. . . . *Keste arabischen Heidentums*. See Wellhausen.
Herst. . . . Koster, *Het Herud van Israël in het Perzische Tijdvak*, '93; Germ. transl. *Die Wiederherstellung Israels*, '95.
Herzog, KE . . . See *PK.E.*
Het Herst. . . . See *Herst.*
Hes. . . . *Hexateuch* (see Kuenen, Holzinger, etc.).
Hexap. . . . See Field.
HG . . . *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*. See Smith, G. A.
Hilg. . . . See Hochart.
Hilgf. . . . A. Hilgenfeld, NT scholar (*Einl.*, etc.), and ed. since '58 of *ZWT*. See Schürer, Ewald, Kittel, etc.
Hst. . . . See Schürer, Ewald, Kittel, etc.
Hst. Proph. Men. . . . J. F. Murray, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*: i. To the Downfall of Samaria ('94); ii. To the Fall of Nineveh ('96).
li[tz.] . . . F. Hitzig (1807-75), in *KGTZ*: *Precher* ('47), *Hohelied* ('55), *Die kleinen Propheten* ('38), ('63), *Jeremias* ('41), ('66). Also *Die Psalmen* ('35-'36), ('63), ('63-'65).
TK . . . *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*, ed. Nowack, '92 ff.

Holz. Land. . . . H. Holzinger, *Einführung in den Hexateuch* ('93), *Genese in the KTC* ('98).
Hommel . . . Fritz Hommel:
III . . . *Die altorientalische Ueberlieferung I. I. Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, '97.
GBA . . . *Geschichte Babyloniens u. Assyriens*, '85 ff.
Ho. Hebr. . . . Lightfoot, *Horae Hebraicae*, 1684.
HP . . . Holmes and Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum Graecum cum variis lectionibus*, 1798-1827.
HPV . . . G. B. Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, '90.
HP's.n. . . . Henry Preserved Smith, *Samuel in International Critical Commentary*.
HS . . . *Die Heilige Schrift*. See Kautzsch.
HWB . . . Riehm's *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Alterthums*, 2 vols., '84 ('93-'94). See also Delitzsch (Friedr.).
IJG . . . *Israeltische u. jüdische Geschichte*. See Wellhausen.
Intr[od.] . . . Introduction.
Int. Is. . . . *Introduction to Isaiah*. See Cheyne.
It. . . . Italia. See TEXT AND VERSIONS.
It. Anton. . . . *Itinerarium Antonini*, Porta d'Urban, '45.
J . . . Old Hebrew historical document.
J2 . . . Later additions to J.
J[ourn.]. A[m.]. . . . *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, '51 ff.
[O[r.]. S[er.]. . . . M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Halbi, etc., and Mishnahim*, '80 ff.
Jastrow, Dict. . . . *Journal Asiatique*, '53 ff.; 7th ser., '73; 8th ser., '83; 9th ser., '93.
J[ourn.]. As. . . . *Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, '90 ff.; formerly ('82-'88) called *Journal of the Society of Biblical Lit. and Exeg.*
JBL . . . *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissenschaft* ('40-'65).
JBAW . . . *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, '50-'71.
JDT . . . The 'Prophetical' narrative of the Hexateuch, composed of J and E.
JE . . . P. Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, '90.
Jensen, Kosm. . . . Jer. me, or Jeremiah.
Jer. . . . Jonathan. See Targum.
Jon. . . . Flavius Josephus (b. 37 A.D.), *Antiquitates Judaicae, De Bello Judaico, Vita, contra Apionem* (ed. Niese, 3 vols., '87-'94).
Jos. . . . *Journal of Philology*, i. (Nos. 1 and 2, '68), ii. (Nos. 3 and 4, '69), etc.
J[ourn.]. Phil. . . . *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, '75-'92.
JPT . . . *Hebrew Quarterly Review*, '88-'89 ff.
JQR . . . *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* (vols. 1-20, '34 ff.; new series, vols. 1-24, '65-'92; current series, '93 ff.).
JRAS . . . See *JBL*.
J[ourn.]. . . . *Die Keilinschriften u. d. Alte Testament*. See Schrader.
KAT . . . E. Kautzsch:
Gram. . . . *Grammatik des Biblischen Aramäischen*, '84.
HS . . . *Die heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, '94.

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- Apokr.* . . . *Die Apokryphen u. Pseudepigraphen des alten Testaments*, '98 f.
- K'B.* . . . *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, Sammlung von ass. u. bab. Texten in Umschrift u. Übersetzung*, 5 vols. (1, 2, 3 a, b, 4, 5), '89-'96. Edited by Schrader, in collaboration with L. Abel, C. Bezold, P. Jensen, F. E. Peiser, and H. Winckler.
- Ke.* . . . K. F. Keil (d. '88).
- Kenn.* . . . B. Kennicott (1718-'83), *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum variis lectionibus*, 2 vols., 1776-'80.
- K'G.* . . . *Kirchengeschichte*.
- K'GF.* . . . *Keilinschriften u. Geschichtsforschung*. See Schrader.
- K'GH.* . . . *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch*. See Di., Hitz., Knob., Ol.
- K'GK.* . . . *Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten u. Neuen Testaments sowie zu den Apokryphen*, ed. H. Strack and O. Zöckler, '87 ff.
- K'HC.* . . . *Kurzer Hand-commentar zum Alten Testament*, ed. Marti, '97 ff.
- Ki.* . . . Rudolf Kittel:
- Gesch.* . . . *Geschichte der Hebräer*, 2 vols., '88, '92; Eng. transl., *History of the Hebrews*, '95-'96.
- Ch. SBOT* . . . *The Book of Chronicles*, Critical Edition of the Hebrew text, '95 (translated by Bacon).
- Kim.* . . . R. David Kimhi, circa 1200 A.D., the famous Jewish scholar and lexicographer, by whose exegesis the AV is mainly guided.
- Kin[s].* . . . *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*. See W. R. Smith.
- Kl. Proph.* . . . *Kleine Propheten* (Minor Prophets). See Wellhausen, Nowack, etc.
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- Kö.* . . . F. E. König, *Historisch-Kritisches Lehrgebäude der Hebräischen Sprache*, 3 vols., '81-'97.
- Köh.* . . . Aug. Köhler.
- Kr.* . . . *Kre* (lit. 'to be read'), a marginal reading which the Massoretes intended to supplant that in the text (Kéthib); see below.
- Kt.* . . . *Kéthib* (lit. 'written'), a reading in the MT; see above.
- Kuc.* . . . Abr. Kuenen (1828-'91):
- Ond.* . . . *Historisch-critisch Onderzoek naar het ontstaan en de verzameling van de Boeken des Ouden Verbonds*, 3 vols., '61-'65; ⁽²⁾, '85-'89; Germ. transl., *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testaments*, '87-'92; vol. i., *The Hexateuch*, translated by Philip Wicksteed, '86.
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- Prov.* . . . *Proverbia*, '63.
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- Beitr.* . . . *Beiträge z. hebräischen Lexikographie*, '68.
- Proph.* . . . *Prophete Chaldaïce*, '72.
- Sem.* . . . *Semita*, '78 f.
- Arm. St.* . . . *Armenische Studien*.
- Or.* . . . *Orientalia*, i., '79; ii., '80.
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- I. [and] B.* . . . W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, '59; new ed. '94.
- LBR* . . . *Later Biblical Researches*. See Robinson.
- Levy, N'HWB* . . . J. Levy, *Neuhebräisches u. chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, '76-'89.
- Chald. Lex.* . . . *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim*, '67 ff.
- Lehrgeb.* . . . See König.
- Leps. Denkm.* . . . R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten u. Aethiopien*, '49-'60.
- Lightf.* . . . John Lightfoot (1602-'75), *Horæ Hebraicæ* (1684).
- Joseph B. Lightfoot ('28-'89); commentaries on Galatians⁽¹⁾, '74; *Philippians* ('63), '73; *Colossians and Philemon* ('75).
- Lips. 1 f.* . . . Lipsius, *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten u. Apostellegenden*, '83-'90.
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- Luc.* . . . See L.
- LXX or G* . . . Septuagint. See above, p. xv f., and TEXT AND VERSIONS.
- Maimonides* . . . Moses Maimonides (1131-1204). Exegete, author of *Mishneh Torah, Mōrē Nebōkhim*, etc.
- Mand.* . . . Mandaean. See ARAMÆIC, § 10.
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- Marti* . . . K. Marti:
- Gram.* . . . *Kurzgefasste Grammatik d. biblisch-Aramäischen Sprache*, '96.
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AI
MBBA
MDPV
Merx
Mey.
GA
Ents
Meyer
MGWJ
Mil
Mil
Midr.
Mish.
MT

ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS, AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES xxiii

The Struggle of the Nations
—Egypt, Syria, and Assyria.
Histoire Ancienne des Peuples
de l'Orient ('99 ff.).

MBBA . . . Monatsbericht der Berliner Akademie.
MDPV . . . Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, '95 ff.
Merx . . . A. Merx, *Archiv f. wissenschaftliche Erforschung d. AT* ('69).
Mey. . . . Ed. Meyer:
GA . . . *Geschichte des Alterthums; i., Gesch. d. Orients bis zur Begründung des Perserreichs* ('84); ii., *Gesch. des Abendlandes bis auf die Perserkriege* ('93).
Entst[eh]. . . . *Die Entstehung des Judenthums*, '96.
Meyer . . . H. A. W. Meyer (1800-73), founder of the series *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament*.
MGWJ . . . *Monatsschrift für Gesch. u. Wiss. des Judenthums*, '51 ff.
MII . . . Mishnic Hebrew, the language of the Mishna, Tosephta, Midrashim, and considerable parts of the Talmud.
MI . . . Mesha Inscription, commonly known as the 'Moabite Stone.' See MESHIA.
Midr. . . . Midrash. See CHRONICLES, § 6 (2).
Mish. . . . Mishna, the standard collection (completed, according to tradition, by R. Judah the Holy, about 200 A.D.) of sixty-three treatises (representing the Jewish traditional or unwritten law as developed by the second century A.D.), arranged in six groups or *Sēders* thus:—i. *Zērah* (11 tractates), ii. *Mō'ed* (12), iii. *Nišim* (7), iv. *Nēzikin* (10), v. *Kodishim* (11), vi. *Tohorōth* (12).
Abōdī zārā, iv. 8 Mikwā'oth, vi. 6
Abōth, iv. 9 Mō'ed Kātān, ii. 11
'Araklun, v. 5 Nāzur, iii. 4
Bāhā Bathrā, iv. 3 Nēdārim, iii. 3
Bāhā Kammā, iv. 1 Nēg'ām, vi. 3
Bāhā Mēsā', iv. 2 Niddā, vi. 7
Bekhōrōth, v. 4 Olālōth, vi. 2
Berākōth, i. 1 'Orlā, i. 10
Bēsi, ii. 7 Pārā, vi. 4
Bikkūrim, i. 11 Pē'ā, i. 2
Chāguā, ii. 12 Pēsielim, ii. 3
Challā, i. 9 Rōsh Ha'shānā,
Chullin, v. 3 ii. 8
Dēmāi, i. 3 Sanhedrin, iv. 4
Ehōvōth, iv. 7 Shabbāth, ii. 1
'Erubin, ii. 2 Shēb'ōth, iv. 6
Gittin, iii. 6 Shēb'oth, i. 5
Hērāyōth, iv. 10 Shekālun, ii. 4
Kēlum, vi. 1 Sōgā, iii. 5
Kēthōth, v. 7 Sukkā, ii. 6
Kēthūbōth, iii. 2 Tā'anith, ii. 9
Kidūshim, iii. 7 Tānōd, v. 9
Kil'āvim, i. 4 Tēbāl Vōm, vi. 10
Kinnun, v. 11 Tēmūrā, v. 6
Mā'Asēr Shēni, i. 8 Terāmōth, i. 6
Mā'Asērōth, i. 7 Tohorōth, vi. 5
Maklōshim, vi. 8 'Uksum, vi. 12
Maklōth, iv. 5 Yādāvim, vi. 11
Megillā, ii. 10 Yebāmōth, iii. 1
Me'ilā, v. 8 Yomā, ii. 5
Mēnāchōth, v. 2 Zabim, vi. 9
Midōth, v. 10 Zebachim, v. 1

about the end of the seventh century A.D. See TEXT.
Murray . . . *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, ed. J. A. H. Murray, '88 ff.; also H. Bradley, '97 ff.
Muss-Arn. . . . W. Muss-Arnolt, *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*, '94-'99 (A-MAGI).
MVG . . . *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, '97 ff.
n. . . . note.
Nab. . . . Nabataean. See ARAMAIC, § 4.
NB . . . *Nominalbildung*, Barth; see Ba.
Nestle, Eig. . . . *Die israelitischen Eigennamen nach ihrer religionsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung*, '76.
Marg. . . . *Marginalien u. Materialien*, '93.
Neub. Geogr. . . . A. Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, '68.
NHB . . . *Natural History of the Bible*. See Tristram.
NHWB . . . *Neu-hebr. u. chaldäisches Wörterbuch*. See Levy.
no. . . . number.
Nō[ld]. . . . Th. Nöldeke:
Unters. . . . *Untersuchungen z. Kritik d. Alten Testaments*, '69.
**Alttestamentliche Litteratur, '68.
Now. . . . W. Nowack:
II[ebv.] A[rvh.] *Lehrbuch d. Hebräischen Archäologie*, '94.
Kl. Proph. . . . *Die Kleinen Propheten* (in *HKC*), '97.
NT . . . New Testament, Neues Testament.
Ol[sh]. . . . Justus Olshausen:
Ps. . . . *Die Psalmen*, '53.
Lehrb. . . . *Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache*, '61 [incomplete].
OLZ (or Or. LZ) *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung*, ed. Peiser, '98 f.
Ond. . . . *Historisch-critisch Onderzoek*. See Kuenen.
Onk., Onq. . . . Onkelos, Onqelos. See Targ.
Onom. . . . See OS.
OPs. . . . *Origin of the Psalter*. See Cheyne.
OS . . . *Onomastica Sacra*, containing the 'name-lists' of Eusebius and Jerome (Lagarde, (2), '87; the pagination of (1) printed on the margin of (2) is followed).
OT . . . Old Testament.
OTJC . . . *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*. See W. K. Smith.
P . . . Priestly Writer. See HIST. LIT.
P₂ . . . Secondary Priestly Writers.
Pal. . . . F. Buhl, *Géographie des alten Palästina*, '90. See also Baedeker and Reland.
Palm. . . . Palmyrene. See ARAMAIC, § 4.
Pal. Syr. . . . Palestinian Syriac or Christian Palestinian. See ARAMAIC, § 4.
P.A.O.S. . . . *Proceedings of American Oriental Society*, '51 ff. (printed annually at end of J.A.O.S.).
Par. . . . *Wo lag das Paradies?* See Delitzsch.
Pat. Pal. . . . Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine*, '05.
PE . . . *Preparatio Evangelica*. See Eusebius.
PEFM[em.] . . . *Palestine Exploration Fund Memoirs*, 3 vols., '81-'83.
PEFQ[u.St.] . . . *Palestine Exploration Fund [founded '65] Quarterly Statement*, '69 ff.**

IT . . . Massoretic text, the Hebrew text of the OT substantially as it was in the early part of the second century A.D. (temp. Mishna). It remained unvocalised until

xxiv ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS, AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

- Per-Chip. . . Perrot and Chipiez: *Histoire de l'Art dans l'antiquité. Égypte — Assyrie — Perse — Asie Mineure — Grèce — Étrurie — Rome*; '81 ff.
 ET: *Ancient Egypt*, '85; *Chaldea and Assyria*, '84; *Phoenicia and Cyprus*, '85; *Sardinia, Judaea, etc.*, '90; *Primitive Greece*, '94.
- Pers. . . Persian.
- Pesh. . . Peshitta, the Syriac vulgate (2nd-3rd cent.). *Vetus Testamentum Syriace*, ed. S. Lee, '23, OT and NT, '24.
 W. E. Barnes, *An Apparatus Criticus to Chronicles in the Peshitta Version*, '97.
- Ph., Phoen. . . Phoenician.
- PRE . . . *Real-Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie u. Kirche*, ed. J. J. Herzog, 22 vols., '54-'68; (2), ed. J. J. Herzog, G. I. Plitt, Alb. Hauck, 18 vols., '77-'88; (3), ed. Alb. Hauck, vol. i-vii. [A-Hau], '96-'99.
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- Prim. Cult. . . E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, '71; (3), '91.
- Proph. Is. . . *The Prophecies of Isaiah*. See Cheyne.
- Prot. . . *Prolegomena*. See Wellhausen.
- Prot. KZ . . . *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung für das Evangelische Deutschland* (vols. i-xliii., '54-'96); continued as *Prot. Monatshefte* ('97 ff.).
- PSB.A . . . *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, '78 ff.
- PS Thes. . . Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*.
- Pun. . . Punic.
- R . . . Redactor or Editor.
- RJE . . . Redactor(s) of JE.
- RD . . . Deuteronomistic Editor(s).
- Rp . . . Priestly Redactor(s).
- 1-5R . . . H. C. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, i-v. ('61-'84; iv. (2), '91).
- Rab. . . Rabbinical.
- Rashi . . . i.e. Rabbenu Shelomoh Yishaki (1040-1105), the celebrated Jewish commentator.
- Rec. Trav. . . *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philol. et à l'Archéol. égypt. et assyr.* '79 ff.
- REJ . . . *Revue des Études juives*, i., '80; ii. and iii., '81; and so on.
- Rel. Pal. . . Reland, *Palestina ex Monumentis veteribus illustrata*, 2 vols., 1714.
- Rev. . . *Revue*.
- Rev. Sem. . . *Revue sémitique*, '93 ff.
- Ri. Sa. . . *Die Bücher Richter u. Samuel*. See Budde.
- Rob. . . Edward Robinson:
 BR . . . *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mt. Sinai, and Arabia Petraea, a journal of travels in the year 1838* (i-iii., '41 = BK⁽²⁾, i-ii., '56).
- LBR or BR iv. . . *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine and the adjacent Regions, a journal of travels in the year 1852* ('56).
- or BR⁽²⁾ iii. . . *Physical Geography of the Holy Land*, '65.
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- RS or Rel. Sem. . . *Religion of the Semites*. See W. R. Smith.
- RV . . . Revised Version (NT, '80; OT, '84; Apocrypha, '95).
- RWB . . . G. B. Winer (1789-1858), *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, '20; (3), 2 vols., '47.
- Rys. . . Ryssel; cp. Dillmann, Bertheau.
- Saad. . . R. Sa'adya (Sē'adya; Ar. Sa'īd), the tenth century Jewish grammarian and lexicographer (b. 892); *Explanations of the hapax-legomena in the OT*, etc.
- Sab. . . Sabæan, less fittingly called Himyaritic; the name given to a class of S. Arabian inscriptions.
- Sab. Denkm. . . *Sabäische Denkmäler*, edd. Müller and Mordtmann.
- Sam. . . Samaritan.
- SBAW . . . *Sitzungsberichte der Berlinischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*.
- SBE . . . *The Sacred Books of the East*, translated by various scholars and edited by the Rt. Hon. F. Max Müller, 50 vols. 1879 ff.
- SBOT (Eng.) . . [Otherwise known as the *Polychrome Bible*] *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament, a new Eng. transl., with Explanatory Notes and Pictorial Illustrations; prepared by eminent biblical scholars of Europe and of America, and edited, with the assistance of Horace Howard Furness, by Paul Haupt*, '97 ff.
- SBOT (Heb.) . . Haupt, *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament; a critical edition of the Hebrew text, printed in colours, with notes, prepared by eminent biblical scholars of Europe and America, under the editorial direction of Paul Haupt*, '93 ff.
- Schöpfung . . . Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit u. Frühzeit*, '95.
- Schr. . . E. Schrader; editor of *K'B* [q.v.]:
- KGF . . . *Keilinschriften u. Geschichtsforschung*, '78.
- KAT . . . *Die Keilinschriften u. d. Alte Testament*, '72; (2), '83.
- COT . . . Eng. transl. of *KAT*⁽²⁾ by O. C. Whitehouse, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, 2 vols., '85, '88 (the pagination of the German is retained in the margin of the Eng. ed.).
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ABB

Hist.

Selden

Sem. .
 Sin. .
 Smend, Liste

Smith
 GASm.
 HG

WRS
 OTJC

Proph.

Kin.

K[et.]S[e]

SP . .

Spencer .

SS . .

St. Sta. .
 GVI .

Abh. .

St. Kr. .
 Stud. m. m.

Stud. Bibl.

Sw. . .

W. W .

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- Selden* . . . J. Selden, *de Jure naturali et gentium juxta disciplinam Ebraeorum*, 7 bks., 1665. *de Diis Syris*, 1617.
- Semitic* . . . Semitic.
- Sinaitic* . . . Sinaitic; see ARAMAIC, § 4.
- Smend, Listen* . . . Smend, *Die Listen der Bücher Esra u. Nehemiah*, '81.
- Smith* . . . George Adam Smith:
- HG* . . . *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land, especially in relation to the History of Israel and of the Early Church*, '94 (additions to (4), '96.)
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- Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akademie d. Wissenschaften.*
- Sym[m].* . . . Symmachus, author of a Greek version of the Old Testament (circa 200 A.D.). See TEXT.
- Syr.* . . . Syriac. See ARAMAIC, § 11 f.
- Tab. Pent.* . . . *Tabula Pentateucheriana*, Desjardins, '68.
- Talm. Bab. Jer.* . . . Talmud, Babylonian or Jerusalem, consisting of the text of the Mishna broken up into small sections, each followed by the discursive comment called Gemāra. See LAW LITERATURE.
- T[ar]g.* . . . Targum. See TEXT.
- Jer.* . . . The (fragmentary) Targum Jerushalmi.
- Jou.* . . . Targum Jonathan, the name borne by the Babylonian Targum to the Prophets.
- Onk.* . . . Targum Onkelos, the Babylonian Targum to the Pentateuch (towards end of second century A.D.).
- ps.-Jou.* . . . The Targ. to the Pentateuch, known by the name of Jonathan.
- TBS* . . . *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis*; see Wellhausen; or *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*; see Driver.
- temp.* . . . tempore (in the time [of]).
- T[extus] R[ec]e-
ceptus]* . . . The 'received text' of the NT. See TEXT.
- Th[e].* . . . Thénius, *die Bücher Samuelis in A.G.H.*, 42; (2), '64; (3), Löhr, '98.
- Theod.* . . . Theodotion (end of second century), author of a Greek version of the Old Testament ('rather a revision of the LXX than a new translation'). See TEXT.
- Theol. Studien* . . . *Studien*, published in connection with *Th. T* (see DEUTERONOMY, § 332).
- Thes.* . . . See Gesenius. R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, '68 ff.
- Th.T* . . . *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, '67 ff.
- Ti. or Tisch.* . . . Tischendorf's *Novum Testamentum Græce*, editio octava critica maior, '69-'72.
- TLZ* . . . *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, '76 ff.
- Tosephta* . . . See LAW LITERATURE.
- Treg.* . . . S. P. Tregelles, *The Gr. & New Testament; edited from ancient authorities*, '57-'72.
- Tristram* . . . H. B. Tristram:
- FFP* . . . *The Fauna and Flora of Palestine*, '89.
- NHB* . . . *The Natural History of the Bible*, (2), '89.
- T'SBA* . . . *Transactions of Soc. Bib. Archaeol.*, vols. i.-ix., '72 ff.
- Tüb. Z. f. Theol.* . . . *Tübingen Zeitschrift f. Theologie*, '28 ff.
- Untersuch.* . . . *Untersuchungen*. See Nöldeke, Winckler.
- Urgesch.* . . . *Die biblische Urgeschichte*. See Budde.
- v.* . . . verse.
- Var. Apoc.* . . . *The Apocrypha (AV) edited with various renderings, etc.*, by C. J. Ball.
- Var. Bib.* . . . *The Old and New Testaments (AV) edited with various renderings, etc.*, by T. K. Cheyne, S. R.

xxvi ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS, AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

	Driver (OT), and R. L. Clarke, A. Goodwin, W. Sanday (NT) [otherwise known as the <i>Queen's printers' Bible</i>].	Wi.	Hugo Winckler:
Vet. Lat.	Versio Vetus Latina; the old-Latin version (made from the Greek); later superseded by the Vulgate. See TEXT AND VERSIONS.	Unters.	<i>Untersuchungen z. Altorientalischen Geschichte</i> , '89.
Vg.	Vulgate, Jerome's Latin Bible: OT from Heb., NT a revision of Vet. Lat. (end of 4th and beginning of 5th cent.). See TEXT.	Alt[est]. Unt.	<i>Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen</i> , '92.
We., Wellh.	Julius Wellhausen.	GBA	<i>Geschichte Babyloniens u. Assyriens</i> , '92.
De Gent.	<i>De Gentibus et Familiis Judaicis quae in 1 Chr. 2 4 numerantur Dissertatio</i> ('70).	AOF or AF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i> , 1st ser. i.-vi., '93-'97; 2nd ser. (AF ⁽²⁾) i., '98 f.
TBS	<i>Der Text der Bücher Samuelis</i> ('71).	GI	<i>Geschichte Israels in einzelndarstellungen</i> , i., '95.
Phar. u. Sadd.	<i>Die Pharisäer u. d. Sadducäer; eine Untersuchung zur inneren jüdischen Geschichte</i> ('74).	Sarg.	<i>Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons</i> , '89.
Gesch. Prol.	<i>Geschichte Israels</i> , vol. i. ('78). 2nd ed. of <i>Gesch.</i> , entitled <i>Prolegomena zur Gesch. Israels</i> , '83; ET '85; 4th Germ. ed. '95.	KB5.	<i>Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna</i> (ET Metcalf).
IJG	<i>Israelitische u. jüdische Geschichte</i> , '94; ('9), '97; an amplification of <i>Abriss der Gesch. Israels u. Judas</i> in 'Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten,' '84. The <i>Abriss</i> was substantially a reproduction of 'Israel' in <i>EB</i> ⁽⁹⁾ ('81; re-published in ET of <i>Prot.</i> ['85] and separately as <i>Sketch of Hist. of Israel and Judah</i> , ('91).	Wilk.	J. G. Wilkinson, <i>Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians</i> , '37-'41; ('2) by Birch, 3 vols., '78.
[Ar.]Heid.	<i>Reste Arabischen Heidentums</i> (in 'Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten') ('87; ('2), '97).	Winer	G. B. Winer:
Kl. Proph.	<i>Die Kleinen Propheten übersetzt, mit Noten</i> ('92; ('3), '98).	RWB	<i>Bibl. Realwörterbuch</i> ; see <i>KWB</i> .
CH	<i>Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments</i> ('85; Zweiter Druck, mit Nachträgen, '89; originally published in <i>JOT</i> 21 ³⁹² ff., [76], 22 ⁴⁰⁷ [77], and in <i>Bleek, Einl.</i> ('1), '78).	Gram.	<i>Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms</i> ⁽⁸⁾ , neu bearbeitet von Paul Wilh. Schmiedel, '94 ff.; ET of 6th ed., W. F. Moulton, '70.
Weber	<i>System der Altsynagogalen Palästinischen Theologie</i> ; or <i>Die Lehren des Talmud</i> , '80 (edited by Franz Delitzsch and Georg Schnedermann); ('2), <i>Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud und verwandter Schriften</i> , '97 (ed. Schnedermann).	WMM	See <i>As. u. Eur.</i>
Wetstein	J. J. Wetstein, <i>Novum Testamentum Graecum</i> , etc., 2 vols. folio: 1751-1752.	Wr.	W. Wright:
Wetz.	Wetstein, <i>Ausgewählte griechische und lateinische Inschriften, gesammelt auf Reisen in den Trachonen und um das Hau-rängergebirge</i> , '63; <i>Reisebericht über Hausrän und Trachonen</i> , '60.	Comp. Gram.	<i>Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages</i> , '90.
WF	Wellhausen-Furness, <i>The book of Psalms</i> ('98) in <i>SBOT</i> (Eng.).	Ar. Gram.	<i>A Grammar of the Arabic Language, translated from the German of Caspari and edited, with numerous additions and corrections by W. Wright</i> ; ('2) 2 vols., '74-'75; ('3) revised by W. Robertson Smith and M. J. de Goeie, vol. i. '96, vol. ii. '98.
WH [W & H]	Westcott and Hort, <i>The New Testament in the Original Greek</i> , '81.	WRS	William Robertson Smith. See Smith.
		WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für d. Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> , 87 ff.
		Yaküt	The well-known Arabian geographical writer (1179-1229). <i>Kitab Mo'jam el-Buldän</i> edited by F. Wüstenfeld (<i>Jacul's Geographisches Wörterbuch</i> , '66-'70).
		Z	<i>Zeitschrift</i> (Journal).
		ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie u. verwandte Gebiete</i> , '86 ff.
		ZÄ	<i>Zeitschrift für Agyptische Sprache u. Alterthumskunde</i> , '63 ff.
		ZATW	<i>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i> , '81 ff.
		ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> , '46 ff.
		ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-vereins</i> , '78 ff.
		ZKF	<i>Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung und verwandte Gebiete</i> , '84; continued as <i>Z.I.</i>
		ZKM	See <i>WZKM</i> .
		ZKW	<i>Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft u. kirchliches Leben</i> (ed. Luthardt), i.-ix., '80-'89 ff.
		ZLT	<i>Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche</i> , '40-'78.
			<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i> , '91 ff.
		ZWT	<i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</i> (ed. Hilgenfeld), '58 ff.

ACL
APK
Crt.
GÄ
OCL
Ohnef
SMA
S(yr.)
S(yr.)
Arranged
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ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS, AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

ADDITIONAL ABBREVIATIONS

- ACL** *Altchristliche Literatur; e.g.*—
Adolf Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*, of which there appeared in 1893 Pt. I, *Die Ueberlieferung und der Bestand*, and in 1897, Pt. II, *Die Chronologie*, vol. I, down to Irenaeus (called also as *Chronol.*, 1).
Gustav Krüger, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, 1895 (in *Grundriss der Theologischen Wissenschaften*).
- APK** F. Spiegel, *Die alt-persischen Keilinschriften*, 1862, (2) 1881.
- Crit. Bib.** Cheyne, *Critica Biblica*, 1903.
- GA** *Geschichte Aegyptens*.
- OCL** W. C. van Manen, *Handleiding voor de Oudchristelijke Letterkunde*, 1900.
- Ohnefalsch-Richter M. H. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, die Bibel, und Homer*, 1893.
- S.M.H.** *Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Munich.
- S(yr.) e(ur.)** Curettonian Syriac version of NT (see **TEXT**, § 25).
- S(yr.) s(in.)** Sinaitic Syriac version of NT (see **TEXT**, § 25).

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Arranged according to the alphabetical order of the first initial. Joint authorship is where possible indicated thus: A. B. §§ 1-5; C. D. §§ 6-10.

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QUAIL

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QUAIL (שִׁלְיָ, *šilya*, Kr. שִׁלְיָ, *šilya*; ΟΡΥΖΟΜΗΤΡΑ; ¹ *colurnix*). Mentioned in EV in Ex. 16:13 Nu. 11:31 f. Ps. 105:40 Wisd. 16:2 19:24†; עֵף קָנָף קָנָף, Ps. 78:27. That the quail, not the sand-prouse (?) or the locust (Hasselquist's alternatives, *Travels*, 443) or the crane (Dean Stanley and H. S. Palmer, see § 2, note 2) is meant, is generally recognised.

The Ar. word for 'quail,' *šilya*, which is a loan-word, was found by C. Niebuhr (1774) to be still in use in Egypt. Another word for it is *šumud*, given to it because

1. Identification. of its 'fatness,' and Lagarde (*Levri*, 81) has proposed to connect the name with Eshmun-Iolaos, the god who restored Heracles to life by giving him a quail to smell at. The quail was annually sacrificed among the Phœnicians in the month Feb.-Mar. to commemorate the reviving of Heracles (Athen. 9:47, referred to by WRS, *Rel. Sem.*, 460). There is no trace, however, of the sacred character of this bird among the Arabians or the Hebrews.

The *Colurnix communis* or *C. dactylosomans* of ornithologists is well-known in the Sinaitic peninsula, where it passes migrating northward in spring, in immense flocks. Crisstram found them in the Jordan valley and Israel, 460). They arrive in Palestine in March and April—though a few remain there during the winter—on the way to their breeding-places in the plains and cornfields of the upper country. Even these birds are said to be surpassed in numbers by the autumn flight when they return S. to their winter-quarters. The quail flies very low, which Dillmann proposed to explain the important clause at the end of Nu. 11:31 (but see § 2). It is soon fatigued, and hence falls an easy prey to man. 160,000 have been captured in a season at Capri, where their plump flesh is esteemed a delicacy, as indeed it is all along the shores of the Mediterranean. They were salted and dried as food by the ancient Egyptians (Herod. 2:77).

A. E. S.—S. A. C.

There are two references to a supply of quails for the use of the Israelites—viz., in Ex. 16:12 f. (scene, the wilderness of Sin, on the way to Sinai), and in Nu. 11:23 31-34 (scene, Kibroth-hattaavah, after the departure from Sinai). The former belongs to P. He has just told Moses and Aaron tell the Israelites that in the morning they shall know that Yahwè has brought them out of Egypt, and that in the morning they shall see Yahwè's glory (22: 6 f.). The evening event is the giving of the quails; the morning event is the lighting up of the manna. The redactor has omitted P's account of the fall of the manna, the passage from 'the evening round' to 'has given you to eat' being J's (see

¹ *ὀρυζομήτρα* means properly (see Dean Stanley and H. S. Palmer, *Travels*, 443) 'a bird which fattens with the quails,' perhaps *εἰς*, the sand-prouse, *Falco*, but Photius and Hesychius explain as 'a large *ὄρνις*'. The right Gk. word for quail, *ὄρνις*, is given by Jos. Gr. Ven. On Rabbinical notices see *Jomâ*, 75 b. Cp also *ibid.*, § 1, col. 1159, and n. 1.

Baentsch). The narrative in Nu. 11 [J] is much more detailed. The announcement of the quails specifies a month as the period during which quails should be eaten; after this the flesh was to become loathsome to the eaters. The coming of the quails is thus described (22: 31-34). 'And a wind from Yahwè [a SE. wind, Ps. 78:26] took up quails from the sea [rend שִׁלְיָ מִן הַיָּם וְשָׂחָה בְּעַלְמֵנוּ].¹ and made them to fall by the camp, about a day's journey on this side, and a day's journey on the other side, round about the camp, like heaps of wheat² (כְּמִדְּקָרִים) on the face of the ground.' The appropriateness of the figure is clear from what follows. 'And the people rose up all that day, and all the night, and all the next day, and gathered the quails; he that gathered least gathered ten homers, and they spread them all about for themselves [to dry them] round about the camp.' But the result was a fatal malady. 'While the flesh was yet between their teeth, ere it was chewed, the anger of Yahwè was kindled against the people,' etc. The story (with which cp Ps. 78:26-31) is told to account for the name 'Kibroth-hattaavah' (graves of lust); it belongs to the large class of etiological legends. The more correct name, however, is probably 'Taberah.' See KIBROTH-HATTA AVAH. T. K. C.

The peculiarity of the incident needs some better explanation than a reference to the statement of Aristotle (*d. Plant.* 15; cp Bochart, ii. 115) that quails eat poisonous things—e.g., hellebore—which are harmful to men. It may be more instructive, therefore, to give a parallel case from the Elizabethan voyages. The ship 'Desire' belonging to Cavendish's last and ill-fated expedition to the east by way of the Pacific, put back for home from the Straits of Magellan in 1592. They came to anchor at a harbour in Patagonia, named after the vessel Port Desire, and found on an island near it such numbers of penguins that the men could hardly go without treading on them. A party of twenty-two men was landed on the island to kill the birds and dry them, on the rocks. From 30th Oct. to 22nd Dec.

¹ [The traditional text contains two improbabilities—שִׁלְיָ, applied to a wind (Pasek should put us on our guard), and מִן הַיָּם (cf. *ἐξ ἐρείπασεν*), from מִן, which occurs again only in Ps. 90:10, where (see Che. *P's.* 10) it is corrupt. Both words spring out of the reading קָנָף, which alone suits the sense. The corruption, however, must be very old because of Ps. 78:26.—T. K. C.]

² [The text has 'about two cubits' (כְּמִדְּקָרִים), which the commentators suppose to refer to the very low flight of the quails. Dean Stanley, however, (*SP*, 83) thought that large cranes (storks?) *large fact high* might be meant. Only our subservience to MT has prevented us from seeing that the true text must be כְּמִדְּקָרִים, a figure which occurs again in Ex. 15:3 (כְּמִדְּקָרִים),—T. K. C.]

QUARRIES

they killed and dried 20,000. The captain (John Davis), the master, and John Lane, the narrator, were able to make a small quantity of salt by evaporating sea water in holes of the rocks, wherewith they salted a certain number of birds. Thus God did feed us even as it were with manna from heaven. Only 14,000 dried penguins could be got on board. The crew were put on rations of which the principal part was tse penguins every day among four men. It was not until some time after that disease broke out, the dried birds having begun to breed a large worm in appalling numbers in the warmer latitudes.

Various symptoms of the malady here described are sufficiently characteristic of the acute dropsical form of the disease called *ben ben* (some derive the name from the Arabic); there are, however, dropsical conditions caused by parasitic worms apart from the special dietetic errors to which *ben ben* is commonly ascribed. But, however this may be, the parallelism between the two narratives is obvious. There is the same generic cause, and the quail is a fat bird, like the penguin, which would corrupt the more easily if it were dried with its fat. In St. Kildra, where the diet used to be of air-dried gannets and fulmars, it was customary to remove the fat before curing.

C. C.

A. L. S.—A. C., § 1; E. K. C., § 2; C. C., § 3.

QUARRIES (RV^{ms} 'graven images'; פסילים; **ΤΕΙΝ ΓΑΡΥΠΤΩΝ**; *stela*, Judg 319264). The *psillum* near Gulgol are a well-known landmark. Heb. usage of *psil* favours the sense 'sculptured sacred stones' (so Moore, Hulder). Many scholars find an allusion to the stones mentioned in Josh. 4320. If so, *psillum* is used in its original sense of 'hewn stones.' Cp *Ass. pithulu*, a pillar; Tg. Pesh. give 'quarries,' a guess.

The view of the Ehad-story advocated elsewhere (see JERICHO, § 2), which detects an underlying form in which the place-names, now corrupted, were of the Negeb, throws doubt on both the above theories. Among the possible corruptions of **שִׁמְעוֹן** (Shimon) is **שִׁמְלִי** or **שִׁמְלִי**, cp **שִׁמְלִי**. In order to escape to Sethra (for the reading adopted by the present writer see SERAUI), Ehad had to pass an outpost of Ishmaelites (= Jerahmeelites); for Eglon, the Misrite king, was a Jerahmeelite (see p. 13, where 'Ammon' and 'Amalek' both = 'Jerahmeel'). For פסילים, read therefore probably שִׁמְעוֹן.

T. K. C.

QUARTERMASTER (יִצְרָחֵן), Jer. 5159 RV^{ms}. See SERAUI, 4.

QUARTUS (κοῦαρτος [Fl. VII]) adils his salutation to that of Tertius, addressed to the Christians in Rome, at the close of Rom. 16122 f. It has been conjectured that he may have been one of those Jews who were expelled from Rome by Claudius. See, further, SIMON (the Cyrenian).

In the lists of the seventy disciples by the Pseudo-Dionysius and Pseudo-Hippolytus he appears as bishop of Berytus. In the apocryphal *Acts of Peter and Paul* he is a member of the praetorian guard, one of the soldiers who have charge of Paul in Rome.

QUATERION (ΤΕΤΡΑΔΙΟΝ; Acts 124), a guard of four soldiers.

QUEEN OF HEAVEN (מַלְכַת הַשָּׁמַיִם); **ΘΗ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΑ ΤΟΥ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥ**, except Jer. 713 Η ΣΤΡΑΤΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥ¹ [Aq. Sym. Theod. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ];

1. **Cult.** Vg. *regina caeli*; Pesh. *pulhan semayya*, except Jer. 1119 *malakat semayya*;² Tg. **מַלְכַת שְׁמַיִם**, an object of worship to which offerings were made by inhabitants of Jerusalem and other cities of Judah in the seventh century and by Jewish refugees in Egypt after the fall of the kingdom; see Jer. 716-20 1143-70.

The peculiarity of this worship appears, from Jeremiah's description, to have been the offering of a special kind of cakes which were made by the Jewish women with the assistance of their families ('the boys

QUEEN OF HEAVEN

gather firewood and the fithers kindle the fire and the women knead dough to make cakes,' etc., Jer. 743; cp 4419). The cakes were offered to the deity by fire (1143 17 ff. 2125, *kitzer*, **קִטְצָה**, erroneously translated in E.V. 'burn incense'), and the burning was accompanied by libations (4417 f.). These rites were performed 'in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem' (17 17 1147); the worship seems to have been domestic, and perhaps specifically a woman's cult (see 4415 19 243); that the men assist in the preparations (7 19) and assume their share of the responsibility (4415 ff.) is not inconsistent with the latter view, nor are the expressions in which the prevalence of the worship is affirmed (4415).³

The cakes (*lavvavim*, **לַוָּוָוִים**, Jer. 713 4419);⁴ **ΧΑΥΒΩΣ**, and in the latter passage **ΧΑΥΒΩΣ** [U*], **ΧΑΥΒΩΣ** [K*]; Vg. *placuit*; Pesh. *caetha*, a species of sacrificial cakes;⁵ Tg. **מַלְכַת שְׁמַיִם** perhaps **חֹרֶבְרַת** (Gen. 1016) were rightly compared by Chrysostom and other early commentators to the *πόπαρα* or *πεπυαρα* of the Greeks, of which there were many varieties.⁶ Some of these were made in the likeness of a victim; others imaged or symbolised the deity to whom they were offered.⁷

It has been thought by many that the *lavvavim* of the queen of heaven represented the moon,⁸ or—upon a different view of her nature—the planet Venus (see below, § 3). Jer. 4419 has been understood to testify to the iconic character of these cakes, the verb **כָּבַד** being connected with **כָּבַד** (Gen. 17 19) and translated 'to image her'; but both the text and the interpretation are extremely doubtful.

The transition 'Queen of Heaven' (EV) represents *malakat hablandayim*; and this interpretation—the only

2. **Title.** one which would naturally suggest itself to one who read the words **מַלְכַת שְׁמַיִם** in an unpointed text—is supported by the oldest exegetical tradition (C). The vowelless text, however, gives **מַלְכַת** (*malakat*), treating **מַלְכַת** as a defective spelling of **מַלְכַת** from **מַלְכַת**,⁹ 'work,' and this view of the derivation of the word is represented by Pesh. *pulhan semayya* (religious work, cultus). The Jewish scholars with whom this interpretation originated (subtlety though!) that the worship of the **מַלְכַת שְׁמַיִם** in Jer. 7 44 was the same as the worship of the 'host of heaven' (**צְבָא שְׁמַיִם** Jer. 82 19 13; Zeph. 15 Dt. 4 19 17 3, etc.).

This identification, suggested perhaps by a general comparison of the references to these cults, would seem to be confirmed by the passages in which the worship of the **מַלְכַת שְׁמַיִם** appears to be equivalent to burning offerings or making libations 'to other gods' (see 7 18 44 13; cp 17-19), as though the cult were addressed to a collective object such as the heavenly bodies. A warrant for taking the word **מַלְכַת** in this sense was found in Gen. 2 where **מַלְכַת** (God's 'work which he wrought') in v. 22 is obviously parallel to **מַלְכַת** in v. 11. This opinion was known to Jerome, who writes (*Comm.* on Jer. 7 19): *regina caeli est quoniam hinc debemus accipere, vel certe militie caeli, et omnes stellae intelligamus, and is even a place in the margin of AV, 'frame, or workmanship of heaven.'*

Modern scholars, however, almost without exception, have adopted the older and more natural interpretation, 'queen of heaven.' This prevailing opinion was vigorously assailed by Stade in 1886, he maintained

1 Pesh. *ITL* 17 121 (1892), without apparent reason, connects 2 K. 2376 with this cult.

2 See for the opposite opinion, Stade, *ZATW* 6 122 ff.

3 See BAKERMEATS, § 2.

4 See Lagarde, *Gen.* 10h. 42, v. 8.]

5 *Jestrow, Dictionary*, s.v. [otherwise Levy, *Targ.* *ITL* 372 ff.]

6 See Loebck, *Aglaophanum*, v. 10 ff.

7 See Stengel, *Griech. Kultusalt. tamer* 2, 90; for similar customs among other peoples see Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, 436 ff.

8 Comparing the *ἀμφιπόριες* of Artemis at the Mnythion, Athen. 11645 A; Preller-Kobert, *Griech. Mythologie*, I 312.

9 So Sym., Tg., Kashi, and others.

10 Omission of silent **ק**. Examples of this spelling occur in Phoenician inscriptions—e.g., *CS 1* no. 86 *N II*, 6 19. On the other hand, many Hebrew MSS in our passage have introduced **ק** into the text.

11 Abrahams on Jer. 44 15, as the opinion of older interpreters. Similarly Stade, *ZATW* 6 339. See also *Debirim rabbi*, § 10 end.

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3 Tg., Isaac of

4 *Epiph. Her.* 2

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8 *Maria, Sc. Ar.* 120

9 S. braider; for

10 Erdmanns, *Me*

11 Bar Bahall, c

Lagarde, *Gesamm*

12 See also Herod

1 Probably reading **מַלְכַת** as in 82 19 1.

2 Contamination from C, which is otherwise demonstrable in this verse.

QUEEN OF HEAVEN

QUIRINIUS

that מַלְכַּת שָׁמַיִם (*Malkat*) was a collective, 'the rulers, that is, the ruling powers, of heaven,' a more comprehensive term than 'host of heaven'; at a later stage of the controversy he was inclined to conjecture that מַלְכַּת (מַלְכַּת) 'work'; cp Gen. 21/7) had been substituted for מַלְכַּת by a scribe or editor to whom the word מַלְכַּת was offensive. Stade did not, however, establish his main contention that the rendering 'queen of heaven' must be rejected; the result of the discussion upon this point was rather to confirm the conviction that that is the only satisfactory interpretation of the words.¹

It is not probable that a deity invoked as queen of heaven, to whose displeasure at the neglect of her worship the contemporaries of Jeremiah could attribute the calamities that had befallen them and their country, was a minor figure in the Semitic pantheon; the presumption is that the rites described by the prophet belonged to a specific cult of the great goddess Astarte. The title seems also to indicate that the worship was addressed to one of the heavenly bodies, and was one of the particular cults embraced in the general prophetic condemnation of the worship of the 'sun and moon and the whole host of heaven.' From an early time it has been disputed whether the queen of heaven in the sky was the moon² or the planet Venus.³ The former opinion was probably in its origin only an application of the general theory which in the last centuries of the ancient world identified all manner of goddesses with the moon; in modern times it has appeared to follow from the current though ill-founded belief that the Astarte of the eastern Semites was a moon goddess. (See ASHTOROTH, 14.) In the Babylonian system, which was at the height of its influence in the W. in the seventh century, the star of Istar was the planet Venus, whilst the moon was a great god, Sin. The traces in Syria and Arabia of cults similar to that described by Jeremiah connect themselves with the worship of Venus. Thus the name QUILTIDIAN was given to a heretical Arab sect because their women offered cakes to the Virgin Mary, to whom they paid divine honours.⁴ See also Isaac of Antioch, 1. Bickell, 1244 ff.

More than one of the questions discussed above could be put beyond controversy if it were established that *malkatu*, or *malkata ša šamē*, the literal equivalent of the Heb. *malkat haššamayim*, occurs in cuneiform texts as a title of Istar;⁵ but that the ideogram *A1* could be read *malkatu* is at least a plausible conjecture, which no conclusions can properly be based. Istar called, however, *šarāt šamē* and *šarāt šamē*,⁶ the latter exactly corresponding in meaning to the Hebrew *malkat haššamayim*, 'queen of heaven.' In a catalogue the names of Venus in various regions and languages derived by Syrian lexicographers we are told that Venus was called *malkat šamayyā* by the Arzanians,⁷ that is the inhabitants of Arzon, a diocese in the province of Nisibis (ZDMG 43 394 n.). The list shows in particular accurate information, and may be taken as evidence that a cult of Venus with the epiklesis 'queen of heaven' survived in that locality into Christian times. Herodotus (1.105) sets it down that the temple of prodigal Urania in Askalon was the oldest seat of her ship; thence it passed to Cyprus and Cythera.⁸

See especially Kuenen, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 186. [Cp, however, *Crit. Bib.*—1. 83.]
 Jerome, Olympiodorus, and very many down to our own

1. Isaac of Antioch, and others.
 2. Epiph. *Her.* 78 c. 23 78 c. 118.
 3. Epiphanius recognises the identity with the worship of the queen of heaven in Jer. 7.44. In fact one of those direct transfers of a Venus cult to Mary which there are many examples. See Röscher, *Astarte*, *St. Kr.* 1878, pp. 265 ff.
 4. Schrader; for titles see below, § 1.
 5. Kuhn, *Melekidenst*, 86.
 6. Bahr, *Col.* 241; some cods. have Darnayē. See also *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 16.
 7. See also Herodot. 1.131.

According to Pausanias (1.367) the religion was of 'Assyrian' (Syrian) origin,¹ taken up by the people of Paphos in Cyprus and of Ascalon in Phoenicia; the Cytherans learned it from the Phoenicians (cp in 2.11); it was introduced into Athens by Aegeus. We may take these passages as evidence of the belief of the Greeks that the worship of the 'heavenly' goddess ('*Ἀφροδίτη Ὀυρανία*, more often simply *ἡ Ὀυρανία*)² was of oriental origin. It is highly probable that in this they were right,³ and that the epiklesis is in some way connected with the title Queen of Heaven in the Semitic religions.⁴

The goddess of Carthage, in the inscription *T 11* (pronunciation unknown), must have had a similar title, since by Latin writers and in Latin inscriptions she is called *Celestis*.⁵

Malkat in Phoenician and Punic proper names, on the other hand, is more probably the divine sovereign of the city or community (cp *Malk*) than of the heavens.

G. F. Meinhard, 'Dissertatio de scholaria, in Vindob. *Thesaurus*, 3381 ff. (in *Thesaurus theol. & philol.*, 1804, I. 204 ff. this dissertation appears under the name of Calovius; the older literature very fully given and discussed); Frischmuth,

4. Literature. 'Dissertatio de Meleschet caeli, in *Thesaurus theol. & philol.*, 1802 ff.; J. H. Ursinus, *Quaestiones biblicae*, 2.1-23; J. G. Carpov, *Apparatus antiquitatum*, 509 ff.; B. Stade, 'Die vermeintliche Königin des Himmels', *ZAW*, 6.12-132 (1876); 'Das vermeintliche aramaisch-assyrisches Äquivalent der מַלְכַּת הַשָּׁמַיִם, Jer. 7.44', *ZAW*, 6.209-333 (1876); E. Schrader, 'Die מַלְכַּת הַשָּׁמַיִם und ihr Aramaisch-assyrisches Äquivalent', *SBM.*, 1886, 1.477-491; 'Die Göttin Istar als Malkatu', *ZAW*, 3.353-64; A. Kuenen, 'De Meleschet des Himmels', *Verslagen en mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afd. Letterkunde, 1882, pp. 157-159 (German trans. 1884); Kuenen, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 186-211; Ferdinandus, *Melekidenst*, 53 ff.; Scholz, *Götterdienst und Leberwesen*, 300 ff. cp 272 ff.; Grünbaum, 'Der Stern Venus', *ZDMG*, 1888, pp. 45-51.
 G. F. M.

QUICKBANDS (קַיִטָּבִים; Acts 27 17). RV *Syria*, 9. 2.

QUILT (קִילִיט), 1 S. 19 13 16, RV¹⁹⁰⁸. See B&D, §§ 3, 4 (b).

QUINCE. See APPLE, § 2 (4), col. 269.

QUINTUS MEMMIUS (2 Mac. 11 34). See MEMMIUS.

QUIRINIUS (ΚΥΡΗΝΙΟC [Ti. VII], Lk. 22). The name of this official is given in an inscription as P. Sulpicius Quirinus. The main facts of his life are given by Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.48.

1. Life. Sulpicius Quirinus. The main facts of his life are given by Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.48. A native of Lanuvium, of an undistinguished family, he was elected consul in 12 B.C.; some years later he was sent on an expedition against the Pontionenses in Cilicia, who had vanquished Amyntas, king of Galatia. For his successes against these mountaineers he received the honour of a triumph. When Gains Caesar was sent out to the East in 2 A.D., Quirinus accompanied him as his tutor. In 6 A.D. Quirinus was appointed as legatus of the Emperor Governor of Syria, and in that capacity took over Judaea on the deposition of Archelaus, and made a census of the newly annexed district (Jos. *Ant.* 17.13 181). At this post he remained four or five years. At a later time (Tac. *Ann.* 3.22) he caused some scandal in Rome by accusing his divorced wife, Lepida, of having long before tried to poison him. Unpopular at Rome, he retained the favour of Tiberius, who in 21 A.D. procured him a public funeral.

To these facts one of importance is added by the celebrated Epist. Tiberianus (C. 14 3013), which inscription, though much mutilated, appears to prove that Quirinus' proconsulate of Syria in 6 A.D. had been preceded by an earlier tenure of the

¹ Cp *Cl.*, 2. 108 107 159.

² Cp. also Herod. 3.8 (Arabis). 'Heavenly' was originally meant in a physical sense; the ethical significance Plato gives it (*Sympos.* 182 D) is arbitrary, and in conflict with what we know of the attributes and cult of Urania.

³ Earnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, 200 ff. 201, 71 ff.

⁴ See Theodoret on Jer. 41 47.

⁵ *Ἰσθμια* Herodian, *Ab. evc. lib. Marc.* 56; cp Ptolemaeus, *Her.* 11. See Röscher, 2. 614 ff.; Cimont, in Pauly-Wissowa, 3. 1247 ff.; cp PHOENICIA, § 11 (col. 3745 ff.).

QUIRINIUS

same office. The view of Mommsen is that this previous tenure was in 31 B.C., and that the crushing of the Homonadenses, who dwelt in Cilicia, at that time attached to the province of Syria, was an event of this first proconsulate. It cannot well be dated earlier, because Sotius Saturninus governed Syria 9-7 B.C., and Quirintinus Varus from 7 B.C. to after the death of Herod (Tac. *Hist.* 5.9), since he put down a sedition which arose when Herod died.

Amid these facts, the statements of Lk. as to the date and circumstances of the birth of Jesus (2:1-5) raise intricate questions. The miraculous events preceding the birth cannot be discussed from the historical point of view; but the asserted census in Judæa and the journey of Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem come within the field of historical investigation.

Lk.'s statements are as follows:—

(1) Caesar Augustus decreed a general census of the Roman world. Of such a general census nothing is known from other sources, though Augustus made a census of Roman citizens only. However, we need not delay over this statement, which is unimportant for our purpose, and may be merely an exaggeration.

(2) This census was first carried out in Palestine in the days of Herod, when Quirinius was governor of Syria. Here several difficulties arise. From the avowed testimony of Tacitus, it appears that Quirinius was not proconsul of Syria until after the death of Herod. Palestine being not strictly a part of the Roman Empire, but a dependent or protected kingdom under Herod, a Roman census would not be carried out in that district. On the other hand, we know that when in 6 A.D. Archelaus the son of Herod was deposed from his tetrarchy of Judæa, and the district was annexed to the province of Syria, Quirinius, who was then for the second time proconsul of Syria, carried out a census in Judæa, which caused, as we learn from Josephus (*J. Ant.* xviii. 11), much disaffection in that country. It is not unnatural to suspect that Lk. may have misdated his census.

(3) For the purposes of the census every man went to the abode of his family or clan; thus Joseph went to Bethlehem the town of David,¹ and with him his affianced wife, Mary. It is, however, pointed out that in a Roman census every man reported at his place of residence. No instance is known to us in antiquity in which the citizens of a country migrated to the ancestral home of their family, in order to be enrolled. In any case, no ancient census would require the presence of any but the head of a household. Women would certainly not have to appear in person.

These considerations have led many historians, such as Mommsen, Gardthausen, Keim, Weizsäcker, and

Schürer, to the view that Lk.'s statements about the census of Quirinius are altogether mistaken. On the other hand, some writers, such as Huschke and Wieseler and many English theologians, have adopted an apologetic attitude in regard to Lk.'s statements.² The most recent apologetic work on the subject is that of Prof. W. M. Ramsay, *How Christ born at Bethlehem?* in which work it is pointed out in regard to Quirinius that Lk. does not say that it was he who conducted the census, but only that it was made when he was in some position of authority in Syria (*ἡγεμῶν*, not *ἀνθύπατος*, proconsul). He may have been in command of troops of the Syrian province against the Homonadenses at the time. It is further maintained that a census conducted by Herod in his own dominions might decidedly differ

¹ [On the birthplace of David, see DAVID, § 1; DEBIR; JERUSALEM, § 4.]

² A summary, and refutation of their views will be found in Schürer's *GHZ* (p. 510-513) (ET i. 2:105-113).

QUIVER

from a Roman census, especially in the point that the people might be numbered not by domicile, but by clan or family.

A new element has been introduced into the discussion by the discovery from papyri published by Messrs. Grenfell, Kenyon, and others, that an enrolment occurred in Egypt at intervals of fourteen years from the year 20 A.D. onwards, and probably from the time of the regulation of Egypt by Augustus, that is, also in the years 6 A.D. and 8 B.C., and further that this enrolment was a census by families, not a mere valuation of property. One or two definite, though not conclusive, pieces of evidence, seem to indicate that this periodical census was not confined to Egypt, but was, in some cases at all events, extended to Syria.

Arguing on the basis of this new discovery, Prof. Ramsay maintains that a census may probably have been held in Syria in 9-8 B.C., and gives certain reasons why, if Herod at the same time proposed a census in Judæa, he should have postponed it to the year 6 B.C., and then carried it out on a different plan from that usual in a Roman census. The date 6 B.C. Ramsay accepts as probably that of the birth of Jesus.

To set forth Prof. Ramsay's arguments at length is impossible, and they are so minute as not to bear compression. But if we grant their validity they leave unexplained several difficulties. Why should a census in Judæa be dated by Lk. by the irrelevant fact of a campaign being at the time fought by Quirinius in Cilicia? Even if an enrolment by tribes was carried out by Herod, would this be likely to involve a journey of all Jews to the native town of their family? How could the presence of Mary be required at Bethlehem, when it was a settled principle in all ancient law to treat the male head of a family as responsible for all its members? In Palestine especially it is difficult to imagine such a proceeding as the summoning of women to appear before an officer for enrolment. On all these questions the new discoveries shed no light.

The last difficulty is further increased by the use by Lk. of the word *ἀμνηστευμένη* (unless, indeed, it be an early emendation of the text by some scribe). For this word implies that Mary at the time was not the wife of Joseph, but only betrothed to him. In such circumstances her travelling with him to Bethlehem is even more inexplicable. She would not go as an heiress, or in her own right, as we have no reason to suppose that she was descended from David, and indeed from the context it is clear that she was not.

Josephus tells us that the census of Quirinius was a great innovation, causing alarm and revolt; it is therefore not easy to think that a similar census can have been held twelve or fourteen years earlier, and passed off with so little friction that Josephus does not mention it. It is true that Prof. Ramsay discriminates in character the earlier census which he supposes from the Roman census of Quirinius of 6 A.D.; but it is doubtful how far this view is maintainable, especially as Lk. uses the same word (*ἀπογραφῆ*) to designate the known census of Quirinius and the supposed earlier census (*Acts* 5:37). Thus there can be no doubt that the supposition of errors of fact in Lk. would, from the purely historical point of view, remove very great difficulties. The question which remains is whether our opinion of Lk. as a historian is so high that we prefer to retain these difficulties rather than to suppose serious errors in his narrative of the birth of Jesus. See, further, CHRONOLOGY, §§ 57 ff.; GOSPELS, § 22 (col. 1780, n. 2), and CP NATIVITY, NAZARETH. P. G.

QUIVER. 1. קֶשֶׁף, *qāshēf*, cp Ass. *īpāru*; *qāshēra*; *pharetra*; literally in Job 39:23 (C om.) Is. 22:5 figuratively in Is. 49:2 Is. 127:5 (C *ēshūmāw*) Lam. 3:13 Jer. 5:15 (C om.) In Lam. 3:13 arrows are called 'sons of the quiver.'

2. קֶשֶׁף, *qāshēf*, *pharetra*; Gen. 27:34 The sense, however, is uncertain. C, Vg., Tg., Ps.-Jon., Ibn Ezra, render 'quiver,' but Onk., Pesh., Rashi, 'sword.' קֶשֶׁף means 'to hang, suspend.' Possibly קֶשֶׁף is a corrupt repetition (dittogram) of the preceding קֶשֶׁף, which word (EV 'thy weapons') would quite well refer to the quiver and arrows. Cp WEAPONS.

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RAAMAH (רַעְמָה); ΡΕΓΜΑ [BAD¹¹EL] ΡΕΓΧΜΑ [A], one of the sons of Cush [q.v.] Gen. 10:7 (but נַרְעַמָּה; 1 Ch. 19 RV *Raama*). Raamah is also grouped with Sheba in Ezekiel's list of trade centres (עַרְוֹת רַעְמָה וְשֶׁבָא; רַעְמָה [B], רַעְמָה [AQ]). A Sabaean inscription (Glaser, 1155) refers to 'the hosts of Saba and Hiyavlan' as attacking certain people 'on the caravan-route between Ma'an (= Ma'in, ? Bal, Magar and Raighrat' (Hommel, *AHT* 240; cp *ZDMG* 30:122). Hence we have at any rate one Raamah. Glaser, however, places Raamah near Kās el-Khaima, on the Persian Gulf (Skiuse, 2:252). Against identification with Regma, on the Arabian side of the same gulf, see Dillmann. Cp GEOGRAPHY, § 23, and *Crit. Bib.* on Gen. 10:7 Ezek. 27:22 where 'Raamah' is brought nearer to Palestine. See CUSH, 2; SABAIA.

RAAMIAH (רַעְמִיָּהוּ). 'Yahweh thunders?' cp 3 R. 67, 46 c d, where Rammān, the storm-god, is called the god *šū rimi*, i.e., 'of thunder' [Del. *AG. III/B*, 605]; the Phoen. proper name רַעְמִיָּהוּ is no support, the true reading being רַעְמִיָּהוּ, one of the twelve leaders of the Jews, Neh. 7:7† (דַּעַמְיָה [S], רַעְמָה [A], דַּאִמְיָה L., רַעַמְיָה [B], רַעַמְיָה [B^{ab}]); the last two readings are due to the proximity of NAHAMANI [q.v.]. Cp GOVERNMENT, § 26.

In *Ezra* 2 the name is miswritten as REFLAIAN, and in *Zech.* 2 (probably as REKEMMELECH [q.v.]). All these forms seem to come from 'Jerahmeel'. The rice-element counts for much in the later history of Israel [Che.].

RAAMSES (רַעַמְסֵס), Ex. 1:11. See RAMESSES and PITHOM.

RAB. The use of רַב, *rab*, 'chief, head, leader' in compound titles descriptive of rank or office (corresponding to the Gr. ἀρχι-) is sufficiently well exemplified in Assyrian, Phoenician, and Aramaic. Typical examples are:—*rab dup-šar-ri* 'head scribe' (see RABBE), and *rab nikasi* 'treasurer' (cp Heb. רַב־נִכְסֵי). See Del. *HWB* 600d, Phoen. רַב־חַרְשׁ, 'head workman' (*CIS* 154), רַב־כַּסֵּי, 'head of the scribes' (*ib.*, 86:14), רַב־בְּתֵינָה, 'head of the tents' (*ib.*, 119), Palm. רַב־חַיִּימָא, 'general', רַב־שִׁירְתָא, 'leader of the caravan' (in Gk. bilinguals στρατηγάρχης, συνοδάρχης), רַב־בָּרַק, 'chief of the market' (cp רַב־אֲנָרָא, 'head of the αγορά'), and Nab. רַב־שִׁירְתָא, 'chief of the camp(s)'. This usage of רַב seems to be wanting in the S. Semitic stock, and in Hebrew is not frequent. Here a more common term employed is *šar* (רַשׁ, peculiar Heb.) which is frequently found in pre-exilic writings of PHOENICIAN, and its occurrence in the later literature could be looked upon in some cases, perhaps, as a revival of a once popular idiom, and in others as an intentional archaism.

In the sense of 'great' the Heb. *rab* is not common in the early writings; the best instances being the ritual fragment Gen. 25:23 ('elder' opposed to younger), Gen. 11:33 (J or E), 1 K. 19:7, Ann. 62. In agreement with this is the usage of the Heb. compounds of רַב which express a rank or office. Of foreign origin, on the other hand, are the compounds Rab-saris, Rab-seb, and Rab-mag, which appear to be titles borrowed from the Assyrian. The rest occur in later literature and are mere descriptions of office. It is very probable that they have been formed simply upon Phoenician or Babylonian analogy; (a) רַב־שָׂרִיס, 2 K. 25:8 (in an exilic or post-exilic narrative, see KINGS, § 2 n. 2); cp רַב־שָׂרִיס, *שׂוֹדֵדֵי אֲרָמָה*, apparently, only in inscriptions. Liddell and *Dieckh.*, 442b. (b) רַב־שִׁירְתָא, *La Syrie centrale*, nos. 6, 7, 15, 28, etc. The exact opposite is the case, however, with רַב, 'much', (as opposed to מְעַט).

Dan. 2:14†; 1 EV 'captain of the guard,' AVWG. 'chief marshal' (ἀρχιμαγιστρος [87 BAQL]); see EXECUTIONER, 1. Contrast with this רַב־הַמְּסָרֵי, Gen. 37:36 39:1 41:12; (6) רַב־בֵּית, Esth. 1:8†, officer of the household (οἰκονόμος [IRAI.β]); and (c) רַב־בֵּית־דָּבָר, Dan. 1:3† (see RABSARIS), but רַב־הַמְּסָרֵי, Dan. 1:7:11 1st (ἀρχιμαγιστρος [87 BAQL]). רַב must probably be looked upon here as an intentional archaism. The writer has modelled the narrative of Daniel to some extent upon that of Joseph (Bevan, *Dan.*, 31), and remembers the רַב־הַמְּסָרֵי, רַב־הַמְּסָרֵי, and רַב־הַמְּסָרֵי, which recur in Gen. 39:41.

RABBAH, RABBATH of the Ammonites (רַבְתָּה, רַבְתָּהּ) *בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן*, רַבְתָּה, Josh. 13:25 [A], Am. 1:14 6:2 1 Ch. 20:11 *his*, once רַבְתָּהּ as accusative; רַבְתָּהּ, 2 S. 11:1 12:7 29 31. **1. Name.** Jer. 49:2 [A], 1 Ch. 20:1 [*his* A]; רַבְתָּהּ וְיָמֵי אַמְמוֹן, 2 S. 12:26 [B], 17:2 17 [A], *Ezek.*, 21:20; רַבְתָּהּ Jer. 49:3 [A]; רַבְתָּהּ Jer. 49:3 [Q¹]; רַבְתָּהּ Jer. 49:2 [A]; רַבְתָּהּ וְיָמֵי אַמְמוֹן, 2 S. 12:26 [A], 17:2 [B]. In Dt. 3:11 *Q* translates ἐν τῇ ἀκρῇ τῶν υἱῶν Ἀμμων and in Ezek. 25:5, τῆς πόλεως τοῦ Ἀμμων. In Josh. 13:25, *H* reads Ἀραδ. The Vulgate has *Rabba* or *Rabbath* according to the Hebrew construction, except in Jer. 49:3 Ezek. 25:5 where we have *Rabbath* for רַבְתָּהּ. In *Polyb. Hist.* v. 74, it appears as *ραββαταμια*.

Rabbah is mentioned in Dt. 3:11 as the location of Og's 'bed' or sarcophagus (see BED, § 3); also in Josh. 13:25, in connection with the borders of Gad. In 2 S. 11 f. 1 Ch. 20 we have an account of the siege and capture of Rabbah by Joab and David. In the oracles against Ammon by Amos, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, Rabbath represents Ammon, as being its one important city. Jer. 49:4 refers to the treasures and the well-watered valleys of Rabbah, and Ezek. 25:5 Amos 1:4 to its palaces. These oracles announce the ruin of Rabbah as part of the punishment of Ammon. In Ezek. 21:20 Nebuchadrezzar hesitates whether to march against Jerusalem or Rabbah, but decides for Jerusalem by casting lots. Thus Rabbah was the capital of Ammon during the whole period of the history of the Ammonites, and shared their fortunes throughout (see AMMON). It has been suggested that Rabbah may be the Ham (see HAM, 2) of Gen. 11:5.

Rabbah continued an important city in post-exilic times. It is not mentioned in OT in connection with the Jewish history of the period; but the Ammonites are referred to in Nehemiah, 1 Maccabees, and Judith, and doubtless Rabbath remained their capital. Ptolemy Philadelphus, 285-247 B.C., gave it the name of Philadelphia, and probably by creating buildings and introducing settlers gave it the character of a Greek city; it became one of the most important cities of the Decapolis, *Ens. Onom.* 'Ραμαδ and Ἀμμαρ. In 218 B.C. it was taken from Ptolemy Philopator by Antiochus Epiphanes, *Polyb.* 5:17. In the time of Hyrcanus (135-107 B.C.) we read of a Zenodotus, tyrant of Philadelphia, *Jos. Ant.* XII. 8:1 15:3. According to a conjecture of Clermont-Ganneau, Rabbath should be read for Nadabath in 1 Macc. 9:37; see NADABATH. In 63 B.C. it was held by the Arabs (*Jos. Ant.* 1:64), who were defeated there by Herod, 30 B.C. (i. 19:5 and 6). The extensive Roman remains show that it participated in the prosperity of Eastern Palestine in the second and third centuries A.D. Later, it was the seat of a Christian bishopric. The city is said by Abulfeda (Ritter, *Exp.* 1158) to have been in ruins when the Moslems conquered Syria.

Rabbah (the mod. *Amman*) was situated on one of the head-waters of the Jabbok, about 22 m. E. of the Jordan. 2 S. 12:26-28 apparently distinguished between 'the royal city' or 'the city of waters,' and 'the city.' The 'waters' referred to in the second of these names may be the Nahr 'Aumān, a stream rich in fish, which takes its rise at the site of Rabbah (so Buhl, *Pal.* 260 [§ 132]). In that case

1 In Han. also רַב־בְּנֵי־בֵרֶךְ, 2:4* (see DEPUTY), and רַב־בְּנֵי־בֵרֶךְ, 4:6 5:11 (see MAGIC, § 7a).
2 Compounds of רַב and רַשׁ are alike rendered in *Q* by ἀρχι-.

RABBAH

the first two names belonged to a lower quarter of the town in the valley (cp § 4). The 'city' may be a designation of the citadel, which was situated on a hill N. of the valley. One would naturally like to find some Ammonitish ruins. There are old rock-hewn tombs, and the remains of the outer walls of the citadel seem very ancient, being formed of great blocks of stone without any cement. What is left of the city walls may belong to the time of the Ptolemies. Conder even thinks that the remains of a reservoir and aqueduct may belong to the subterranean passage which enabled Antiochus to capture the citadel. If so, they may carry us back to Ammonite times, and show how the ancient citadel was supplied with water. The great bulk of the ruins—baths, colonnades, temples, theatres, and tombs—are Roman. There is a small building, which Conder regards as Sasanian or early Arab; and ruins of a Christian cathedral (5th or 6th cent.?) and two chapels. Rude stone monuments (dolmens, etc.) have also been found.

Conder, *Heth and Moab*, 157-167, *Palestine*, 175-7, and in *PEF Survey of Eastern Palestine*, 1894 (a very full and exact account of a thorough survey of the exact account of a thorough survey of

4. Literature. Amman, with many fine illustrations; *PEFQ*, 1882, pp. 99-116; G. A. Smith, *HB*, 595-608; L. Gautier, *Au delà du Jourdain*, 93 ff. (1896); (Cheyne (*Erat*), Nov. 1897; Feb. 1898) discusses the titles of Rabbah in 2 S. 12, 26 f., and emends both עֶדְרַת הַרְבִּי and עֶדְרַת הַרְבִּי into עֶדְרַת הַרְבִּי; Wellhausen, however, emends עֶדְרַת הַרְבִּי into עֶדְרַת הַרְבִּי. See TAHTIM-HODSIM, § 2, and cp *Crit. Bib.*

W. H. B.

RABBAH (רַבְּבָה), as if 'the Rabbah'; אַרְבָּבָה [B], אַרְבָּבָה [AL]. *Arabbā*, mentioned with Kirjath-jerameh in Josh. 15:66. Read most probably 'Kirjath-jerameh the great' (Che.). See SOLOMON, § 3.

RABBI (רַבִּי [Ti. VII]), many MSS רַבִּי; Heb. (רַבִּי), a title of honour and respect given by the Jews to their learned doctors, more especially to their ordained teachers and spiritual heads (cp. LAYING ON OF). רַבִּי (lit. 'my great one,' with the suff. as in Heb. אֲרָנִי, Syr. ܪܒܝܐ; cp. Fr. *monsieur*, etc.) is from רַב (see RAB) which at a later period among the Jews was frequently used in the narrower sense not only of a master as opposed to a servant, but of a teacher as opposed to a pupil (cp. *Abôth*, 16 and *Ber.* 63b where רַב and רַבִּי are used of Yahwe and Moses respectively); see DISCIPLE, § 1. Rab (an older pronunciation is Rib) was especially used as the title of the Babylonian teachers, and designates *par excellence* Abbi Arêkâ, a noted exegete of the beginning of the third century A.D. Rabbi, on the other hand, was the title given to Palestinian teachers,¹ and, used alone, applies to Jehudah Hannâsi, the chief editor of the Mishna.

In the NT, Rabbi occurs only in Mt., Mk., and Jn. It is once applied by his followers to John the Baptist (Jn. 3:26), but everywhere else is used in addressing Jesus (Mt. 26:25-49 Mk. 9:5 11:21 14:45 Jn. 1:38 3:2 4:31 6:25 9:2 11:8).² I. k. and Mk. both favour the use of διδάσκαλε (see DISCIPLE, TEACHER), which in Jn. 1:38 is the Gr. translation of ראבִּי, but ἐπιστάρα occurs only in I. k. (*evg.*, 5:5 8:45, etc.). Almost synonymous with ראבִּי are the terms πατήρ and καθηγητής (Mt. 23:9-10) which are probably equivalent to the Aramaic אָבִּי and (so Wünsche) אָבִּי.³

From its use in the NT it is evident that Rabbi had not yet come to be employed as a title, but was merely

¹ The Targ. on 2 K. 2:12 makes Elisha call Elijah Rabbi; cp Targ. on Ps. 55:14.

² The AV frequently has MASTER; cp Mt. 26:25-49 Mk. *loc.*, Jn. 4:31 9:2 11:8. The Pesh. renders by אָבִּי and in Jn. 1:38 3:2 4:31 6:25 9:2 11:8 by אָבִּי.

³ Against this see Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, 276, 278 f. אָבִּי as a term of address seems to be unknown to the Targumists. It is rather a title of respect, καθηγητής, according to this scholar is a Gr. variant to διδάσκαλος—i. e. to being another recension of v. 8.

RAB-SARIS

a form of address (cp Dalman, *Der Gottesname Adonaj*, 21), whence Mt. 23:7 f. appears to be an anachronism (cp Gratz, *Gesch.* 4:500). Ewald's argument (*Gesch.* 1:525 n. 2), from the words of Abtalion in the Pirke Abôth, 1:6 (שָׂנֵא אֶת־רַבִּי), that רַב and רַבִּי must have been in use for a long time, rests on an erroneous interpretation of רַבִּי (lit. 'lordship'; cp Strack 'herrschaft').

A fuller form is **Rabboni** (Mk. 10:51 Jn. 20:16, ראבִּי־בֹרַי [B], ראבִּי־בֹרַי [minuse.], ראבִּי־בֹרַי [Δ in Mk. and D in Jn.]), cp the Aram. *ribbôn* (רַבִּי) another form of *rabban* (רַבִּי), hut with the retention of the *ā* sound in the first syllable.¹ רַבִּי in Aram. is used by a slave of his master, or a worshipper of his God, and is, like Rabbi, explained as meaning διδάσκαλε (Jn. *loc.*). According to Arêkâ (s. אָבִּי), a רַבִּי was more honourable than a רַבִּי, and a רַבִּי than a רַב, but greatest of all was one whose name alone was mentioned (נִרְמַל שֵׁם רַבִּי בִּינְךָ שְׁמִי). The title רַבִּי was first held by Gamaliel I. (see GAMALIEL).

For the Jewish use of these various titles, see *EB*, s. v. 'Rab, Rabbi,' and for NT usage, Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, 272 f. S. A. C.

RABBITH (רַבִּית [B], ΔΑΒΕΙΡΩΝ [B], ΡΑΒΒΑΘ [AL]), a city in Issa-char, properly hā-Rabbith, Josh. 19:20. Identified with Rābā, N. of Izbik (Buhl, 204). C. Niebuhr (*Gesch.* 1:367; cp *EB*) reads רַבִּית, DABERATH [γ. v.]; cp Josh. 21:28. But perhaps the true reading is רַבִּית, and P's original authority related to the Negel (cp SHUNEM). T. K. C.

RABBONI. See RABBI, end.

RAB-MAG (רַב־מַג [B], *rab-mag*), a title applied to NERGAL-SHAREZER [γ. v.] (Jer. 39:3; ΡΑΒΜΑΘ [B], אֶבֶן [A]; אֶבֶן [Q], ΡΑΜΑΤ [N*], ΒΑΜΑΤ [N*]).

1. Name. אֶבֶן [A]; אֶבֶן [Q], ΡΑΜΑΤ [N*], ΒΑΜΑΤ [N*]. τ. 13 ΡΟΒΟΜΟΡ [Theod. in Q^{ms}] om. Ⓢ; see RAB. Older critics explain 'chief Magian', but the Magians (ΜΑΓΟΙ) are a Median tribe according to Herodotus (1:101), and have no place in Babylonia. *Rab-mugi* is said to be the title of a physician referred to in an Assyrian letter (tablet K 519) respecting a sick man (Pinches in *R^{ps}* 2:182; cp *Wi. OZ*, Feb. 1898, col. 40). Schrader (*KAT*² 417 f.) and Hommel (*Hastings, DB* 1:229 a), however, derive *mag* from *emku emgu*, 'wise,' and *Frd. Delitzsch (Heb. Lang.* 13 f.) from *māḡhu* 'prophet, soothsayer' (= *ēšēḡu*, אֶשְׂגָה). From a text-critical point of view these suggestions have no probability. There is strong reason to believe that רַב־מַג is corrupt. See NERGAL-SHAREZER.

T. K. C.

The Assyrian term referred to is generally *rab mugī*, also *rab mugu*. There is nothing in K. 519 to connect

2. Assyrian equivalent. this officer even remotely with a physician; see Harper's *Ass.-Bab. Letters*, 97, for text, and Chr. Johnston's *Epistolary Literature of the Assyrians and Babylonians*, 163, for transliteration and translation. The writer, Ardi-Namā is the Court Physician (as Johnston shows). The *rab mugī* only reports, or brings the report of, the sick man's condition. He is likely to have been an express messenger. There was a *rab mugī* of the *bitballi* and another *rab mugī* of the *markabti* (on *Rm.* 619, no. 1036, see Johns' *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, 2, no. 1036). Hence the *Rab-mag* may have had to do primarily with chariots and horses, and been the master of the horse in the Assyrian Court.

T. K. C., § 1; C. H. W. J., § 2

RABSACES (Ecclus. 48:18), RV RABSHAKETT.

RAB-SARIS (רַב־סַרִּיס [B]), the title (so RV^{ms}, and see RAB) of (a) an officer sent by the king of Assyria to

Hezekiah (פַּרְשִׁיעַ [B] capture of) CAPIC [N] and Theod passages, אָרַבִּי, 'Arab' 'the prince' indeed in strong. A SENNACHER of Rab-saris an Assyrian original name 'chief eunu' it may be a phrase (so rate, is not) Winkler of an artificial pretation of while, accordi *rab-saris*, 'officer who h' Finally, Del. court-official of the second ele but primarily a *rab-saris* mean שַׂר־צָרִיף (*q. v.*). How רַב־סַרִּיס is not quite understood in 2 K. royal harems, ing the educat the story of D at any rate, so

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RAB-SHAKH

RACHEL

H Ezekiah (2 K 18:17; ΡΑΦΕΙΣ [B], ΡΑΒΣΑΡΕΙΣ [A], ΡΑΦΕΙΣ [L]; *rabsaris*), and (b) an officer present at the capture of Jerusalem (Jer. 39:1, ΝΑΒΟΥΣΑΡΕΙΣ [B], -ΣΑΡΙΣ [N^oQ], -ΣΕΙΣ [N^o], and ΡΑΒΣΑΡΙΣ [Q^{ms}; *ib.*, and Theod. in 7: 13 where ΒΝΑΧΑμ.; *rabsares*). In both passages, however, we should possibly read either רב שר, 'Arabia of Asshur' (cp TARSHISH) or רב שר, 'the prince of the Arabians' (see NERGAL-SHAREZER); indeed in the case of Jer. (*l.c.*) the probability is very strong. As to 2 K. (*l.c.*) a doubt is permissible (cp SENNACHERIB, § 5), and we therefore offer the views of Rab-saris which are possible on the assumption that an Assyrian invasion was really referred to in the original narrative. The title has often been interpreted 'chief eunuch,' and Schrader (*KA 7²*: 319) thinks that it may be the translation of a corresponding Assyrian phrase (so Dillm.-Kittel, *Jesaja*, 312). This, at any rate, is not very probable.

Winkler conjectured (*Unters.* 138) that it was a reproduction of an artificial Ass. phrase *rab-sha-ris*—a learned scribe's interpretation of *rab-sag* (RAB-SHAKH), which is half Sumerian; while, according to Piuches (letter in *Acad.*, June 25, 1892), *rab-sha-ris*, 'chief of the heads' was the title of the special officer who had charge of the royal princes (cp Dan. 1:3). Finally, Del. (*Ass. III*: B 694) registers *ra-ris* as the title of a court-official of uncertain meaning. We may plausibly hold that the second element in *rab-saris* is both Hebrew and Assyrian, but primarily Assyrian (see EUNUCH), and that *rab-saris* (= Heb. *rab-sha-ris*) means chief captain. If so, it hardly differs from RAB-SHAKH (*l.c.*).

How רב שר in Dan. 1:3 (cp 7:7) is to be understood, is not quite clear. The context suggests that the writer understood the phrase which he found already corrupted in 2 K. 18:17; for eunuchs, having the charge of royal harems, were frequently employed in superintending the education of princes. See EUNUCH. Even if the story of Daniel has been recast, this explanation may, at any rate, serve provisionally.

T. K. C.

RAB-SHAKH (רַב־שָׁחַק); ΡΑΥΑΚΗΣ [BNAQOCI]; *Races*), the title (so RV^{ms}); see RAB) of the officer sent by the Assyrian king to Hezekiah (2 K. 18:17-19; 36 f., and in the Heb. original of Eccles. 48:18, AV ABSACES; ΡΑΒΣΑΚΗΣ. Is. 36:2 [B] 4:12 22 37 4 [BQ^{ms}] 13 [Q^{ms}]; 37 8 [B^o Q^{ms}]). In its Heb. form it has been taken to mean 'chief cup-bearer'; but a cup-bearer would not have been intrusted with important political business. The word is the exact reproduction of the Assyrian *rab-sag* or *Rab-SAG* (the *sa* of the inscriptions should be read [Del. *Ass. III*: B, 685]). This was the title of a military officer, inferior to the Tartan, but of very high rank. A *rab-shak* was despatched to Tyre by Tiglath-pileser III. to arrange about tribute (*KB* 223, cp Del. *ib.*). Just so the *Rab-shak* goes (with the Tartan, according to 2 K.) to Jerusalem. He is acquainted both with Hebrew ('the Jews' language,' 2 K. 18:26) and with Aramaic; such a leading diplomatist needed no dragoman. Since the time of Tiglath-pileser III. there was a large Aramaean population in Assyria. (cp Schr. *l.c.* 320; ARAMAIC, § 2. If, however, the original name referred to a N. Arabian rather than an Assyrian incursion, the name underlying *Rab-shak* may very possibly be 'Arab-kās, 'Arabia of Cush.' Cp RAB-SARIS.

T. K. C.

RACA (ΡΑΧΑ [Ti], ΡΑΚΑ [Treg. VII]); probably abbreviated form of the Rab. רַחֵל; cp Kau. *Gram. Aram.* 10; Dalm. *Aram. Gram.* 138, n. 2; for change of κ and γ cp Dalm. *ib.* 304, n. 2, and see DAMA, § 1), a term of abuse in the time of Christ, 22 f. Whether it conveys a more or a less offensive meaning than *μωπé* (KY, 'Thou fool') is disputed; but, the whole passage, as it stands, is obscure. According to Holtzmann, there is a double climax in the verses introduced by 'But I say to you'; (1) from the heart to its expression in a word, and (2) from the denial of the intellectual capacity of a brother to the denial of his moral and religious character, while the

punishments referred to range from that awarded by a mere local court ('Beth-din') to that by the Sanhedrin, and finally to that of the fiery Gehenna. Holtzmann, however, understates the offensiveness of *Raca* and exaggerates that of *μωπé*. *Raca* (cp Jn. 9:4) involves moral more than intellectual depreciation, and *μωπé* nowhere in the NT bears the sense of 'impious' (the OT רַבִּי; see FOOL). Nor is it at all probable that Jesus would have recognised the provisional institution of the Sanhedrin side by side with the Messianic punishment of Gehenna, and assigned the punishment of one abusive expression to the former, and of another to the latter. The text must have suffered a slight disarrangement; the clause about *Raca* should be parallel to the clause about murder. Read probably thus, 'Ye have heard that it was said to the ancients, Thou shalt not murder, and whosoever murders is liable to the judgment, and whosoever says 'Raca' to his brother, is liable to the Sanhedrin. But I say unto you, Every one who is angry with his brother is liable to the (divine) judgment, and whoever says, Thou fool, is liable to the fiery Gehenna.' The Law as expounded by the Rabbis treated libellous expressions¹ as next door to murder. But such gross offences as murder and calling another 'Raca' could never occur if on the one hand anger were nipped in the bud, and on the other even such seemingly harmless expressions as 'thou simpleton' (*μωπé*) were scrupulously avoided. So first J. P. Peters (*UBL* 10:13 f. [1891]; 15:103 [1896]), except that he prefers to repeat 'It was said,' etc., and 'But I say,' avoiding rearrangement. See FOOL.

T. K. C.

RACAL, AV RACHAL.

RACE, RACE-COURSE. See generally HELLENISM, § 5 (with references), WRESTLING. 'Race' is an apt rendering of *στάδιον* in 1 Cor. 9:24 (RV mg. 'race-course') and of *ἀγών* (lit. contest) in Heb. 12:1. In Ps. 119 RV preferably renders *ἄραχ* (אָרַח) by 'course.' In Eccles. 9:11, *ἄραχ* (אָרַח) is properly an abstract = 'running' (EV's rendering of אָרַח, 2 S. 18:27).

RACHAB (Mt 15), RV RABAB.

RACHAL, RV, RACAL. For 'in Rachal' (רַחֵל) in 1 S. 30:20 we ought, probably, following *Q¹* (EN KAPMHΛΩ, but EN ΡΑΧΗΛ [A]), to read 'in Carmel' (בְּרַחֵל); so all critics.—A necessary emendation' (Bu., *SBOT*). See CARMEL, 2, col. 706.

RACHEL (רַחֵל), 'ewe,' see WRS *Ann.* 219, 2 ΡΑΧΗΛ [BNADEQL]), the 'mother' of the tribes of Israel settled in the highlands of West Palestine between the Canaanite strips of territory at Esdraelon and Ajalon. Rachel died when Benjamin or Benoni was born (Gen. 35:16 ff.). Was there, we may ask, at some remote period, a distinct clan with the ewe 'Rāhēl' as its totem, and the 'mašēbah of Rachel's grave' (see RACHEL'S SEPULCHRE) as its chief sacred spot? The members of such a clan would be *l'ne* Rāhēl. They all lived in Ephraim; but in time some came to be banded together, as Jennites (BENJAMIN, § 1). Then, perhaps, the others began to drop the name *l'ne* Rāhēl in favour of something else (cp JOSEPHUS, § 2; EPHRAIM, § 5 ii.; MANASSEH, § 2). Rachel, certainly, as far as we can see, was no mere name, as in historical times was Leah. In Jer. 31:15 (cp Mt. 2:15) we hear of Rachel weeping for

¹ On the importance attached to words like *Raca*, cp *Koran*, 17:24, 'And say not to them, Fie,' and Ghazali's description of the weighing of a man's actions; 'But the angel bringeth yet a leaf which he casteth into the scale of the evil actions. On this leaf is written the word "Fie!" Then the evil actions outweigh the good. . . . The order is given to cast this man into hell.' (*La Perle précieuse de Ghazali* [Gautier], 1278, p. 80.)
² Grunzeisen (*Annuaire*, 257) proposes to read Aharhel for the Judahite name AHARAI, comparing *Q¹* ἀδελφοὺς Πηλαβ (also the Benjamite AHRAH, רַחֵל, Ἐσραφάη). (According to Cheyne Rachel may be a fragment of רַחֵל־מֶלֶךְ, Jerahmeel; see JACOB, § 3, SHAPHAN, and for a similarly doubtful name, see LEAH.)

RACHEL

her children (although there is no explicit indication who these are understood to be); and at a later date, in the story of Ruth, Rachel and Leah are the builders of the 'house of Israel' (Ruth 4:11). According to the legend as we know it (both J and E) Rachel was the beloved wife, a feature that it is natural to connect with the acknowledged superior splendour and power of northern Israel. There is a remarkable passage in J, however, where Jacob seems to speak as if he had had only two sons (Gen. 42:38). The question therefore arises whether there may not have been an older form of the story where Rachel was the only wife, just as Rachel's 'double,' Rebecca, was the only wife of Isaac. This question Steuernagel answers in the affirmative (*Kinwanderung*, 39). He also makes the interesting suggestion that there may be a monument of the importance of Rachel in the name Israel. As the men of the Gad tribe were called Ish Gad (see GAD, § 1), so, Steuernagel suggests, the men of the Rachel (or Jacob, or Joseph) tribe were perhaps called Is-Ra'el (on § see SHIBOLETH, and on the change of h to r in words containing a liquid, see REUBEN, col. 492, n. 9).

We must now consider Rachel's relation to Bilhah. Rebecca has no such attendant (DEBORAH [*q. v.*, 2] is not represented as a concubine of Isaac). Sarah, however, has Hagar; and in Sarah's as in Rachel's case, the son of the wife is not born till after the son of the concubine. This is obscure (cp MANASSEH, § 3). In Rachel's case the most natural conjecture would be that 'Joseph' was not born till after the sons of Bilhah were settled in Canaan. So Guthe (*GI 41*). Steuernagel thinks that Rachel (or rather Jacob-Räbel) entered Palestine from the E. just in the rear of Bilhah (*Kinwanderung*, 98; cp Guthe, *GI 42*), and that it was because the Bilhah tribes (Dan and Naphtali) came to be treated as 'brothers' of Joseph that their 'mother' Bilhah came to be called a concubine of Jacob. Why only Rachel was a full wife is often explained by the importance of the Rachel tribes in historical times. There may, however, have been religious grounds (so, for example, Steuernagel, *Kinwanderung*, 45). Of what race her maid came we are not told (on the statements in later writings, see ZILPAH, § 1); but Rachel herself was a daughter of Laban which appears to point to a belief in the presence of Aramaean elements in N. Israel (differently, LABAN, REBEKAH). If Rachel was the chosen wife of Jacob, she was not the only one. The surreptitious introduction of Leah seems an important feature of the story. (Quite as difficult of clan-historical interpretation is the representation of Rachel as Leah's sister.¹ Are we to infer that there were once actually two tribes, a Ewe tribe and a Wild-cow tribe, living in association? If so, where and when? Or is it that when the northern Ephraim tribes came to be associated with the southern tribes they came all to be regarded as brothers, and therefore as having a common father though different mothers? The theory is attractive. It explains, however, why Rachel and Leah are fellow-wives, hardly why they are sisters.²)

The points that remain are the stealing of the teraphim, the initial barrenness, and the story of the *dūda'im*. The stealing of the teraphim by a woman as a feature in this quaint story tells us something of the light in which the teraphim came to be viewed (Gunkel compares the case of Michal, cp *1PtSm. Sam.* p. xxxiv.). It is through the initial barrenness that Dan and Naphtali come to be older than Joseph (see NAPHTALI, § 2). The real origin of the

1 In *Test. xii. Patr.*, Naph. 1, etc., Bilhah and Zilpah also are sisters. See ZILPAH, § 1.
2 Perhaps they were sisters simply because of the frequency of such a marriage of sisters in the society in which the story was told (see MARRIAGE, § 2, (f)). [For a different view, see REBEKAH.]

1c. Other points.

1 In *Test. xii. Patr.*, Naph. 1, etc., Bilhah and Zilpah also are sisters. See ZILPAH, § 1.

2 Perhaps they were sisters simply because of the frequency of such a marriage of sisters in the society in which the story was told (see MARRIAGE, § 2, (f)). [For a different view, see REBEKAH.]

RACHEL'S SEPULCHRE

story of the *dūda'im* is not clear (see ISSACHAR, § 2, REUBEN, § 3, NAPHTALI, § 2). E does not mention them; but in the original J they no doubt cured Rachel's barrenness. This is now obscured, as the birth of Zebulun precedes that of Joseph. According to the dates assigned to the births in the present text of *Jubilees*, 28:23 f., however, Joseph comes immediately after Issachar, before Zebulun, although it is Joseph and Zebulun, not (as it ought to be) Joseph and Issachar that are born in the same year. On the general question of the order in which the tribes are enumerated, see TRIBES.

The death of Rachel is related in Gen. 35:16-20 (JE); the narrative throws much light on the earlier phase of the tribal traditions, but needs perhaps to be studied in connection with a comprehensive textual criticism.

As pointed out in JACOB, § 3, the phraseology of Gen. 29:1 suggests that, according to a very early form of the tradition, the home of Laban was among the Jerahmeelites of the S. Evidence which was not in the writer's hands when that article was written, or at least was not fully appreciated by him, is now before him in abundance, showing that this was indeed the case—i.e., that Laban was indeed originally regarded as an Aramaean or Jerahmeelite (עַרְמֵאֵל = עַרְמֵאֵל) of the S. Laban's Haran was, however, not Hebron but a district of the Negeb which also supplied to Sauballat (?) the designation עַרְמֵאֵל (MT Hōrōni), 'Haranite' (see SANBALLAT). It was there that Rachel and Leah—a distinction without a difference, if עַרְמֵאֵל and עַרְמֵאֵל are both corrupt fragments of Jerahmeel—dwelt, according to the early tradition and the 'Bethel,' where the divinity appeared to Jacob was, if not, strictly speaking, in 'the land of the blue Jerahmeel' (29:1), at any rate, at no very great distance from it, for, like Haran, it was in the Negeb. In the Negeb, too, was the site of the famous story of the compact between Jacob and Laban, and of not a few other much misunderstood OT passages, and in the Negeb was 'Shechem'—i.e., Cnshan (see SHECHEM, 2). It therefore became superfluous to amend the 'Ephrath' of Gen. 35:16,19 into 'Bethel,' a change which on a more conservative view of the tribal traditions (see EPHRAIM, 1; JOSEPH, i, § 2) was helpful, and indeed necessary. The 'Ephrath' of the story of Rachel's death is the Ephrath of the Negeb (in Gen. 2:14 Jer. 13:4 ff. it appears to be called Pērah; cp PARADISE, § 5; SHILOH); its other name, according to the gloss in r. 19, was עַרְמֵאֵל, a popular distortion of עַרְמֵאֵל 'Beth-jerahmeel.' See RACHEL'S SEPULCHRE. Thus Rachel (the vocalisation is of course relatively late, and not authoritative for the early tradition)—i.e., Jerahmeel—was fitly enough buried at one of the leading centres of the Jerahmeelite race in the Negeb. Before her death she gave birth to a son variously called Ben-ani and Benjamin. 'On' is one of the place-names of the Negeb (see ON), and 'Janin' is, in its origin, a popular corruption of an abbreviated form of 'Jerahmeel.' (There is, in fact, enough to warrant the surmise that Benjamin's original home was in the Negeb). The early tradition also made a statement respecting the distance between the place where Rachel died and Ephrath or Beth-jerahmeel.

There was but *kibrath hā-āreṣ* (בְּרֵחַ אֶרֶץ) to come to Ephrath when Rachel travailed. None of the explanations of *kibrath* in *Gen. Theol.*, or elsewhere is satisfactory,¹ and in the Psalter אֶרֶץ and אֶרֶץ have a tendency to get confounded. Probably we should read *kim'at hā-ārah*, קִמְאֵת אֶרֶץ, 'a tride (left) of the way.' See RACHEL'S SEPULCHRE.

H. W. H., § 1 a-c; T. K. C., § 2.

RACHEL'S SEPULCHRE. The biblical references are (a) Gen. 35:16 (JE), (b) 48:7b (R), (c) 1 S. 10:2 f. (d) Jer. 31:15, (e) Mt. 2:16-18. It is generally supposed (see Buhl, *Pal.* 159, and Dillm. on Gen. 35:16) that either (i.) there was a double tradition with reference to the site of Rachel's grave, one (a, b, e) placing it near Bethlehem in Judah, another (c, d) in the border of Benjamin towards Ramah (so Nold., *Del.* 6), Dillm. i; or (ii.) the gloss 'that is Bethlehem' in (a) and (b), which (e) appears to follow, is based upon a geographical confusion and is to be disregarded (so Holzinger, Gunkel, and *Oxf. Hex.*). The weak point in i. is thought to be

1 *קִמְאֵת* is conventionally regarded as a measure (ἑτερόμορος; Pesh. a para-ang). Of course, the Ass. *kibrāti*, 'a quarter of the world,' can hardly, by any ingenuity, be made illustrative. It is clear that the text is corrupt. So also in 2 K. 5:19 אֶרֶץ בְּרֵחַ (no article before אֶרֶץ) is shown by the context to be corrupt (see NAAMAN).

that Rachel was the weak J, undiscovers and criticise the

(a) and (b) 'Ephrath' of the Negeb. We and 48:7 is as its second must remember (1 Ch. 2:19).

(c) The question. The to-day, thou see SHALISH.

(d) Jer. 31:15 surprised if it of the Rachel Ramah spoken original of J (= Jerahmeel) captives who also conceivably buried in the interest in the ceased to grieve exile with other 2 K. 17:6). Early Israelite sections of the through corruption of Rachel which that no Ephrath a superficial pla

According by a sacred p writer's time (day as Rachel tradition has a Christian period on the road Gannath, 2 it n Jewish king A Jerome (OS 16

RADDAI (רַדַּאִי) [*q. v.*, § 1 a, n.].
רַדַּאִי [M.], p. corrupt רַדַּאִי (Re is more probab 25 cp R 134);

BAFTS (בַּאֲפֵט)

RAGAU, 1. 2. (רַגְאָו [Ti. W. ii. § 3].

RAGES (רַגַּע) uncertain; in T [Syr.], an impo province of Rha; and hence a pla frequently menti Tobit (1:4 4:20 appears as Raga and רַגְאָו [Syr. RRU [*q. v.*].

This city, which writers, occurs a and also in the 2:13). After suff but the name n of *Rha*, situated Rawlinson, *Mon* 1:345-352; Smith's

RAGUEL (רַגְוֵל) REUEL. (2) a m 1:74), related

1 It is there show 190 captivities of N. 2 *Recueil d'archéol* 1:100. 3 *cp* רַגְוֵל רַגְוֵל 1 uncommon Babylonian

RADDAI

RAHAB

that Rachel has nothing to do with the S. kingdom, and the weak point in it certainly is that a N. Ephrath is undiscoverable. Before proceeding further we must discuss the text (see Crit. Bib.).

(a) and (b) רַחֵלָה is a popular corruption of רַחֵל וְיִמְעָה 'Ephrath' and 'Beth-jerahmeel' are both place-names of the Negeb. We have no reason to doubt that the gloss in Gen. 35 10 and 47 6 is correct, and that Beth-jerahmeel either had Ephrath as its second name, or was in the district called Ephrath. We must remember that Ephrath was traditionally the wife of Caleb (1 Ch. 2 19).

(c) The geographical description has suffered serious corruption. The text should run, 'When thou departest from me 10-day, thou shalt find two men by Beth-jerahmeel in Shalishah.' See SHALISHAH, ZELZAH.

(d) Jer. 31 being most probably of late origin, we could not be surprised if it contained a statement based on a misunderstanding of the Rachel tradition. It is quite possible, however, that the Rahab spoken of is the same that is meant in the underlying original of Jer. 40 ff., which probably referred to a Rahab (= Jerahmeel) in the Negeb, which was the starting-point of the captives who went to a N. Arabian exile. If so, the writer may also conceivably have known of Rachel as having died and been buried in the Negeb. Taking, as was supposed, a profound interest in the fortunes of her descendants, Rachel had never ceased to grieve over the tribe of Joseph, which had gone into exile with other N. Israelites in N. Arabia (see Crit. Bib. on K. 17 61). When, however, the Jerahmeelite setting of the early Israelite legends, and the N. Arabian exile of the two sections of the Israelite race, had passed into oblivion (partly through corruption of the texts), it was natural that the sepulchre of Rachel should be transferred to the N., in spite of the fact that no Ephrath was in existence to impart to this transference superficial plausibility.

According to JE, the site of Rachel's tomb was marked by a sacred pillar (see MASSEBATH), which existed in the writer's time (Gen. 35 20). The tomb known in our own day as Rachel's has plainly been restored, though the tradition has attached to the same spot throughout the Christian period. It is a short distance from Bethlehem, on the road to Jerusalem. According to Clermont-umeant, it may perhaps be the tomb (cenotaph) of the Jewish king Archelaus (cp HEROD, § 8) referred to by POMP (OS 101 12).

T. K. C.

RADDAI (רַדַּי), son of Jesse, and brother of DAVID (1 Ch. 2 14; 2 20; 2 21; 2 22; 2 23; 2 24; 2 25; 2 26; 2 27; 2 28; 2 29; 2 30; 2 31; 2 32; 2 33; 2 34; 2 35; 2 36; 2 37; 2 38; 2 39; 2 40; 2 41; 2 42; 2 43; 2 44; 2 45; 2 46; 2 47; 2 48; 2 49; 2 50; 2 51; 2 52; 2 53; 2 54; 2 55; 2 56; 2 57; 2 58; 2 59; 2 60; 2 61; 2 62; 2 63; 2 64; 2 65; 2 66; 2 67; 2 68; 2 69; 2 70; 2 71; 2 72; 2 73; 2 74; 2 75; 2 76; 2 77; 2 78; 2 79; 2 80; 2 81; 2 82; 2 83; 2 84; 2 85; 2 86; 2 87; 2 88; 2 89; 2 90; 2 91; 2 92; 2 93; 2 94; 2 95; 2 96; 2 97; 2 98; 2 99; 2 100).

RAGAU. 1. See RAGES.

(Ragau [Ti.WH]), Lk. 3 35, RV REU. See GENEALOGIES.

RAGES (ΡΑΓΑΣ, -ΓΩΝ, -ΓΟΙΣ [TH ΓΗ BA 6 10 is certain; in Tob. 4 20 Ν ΑΡΓΟΙΣ], rages [Vg.], rāgā [Syr.]), an important city in NE. Media, situated in the province of Rhagiana, near the celebrated Caspian Gates, hence a place of great strategical importance. It is recently mentioned in the above form in the Book of Judith (1 14 4 1 20 5 3 6 13 22). In Judith (15 15) the name appears as Ragau (Ragau, ragan [Vg.], 'plain of Dūra', rāgā [Syr.]), which is apparently identical with [q.v.].

This city, which is frequently mentioned by classical writers, occurs as Rhagā in the Avesta (Ferd. ch. 1), and also in the Behistun Inscription of Darius I Hyaspatis.

After suffering various changes, it fell into decay; the name may perhaps survive in the huge ruins of Rhag, situated some 5 m. SE. of Teheran. See Robinson, Monarchies, 2 272 f.; Curzon, Persia, 1 352; Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog., 5 2.

RAGUEL (רַעוּאֵל). (1) RV REUEL. See JETHRO, L. (2) a man of the tribe of Naphtali (Tob. 6 12; 7 4), related to Tobias; husband of Edna, whose

name is shown that there has been a confusion between the activities of N. Israel, an Assyrian and a N. Arabian. See JETHRO, L. 1 34 35.

RAGUEL (רַעוּאֵל) Dan. 8 1, and see DURU. Duru was not an Assyrian name.

only daughter Sara became the wife of Tobias (Tob. 7 17; 8 10).

PAFOYHĀ, 37 17; *MĀOC). In Enoch 20 4 Raguel is the name of one of the archangels. Perhaps this was suggested by Tob. 8 17, where the name Raguel occurs in connection with Raphael (both names may have a similar origin; see REUEL, RAPHAEL). That the name has any reference to this angel's rôle as a 'chastiser' (Charles on Enoch 20 4) is hardly probable.

T. K. C.

RAHAB (רַחַב), a synonymous term for the DRAGON (q.v.) in post-exilic writings, sometimes also applied to Egypt (or, as may plausibly be held, to Mīsrīm, the N. Arabian foe of Israel; see MIZRAIM, § 2 61, Job 9 13 (κῆτη τὰ ἐπ' οὐρανόν), 26 12 (τὸ κῆτος), Ps. 89 10 [11] (ὑπερήφανον), Is. 51 9 (LXX om.), 30 7 (ὅτι ματαία ἡ παράκλησις ἰμῶν αὐτῆ), Ps. 87 4† (ρααβ)).

From Job 9 13 26 12 we perhaps learn that Rahab was another name for Tīāmat, the dragon of darkness and chaos. 'God,' says Job in his despondency, 'will not turn back his fury; [even] the helpers of Rahab bowed beneath him.' On the 'helpers of Tīāmat,' see DRAGON, § 5. Later, Job again refers to the fate of Rahab (or is it Bildad, following out Job's suggestions in his unoriginal way?).

By his power he threatened (רַחַב) the sea, And by his skill he shattered Rahab.

Here 'sea' and 'Rahab' are coupled, as 'sea' and 'Leviathan,' probably, in Job 38 (see LEVIATHAN), and in 2. 13 the 'dragon' is referred to. In Ps. 89 9 f. [10 f.] the same parallelism is observable, and since 2. 11 proves that the psalmist has the creation in his mind, the view that Rahab is a synonym for Leviathan or the dragon again becomes plausible. The passage runs,—

Thou (alone) didst crush Rahab as a dishonoured corpse; With thy strong arm thou didst break down thine enemies.

The invocation to the arm of Yahwé in Is. 51 9 also refers to Rahab. Here, however, though the allusion to the Dragon-myth is obvious, there is also a special reference to צַרְיִים (see DRAGON), or perhaps to the people called Mīsrīm in N. Arabia. How this was possible we seem to learn from Is. 30 7 (on the text see SBOY, ad loc.). It has been held (cp Duhm, ad loc.) that the latter half of the verse is a later addition. Living in an age when the mythological interest had revived, a reader was struck by the resemblance between the characteristics of the dragon of chaos and those of צַרְיִים. Both were pre-eminent in strength; both in the olden time had rebelled against Yahwé; for צַרְיִים, therefore, as well as for the dragon, the fate of abject humiliation (cp Is. 19) was reserved. In Ps. 87 4 Rahab, according to the exegetical tradition, is simply a synonym for Egypt (as the Targum already explains it), though even here this is not beyond critical questioning.

Rahab in Hebrew would mean 'raging,' 'insolence.' This would be not unsuitable as a title of the chaos-dragon, a reference to which is plainly intended in all the above passages except the last.

It would not be strange, however, if Rahab were a Hebraised form of some Babylonian mythic name. In the third of the creation-stories mentioned elsewhere (see CREATION)—that which begins 'cities sighed, men [groaned]'—the dragon is repeatedly called by a name which Zimmern and Gunkel would like to read rebbu (for *ruhbu), and to consider the Ass. equivalent of Rahab. The name, if it means 'violence,' would be specially appropriate in the story of the tyranny exercised by Tīāmat. Unfortunately the reading is uncertain. The polyphonous character of the Assyrian script allows us equally to read kalbu, 'dog,' and labbu, 'lion' (Gunkel, Schöpfung, 29 418). For another theory of the origin and precise significance of the title Rahab we may be allowed to refer to Crit. Bib.

T. K. C.

1 In Job 9 13 26 12 Is. 51 9, Symm. has ἀλαζονεία, ἀλαζονείαν, in Is. 51 9 30 7 Αρ. ὄμμα, Theod. πλάτος, in Is. 30, Symm. has παραχαί or -χῆ, in Ps. 87 4 Αρ. ἡ ἀρματός, Symm. ὑπερήφανίαν.

RAHAB

RAHAB (רַחַב; רַחַב). Josh. 2:13 6:17 2:25. The story of Rahab must not be taken literally. She is clearly the eponym of a tribe, and the circumstances of the tribe are reflected in her fortunes. The statements in Josh. 6:25 apply to no tribe known to us so well as to the Kenites, who were admitted among the Israelites on relatively unfavourable terms—as sojourners; hence the term *sônâh*. The name רַחַב is best accounted for as the equivalent of רַחַב, 'Heber,' the second name of the tribe of the Kenites.¹ See JERICHO, § 4; RECHARITES.

In Heb. 11:31 Rahab is praised as an example of faith. This is suggested by the edifying speech of Rahab in Josh. 2:9-11, of which, however, only 2:9 is recognised by critical analysis as belonging to the earlier narrative (see above). On Rahab's good works (James 2:25), cp the Jewish view in Weber, *Jud. Theol.* 332. The mention of her in the genealogy of Jesus (Mt. 1:5) rests on the assumption that she became the wife of SALMON [7:7]. No less a man than Jeremiah is stated in *Megillah* 14^b to have been a descendant of Rahab on his mother's side. This passed for an edifying belief.

T. K. C.

RAHAM (רַחֵם), son of SHEMA b. HEBRON, b. MARESHAI, and father of JURKEAM (7:7); 1 Ch. 2:44 (PAMEE [B], PAEM' [A], 'AM [L]). See REKEM.

RAHEL (Jer. 31:15), RV RACHEL.

RAIN. That at the present day rain is considered in Palestine as one of God's best gifts, is undeniable.

1. Conception. Moslems, Christians, and Jews can unite in imploring heaven for the 'showers that water the earth' (Ps. 72:6).

But it is a question whether the fertilising operation of the Baalim was associated in early times with the rain of heaven, or only with springs, streams, and underground flow (cp B.A.M., § 1). Robertson Smith, who discusses the subject fully in *Rel. Sem.* lect. 3, comes to the conclusion that originally the Baalim were gods of the streams and fountains, but that, as husbandry spread, the 'gods of the springs' extended their domain over the lands watered by the sky, and gradually added to their old attributes the new character of 'lords of rain' (p. 106). Yahwè in the OT is certainly the rain-giver; Jer. 14:22, 'Can any of the vanities of the heathen cause rain?' In Ps. 65:9 [10], according to the traditional text, the early rain is called 'the river of God.' The word used (רַחַב) is remarkable. Generally it occurs in the plural for the artificial streams used in irrigation (Is. 30:25 32:2 Ps. 13 119 136 Prov. 5:16 21:1 Lam. 3:43). Here, if MT is right, there is a similar conception. The rain is imagined as water which has been drawn from the great heavenly reservoirs (Gen. 7:11) and sent down on earth through the solid dome of the sky. This is illustrated by Job 38:25, 'Who has cleft a channel for the waterfall' (so RV; רַחַב, רַחַב, 'torrential rain'). With this cp 7:29, where the 'rain' (מֵטֵל, מֵטֵל) and the 'parted streams of dew' (read מֵטֵל מֵטֵל, for מֵטֵל מֵטֵל) are parallel expressions.

Naturally, rain and rain-mist (*tal*, טַל) are prominent in poetic benedictions. In Dt. 33:13 the 'precious things of heaven above' (reading רַחַב for מֵטֵל)² are the rain, the rain-mist, and the dew. In Gen. 27:28 the fine rain, or rain-mist, of heaven stands first among the blessings

¹ For a less probable view see C. Niebuhr, *Gesch.* 1:353 ff.
² Tg., Onk. and Pesh. combine the readings מֵטֵל and מֵטֵל. The former therefore is no modern conjecture.

RAIN

called down upon Jacob's land by Isaac. In Dt. 28:12 Moses promises to obedient Israel that Yahwè 'will open his good treasury, the heaven, to give the rain in its season'; to this treasury the Book of Enoch refers (60:20 f. 69:23); cp DEW. The 'self-springing plants of Yahwè' in Is. 4:2 (*SBOT*) are those which depend on the moisture which God sends from this heavenly store-chamber. Notice, too, that in Ps. 104:13 God is said to 'water the mountains from his upper chambers.' It is a slightly different mythic symbol which a poet in Job uses—'Who (but Yahwè) can tilt the bottles of heaven?' (Job 38:37). To be able to bring rain through prayer was one of the greatest proofs of eminent piety. Elijah 'prayed fervently that it might not rain, and it rained not,' etc. (Jas. 5:17); and Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 2:1) relates that, in the time of King Aristobulus, there was a man named Onias, 'righteous and beloved of God,' who by his prayers could bring rain to the parched earth. Cp PRAVER.

Palestine is well described in Deut. 11:11 (in contrast to Egypt) as 'a land of hills and valleys, which drinks water, when rain falls from heaven.'

2. Former and latter rain. Shortly afterwards (v. 14) a fuller description is given.

See also Hos. 6:3 Joel 2:23 Zech. 10:1 f. (see Nowack), Job 29:23, and Ja. 5:7 (ἄβυσσος καὶ ὄψυγος; B⁹ insert ὑετός, giving the sense rightly). The distribution of rain is very unequal. On one occasion Thomson found the ground in the Jordan valley like a desert, while at Tiberias the whole country was 'a paradise of herbs and flowers.' Just so it was in ancient times. 'I caused it to rain upon one city, and caused it not to rain upon another city: one piece was rained upon, and the piece whereupon it rained not withered' (Am. 4:7). The prophet continues, 'So two or three cities wandered unto one city to drink water, but they were not satisfied,' on which Thomson remarks that this is 'a fact often repeated' in Palestine.¹ The variability of the climate helps to account for the frequent failure of the crops, both in ancient and in modern times, and gives point to the promises of regularity in the seasons on condition of obedience to the divine commands.² The former or autumnal rains (יָרֵד, בְּרֵאשִׁית) usually begin about the end of October. In Lebanon they may begin a month earlier; but no dependence can be placed upon this, and according to Thomson (*LB* 90) the winter rains are sometimes delayed till January. They are usually accompanied by thunder and lightning (Jer. 10:13). The next four months may be called the rainy season. In April rain (the latter rain, מֵטֵל אַחֲרָיִם, 'to be late') falls at intervals; in May the showers are less frequent and lighter, and at the close of that month they cease altogether.

It appears from Glaisher's observations (*P&FQ*, 1899, p. 12) that the heaviest monthly rainfall in 1897 was 11.21 in., in January; the next, 6.74 in. in December, and that the total fall for the year was 27.72 in. This refers to Tiberias. At Jerusalem the total fall was 41.62 in. At Tiberias no rain fell from May 23 to Oct. 29, making a period of 156 consecutive days without rain. At Jerusalem, none fell from May 20th to Oct. 20, making a period of 140 consecutive days without rain.

1. רַחַב, רַחַב, a violent downpour, 1 K. 18:41 Ezek. 19:11; continuous, Ezra 10:13; such as the early or latter rain, Lev. 20:3 Jer. 5:24 Joel 2:23; accompanied with wind, 2 K. 3:17 Prov. 25:14.

3. Hebrew term רַחַב, a more general term, *cp.*

'the rain (רַחַב) of heaven,' Dt. 11:11. A 'sweeping rain' (Prov. 28:3); or the two words רַחַב and רַחַב may be combined, Zech. 10:1 Job 37:6.

3. רַחַב, *šrem*, a rain-storm, Is. 25:4 28:2 32:2 Hab. 3:10 Jb. 21:8; sometimes accompanied by hail, Is. 28:1 30:30. The supposed occurrences of a verb denom. (Ps. 77 18 90, MT) are probably due to corruption.

4. and 5. רַחַב, *šorch*, and מֵטֵל, *morch*, the former rain, and מֵטֵל, *malchil*, the latter rain, see § 2.

6. רַחַב, *rahbin*, EV 'showers,' Jer. 3:3 14:22 Mi. 6:4 Dt. 30:2 Ps. 65:11 [10] 72:4.

¹ *The Land and the Book*, 395.
² *Ibid.* 405.

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RAINBOW

7 רָבִיבִים *risibim* (from רָבַב, 'sprinkled, stillavit'), sprinkled moisture. In Cant. 5:2 (EV 'drops of the night') of the night-mist (see DEW), but probably applicable to rain in general (see רָבַב). In Dt. 32:2 Lagarde and Grätz correct רָבִיבִים into רָבִיבִים. In Ps. 104:13 also רָבִיבִים should perhaps be read for רָבִיבִים.

RAINBOW. 1. קֶשֶׁף, *kēshēf* (רָבִיבִים), Gen. 9:13 ff. Ezek. 1:28 Jerus. 43 ft. On Gen. 9:13 ff. see DELUGE, § 11. 2. קֶשֶׁף, Rev. 4:3 10:1.

RAISINS. 1. זִמְמוֹת, *zimmūthim*, see FRUIT, § 4. 2. זִמְמוֹת, *zimmūthim*, Hos. 3:1, RV. See FRUIT, § 5.

RAKEM (רָקֵם), 1 Ch. 7:16 EV, pausal form for REKEM, 4.

RAKKATH (רָקָת), 'bank,' an Aramaic word? רָקָת [B], רֶקְקָת [A], רָא [L]), a 'fenced city' of Naphtali, mentioned between Hammath (S. of Tiberias) and Chinnereth (on the upper part of the E. side of the Sea of Galilee), Josh. 19:35. Two identifications of Rakkath are offered in the Babylonian Talmud in the same context (*Meg. 5b, 6a*). According to R. Johanan, Rakkath was the important city of Sepphoris. But the etymological midrash attached to this identification is such as entirely to discredit it. Raba, on the other hand, refers to a generally received opinion that Rakkath is Tiberias, and according to Neubauer (*Géog. du Talm.*, 209) the use of the name Rakkath for Tiberias lasted into the fourth century A.D. Certainly the position of Rakkath in the list of cities at least permits this view. Only, (1) we must not suppose that Tiberias stood exactly on the site of the ancient Rakkath. For, as Josephus informs us (*Ant.* xviii. 2:3), the land upon which it was built had been occupied by tombs, which implies that the ancient town (however it was named) had lain at a short distance from the site of the new city. And (2) it is possible enough that רָקָת is a fragment of קָרָת (city of), and should be prefixed to כִּנְרֵת (Chinnereth). T. K. C.

RAKKON (רָקָן), not in SBA; Ἐκ ΜΡΕΚΚΩΝ, 1 Ch. 19:46 (probably a *rar nihil*). See ME-JARKON.

RAM (רָם); RAM [BAL]. 1. The name of a Judahite family, whose eponym is variously described as the second son of Hezron the grandson of Judah (1 Ch. 2:9; *ram* and *aram* [BA], *aram* [L]; v. 10, *arav* [B], cp [A] 1:25; *aram* [AL]), and as the firstborn son of Jerahmeel the firstborn son of Hezron (v. 25, *ram* [B]; v. 27, *aram* [B]). The same supposed person is also named in the (late) genealogy of David, as the son of Hezron, Ruth 4:19 (*arav* [BA], *aram* [L]), and consequently in Mt. 1:34 (ARAM [AV]; Ram [RV]; ARAM [S] etc.); see also ARN. Lk. 3:33. Doubtless Ram is a shortened form of some well-known name, hardly Abiram (Nold.) or Abiram (Klost. *Gesch.* 112), but the name from which both these names probably came—Jerahmeel (Che.).

2. Name of the supposed family of the Elihu of Job (32:2; [B]; *rama* [A], *aram* [C]), certainly not a shortened form of the ethnic name Aram, unless there was a southern Aram.

RAM (רָם), Gen. 15:7, etc. See SHEEP.

RAM, BATTERING (רָמַת), Ezek. 4:21 27[22]. See 27:2 f.

RAMA (רָמָא [Ti. WII]), Mt. 2:18, RV RAMAH.

RAMAH (רָמָת), Jer. 31:15 Neh. 11:33, elsewhere רָמָת, 'the height'; usually רָמָא [BAL]; gentilic, רָמָתִי, Ramathite; see SHIMEI, § 1. 1. A city of the tribe of Benjamin, Josh. 18:25 Neh. 11:33 (BN* A om.), tentatively referred to in Judg. 19:13 (om. S) Is. 10:29 35:8 (*ἐπὶ τῶν ὑψηλῶν* [BAQ]), Ezra 2:26 (*aram* [B], *rama* [AL]), and stated in 1 K. 15:17 (*rama* [B], *ram* [A], *rama* [L]) to have been fortified by Baasha of Israel in order to isolate Jerusalem (cp ASA), and by the grave of Rachel (according to Jer. 31:15 *רָמָת* [S* A]), where the tribal ancestor is poetically

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represented as appearing on her grave, and uttering a lamentation for the exile of her children.¹ Near it was also, a later writer believed, the palm tree of the prophetess Deborah (Judg. 4:5, *רְחֵי בַאמָא* [B], *אֵמָא* [A]). This Ramah is no doubt the mod. *er-Rām*, a village with ancient remains, 2600 ft. above the sea-level, 5 m. N. from Jerusalem. Its rediscovery is due to Robinson (*BR* 1376).

2. The home of Samuel and his father Elkannah (1 S. 1:9 2:11 7:17 8:4 15:34 16:13 19:18 ff. 25:1 28:3), also called, or rather miscalled, in EV of 1 S. 1:1, RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM [q.v.]. It was in the hill-country of Ephraim and more particularly in the land of ZUPHIM [q.v.]. According to Eus. and Jer. who call it *αμαθεμ σειφα* *Armathem Sophim* (OS 225:12; 96:17) it was near Diospolis, and Jer. adds that it was 'in regione Thamnutica.' This addition agrees with what is said in 1 Macc. 11:34 of RAMATHEM [q.v.] as having originally been reckoned to Samaria, and suggests identifying Ramah with *Beit-rima*, a place mentioned in the Talmud (Neub. *Géogr.* 82), situated a little to the N. of Tibnah (Thamma). This is the view of Buhl, *Pal.* 170; Kittel, *Hist.* 2107. It accords with the route of Saul described in 1 S. 9:1 ff.; cp Wellh. *TBS* 70. See also PEF:Mem. 3:12 149 ff. (On S's readings, see RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM.)

3. 2 K. 8:29; *ραμμαθ* [B], *ραμαθ* [A], *ραμαθ γαλααδ* [L]. See RAMATH-GALAD.

4. RAMAH [AV RAMATH] OF THE SOUTH; Josh. 19:8 (*ραμαθ κατά λιβα* [H], *ραμμαθ* [A], *ιαμαθ κατά λιβα* [A? L]). See RAMATH OF THE SOUTH.

5. A 'fenced city' of Naphtali (Josh. 19:35; *αραηλ* [B], *ραμα* [AL]), the modern *Rāmah*, 1295 ft. above sea-level, W. of *Zafed*, on the southern slope of the ridge (here rising to a height of 3430 ft.) which forms the boundary between Upper and Lower Galilee. Cp Gherin, *Gal.* 1453 f.

6. A place mentioned in the delimitation of the territory of Asher, Josh. 19:29. According to Robinson beyond all doubt to be identified with the village of *Rāmah* (PEF:Survey.—*Rāmia*), in the latitude of *Kāis en-Nākurā*, situated 'upon an isolated hill, in the midst of a basin with green fields, surrounded by higher hills' (*BR* 463). Buhl (*Pal.* 231) accepts this identification, whilst admitting that the frequent occurrence of the name prevents a final decision. Apart from Ramah a little way to the W., at or near the ruins of *Bekāt*, on a hill which commands a grand prospect. The language of Josh. 19:27 f., however, does not seem to favour either view. The border of Asher is traced in v. 28 from Hammon (*Hamul*) to Kanah (*Kānā*) and thence to Sidon; then in v. 29 v. are told to turn back southward to Ramah, and draw a line thence to Tyre and to Hosah (near *Kāis el-Ain*); somewhere on the coast to the S. of Hosah (at the mouth of the river SHIHOR-LIBNATH) the border ends. Can the meaning be that the territory within the first of these lines belongs to Tyre and Sidon together, and that within both lines taken together (the second modifying the first) to Tyre, both territories being theoretically possessed by Asher? If so, Ramah would seem to be not very far from Tyre; indeed, this is the natural inference from the Hebrew of v. 29a. Its true site may perhaps be lost.

(Since this was written, an abundance of similarly perplexing phenomena have been noticed by the present writer, which can only be explained on the hypothesis that the original document referred to districts in the Negeb. Cp SHIHOR-LIBNATH; TYRE; ZEMAR-AM, last par.)

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RAMATHITE (רָמָתִי), 1 Ch. 27:27. See SHIMEI, 9.

RAMATH-LEHI (רָמָת לְהִי), Judg. 15:14. See LEHI.

RAMATH-MIZPEH (רָמָת מִצְפֵּה); *αραβωθ κατά τῆν μασσηφα* [B], *ραμωθ κ. τ. μασφα* [A], *ραμεθ* κ. τ. μ. [L]), a place on the northern border of the Gadites, Josh. 13:26 f. Probably the same as MIZPEH (cf. MIZPAH 27).

¹ On the discrepant traditions respecting the site of Rachel's grave, and on Mt. 2:18, see EPHRAIM, RACHEL.

RAMATH OF THE SOUTH

RAMATH OF THE SOUTH (רָמַתְּ הַיָּבֵשׁ); for **RAMATH**, 4), and (in 1 S.) **RAMOTH OF THE SOUTH** (רָמֹת הַיָּבֵשׁ); **ΡΑΜΑ** [BL]-**Θ** [A] **ΝΟΤΟΥ**, **ΡΑΜΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΜΕΧΑΜΒΡΙΑΝ** [Sym.], apparently the most remote of the Simeonite towns (Josh. 19:8); mentioned also among the towns in the Negeb to which David sent presents from ZIKLAG (Haiusah), 1 S. 30:27. The full name was Baalath-beer-ramath(oth)-negeb, i.e., 'Baalath of the well, Ramath of the Negeb,' or 'Baalath of the well, Ramath of the Negeb' (see **BAALATH-BEER**). The name, however, needs correction by the help of v. 6f. and Josh. 15:32. The lists of the Simeonite and Judahite towns are disfigured by errors, nor do they agree as they should. The opinion of the present writer is that the most remote of these towns was most probably called Baalath-beer-ramath (also Baalath-en-rimmon).—i.e., Baalath of the well (also, fountain) of Ramah or Rimmon,—and that both Ramah and RIMMON (q.v.) are popular corruptions of 'Jerahmeel.' Consequently in 1 S. 30:27 the second of the names in the list should be not Ramoth-negeb, but Jerahmeel-negeb. See **EN-RIMMON**, **TAMAR**, **NEGEB**.

In Josh. 15:32 Lebaath (לְבָאֵת) and in 1:6 Beth-lebaath (בֵּית־לְבָאֵת) are miswritten for בְּעֵיִת. In 1 Ch. 4:33 'Baalath-beer' becomes shortened into 'Baal.'

RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM (רָמַתַּיִם צוֹפִים); **ΡΑΜΑΘΑΙΜ** **ΖΟΠΗΦΑ** [BL]; **ΡΑ. ΣΩΦΙΜ** [A], the name of the city of Elkana in the hill-country of Ephraim, 1 S. 11.

The text, however, has Ha-ramathaim-zophim, the article being prefixed to ramathaim. The difficulties of this supposed compound form, and indeed of MT's reading, however viewed, are well set forth by Driver (*TBS ad loc.*), who, with Wellhausen and W. R. Smith, following **Θ**'s **σ(ε)ιφ(α)**, reads צופי 'a Zuphite,' which is explained by a reference to 1 Ch. 6:24[35]. Kr. as = 'a member of the clan called ZUPH' [q.v.]. Haramathaim is also plausibly explained by Wellhausen (*TBS* 34 f.) as the later form of the name Ha-ramah (see **RAMATHAIM**), which was introduced into 1 S. 11 from a tendency to modernisation, and stands (**αμαθαιμ**), in **Θ**, not only here, but also wherever **רָמַת** has the **ה** of motion attached to it. With the form **αμαθαιμ** we may rightly compare the **αμαθα** or **αμαθα** or **ραμαθα** of Josephus and the **αμαθαια** of the NT.

The name Ha-ramah in the Hebrew text almost always occurs in the augmented form **רָמַתַּיִם**. The exceptions are 1 S. 19:14-20:1 25:1 28:3. Here we constantly find **רָמַת** except in 19:14-22, where **רָמַתַּיִם** occurs. **Θ**A accordingly represents the former word by **εν ραμα**, the latter by **εις αμαθαιμ**—a new distinction suggested perhaps by the occurrence of **ת** in **רָמַתַּיִם**. The same correction has penetrated once into **BL**, for in 19:22, where **רָמַתַּיִם** and **רָמַת** occur at different points, **ΘBL** gives first **εις αμαθαιμ** and then **εν ραμα** (cp v. 18 in **Σ**).

The objections to the above plausible explanation of Ramathaim-zophim are—(1) that Ha-ramathaim occurs nowhere else in the MT, (2) that the Chronicler is an insufficient authority for the existence of a clan called Zuph, (3) that 'land of Zuph' occurs in a passage (1 S. 9:5) which has all the appearance of corruption (see **ZUPH**), and (4) that 1 S. 11 itself is obviously no longer in its original form.¹ The probability is that **רָמַתַּיִם** (EV, 'a certain man') should be **רָמַתַּיִם** (Jerahmeelite), and that **רָמַתַּיִם צוֹפִים** should be **רָמַתַּיִם** (Jerahmeelite), and that the whole sentence becomes (omitting the superfluous variant **רָמַתַּיִם** at the beginning and certain variants at the end), 'And there was a Jerahmeelite of the family of the Matrites, whose name was Elkana,' however, like 'Tamar' and 'Ramath,' is only a corruption of 'Jerahmeelite,' and 'mount Ephraim' is in southern not in central Palestine (so Judg. 17:19, etc.). See *Crit. Bib.*

The **ARIMATHAEA** of the NT is identified by Eus. (*OS* 225, 12) with the city of Elkana, and said to be situated near Diospolis (Lydda). This situation is beyond question suitable for the Ramathaim of 1 Macc. 11:34, and perhaps too for the Arimathæa of the NT. See **JOSEPH**, col. 2595 f.; **RAMATHAIM** (on meaning of form); **NICODEMUS**, § 3.

¹ See Marq. *Fund.* 12 f., and cp other corrupt passages in 1 S. having proper names (*Crit. Bib.*).

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RAMESES

RAMATHEM, RV **RAMATHAIM** (**ΡΑΘΑΜΕΙΝ** [ANV]), the seat of one of the governments formerly belonging to Samaria which were transferred to Judæa under Jonathan by king Demetrius, 1 Macc. 11:34. On the name, see **NAMES**, § 107, and **RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM**.

RAMESES (**רַעַסַּיִם**; **ΡΑΜΕΣΣΗ** [BAFL], **ΡΑΜΕΣΣΗ** [L], Gen. 47:11; or **RAMESSES**, **ΡΑΜΕΣΣΗ**, Ex. 1:11, **ραμεση** [FL], 12:37 Nu. 33:3, **ραμεσσων** [BA], 5 **ραμεσσης** [Bab]; also Judith 19 [RAMESSE, AV]; see also Redpath; *RAMESSES*). For kings Rameses I. and II. see also **EGYPT**, § 57 f.

In Ex. 1:11 **RAMESSES** is one of the cities built by the Israelites as Egyptian serfs; in 12:37 they march from **RAMESSES** (eastwards) to Succoth (cp also Nu. 33:3). In Gen. 47:11 the family of Jacob receive from Joseph 'a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses, as Pharaoh had commanded.' The land of Rameses is, according to v. 46 etc., a part of Goshen, or, more probably, is synonymous with Goshen.

In 46:28 **Θ** has indeed for the Goshen of Heb. 'to Heropolis (i.e., adding ΠΙΘΩΝ, or ΕΤΙΑΝ [q.v.]), into the land of Ramesse' (εἰς Ἡρώων πόλιν εἰς γῆν Ραμεσση). [For various views of this passage, with discussion, see **JOSEPH** (in OT), col. 2587, n. 4.]

It is usually assumed that the land has its name from the town, the administrative centre of that province.

1. The land and the town.

The present writer would, however, prefer to understand Rameses here as having preserved the original sense, namely, that of a royal name. Goshen, or at least its eastern part, still recalled by its name that the great Pharaoh Rameses II. had been its opener and coloniser (see **GOSHEN**). In the name of the town, on the other hand, the original sense, which must once have been 'house, place, city (or similarly) of Rameses,' seems to have been forgotten, owing to the popular abbreviation which omitted the first part. It is not necessary to derive the combination 'land of Rameses,' which looks very archaic, from that secondary use.

The royal name which the Hebrew has preserved here was *Ra'-mese* (רַעַסַּיִם), or following more the later pronunciation, *Ra'* (this can, of course, be written in many ways)—*me* (רַעַסַּיִם),² 'the sun-god Rē' has borne him.' The classic transliterations are **Ραμεσση**, **Ραμεσσης** (in varying the Manethonian fragments, etc.), **Rameses**. From these Greek forms the Massoretic scholars seem to have taken their vocalisation; whether the Hebrew consonants are intended to render the name as *Ra'-mes-se*, or in a seemingly more archaic form, *Ra'-mes-s* (the verbal root was originally *masy*, *tertio Jodh*), can, therefore, not be decided from the biblical punctuation. In the rendering of the consonants, the preservation of the 'Ain deserves mention as a sign of antiquity.

The Pharaoh meant is the famous Rameses II., called also Osymandyas (this is the official name;

2. Pharaoh Rameses.

Greeks, also Ram(p)ses (etc.), Meianum ('loving Amon'); see **EGYPT**, § 58. His reign of nearly sixty-seven years is less remarkable for his military achievements in Asia (which were very modest) than for his paramount activity as a builder. For his great work of irrigating and colonising the Wady Fūmilāt, see **GOSHEN**, § 4. This enterprise seems to have been completed before the twenty-first year of his reign. Gen. 47 might anticipate a later name for the region E. of Goshen proper. The building of the city of Rameses (as well as of Pithon), however, points unmistakably to that earlier part of the reign of Rameses II.—i.e., to the end of the fourteenth century B.C.



¹ See Erman, *Egypt*.
² This (q-v) see (*or victory*) or vice versa point to a temple; Amon 'been nullified'.

³ On the reason of the confusion of this name with a kind of dyn. 12 in Manetho, different opinions prevail. A popular (but already contemporaneous) abbreviation of the name Rameses seems to be at the root of the Greek form.

It must be Rameses' ha
3. The city Rameses.

other kings), of the king a. In the tw. Rameses rec- bringing the house of Ra the command Atuni, the lo Mey-amūn, th. Set.' This l. gods of the n. Goshen, when LD3194 says residence to. House of Ra' it.' Pap. An a residence. Strength) 'is. The local go. Astaré and l. agree with o. indeed, the cit. the great text the expedition seem to be ide. a later founda. iii. 112 f. 'the identical with. Its description not very far fr. has led Brugsc. In Tanis was f. other titles tha. (the city?) Ho. great of streng. concluded from. and the same. in the N., and considering the. the Israelites p. confirmation th. consequently, ing them; LD. tion,' as it date. The biblical in or near Gosh.

4. Situation.

to. Compare Maskhūta which and Harmachis. From this gro. Maskhūta was on insufficient have shown tha. be associated with latter city rema. with Ex. 12:37 N. western part of. are not many p. that region; I. Soleimān (or Is. thought of Pith. the existence of

¹ See Erman, *Egypt*.
² This (q-v) see (*or victory*) or vice versa point to a temple; Amon 'been nullified'.

³ There may be a colony near Abusīn the essay of Lepsius

RAMESES

It must be accidental that the expression 'land of Rameses' has not yet been read on the Egyptian monuments, although we find allusions to the merits of Rameses II. as a coloniser (which characteristically are wanting with other kings). A city, or rather cities, bearing the name of the king are, however, mentioned repeatedly.

In the twenty-first year (see above) of his reign, Rameses received ambassadors of the Hittite king bringing the treaty of peace and alliance 'in the city' (name of *Ra'-mes-su*, *Mey* (or old *Mer*)-*amun*, doing the commands of his father Amun, of Harmachis and Atum, the lord of Heliopolis, the Amun of *Ra'-mes-su* *Mey-amun*, the Ptah of *Ra'-mes-su* *Mey-amun*, and etc.). This list gives to us the names of the official gods of the new city, confirming its position in eastern Goshen, where Atum of Heliopolis was the chief god. I.D.3194 says: 'thou hast made for thyself a splendid residence to fortify the frontier of the country, The house of Ra'messu Meyamun; . . . a royal palace is in . . . Pap. Anastasi 21 46 gives a poetical description of residence: 'the castle: "Great of Victory (or strength)" is its name, between Phoenicia (?) and Egypt. The local gods are Amun, associated with Set, then Setre and Buto. These gods and the name do not agree with our house of Rameses mentioned above; indeed, the city 'great of victori(es)' (mentioned also in the great text of Abydos, in Pap. Leyden, I 348, and in the expedition of Sety I. against the Bedouins (?) does not seem to be identical (as is usually supposed), but must be the later foundation of Rameses, N. of Goshen. Anast. I 12 f. 'the house of Ra'messu Meyamun' appears as identical with the place 'Great of victori(es)' (32 etc.). The description seems to point to the country W. of Tanis, not very far from the sea. Thus a monument which is led Brugsch considerably astray becomes intelligible.

Tanis was found a statue of a priest who had among other titles that of a 'prophet of Amun of Rameses of the city?' House of Rameses (and?) Amun (of the one) 'great of strength.'² Brugsch (*Dict. Geogr.* 418, etc.) included from it that Rameses and Tanis-Zaan were one and the same city, sought consequently for Goshen far the N., and came thus to his strange Exodus-theory, considering the Sirbonian bog as the 'sea' through which the Israelites passed. The statue furnishes rather the affirmation that we have two different Rameses-cities. Consequently, we have to be very careful in distinguishing them; I.D.3194 refers possibly to the later foundation,³ as it dates from the year 34 of Rameses.

The biblical Rameses can, of course, be only a city near Goshen. That mentioned in the treaty with the Hittites seems to be identical, if we may judge by the local gods alluded to. Compare the granite group found at Tel(l) el-Maskhūta which represented Rameses II. between Atum and Harmachis, the principal gods of that district. In this group Lepsius concluded that Tel(l) el-Maskhūta was the biblical Rameses (see PITHOM), but on insufficient grounds. The excavations of Naville have shown that the names Pithom and Succoth are to be associated with that locality, but not Rameses. The city remains to be determined.

In accordance with Ex. 12:37 Nu 33:5 it should be sought for in the eastern part of Goshen, E. of Pithom-Ftham. There are not many points bearing traces of ancient cities in the region; Lepsius described the place (Tell) Abu-Imān (or Islemān), as showing extensive ruins, and thought of Pithom. Naville (*Pithom*, (3) 36) disputes the existence of town-ruins at that spot. He marks

see Erman, *Egypt*, chap. 9, for a translation. This (a-z) seems to be synonymous with 'great of strength (victory) or victories,' *a-nht* or *a-nhtw*. If not, it might be a temple (not a city) of Rameses II. Has a '(having) been mutilated'?

There may be more Rameses-cities. It seems that a Nubian city near Abusimbel was one. Cp (with considerable caution) essay of Lepsius, *AZ*, 1883, p. 4 (on Pithom and Rameses).

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Shugafieh (in which he believes he finds the Roman garrison place Thobu or Thou) and Tell Kotab as the only ruins, W. of Pithom-Tel(l) el-Maskhūta. Both localities exhibit extensive ruins of the Roman age, and seem to have been Roman military stations; it is not improbable that they were settled before that period. If so, we may expect the settlements to go back to the time of Rameses' colonisation; but nothing certain can be said until a thorough exploration of those ruins has been made.

For the various attempted identifications of Rameses, see Ebers, art. 'Rameses,' *III Bibl.*, 12540, and cp *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, (2) 512 ff.; Naville, *Land of Goshen* (1887), 18, 20; Brugsch, *Steinschrift und Bibelwort*, 1891, p. 154. [The question of identification assumes a fresh aspect if we hold that primitive tradition represented the early home of the Israelites as, not in Mizraim, but in Mizrim. In this case we must suppose that here as elsewhere the geographical setting of the story has been transformed on the basis, probably, of corrupt texts. Possible corrections or restorations are indicated in col. 3211, n. 2.] W. M. M.

RAMIAH (רַמְיָה), 'Yahwé is high'? or rather a transformed ethnic, Rāmī = Jerahme'eli? [Che.], a layman who joined in the league against foreign marriages; Ezra 10:25† (רַמְיָה [RNA], -עִיָּא [L]) = 1 Esd. 9:26 ΠΙΕΡΜΑΣ (ΙΕΡΜΑ [B], ΙΕΡΜΑC [A], ΡΑΜΙΑC [L]).

RAMOTH (רַמּוֹת). 1. 1 K. 413. See RAMOTH-GILEAD.

2. Ezra 10:29, Kri. See JERIMOTH, 12.

RAMOTH (רַמּוֹת); ΔΑΒΩΡ [B], ΔΑΩC [A], ΡΑΜΩΘ [L]; 1 Ch. 6:73 [48], or REMETH (רַמֶּת); ΡΕΜΜΑC [B], ΡΑΜΑΘ [AL]; Josh. 19:21, also called JARMUTH (רַמּוֹת) in Josh. 21:29 (ΙΕΡΜΩΘ [AL], where however Ⓞ has ΡΕΜΜΑΘ), a Levitical city within the territory of Issachar.

RAMOTH-GILEAD (רַמּוֹת גִּלְעָד), i.e., 'heights of Gilead', otherwise RAMOTH IN GILEAD (רַמּוֹת בְּגִלְעָד).

1. OT References. Η ΡΑΜΩΘ ΕΝ (ΤΗ ΟΡ ΓΗ) ΓΑΛ. Dt. 4:43 [ΡΑΜΜΩΘ A], Josh. 20:3 [ΑΡΗΜΩΘ B] 21:38 1 Ch. 6:65 [80] [ΡΑΜΜΩΝ B, ΡΑΜΑΘ I.], RAMOTH (1 K. 4:13 [ΕΡΕΜΑΘ B, ΕΡΜΑΘ I.]), but more correctly RAMAH (2 K. 8:29 [ΡΕΜΜΩΘ B, ΡΑΜΑΘ I.]) or Ramath-Gilead (cp AMAB), a fortress on the E. of Jordan, the administrative centre of one of Solomon's prefectures (1 K. 4:13), hotly disputed by the Israelites and the Ammonites in the reigns of Ahab, Ahaziah, and Joram (1 K. 22:37 [ΡΕΜΜΑΘ BA, ΡΑΜΑΘ I.], 2 K. 8:23 9:14 [ΡΕΜΜΩΘ B, ΡΑΜΑΘ I.], 2 Ch. 18:3 ff. [ΡΑΜΜΩΘ A, ΡΑΜΑΘ I.], 22:5 f. [ΡΑΜΑ B, ΡΕΜΜΩΘ A, ΡΑΜΑΘ I.]); also one of the so-called 'cities of refuge' (Dt. 4:43 Josh. 20:8 21:38, where it is assigned to Gad). Largely on account of the striking narrative in 1 K. 22, the name of Ramoth-Gilead is extremely familiar to readers of OT, and yet, after all the researches of scholars, no one is able to tell exactly where the place was. It is the object of this article (1) to record the chief opinions which have been held as to the site of Ramoth-Gilead, and (2) to offer what, in the opinion of the present writer, seems like the true solution of the problem.

Let us begin with the Talmud, according to which Ramoth-Gilead lay over against Shechem (Neub. *Géog.* 2. Sites (a)-(d). 55, 251), while, as Eusebius and Jerome tell us (*OS* 287 91 14531), it was known to them as a village, 15 R.m. W. of Philadelphia (Rabbath-Ammon). These views are irreconcilable. Most scholars till lately preferred the authority of Eusebius, and identified Ramoth-Gilead with the modern es-Salt,¹ 10 m. S. of the Jabbok, and 11 E. of the Jordan. Cp GILEAD, § 7.

The town acquired some importance during the Crusades,

¹ The name is a corruption of Salton Hieraticon, which occurs in the *Vitell. Hist. Eccles.* as the name of a trans-Jordanic episcopal city (Reiland, *Pal.* 313); the epithet *hieraticon* may be explained by the *σαλις φυλαγῆς γὰρ ἐστὶν* of Eus. in the *Onom.*

RAMOTH-GILEAD

when Saladin fortified it with other towns on the E. of the Jordan; it is now the capital of the Balha, but cannot claim to represent Ramoth-Gilead. The place could not be approached by chariots (see 1 K. 22 34 f.). It hangs on the steep sides of a narrow gorge, entirely shut in on the N., and opening out on a narrow flat of garden-land at the other end; and even this open extremity of the ravine is blocked by a high ridge at right angles to the town, closing up the only outlet. It is also far too southerly; a place easily accessible from Jerzeel and not far from the Aramaean border is imperatively required.

Ewald (Genk 3 493 note) and Conder (Heth and Arab. 175; Smith's DB 11 1191) do more justice to the biblical narratives by fixing the site of Ramoth-Gilead at Reimūn, a lofty and ancient site a few miles W. of Jerash (Gerasa), in the Jebel 'Ajlūn. The place was quite open to Aramaean incursions, and could be reached by chariots up the valley of the Jabbok. Sir G. Grove (Smith's DB 11 21001) and Merrill (East of the Jordan, 284 ff.) urge the claims of Jerash itself; Oliphant too (Land of Gilead, 213) thinks Ramoth-Gilead must have been either at or near Jerash. This view is supported by the Arabic Joshua (208 214 Rāmat al-Jarās). G. A. Smith however (HG 588) is not satisfied with any of these identifications, and thinks Ramoth-Gilead, being so hotly disputed by Aram and Israel, must have been farther N., near the N. limit of Gilead—the Yarmūk (so G. A. Cooke, loc. cit.). Irbid and Ramthé [er-Remthé], he remarks, are both of them fairly strong sites. Er-Remthé has been very recently favoured by Smend (ZATW, 1902, p. 153), who finds in the name er-Remthé an echo of an Aramaic form ḥṛṣṣṣṣ. Buhl combines Ramoth-Gilead with the mod. Jal'ūd, N. of es-Salt (see GILEAD, 2), and whilst Smend identifies Ramoth-Gilead with Wāṣṣṣṣ-Gilead, Buhl inclines to distinguish between them.

To get beyond Prof. G. A. Smith's acute but vague conjecture, we must look at the Hebrew of 1 K. 11.

3. Site (e). Removing the accretions on the original text we find it stated that one of Solomon's prefects called Ben-gelber (nothing depends on the correctness of this reading) was over the region of Argob, and resided in Ramoth-Gilead. Is the latter circumstance probable? Surely his residence must have been in Bashan, unless indeed we prefer to omit the statement about Argob and Bashan, and make Ben-gelber the prefect of the so-called Hayvoth-Jar, which Nu. 32 39 41 places in Gilead. Possibly for רמנת גילעד, 'Ramoth-Gilead,' we ought to read רמנת צלח, 'the Ramah of Salhad.' Salhad is probably the true name of the fortified city on the extreme SE. of Bashan, which protected that fertile land from the invasions of the nomads; it is called in MT SALECAH [y. v.]. The objections raised to the other sites certainly do not apply to Salhad. For other supposed traces of the name see GILEAD, § 8, SUCCOTH, ZELOMIEHAD.

Salhad is situated on an eminence forming one of the southernmost heights of the Jebel Haurān (see Driver, Dt. 53). That the district to the N. of Edrei (Der'at) and Salhad fell into the region of Argob, will hardly be doubted (cp Driver, in Hastings' DB 1 147). It was also probably Salhad (Ramath-Salhad) that Benhadad kept back, contrary to the agreement in 1 K. 20 34, and the Israelish kings therefore sought to recover (1 K. 22 3, etc.). Holding it, the Aramaean kings had the fertile district of Argob at their mercy. The harmonising process of an editor corrected רמנת צלח, 'Ramath-Salhad,' wherever it occurred, into רמנת גילעד, 'Ramoth-Gilead.'

It is probable that no better explanation can be found

4. Site (f). on the assumption that the current view respecting the Aramaeans with whom the kings of Israel were so often at war, and respecting the region of the legendary Og, king of Bashan, is correct.

The assumption in question is at first sight a reasonably safe one, and it receives support from the legend of the meeting of Jacob and Laban, in the earlier form disclosed to us by textual criticism of Gen. 31 17-54. We may even go farther, and pronounce it not improbable that Salhad really was the place which the editor of the Book of Kings in its present form thought

1 G. A. Cooke, in Driver, Dt. 53, p. xx; cp L. Gautier, Au delà du Jourdain (1896), 30.
2 Schumacher (Mith. DBV, 1897, 66) places Ramoth-Gilead at el-Manāra, W. of Jerash.

RAPHAH

to be referred to in the account of the Aramaean wars. But it was not the place which was meant in the original narratives (5. PROPHET, § 7). It was at CUSHAN, not at DAMASCUS (as the traditional text represents) that Ben-hadad, or BIR-DALDAD, dwelt (1 K. 13 17); see TABRIMMON, and it was the great achievement of Jeroboam II. that he recovered CUSHAN and MAACHATH-JERAHNEEL FOR ISRAEL. It must have been a fortress on the border of the Negeb, towards Arabia, that the Aramaeans (= Jerahmeelites) and the Israelites so hotly contested. Amalfell when endeavouring to regain it, Joram won it back for a time from the N. Arabian king Hazzi'lu (Harzel), and Jehu (himself of Jerahmeelite extraction) was serving in the garrison when Elisha (a prophet of the Negeb); see PROPHET, § 7; see TRANOTU-HIM KING. Both 'Ramah' and 'Gilead' are, when S. Palestine and the Negeb are concerned, corruptions of 'Jerahmeel,' but while 'Ramah' or 'Ramath' is a mere popular distortion, 'Gilead' seems to be a transcriptional corruption of that ethnic name. The place intended is probably the 'TAMAR' (שֶׁמֶן=קָמַח) fortified by Solomon, according to 1 K. 9 18, cp 2 Ch. 8 4. Cp TAMAR, TADMOR.

T. K. C. RAMOTH OF THE SOUTH. See RAMATH OF THE SOUTH.

RAMPART, in AV sometimes, and in RV generally the rendering of חֵיל. See FORTRESS, § 5, col. 1557.

RAM'S HORN (קַרְנֵי הַיּוֹבֵל, Josh. 6 5). TRUMPETS OF RAMS' HORNS (שׁוֹפְרוֹת הַיּוֹבֵלִים, Josh. 6 4 6 8 13). See MUSIC, § 5.

RAMS' SKINS (עֹרֹת אֵילִים), Ex. 25 5, etc. See TABERNACLE, § 4.

RANGE (Lev. 11 35), RVmg. 'Stewpan,' see COOKING UTENSILS, § 4.

RANSOM (from Lat. redemptionem).
1. אֲרִיסָה. Cp GOEL.
2. אֲרִיסָה. Cp ATONEMENT (Ex. 21 30 RV, AV 'sum of money'; Lev. 27 27 AV 'redem.' RV 'ransom'; Nu. 85 11 AV 'satisfaction'; S. 12 3, AV and RVmg. 'bribe'; RV and AVmg. 'ransom'; Ps. 60 10 6 Job 36 11).
3. אֲרִיסָה, Ex. 34 20, etc.

RAPHA (רָפָא). 1. See RAPHAH, 2.
2. In genealogy of Benjamin (g. v. § 9 il. a), 1 Ch. 8 2 (רָפָא [RA], רָפָא [I]); but the name may be corrupted, e.g., from Gera (see JQR 11 109, § 8). Or (if correct) cp REPHAIAN [a] and the clan-name BETH-RAPHA.
3. See REPHAIAN, 4.

RAPHAEL (רָפָאֵל, 'God heals'; the name, however, has possibly grown out of something very different; see REPHAEEL [Che.]; רָפָאֵל), one of the most sympathetic figures in Jewish narrative literature, is introduced to us in the Book of Tobit, where under the name of AZARIAS ('Yahweh is a help') he accompanies Tobias in his adventurous journey and conquers the demon ASMODEUS (y. v.) (Tob. 3 17 8 2 9 11 2 7). He is, however, a disguised visitor from heaven, being really 'one of the seven² angels [archangels] who present the prayers of the saints and enter into the presence of the glory of the Holy One' (12 15). In the Book of Enoch (100 20) Ruffael (= Rafael) is called 'the angel of the spirits of men'; it is his function to 'heal the earth which the angels have defiled,' as a preliminary to which he has to place AZAZEL (y. v.) in confinement. This view of the essential connection between a name and the person bearing it is thoroughly antique; it has strongly coloured the story of TOBIT (y. v.), and is endorsed in the Midrash (Bemidbar rabb., par. 2) according to which Raphael is to heal the iniquity of Ephraim (i.e., the ten tribes). The later Midrash also represents him as the angel commissioned to put down the evil spirits that vexed the sons of Noah with plagues and sicknesses after the flood, and as the instructor of men in the use of simples; he it was who was the promoter of the 'Book of Noah,' the earliest treatise on materia medica (Ronsch, Buch der Jubilaeen, 385 57.). See ANGELS, § 4, note.

RAPHAH (רָפָה). 1. AV RAPHA (1 Ch. 8 27). See REPHAIAN (4).

1 'Jehoshaphat' is probably a modification of Šepthāth (Zephathite) and 'Nimshi' of Yimše 'eli (Ishmaelite).
2 In the cuneiform 6 2 17, and cp Jastrow,

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RAPHAÏM

1. Four giants are described in 2 S. 21:10-14 22:22 (cp 1 Ch. 20:4-9) as descendants of 'the Rapha' (EV 'the giant'; RV *giant*); RAPHAM; AVOC RAPHIA; רָפָאִים, in Ch. 22:22. See ISHTEROTH, SAPH. (S's readings in S. Papha [BAL, L. in 22, 16, 13] ... γίγαντες, p. 10. ... Τίτιος, p. 22 adds the words ... γίγαντες, l. Ch. γίγαντες [BAL; but in v. 8 also ραφα [BAL, ραφαί L]). Is 22:22 correct? The sing. form occurs only here. See REPHAIM.

RAPHAÏM (ΡΑΦΑΪΝ [Λ], RHONT.), one of the ancestors of Judith; Judith 8:1.

RAPHON (ΡΑΦΩΝ [ΑΝ], ΡΑΦΕΛ [Vfort]); 1 Macc. 5:37 Jos. Ant. xii. 84), an unknown city mentioned in 1 Macc. 5:37 as 'beyond the brook'; it was besieged by Timotheus and relieved by Judas the Maccabee, from the context it obviously lay not very far from Arnaim (Ashteroth-Karnaim). It is no doubt the Raphana mentioned by Pliny (HN v. 1874) as one of the cities of the Decapolis, and may possibly be identical with the Capitolias of Ptol. (v. 1522), 16 m. from Edrei (Herat). See Schröter, GJI 293.

RAPHU (RHE), as if 'healed'; ΡΑΦΟΥ [BAF]; ΑΦΑΥ [L]), father of PALTU (2) (Nu. 13:9). On origin of name see PALTU, 2; REPHAIL.

RASSES, CHILDREN OF (ΡΑΣΣΕΙΣ [BA], ΡΑΣΣΕΙΣ [S]; *tharsis* [Vg.]; *tharsis et rasis* [Vet. Lat., l. Sangerm.]; راسيس... راسيس [Syr.]), people mentioned along with Put, Lud, and the children of Ishmael (Judith 2:23). That *ρᾶσσιος*, a mountain range and town S. from Amanus on the gulf of Issus, intended is improbable; others prefer TARSUS [q. v.]. The mention of a town ill accords with the enumeration of such peoples as PUT and LUD, and the name is visibly a corruption of TIRAS. See ROSH.

RATHUMUS (ΡΑΘΥΜΟΣ [BL], ΡΑΘΥΟΣ? [A*]), sd. 2:16 f. = Ezra 4:8 f., RETHUM, 5.

RAVEN (רָבֵעַ, from רָבַע, 'to sink' [of the sun], 'be dark'; *kopaz*; *corvus*). It is noteworthy that the fables and the ravens possess the same representative character in a saying of Jesus, at least according to the tradition in Lk. 12:24 (but in Mt. 6:26 *πετεινὰ*); in the NT they are referred to in evidence of God's providential care (Job 38:41 Ps. 147:9). In Cant. 5:11 their black plumage (cp deriv. above) is referred to, Prov. 30:17 Is. 34:11 Zeph. 2:14¹ (crit. emend. with *καρῶν*), other habits of the raven are mentioned, in Gen. 8:7 the raven is stated to have been the bird let out of Noah's ark.²

The feeding of Elijah by the ravens (1 K. 17:4) has been regarded as a supernatural feature appropriate to the circumstances of the prophet, but if, as Cheyne suggests, Elijah's place was at Rehoboth in the extreme S. of Palestine, a raven to 'Arabians' would gain considerably in plausibility, and it is a loss to edification that human instruments should take the place of 'unclean' birds like the ravens (see MIZRAIM, 2). An analogy for the emendation referred to is offered by 2 in *Q* Pesh., which give 'like a crow' (רָבֵעַ, *korvānā*, or 'like an Arabian' (רָבֵעַ). This is an error, but in 2:14 the crow is no doubt mentioned. The gods of the ancients are there likened to the crows (*κορῶναι*) that fly in heaven and earth.¹

It is probable that the Heb. *רָבֵעַ* included all the members of the family *Corvidae*—i.e., the crows, choughs, rooks, jays, and jackdaws, as well as the true raven. Tristram enumerates eight species of *Corvidae* at present found in Palestine; of which the *C. umbrinus* or brown-necked raven is specially mentioned, as it is almost ubiquitous, and fed to some extent on carrion, but will also devour animals of some size, though usually only when they are weakly or injured.

Comparison of Zeph. 2:14 with Is. 34:11 shows that רָבֵעַ in the cuneiform account the raven is the last; see DELUGE, 1, and cp Jastrow, *Kel. Bab. and Ass.* 503.

REBEKAH or REBECCA

The raven has always been regarded as a bird of omen, and excited superstitious awe which is not even yet entirely extinct. To the ancients

3. Character. It was one of that class of living creatures which were at once venerated and shunned.¹ It is not surprising, therefore, to find the raven in the list of (so-called) 'unclean' birds (Dt. 14:14; cp CLEAN, § 9). Besides the Melchite chieftain's name ORER, the Ar. clan-name *Gorab* indicates that the bird did not always possess an ill-omened character; and it is a significant fact that *Gorab* was one of the names of heathenism which Mohammad made its bearer change.²
A. E. S.—S. A. C.

RAZIS (ραζις [Λ], *razis* [Vg.]), 'an elder of Jerusalem,' called Father of the Jews for his good will toward them.¹ His story is told in 2 Macc. 11:17 ff. The name is possibly from an original רָזִי = רָזָה, 'to be lean.' The Syr., however, gives his name as *raz-sh.*

RAZOR (רָצוּר, etc.), Nu. 6:5, etc. See BEARTE.

REAIH (רֵאִיָּה, 'Yahvé has seen'; but cp JORAI).
1. A Calebite, son of SHOBAL; 1 Ch. 4:2 (*paia* [H], *paia* [AL], *paia* [L]). Reaiht ought also, perhaps, to be read for HAIH in 1 Ch. 2:42, but both forms may be corruptions.
2. A Reubenite; 1 Ch. 5:5 (AV REAIA; *paia* [H], *paia* [L]).

3. The family name of a company of (post-exilic) Nehemiah: Ezra 2:47 (*paia* [H], *paia* [AL], *paia* [L]); Neh. 7:28 (*paia* [H], *paia* [AL]) = 1 Est. 5:31 (*paia* [H], *paia* [L]); AITUS [AV], JAIRUS [RV].

REBA (רֵבָעָה, probably by transposition from רָבֵעַ, 'Arabia,' cp REKEM [Che]; רֵבֶעָה, 'Be' [H], רֵבֶעָה, רֵבֶעָה [L]), one of the five chiefs of Midian, slain after the 'matter of Peor'; Nu. 31:8 Josh. 13:21.

REBEKAH or [NT] **REBECCA** (רֵבֶקָה; רֵבֶעֶקָא [NADEL]; *Rebecca*; on the name, see below, § 2), sister

1. Traditions. of Laban, and therefore daughter of Nahor, according to J (see Dt. on Gen. 24:15), but daughter of Bethuel, according to P (see Gen. 25:20). For the idyllic story of her betrothal and marriage, which is not only beautiful in itself, but a valuable record of Israelitish sentiment in the time of the writer or writers, it is enough to send the reader to the original narrative. Gunkel, it may be observed, thinks he can trace a double thread (*Ja* and *Jb*) in this narrative. It is certainly possible that more than one hand has been concerned in the story; at the same time the narrative would hardly gain by being reduced to the limits of the assumed *Ja*. Another critic (Steuer-nagel, *Einwanderung*, 36) draws a weighty critical inference from the parallelism between Gen. 24 and 29. Independently, a larger inference of the same kind is drawn in § 2 of the present article.

It has been thought that there is a discrepancy between J and P as regards the original home of Rebekah. J brings her from Aram-naharaim, from the city of Nahor (24:15); P from Paddan-aram (25:20 f.; cp 28:2 f.). The discrepancy, however, did not always exist. 1. It is possible to hold that both in J and in P Rebekah had a traditional connection with the northern Jerahmeelites of Hauran (for *אֲרָם* most probably has been worn down from *אֲרָמָה*, and *נָחֹר* may have come from

¹ Having been originally worshipped, they were honoured, and their presence was considered lucky; but their specific 'holy' character made them 'taboo,' and as such they were to be avoided. For this paradoxical conception, see CLEAN, § 7.

² See WRS, *Kira*, 200, 31. We. *Heid.* 203. The raven was intimately associated with Apollo and Esculapius; see Frazer, *Paus.* 372 f. Corvus is said to have been transformed into a raven. In Rome, a flight of ravens on the left hand was considered lucky, on the right hand unlucky. In northern Europe one is reminded of the ravens of Odin, and those of Fiskki, by whose aid he discovered Iceland. Similarly the Vikings are said to have carried ravens in their ships to be able to find the bearing of the nearest land (cp CASTOR, and for the painting or carving of a totem on a boat, Frazer, *Totemism* 30 f.).

RECHAH

against the crime (Eus. HE 2.21). Recent writers have tried to find the descendants of the Rechabites in this or that modern tribe. Such attempts could not but be illusory. Cf L. Gautier, 'A propos des Rechabites,' La liberte chrétienne, June 13, 1901, T. K. C.

RECHAH, RV Rechah (רַחָה), 1 Ch. 4:12 (רַחָה [A], רַחָה [B]). See CHER, § 4; REHABITES.

RECONCILE, RECONCILIATION. The words are:

- 1. ῥίπτε, ῥίπτε, ἰλιθίσσονται, Lev. 23:29-31; 16:25 Ezek. 33:17-20—where RV always has 'atone'; 'make atonement' (ῥίπτε); ἰλιθίσαι Nu. 20:11, ἰλιθίσαι, 1 S. 12: 19, 27 (187), ἰλιθίσαι Wisd. 18:21 Eccles. 5:3 10:11 17:29 18:12-20 (191); Heb. ῥίπτε twice.
- 2. ἀλλοτριῶν, ἄλλοτριῶν, ἀλλοτρίων 1 S. 29:4. In 2 S. 24:21 accept; in Gen. 33:1 (ἐλάσσει) Mal. 1:4 (προσδέχεσθαι) 'be pleased with'; ἀλλοτριῶν (Eccles. 2:22 27:21).
- 3. ῥίπτε, ῥίπτε, ἰλιθίσσονται, 2 Ch. 29:24, AV 'make reconciliation,' RV 'make a sin offering.' See SACRIFICE, §§ 23-25, 44.
- 4. ἀλλοτρίων Mi. 5:2 (p. 2 and 2 Maec. 8:29 [V]).
- 5. καταλλασσόντων Rom. 5:10 (p. 2 Maec. 15:7 31, 82) [A], καταλλάσσον Rom. 5:11 11:15 2 Cor. 5:18 20:6 p. 2 Maec. 5:20.
- 6. ἀποκαταλλάσσει Eph. 2:18 Col. 1:20 f.
- 7. ἰλιθίσσονται Lk. 18:11, Heb. 2:17, RV 'propitiation' (Ps. 67:3 etc.), ἐπιλάσσει 1 Ju. 2:2 4:10 RV 'propitiation'; cp Eccles. 10:1 [V] 33:17; ἰλιθίσαι [A] 2 Maec. 8:11; see also MERCY etc. Weissmann (Yam Bihelud. 42) brings forward a parallel construction ἰλιθίσσονται ἀμαρτίας (Heb. 2:17) in an inscription relative to a sanctuary in Asia Minor, ἡ (ἀμαρτίας) ἡν ἀμαρτίας ἰλιθίσσονται (27). It is noteworthy, as regards the use of the idiom, that ἰλιθίσσονται is employed alternately with ἐπιλάσσει ποιεῖσθαι in Ὁ to represent the conception of atonement. The latter phrase regards the act with reference to its effect upon men, the former with reference to its significance in relation to God.

RECORD (רָחַץ), RV 'he that voucheth for me,' 10:16. See WITNESS.

RECORDS (Esth. 6:1; Ex. 17:14); see HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 5.

RECORDER (רָחַץ)—i. e., 'one who brings to mind,' 'remembrancer'; ἈΝΑΜΙΝΗΣΚΩΝ [four times and 36:1 [V]]. ὙΠΟΜΝΗΜΑΤΟΓΡΑΦΟΣ [four times], ὙΠΟΜΝΗΜΑΤΩΝ [2 S. 8:16], ὙΠΟΜΝΗΣΚΩΝ [2 S. 20:24 [L], 1 K. 4:3 [BL]]; a commentarius, 2 title of a high officer (Jehoshaphat, Joah are named) in the court of the kings of Judah (2 S. 8:16 20:24 1 K. 4:3 18:37 1 Ch. 18:15 2 Ch. 31:8 36:3 22:1). RV^{ms} has 'chronicler'; AV^{ms}, often, 'remembrancer' or 'writer of chronicles.' The sense in which the word taken by G and Vg. is obvious. The Hebrew title suggests that of the 'magister memoriae' at the Roman Imperial court (Smith, Dict. Gr. and Rom. Ant., 'Magister'), or that of the king's remembrancer, a duty formerly was to remind the judges of the equal Court 'of such things as are to be called intended to for the benefit of the crown' (Bouvier, Dict., s. v.). But the office of the *mazkir* was not certainly much more responsible than either of them. It might perhaps more aptly be compared to that of one of the chief advisers of the crown or of the keeper of the king's conscience.' See GOVERNMENT, cp HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 5.

RECORDED (רָחַץ), RV^{ms} 'recorder' (רָחַץ, ὁ ῥά ῥα ῥα, cp Ps. 21 (6) γράβων τὰ πρ.), of 1 Esd. 2:17, see 1 S. 5, where 'governor' (lit. 'man of command') is used as a more likely equivalent.

REDDISH (רָחַץ), see COLOURS, § 8 (אָרָם, אָרָמוֹנִי, אָרָמִי), and for Reddish (אָרָמִי), see 18, § 10.

REDDISH (רָחַץ), Job 28:18. RV^{ms}; see

According to Strabo (77) the ὑπομνηματογράφος was one of four native officers recognised in the Roman province of the others being the ἰσηγητής, the ἀρχιδικαστής, and ἄρχιστρατήγος. The senator whose duty it was to compile the *acta diurna* Roman Senate received the title *ab actis* (or a *commentarius senatus*). Under the empire the office was usually an honorary one, *actis* the questioning, but before the Empire or redliness (Smith, Dict. Gr. and Rom. Ant., s. v.

RED SEA

REDEEM, REDLIMER, REDEMPTION. See GOM.

RED HEIFER (רַחֵץ הַבָּקָר), Nu. 19:2 f. [13]. See CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 17; and SACRIFICE, § 38. On the symbolism of the red hue see CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 16, end.

RED SEA. At Ras Muhammad the Red Sea, 'one of the most remarkable oceanic gulfs on the globe,' is divided by the peninsula of Sinai into two gulfs, the western or Gulf of Suez, now about 130 geographical m. in length, with an average width of about 18, and the eastern or Gulf of Akabah, about 90 m. long, and of proportionate narrowness. On the question as to the extent of the Red Sea in early historic times, see EXODUS I, § 15.

Whether by the statement in Ex. 10:19 that the W. wind 'took up the locusts and drove them into the "Red Sea" (רַחֵץ הַבָּקָר, eis tyn ipsothyn thalassas), the whole of what is known to geography as the Red Sea is meant, or only the Heracopolitan gulf (Gulf of Suez), cannot be decided from this passage alone. It is evident that the western gulf is meant in Ex. 10 (the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea—which the Israelites followed leaving Egypt). In Ex. 15, Pharaoh's captains are drowned in the Red Sea (parallel; 'sea,' the expression generally used in the chapters on the passage through 'the sea'), in Ps. 124 the Israelites leave the Red Sea. Similarly Nu. 14:25 33:10 f. Dt. 1:1 (after G, correctly EV) 2:14 10:4 21:24 24:6 Judg. 11:17, etc., mean the Arabian gulf of the ancients, the modern Gulf of Suez. The eastern gulf, the *sinus Aethiopicus* or Gulf of Akabah, seems to be meant in Ex. 23:12 (frontier of Israel) Nu. 34:4 (S. of the territory of Edom) Ju. 21:17 (frontier of Mt. Seir) 1 K. 9:26 (ship built at Ezion-geber, on the Red Sea) Jer. 49:21 (adjohin—the Edomites), on the Red Sea the name seems to apply to the Red Sea in general.

The rendering of the English version goes back through the Vulgate to the Ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα of G¹ (where only Judg. 11:16 has θάλασσα Σιφ).

1. ἰρσοθὰ θάλασσα. The expression is common to classical (Eschylus, Pindar, Herodotus) and biblical Greek (1 Maec. 49 Wisd. 10:18 19:7 Acts 7:36 Heb. 11:29). The original meaning of the name was a subject of discussion with the Greeks. They thought of a source with reddish water, or of that of the mountains surrounding it; or they invented a king Erythras. Egyptianologists have compared the name *dohret*, 'red land,' given by the ancient Egyptians to the desert in contrast to the *kemet*, 'black land'—i. e., cultivable ground or Egypt proper (see EGYPT, § 1); also the Edomites as alleged 'red men,' or the *afury* nomad Goshen (§ 61). Unfortunately, none of these names is ever found connected with the Red Sea; on the Egyptian name 'water' (or sea) 'of the circle' (or circuit?) and the hypothetical explanation of this expression, cp WMM *As. u. Eur.* 254. Thus the origin of the Greek name is certainly to be sought for not in Egypt, but among the Semites. Some misunderstanding of a Palestinian or Syriac expression by the Greeks is quite likely. It must be recalled, in passing, that the Greeks used the name in a much wider sense than we do, extending it over the whole sea between Africa and India (cp Herod. 2:11, etc.).

The Hebrew name *yam siph*, יַם סִיפִי—i. e., sea of the water-plant *siph*—is also mysterious. The *siph* (see

2. Yam FLAG, 1) belongs specially to Egypt (cp Ex. 23:5 1s. 19:6) and the Nile; only in Jon. 2:6 is it used of seaweeds, probably by poetic license. The word seems to be identical with the Coptic Ἰσοϋφ, *sufyrus*, which is not found in the earlier language but appears as *tu-fi* in texts of the

1 See Wiedemann's Commentary on Herod. 2:11 (who quotes Strabo, 16:770, Mela, 3:8, Nearchus, 70, Enst. Dion. Perieg. 36). The statement that the expression is found in an Egyptian inscription is incorrect.

2 Wiedemann, *l.c.*

3 The Persian gulf also thus belonged to it. The tradition that the Phoenicians came originally from the Red Sea—i. e., Lower Babylonia—has been strangely misunderstood by scholars.

RED SEA

nineteenth dynasty. Whether it be a foreign or a vernacular word cannot be determined; consequently it must remain an open question whether it was borrowed from Egyptian by the Palestinians or vice versa. It is remarkable that the Coptic version, which otherwise strictly follows B. in Exodus renders 'Sea of Bari' which seems to be βαρι σαπι—according to Theophrastus, Pliny, and Mesychius, the name of an Egyptian water-plant (see Peyron, Lex. Copt., 304, who, however, prefers an impossible etymology). It would therefore seem that the Coptic translator here consulted the Hebrew, rendering 'sea of papyrus-plants' (Luther renders Schiffswer). These aquatic plants, of course, never grew in the salt water of the Red Sea; modern travellers have found, not without difficulty, some clumps of reeds on spots not far from Suez where fresh water mixes with the Red Sea (see Knobel-Dillmann, on Ex. 13:18); but the derivation of the name from these would be more than improbable. Others have thought (after Jon. 2:6) of seaweeds which are said to be plentiful in some parts of the Red Sea; but the common, early use of the word suph is against this. We can understand how Brugsch (L'Égypte, II, etc.) was led by these freshwater plants to assume the swamps of NE. Egypt as the locality of the Exodus; he quite forgot, however, that the name yam suph applies also to the Ælantic gulf. The freshwater Tinsit-like with its large marshes full of reeds, exactly at the entrance of Goshen, would fulfil all conditions for the Exodus and for the Hebrew name (see Exodus i., § 16). The word 'sea' is used of lakes in most oriental languages, especially in Hebrew (cp Nu. 24:11, 'Sea of Chinnereth,' etc.). Still, it would be very strange if the Crocodile Lake, or other swamps on the frontier of NE. Egypt, should have furnished a name to the whole Red Sea, including the Ælantic gulf which was nearer to most Palestinians than the Egyptian lakes. On the connection between the present bitter lakes and the Gulf of Suez, which most scholars assume for biblical times, see Exodus i., § 15. In the opinion of the present writer this theory must be rejected, and thus the Hebrew name remains obscure.

W. M. M.

With wonted precision and discriminating use of authorities BDB's Lexicon (s.v. סופ) gives the following, on which it is not superfluous to comment, because it is one of the objects of the present work to intermix the old and the new, and by a junction of the forces of all critical students, to make definite advances wherever this is possible. סופ is probably = sea of

3. Is the solution hopeless?

rushes or reeds (less probably sea of Tents, Suph), which Greek includes in wider name θαλασσοθαλα, Rev. Sea (cp Dt. Ex. 13:18 and especially WMM, Is. u. Eux., 42 f.), who explains its name originally given to upper end of Gulf of Suez, extending into Bitter Lakes, shallow and marshy, whence reeds (probably also reddish colour); name applied only to arms of Red Sea, most often to Gulf of Suez, sometimes to Gulf of Akabah. It is noted also that סופ סופ should possibly be read for סופ סופ in Dt. 11. BDB also points out (s.v. סופ) that in Ex. 14:2 (ib.) 9 Is. 51:10 (ib.) 13:11, etc. סופ, and in Is. 11:15 probably יבֵּי־סוּפִים = the 'Red Sea'. In the latter statement, however, 'probably' seems to be an exaggeration. 'The tongue (bay) of the sea of Egypt' is a strange circumlocution for סופ סופ; indeed, to render סופ סופ 'Egypt' in Is. 11:15 is only plausible if מִסְרָיִם may be rendered 'Syria' (cp Stade, A. P. H. 2:291). That there are errors in the text of 11:11-15, is certain; that סופ is sometimes a corruption of יבֵּי־סוּפִים (cp Ps. 120:3) may also be assumed; that מִסְרָיִם sometimes stands for מִסְרָיִם (Ashbur), a synonym of יבֵּי־סוּפִים (Jerahmeel), is also difficult to gainsay. Methodical criticism, therefore justifies us in reading, יבֵּי־סוּפִים יבֵּי־סוּפִים יבֵּי־סוּפִים. 'And Yahwé shall place a ban upon the Ishmaelites' (cp 7:14); יבֵּי־סוּפִים is an archaising gloss. Even above, this

1 See WMM, Is. u. Eux., 101. סופ(ו), 'reed,' which was formerly compared with סופ, is different.

2 Ebers, Durch Gosen, 510, makes it probable that this word is אֶשׁ in hieroglyphics. This, however, could not well be identical with the above Coptic word.

3 The Sirhanian bog would, however, justify the name as little as the Gulf of Suez.

REED

would suggest the view that סופ סופ may be an early textual corruption, nor could it be said that 'Sea of Suph' was improbable, except on the ground that the correctness of the supposed place-name 'Suph' in Dt. 11 was open to question. But when we have recognised that סופ סופ, Neh. 7:57, is a corruption of סופ סופ, i.e., Zarephath in the Negeb (see Sumereth)—it at once becomes a plausible view that סופ סופ in the MT are sometimes corrupt abbreviations of the same place-name Zarephath (Sarephath). Just as the 'Dead Sea' was called יַם־סוּפִים, a popular corruption (as many text-critical considerations suggest) of יַם־סוּפִים, so סופ סופ, as a name for the Gulf of Akabah, may be a corrupt abbreviation of סופ סופ, where סופ is to be taken as a race-name—the Zarephathites (see ZAREPHATH). A similar explanation may be given of סופ סופ and סופ סופ. Prof. Sayce (Crit. Mon., 255 ff.) is of opinion that Yam Suph, wherever the phrase occurs, means the Gulf of Akabah. This, however, involves the further statement that the identification of the sea crossed by the Israelites with the Yam Suph (Ex. 15:4:2) is incorrect. This is surely too bold. In Ex. 15:4:22, as elsewhere, the best course is to read סופ סופ (cp MOSES, § 12), unless, indeed, we prefer to read סופ סופ. All difficulties are obviated, if we adopt the view of the primitive tradition respecting Israel advocated in col. 278 ff., and suppose that the place of sojourn of the primitive Israelites was in the land of Mizraim, adjoining the land of Jerahmeel, on the border of the Negeb (see NEB 1:1). It is possible that the legend spoke of a great deliverance of the Israelites in סופ סופ, where סופ (sometimes corrupted into סופ, 'Javan') represents יבֵּי־סוּפִים (Jerahmeel). Quite early, the mark of abbreviation in סופ may have been lost, and סופ has become corrupted into סופ and סופ. Then, floating mythic stories may have led to an alteration of the old legend. One such possible story is referred to elsewhere (MOSES, § 13). Another may now be added. We know that סופ סופ (Mizraim? or Mizraim?) was regarded as the antitype of the primitive סופ סופ or 'dragon' (see DRAGON, § 4). There was also, in the Creation-story, a statement of the production of the dry land by the withdrawal of the water from a part of the ocean's bed (Gen. 1:9). This may very well have been regarded as a type of the deliverance of the Israelites, the story of which (so soon as textual corruption made this possible) was adjusted so as to fit this situation. On Jon. 2:6 ('suph, was bound about my head'), see CRIT. BIBL. On the whole, the closing sentence of § 2 seems to the present writer to be perfectly correct; but a special biblical scholar ought hardly to rest without trying some fresh avenue to the truth. W. M. M., § 1 f.; T. K. C., § 3.

REED. 1. קֶנֶד, kinedh, 1 K. 14:15 ΚΑΛΑΜΟΣ (2 K. 18:21 Is. 38:6, etc., Mt. 11:7 12:20, etc.), is a word which is common to Heb., Syr., Arab., and Ass., and has passed into Gr. and Lat. as KANNA—canna—and into Eng. as 'cane.' The name is probably of Semitic origin (Lag. Ubers. 50; Barth, Nominalb. § 9:6) but the nature of its connection with the root קנ is obscure. Besides the general meaning 'stalk' (Gen. 41:5:22) or 'shaft' (Ex. 37:17, etc.), קנ is used more specifically of (a) reedgrass, (b) sweet or aromatic cane(?)

(a) Reedgrass is frequently mentioned, though there is little to help in determining the particular species intended. It was distinct from suph (see FLAG) and gimé (see RUSIT), but like these grew by the banks of rivers (e.g., the Nile, Is. 19:6) and pools (Is. 35:7). It appears to have been somewhat tall (Job 40:21) and thick (to justify the metaphor in Job 31:22; EV 'bone', AV^m 'channel-bone'); and the jointed nature of the stalk appears to be indicated in the repeated references to the broken or bruised reed (2 K. 18:21, etc.).¹ Perhaps the most probable identification is with the tall Arundo Donax, L., which grows abundantly in S. Europe; though other species may have been included under the name.² In Ps. 80:11 קנ קנ certainly cannot be rendered 'the company of spearmen' (as AV); such a phrase can only be rendered 'the wild beast of the reeds' (cp AV^m 'the beasts of the reeds'). The animal intended may be the crocodile

1 The קנ (lance) of 2 S. 21:16, may be a kindred word, though the correctness of the text is very questionable.

2 So of the beam of a balance (Is. 40:6), and of a measuring reed or rod (Ezek. 40:5, etc.), on which last see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, § 1.

3 With these references cp the Talmudic phrase 'push with a reed'—of a feeble arguer (Lew., 344).

4 The evidence of the Syriac lexicographers is somewhat in favour of Arundo Phragmites, L. (l. 341).

REED

(cp Ps. 74:1 A symbol of this the lip)

(It is not so that opinion that the swine population, basis of population)

(b) By the יבֵּי־סוּפִים סופ סופ meant some in the holy cinnamon, from a carosty (Is. 4: other passages

umatic rivers, however, cassis bark, mammoth oc

India eastward 2. סופ, 'd rendered 'pa and (if not co refers to the the banks of t

3. סופ, 'd marshes, is in or σιστήματα applied to the on marshy spe

fire' (Gritz, 1 Cp Pool, 1.

4. סופ, 'd once in RV^m this see Ft. AG.

5. סופ, 'd rendered 'reed allusion is to and still, in u papyrus') and

(It is not stran modern one, the to Hillel (Ulcio following Tz) g

δουσα (AV^m 'sl סופ, ('ships of 'ships) of wings.'

REEDS, WIL

REELIAIH

[B], REELIAIC [1 Esd. 5:8 where i [RV], ῥησαιου form REELIAS of the same verse. 'Jerahmeel'; the within the Jewis (Che.). Cp REE

REELIUS, RV

[A], a duplicate exilic list of leader error been subst βαρογαι [1], i.e.

REESAIAS (p REELIAIH

REFINER (סר) METALS.

REFUGE, CIT See ASYLUM, § 5.

REGEM (רם); a Calebite name, o

REEDS, WILD BEAST OF THE

(cp Ps. 74 14, etc.), or the hippopotamus (cp Job 40 21). A symbol of Egyptian power seems to be required, and thus the hippopotamus nowhere is. See CROCOTILE.

[It is not surprising, considering the obscurity of the context, that opinion should not be quite unanimous. Thulin thinks that the swine is meant (cp 80 13 14), as the symbol of a Syrian population. Cheyne (P. 20) reads תית קרני תימן, 'the wild beasts of pointed horns.'

(b) By the *kinch* of Cant. 4 14 Is. 49 24 Ezek. 27 10, the קנה תיב of Jer. 6 20, and the קנה בצק of Ex. 30 23 is meant some aromatic product. It formed an ingredient in the holy anointing oil, the others being myrrh, cinnamon, cassia, and olive oil. It came to the Jews from a far country (Jer. 6 20, cp Ezek. 27 10), and was costly (Is. 43 24). The more general use of *kinch* in other passages suggests that this 'fragrant cane' was an aromatic reed or flag, such as *Acorus Gilamus*, L.

Others, however, prefer to identify the substance as cassia bark, which is yielded by various species of cinnamon occurring in the warm countries of Asia from India eastward (Flick, and Haub. 527).

2. קנה, *'arish* (דָחַ; Is. 19 7), which is in AV rendered 'paper reeds,' means properly 'bare places,' and (if not corrupt, see Che. *SBOT*, and Marti, *ad loc.*) refers to the uncultivated and treeless meadows along the banks of the Nile.

3. קנהים, *'agammim*, which generally means pools or marshes, is in Jer. 51 32 (but G has *σιστέματα* [BNA] *σιστέματα* [B¹Q]) though Ag. Sym. translate *ἄρη* applied to the clumps or beds of reeds (such as grow in marshy spots), which are said to be 'burned with fire' (Gritz, however, would read קנהים, 'castles').

4. קנה, *'ahu*, is twice in RV text (Gen. 41 2 18) and once in RV^{mg} (Job 8 11) rendered 'reed-grass'; on this see FLAG.

5. קנה, *'eloh*, in Job 9 26† (*ἰχθυος ὀδοῦ?*) is rightly rendered 'reed' in RV^{mg}. Cp Ass. *abu* or *apu*. The notion is to the light canoes or skiffs of reed anciently, and still, in use on the Nile; cp Is. 18 2 ('vessels of yarus') and *SBOT ad loc.*

It is not strange that this rendering should be a distinctly later one. The explanation of *'eloh* as 'reed' only goes back to Miller (*Microphytica*, 1725) and Schultens (1737). Vg. (owing to *ἰχθυος*) gives *poma fontantes* (cp 20); Symm. *σσεύατα* (AV^{mg}, 'ships of desire'); Pesh. and over 40 MSS read *ἰχθυος* ('ships of hostility'); and lastly Olshansen reads קנהים, 'ships of wings.' See OSBREY, *ad fin.*, for a new emendation.]

6. קנהים, *'elohim*, for a new emendation.]

7. קנהים, *'elohim*, for a new emendation.]

8. קנהים, *'elohim*, for a new emendation.]

9. קנהים, *'elohim*, for a new emendation.]

10. קנהים, *'elohim*, for a new emendation.]

11. קנהים, *'elohim*, for a new emendation.]

12. קנהים, *'elohim*, for a new emendation.]

13. קנהים, *'elohim*, for a new emendation.]

14. קנהים, *'elohim*, for a new emendation.]

15. קנהים, *'elohim*, for a new emendation.]

16. קנהים, *'elohim*, for a new emendation.]

17. קנהים, *'elohim*, for a new emendation.]

18. קנהים, *'elohim*, for a new emendation.]

19. קנהים, *'elohim*, for a new emendation.]

20. קנהים, *'elohim*, for a new emendation.]

REHOB

REHEM-MELECH (רְהֵם-מֶלֶךְ; ῥεθεμελ [HNF],

-cep [N^{ca}], -cecep [A], -cee [Q], ο βασιλεως; see below). A citizen of Jerusalem concerned in a deputation sent to the prophet Zechariah, Zech. 7 2 (see SHAREZER, 2). Most probably (as Marquart suggests) he is to be identified with RAAMIAH, one of the twelve (?) leaders of the Jews (Ezra 2 2 and parallel passages).¹ The present writer suspects, however, that both 'Raamiah' and 'Rehem-melech' are simply corruptions of 'Jerahmeel.' The Jew spoken of would be (like 60 many others) partly of Jerahmeelite extraction. It would thus become unnecessary to explain Rehem in Rehem-melech by the Aram. רְהֵם, *jaculari*.

Marti now (1897) reads, for 'Rehem-melech and his men,' 'fourteen men, ארבעה עשר אנשים, a trace of which he finds in ῥεθεμελ ο βασιλεως. This account is rather ingeniously set off by ῥεθεμελ. But we have no right to eliminate רְהֵם-מֶלֶךְ ῥεθεμελ may represent ערבאמר (cp שראמר) - i.e., ערבאמר (=Assiote Arabia). Cp SHAREZER, 2; RAH-SHAKEL. T. K. C.

REHABIAH (רְהַבְיָהוּ), 'Yah is a wide place,' cp the use of רְהַב in Ps. 42 18 37 [30] or quite as possibly an ethnic = רְהַבִּי, 'Reholite' (Che.); ΡΑΒΒΙΑΔ, b. Eliezer b. Moses (1 Ch. 23 17 24 21; δΒΒΙΑ [L.]; 26 25; ΡΑΒΒΙΑΔ [B], ΡΑΒ. [A], ΔΒΙΑ [L]). Cp MOSES, RECHABITES, REHOBAM.

REHOB (רְהֹב), 'broad place'; ΡΩΒ [BAL.].

1. The northern limit of the 'spies,' apparently Aramean, and in the direction of Hamath (Nu. 13 21 ΡΑΒ [B], ΡΩΒ [F] 2 S. 10 8 ΡΑΒ [A], ΡΑΒ [A], ΡΑΒ [L.]); see BETU-REHOB. In the context of both passages, however (see NEGER, MAMRE, ZOBAB), there are phenomena which suggest that both 'Rehob' and the 'Beth-rehob' of 2 S. 10 6 are incorrectly or imperfectly written for 'Rehoboth,' and that this 'Rehoboth' is the place of that name in the Negeb (see REHOBOTH). 'Hamath' may be miswritten for Maacath or MAVACAH (q. v.), not improbably the southern Maacath. It may be added that, from this point of view, 'Aram' in the original narrative which underlies 2 S. 10 meant 'Jerahmeel,' a still shorter form of which is RAM (q. v.); also that 'ben Rehob,' the designation of Hadad-ezer in 2 S. 8 3 12, probably means 'native of Rehoboth' (see ZOBAB).

2. and 3. The name of two unidentified Asherite cities, the one mentioned between Ebron and Hammon (Josh. 19 28, ΡΑΒ [B]), the other with Accho and Aphhek (ib. 30, ΡΑΒ [B, see UMMAN], ΡΑΒ [A] - ος [Compl.], ΡΑΒ [L.]). There may well have been several Rehobs; but the mention of two in the Asherite list seems due to an error. It is only the second one which we know to have existed. It is enumerated (with Aphhek and Accho) in Judg. 1 31 (ερεω [B]) among the cities of Asher in which the Canaanites remained; and again in Josh. 21 11 (P, ΡΑΒ [B]), 1 Ch. 6 75 (α.) (om. L.) in a post-exilic list of Levitical cities assigned to the line Gershon.² A possible connection with *rahub* [hu] in an Eg. list, may be mentioned (cp WMM *As. u. Eur.* 394). Of more importance, however, is the occurrence of the name *rahuby* (ραβ. Anast.) between *Kinnuq* (see HEBER, 1), and *Bapti-Sa-Aru* (perhaps Beth-shean?),³ which is doubtless the same as the *Rehob*, ΡΩΒ of the Onom., situated near Beth-shean (OS¹² 145 21 286 82 f.). Now this Rehob in OT times must have been included within the borders of Issachar. It seems not improbable that the name in Josh. 19 28 (see above) has been accidentally transplanted from the list of cities of Issachar once given by E in 17: 17-23.⁴ See BETU-REHOB. S. A. C.

¹ Cp Alijah (1 S. 14 3) = Ahimelech (1 S. 22 9-12).
² The criticism of Josh. 19 is difficult. See JOSHUA, § 6, Addis. *Proc. Soc. 1230 f. 247 f.*, and cp *Uy. Rec. ad loc.*
³ WMM *As. u. Eur.* 151; cp *rahuba* (Šošenk list) together with *Harpuram* (see HADHARAIM).
⁴ Of the older document only 17a has survived. The rest

REHOB

REHOB (רְהוֹב). 1. 2 S 8:12; see REHOB I. 1; BETH-REHOB; HADADEZER. 2. A Levite signatory to the covenant (see EZRA 1, § 7); Neh. 10:11 [12] (B om., ρωβ [VL], ρωβ [McA mg]).

REHOBAM (רְהוֹבָאִם), as if 'the clan is enlarged,' 1. But רְהוֹבָאִם, REHABIAH, favours the view that either רְהוֹבָאִם is the divine name 'AMM (cp AMMI, NAMES IN), or (Che.) the name is, or represents, one of the current modifications of 'Jerahmeel.' Possibly the true form was Rehabel, just as the true form of JEROBOAM [q.v.] may have been Jerubba'id; the origin of both names, however, may be suspected to have been 'Jerahmeel.' Cp, however, Gray H.P.V. 59; ρωβοαμ [B.M.].

Son of Solomon, and first King of Judah (about 930 B.C.). According to 2 Ch. 12:13 the queen-mother was 'Naamah, an Ammonitess.' This supposed half-Ammonitish origin of Rehoboam would be important, were it probable (cp the 'am in the name). But we have no reason to think that Solomon's chief wife was an Ammonitess. Much more probably he married the 'companion' of David's old age, by an error (it seems) of G and MT called Abishag. If so, רְהוֹבָאִם may be a corruption of רְהוֹבָאִם, Šunammith, and Rehoboam's mother was probably Naamah the Šunamite (cp Cant. 6:12 [13]). The queen-mother, however, need not have been an Issacharite; the Šunem from which she came was most probably in the Negeb (see ŠUNAMMITE). Had it been otherwise, Rehoboam might have counted on the support of the tribesmen of Issachar. But Issacharites were certainly not among 'the young men that had grown up with him and stood before him,' of whom we are told in 1 K. 12:8.

The traditional story of the events which led to the disruption is considered elsewhere (see JEROBOAM, 1). It is necessary, however, to refer to it again in connection with the article SOLOMON. It would seem that in spite of the compulsory (?) cession of twenty cities to the king of Mišur, Solomon succeeded in retaining a large part of the Negeb. It also appears that as late as the time of Amos (see PROPHET, § 35) Israelites from the N. frequented the venerable sanctuaries of the Negeb—a region which the second Jeroboam had recovered for Israel. It is further probable that the place-name which appears in Genesis (MT) as 'Shechem' should rather be Cushman, and that a place in the Negeb, on the border of the N. Arabian Cush is intended. See ŠUEHRIG. Very possibly it was there that the great assembly was held, which issued in the rejection of Rehoboam by the larger part of Israel. That the story given in 1 K. 12 is correct, is intrinsically improbable. We do not know what it was that actually kindled the spark of disaffection, nor is it necessary that we should. The differences of N. and S. were reasons enough for a separation; in race and perhaps even in matters of cultus there was by no means complete unity among the federated clans of Israel.

Was Rehoboam really forty-one years old at his accession? We may doubt it, even without laying stress on 1 K. 12:8; cp 2 Ch. 13:7. So far as we can see, he displayed no vigour, even in the feud between himself and Jeroboam; the historians ascribe this partly to the intervention of a prophet named ŠHEMAIAH. And in spite of the cities in the S. which Solomon (and, as the Chronicler states, Rehoboam himself) had fortified, he could not hinder the successful incursion of 'Shishak, king of Egypt,' or rather 'Cushi, king of Mišrim' (see ŠIŠHAK), which resulted in the loss of the treasures which Solomon had collected for the temple. This is the one great event recorded of his reign. See ISRAEL, § 23, and on Rehoboam's wives (2 Ch. 11:18-20), MAACAH, MAHALATH. T. K. C.

REHOBOTH (רְהוֹבוֹת; εργαχώρα [AD]). the name of one of the wells dug by Isaac (Gen. 26:22).

1. Identification. See GERAR. Rehoboth was really, however, an important place, to which great kings and diviners appear to have traced their origin, and where great prophets took refuge, and received messages from their God (see below). It may perhaps be the city of Rubuta mentioned in the Am. Tab. (18213 18310), and once called apparently Hubutu (23947). In 1833-10 we read that the warriors of Gazri, Ginti, and Kilti have taken the region of Rubutu. Ginti is Ginti-Kamil, i.e., Gath of JERAHMEEL (q.v., § 4 [f.]), Kilti is Keilah. The localities, except Gezer, lie pretty near together. Presumably the site is that of the mod. Rahaibeh, 8

has been rejected in favour of P's account of the tribal limits; see Addis (ib. cit.).

1 Cp the play on the name in Eccles. 47:23 (Heb. text).

REHOBOTH

hours SW. of Beersheba, at the point 'from which the roads across the desert, after having been all united, again diverge towards Gaza and Hebron.' Robinson, who visited the place, hesitated to make this identification, because 'this appears to have been nothing but a well' (BR I 291). Rowlands and Palmer saw more clearly. In the Wady itself there is only one well; but on the sloping sides of the side-valley, in which the ruins are situated, are many wells, reservoirs, and cisterns. 'A little beyond this the Wady opens out, and receives the name of *Bahr bela mi* ('the waterless sea [lake]'), and on the left comes in a small valley called *Sutnet er-Rahaibeh*, in which names are preserved both the Sitnah and Rehoboth of the Bible' (Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 383). Probably Rahaibeh also represents the 'Rehoboth by the River' of Gen. 36:12 (רְהוֹבוֹת הַיָּרְדֵּן; ρωβωθ τῆς παρα ποταμῶν, or τοῦ ποταμοῦ [AL], om. B; *de fluvio Rohoboth, or de K. que juxta amnem sita est* [Vg.]). See SAUL (2), PETHOR. The appended description distinguished this Rehoboth from other places of the same name. The 'River' is the River of Mišrim (see MIZRAIM, § 2 b; EGYPT, RIVER OF). For passages in the accounts of Bela, Balaam, and Elijah, in which Rehoboth appears under disguises due to corruption in the text, see BELA, CHERUTH, PETHOR; also MARCABOTH, NEGB, § 2 c.

This, however, does not exhaust the list of probable references to Rehoboth. It may have been displaced

2. Further OT references. 110² (see KIRJATH-ARBA); in this case, it was at Rehoboth, not at Hebron,

that the famous cave of 'the MACHIBELAI' (? Jerahmeel, Gen. 23:17-20) was situated. The error may have been a very early one (perhaps in the original P). No doubt, too, 'B'ne Heth' in Gen. 23:37 is miswritten for 'B'ne Rehoboth' (הַתְּחִיטִי); so also 'Hittite' (הַתְּחִיטִי) in Gen. 26:34 and 36:2 should be 'Rehobothite' (רְהוֹבוֹתִי), and 'daughters of Heth' (בְּנוֹת הַתְּחִיטִי) in Gen. 27:46 should be 'daughters of Rehoboth' (בְּנוֹת רְהוֹבוֹת); see JACOB, § 2.

The Book of Ezekiel, too, yields one remarkable reference to Rehoboth, if in Ezek. 16:34, 'thy mother was a Hittite,' we should read 'Rehobothite' ('Anurite,' or rather 'Arammite' = 'Jerahmeelite'). On the probability that the early population of Jerusalem consisted of Jerahmeelites or Rehobothites, see ZION, and cp *Crit. Bib.*

Most probably, too, 'URIAH the Hittite' should be 'Uriah the Rehobothite,' and 'Haggith' (the name of Adomjah's mother) in 2 S. 34 should be Rehoboth (רְהוֹבוֹתִי). 'Cherethite' (כִּרְתִּי), too, can at last be rightly read; it should be 'Rehobothite' (רְהוֹבוֹתִי). This, in fact, is a necessary inference from the corruption of רְהוֹבוֹתִי into כִּרְתִּי in 1 K. 17:35 (see CHERUTH, and cp PELETHITES, ZAREPHATHI). Thus David's faithful guards were not Philistines, but men of S. Palestine. That the Rehobothites and Šarephathites, however, were always friendly to David is more than can be safely stated. Both tribes or peoples are apparently referred to as hostile to David in 2 S. 21:15-22. 'Philistines' should be 'Šarephathites,' and 'Gath' (גַּת) and 'Gob' (גֹּב) are probably corrupt fragments of 'Rehoboth' (רְהוֹבוֹתִי). It will be remembered that the Mišrites were famous for their tall stature (1 Ch. 11:23; cp Is. 45:14?), and that the Anākim are connected with Kirjath-arba. Now Kirjath-arba (כִּרְיַת אַרְבָּה), or perhaps 'Arāh' (אַרְחָה) is at any rate not Hebron, but may be Rehoboth (cp SODOM). These conjectures favour the view that Goliath, David's antagonist in the legend, was of Rehoboth, not of Gath.

In short, it would appear that older and very different stories underlie the narratives in MT and G of 1 S. 17 and (especially) 2 S. 21:15-22 23:23, either there has been a confusion between

1 In Williams, *Holy City*, 146.

2 'Canaanites' here should be 'Kenizites' (as in some other parts of Judg. 1 and elsewhere).

two wars of Sarephathite life of David for רְהוֹבוֹתִי probable the 2 S. 5:17-25 EDOM [q.v.] this. On action ascribed to ZAREPHATHI 'Gath' but story of Šisera where (ŠISERA probably con that 'Si-sira' Ammon (rather

Other dis- probably a in 1 S. 14 Saul; in 2 11:12 26-30 phrases = the both the res- Jerahmeel, o Bib., and ep where it is a Rehoboth (no Pelistim (cp 2

REHOBOTH [AD]; ρωβωθ

1. Assyriological inquiry

cities in the ne- which it is as- and Esarhaddon a place in whic- on the site of Sargon, the m- represent Rēbit-Rēbit-Ninā, an (cp Del. Par. word rēbitu (fr- skirts of a city, which were par- though possibly Thus it was in- with Humbla-nig- of his reign: an- Esarhaddon mac- of Sidon, KTB 21: name of the farm- usually followed Rimāni-īlu denot- town-name, Reh- such town name.

The failure of Resen (not to add

2. Text-critical solution.

fusions and misim- abound in the tradi- is part of a much the Niturod pass- that passage ocer Niturod was really and 'Rehoboth-ir- gus place to 'Reh- REHOBOTH.

REHUM (רְהוּם)

1 There was a distr- Arabian Devils and probably the rabit of

REHOBOTH-IR

REINS

two wars of David—one with the 'Philistines' and one with the Sarephathites and Rehobothites, or there has throughout the life of David been a great error of the scribes—

Other disguised references to Rehoboth may perhaps be found in 1 S. 14.47 (where EL presupposes רהב) probably a corruption of רהבת and in 2 S. 8.3 12 106 8. In 1 S. 14 the conquest of Rehoboth is ascribed to Saul; in 2 S., more correctly to David.

REHOBOTH-IR (רְהוֹבוֹת יִר)

Assyriological inquiry. The name cannot be identified with any of the cities in the neighbourhood of Nineveh and Calah, with which it is associated.

In the inscriptions of Sargon I Esarhaddon mention is made of the ribit Nini, as a place in which was situated the old city Maganuba, the site of which Sargon founded his city of Dür-gon, the modern Khorsabad. Rehoboth-ir might present Ribit-ali, and this might be a equivalent to Ribit-Nina, and be a popular name for Dür-Sargon (Del. Par. 160 f. Calver Bib.-Lex. 723 b). The ribit (from ribatu?) denotes primarily the outskirts of a city, in some cases the fields and plantations which were part of the city but lay outside its walls, though possibly within the exterior circumvallation. It was in the ribit of Dür-ili that Sargon fought Humbla-nigaš king of Elam, at the commencement of his reign; and it was in the ribit of Nineveh that Esarhaddon made his triumphal entry after his capture of Nineveh, KB 2126. There is evidence that ribit is the name of the farm or estate in the open country and was followed by the name of its owner; thus Ribit-ni-ili denotes the estate of Rinañi-ili (see Assyrian Slay Book, 62). This would suggest that, if a name, Rehoboth 'Ir implies a founder 'Ir. No doubt name, however, has come down to us.

Text-critical solution. The problem from a fresh point of view, suggested by experience of the confusions and misunderstandings of biblical names which obtain in the traditional text. The problem thus viewed is of a much larger one which affects the whole of biblical passage, and indeed the context in which the passage occurs. It is far from unlikely that Rehoboth-ir and Calah should most probably refer to 'Rehoboth and Jerahmeel.' See NIMROD, pp. 111, 112.

UM (רְהוֹבוֹת) as if 'beloved,' an Aramaic word which was a district known as Rabûte, near Nineveh (see Deeds and Documents, Nos. 472, 416); but this was the name of the 'magnates,' rabûte, of Nineveh.

[§ 56], but very possibly one of the popular transformations of 'Jerahmeel'; cp Harim, Rekem, Raamiath, and see SHIMSHAI [Che.].

1. A leader (see EZRA ii., § 8c) in the great post-exilic list (EZRA ii., § 9) Ezra 2a (ἸΡΕΟΥΜ [A], ΡΕΙΟΥΜ [L], B om.); probably the same as (4) below. That the form NEHUM (נְהוּם; נְהוּמָא [BNA]) in Neh. 7.7 is incorrect is shown by 1 Esd. 5.8 (ρειουμου [L], ρομελιου [A*], ναιουμ [L], EV ROIMUS).

2. b. Hani, a Levite, in list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 f., EZRA ii., §§ 16 [1] 15 d) Neh. 3.17 (βασουθ [B], ραιουμ [NA], ρειουμ [L]).

3. Signatory to the covenant (EZRA i., § 7); Neh. 10.25 [26] (ραιουμ [BNA], ρε. [L]).

4. A priest in Zerubbabel's band (EZRA ii., § 6 d), Neh. 12.3, miswritten for HARTM of 2. 15 (so Guthe in SHOT; BNA om.; ρειουμ [N^{ca} mg. sup. L]).

5. The name of a high official (רַב־צִוְיָ) who joined with Shimshai the scribe and others in making representations against the Jews to Artaxerxes (Ezra 4.8 9 17 23). EV, following the early Hebrew commentators, who explain 'recorder,' calls him 'the chancellor'; 'the governor' would perhaps more exactly convey the force of רַב־צִוְיָ ('man of commands'), which is either the translation of an old Persian title (Pahlavi framâtâr—so Andreas in Marti, Aram. Gram.) or may even represent a Greek title (e.g., ἐπαρχος). The latter alternative assumes that the writer transported the political relations of the Greek period into the Persian period to which documents used by him belonged (so Marquart, Fund. 60). It is desirable however, that Ezra and Nehemiah should be re-examined in the light of the theory that the underlying original narrative related to the N. Arabian, not to the Persian, rule. This may affect our conclusions in many minor points.

The versions of Ezra leave the title untranslated (ραιουμ βαδαραμεν, ραιουμ βααλ, ραιουμ βαλγαμ, ραιουμ [B], ραιουμ βααλαμ, ραιουμ [A], ραιουμ βελτεεμ [L], βελτεεμ [Vg. L]). In 1 Esd. 2.11 ff., RATHIMUS (ραθιμος) called the 'news-writer' (cp 17.2 [eis] τὰ προσπιπτοντα, EV 'the story-writer'), cp Jos. (Ant. vi. 21) ὁ δὲ πάντα τὰ πρατόμενα γράφων. In other cases his title has been treated as a proper name BELLITIMUS, a scribe's corruption of βελτεεμος, cp 16 p. και βελτεεμος [B], ραιουμ και βελτεεμος [AA], ραθιμος και βελτεεμος [L], 25 [21]... ραθιμω τῶ γραφοτι τὰ προσπιπτοντα και βελτεεμ... [B]... βελτεεμω [A], p. γρ. τ. πρ. κ. βελτεεμ [L], 2. 18, 2. doublet).

REI (רֵי): PHCEI [BA], also n Palm. name [Vogüé, Syr. Centr. nos. 16, 22], but EL [KAI] ΟΙ ΕΤΑΙΡΟΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ, with reference to Shimei; cp Jos. Ant. vi. 144: 'Shimei David's friend' and see Th., coupled with SHIMEI (q.v. n.), among those who did not favour Adonijah (1 K 18). Winckler (Gesch. 224) identifies him with Ira, the Jairite, who was a 'priest to David' (2 S. 20.26); he argues ingeniously to show that this Ira (or Jair) was a priest of Bethlehem. But for רֵי we should possibly read רַב 'a high officer' (cp STERNA). Ewald reads רַב for רֵי and identifies (not plausibly) with David's brother RADAI [q.v.].

REINS. 1. רֵינִים, Kēlayōth; ΝΕΦΡΟΙ [G and Rev. 2.23 f]; renes), properly the kidneys (of animals offered in sacrifice, except in Job 16.13 Ps. 139.13 Lam. 3.13, where the human kidneys are referred to). 'A not less important seat of life [than the blood], according to Semitic ideas, lay in the viscera, especially in the kidneys and liver, which in the Semitic dialects are continually named as the seats of emotion, or more broadly in the fat of the omentum and the organs that lie in and near it' (Rel. Sem. 379). Consequently P represents these parts as Yahwe's appointed share of the sacrifices (cp LIVER). We even find a peculiar symbolism connected with kidney-fat (see FOOD, § 1.0, but note that the text of the passages is doubted; see MILK, § 1). It is much more natural to find the reins' (as EV calls the 'kidneys,' when used metaphorically) employed as a term for the organ, not only of the

REKEM

emotions (see Ps. 73:21 Job 16:13 19:27 [not **Q** but Theod.]) but of the moral sentiments (see Jer. 11:20 17:15 20:12 Ps. 71:167 (?) 26:2). 'Trier of the reins and the heart' is the characteristic and title of Yahwe, not only in the OT, but also in the Hebraistic Book of Revelation (Rev. 2:23). In Ps. 167, however, 'you, my reins instruct me in the night seasons' can hardly be right. It is Yahwe, not the 'heart' or the 'reins,' who trains and disciplines men (see Che. *Po.*, *ad loc.*).

רֵכֶם *Rekem*, is in Is. 11:5 rendered 'reins' by EV simply for want of a synonym for 'loins.'

4. The AVMS of Lev. 12:22 f. r. 23, 26, is not literal, and is based on a long-explored pathology (cp MEDICINE, § 5).

REKEM (רֵכֶם). 1. Apparently a Benjamite place-name, Josh. 18:27 (מִקְנָה [B?], רֵכֶם [A], רֵכֶם [L]), but most probably a corruption of רֵכֶם, Jerahmeel, and equivalent to רֵכֶם, BATHURIM (another of the developments of JERAHMEEL).¹

2. A king of Midian, Nu. 31:8 (רֵכֶם [BAFL]). Cp (3).

3. One of the 'sons' of Hebron mentioned with TAMMATH and SHEMA [q.v.] in 1 Ch. 2:43; in 2:44 [M?], he is father of Shammai father of *Mason*, but in *ἱεραίου* [B], רֵכֶם [A], רֵכֶם [L] it is Shema who is ancestor of Shammai, the intermediate links being RAHAM and JORKEAM [q.v.]; Rekem, Raham, Jorkeam, and Carmel are all probably corruptions of JERAHMEEL. Cp JOKDEAM.

4. In pause RAKEM (so EV), a Manassite; 1 Ch. 7:16 (BA om., רֵכֶם [L]). Seemingly there was a strong Jerahmeelite element in the population of the Manassite territory.

These explanations suggest the true explanation of the phrase רֵכֶם; see EAST, CHILDREN OF, where the reader is referred to the present article for textual criticism of the phrase. One plausible view of the original form of the story of GIBSON (q.v., § 1) requires us, in Judg. 6:33 7:12 to read רֵכֶם רֵכֶם (see Pesh.), i.e., רֵכֶם; note the gloss 'Amalekites'. This should be taken in connection with the Targumic use of רֵכֶם for Kadesh; here too רֵכֶם must come from רֵכֶם; the full name of Kadesh was Kadesh-jerahmeel, 'barnea' and 'rekem' having the same origin. See SELA. In fact, wherever we meet with phrases like 'the sons' or 'the land' or 'the nominals of *Kolem*' we may safely regard *Kolem* as a corruption of *Rekem*, i.e., *Jerahmeel*, with the doubtful exception of Gen. 10:30 (i.e., if כְּפָרָה [EV 'toward Sephar'] does not come from כְּפָרָה, cp SEPHARAD). Cp OHRH. See Gen. 25:291 Nu. 23:7 1 K. 5:9 [4 f.] Is. 11:14 Jer. 49:28 Ezek. 25:410 Job 1:3. Similarly in Gen. 15:19 KADMONITES must be a corruption of 'Jerahmeelites'.

T. K. C.

RELEASE, YEAR OF. See JUBILEE, also LAW AND JUSTICE, § 15.

REMELIAH (רֵמְלִיָּהוּ), § 39; רֵמְלִיָּהוּ[C], father of PEKAM (q.v.), 2 K. 15:25 etc., Is. 7:4 f. 86. Probably a corruption of רֵמְלִיָּהוּ, Jerahmeel. Pekah's Gileadites may really have come from the Negeb (on the southern רֵמְלִיָּהוּ, see *Crit. Bib.* on Jer. 8:22 226 Am. 1:3). Similarly, Jehu as not improbably an Ishmaelite (see NIMSHI), and Joab a Misrite (see ZERUHAM). It is easy to understand that the boldest adventurers might be of N. Arabian extraction.

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REMEMBRANCE (רֵמֶזֶר), Is. 57:8. See MEMORIAL.

REMEMBRANCER (2 S. 20:24 etc., AV^{MS}), EV 'recorder,' RV^{MS} 'chronicler.' See RECORDER.

REMETH (רֵמֶת), Josh. 19:21. See RAMOTH, 1.

REMMON (רֵמֶן), Josh. 19:7 AV; RV RIMMON (ii., 1).

REMMON-METHOAR (רֵמֶן הַמֵּתוֹאֵר), Josh. 19:13. See RIMMON ii., 3.

REMPHAN (רֵמְפָן). Stephens with 1, 31 etc.; cp רֵמְפָן[D, Vg. Iron.]; רֵמְפָן[N*]; רֵמְפָן[B], רֵמְפָן[61, Arm. J.], or (A) being intrusive, as in ΝΟΜΒΑ beside ΝΟΒΑ. 1 S. 21:1, as RV, REPHAN (רֵפָן

¹ ב dropped out, and ה became פ (for the reverse process see H. P. Smith on 1 S. 8:16).

REPHAIHAH

[CE, Syrr., Memph. Theb. Ath.]; cp ραιφαν. [AN*]; ραφαν. Just. *Dial.* 22, ex-Amos, occurs, with the prefix 'the star of the god' (so RV with BD, Pesh., etc. and *Q* 2*), or 'the star of your god' (so AV, with ANCE, Vg., Harel, etc.), in Acts 7:43, in a quotation from Amos 5:26, **Q** (where BA ραιφαν. Q ρεφαν. Complut. ρεμφα). The same Jablonski who ventured on a Coptic explanation of BENE-MOTH (q.v.) explained Remphi, or Rompha from the Coptic, as 'king of heaven,' *nullo plane aplice immutato* ('Remphah, Ægyptiorum Deus,' in *Opuscula*, ed. Te Water, 2 [1806], pp. 1-72). But 'king of heaven' in Egyptian would be *suten em pet*,¹ Gloag (*Comm. on Acts*, 1249), Lumby (*Acts*, in Cambridge Bible, *ad loc.*), and Merx (*Schenkel's Bib.-Lev.*, 1517) suppose Rephan to be the Egyptian name for Saturn. So (besides Spencer and Kircher) Lepsius the Egyptologist, who says that Seb or Saturn is called repa-neteru, 'the youngest of the gods,' and suggests a possible connection with Rephan (*Die Chron. der A. G.*, 93). On phonetic and other grounds this view is not more acceptable than Jablonski's, and the simple explanation is that ρεφαν should rather be ραιφαν—i.e., רֵפָן, where פ is perhaps a corruption of ב , and ז (soft) a phonetic substitute for ז . See CHUN. T. K. C.

REPHAEH (רֵפְהָר), as if 'God heals'; cp Aram. רֵפְהָר, רֵפְהָר, NAMES, § 30; ραφαη [BVL], a Korahite, b. Shemaiab; 1 Ch. 26:7 f.

Probably 'God heals' is a late popular etymology, devised after the original name had become corrupted; that it took hold of the imagination we see from the RAPHAEH of Tobit and Enoch. The present writer suspects that REPHAEH, Irpeel, Rappu [Beth-Japha], and perhaps even REPHAIHAH (q.v.), all come ultimately from an ethnic. See PEDAUR-ZUR; REPHAIM. Hommel (*EAFT*, 1807) p. 603 compares the name of an Arab, temp. Sargon, in a text transcribed by Winckler, Ya-ra-pa, also the S. Arabian name Hi-ra-pa'a.

T. K. C.

REPHAN (רֵפָן); ραφן [BVL], ραφα [L.], mentioned in the list of the B'ne Ephraim 1 Ch. 7:25. Both Rephah and RESIPEH (q.v.) occur nowhere else and are probably corrupt. Cp EPHRAIM, § 12.

REPHAIHAH (רֵפְהִיָּהוּ), §§ 30, 62, as if 'Yahwe heals'; ραφαיה [BAL]. On the ultimate origin of the name see REPHAEH, and note in confirmation that in Neh. 3:2 Rephaiha (5) is a 'son of Hur'—i.e., most probably, of Jerahmeel. In 1 Ch. 2:19 Hur is the son of Caleb and Ephrath. Who the Calibites are, we know [see CALIB]; Ephrath is probably a distorted fragment of Zarephath. Cp PARADISE, col. 3573, n. 5. See below, no. 5.

T. K. C.

1. b. Hananiah, mentioned in the genealogy in 1 Ch. 3:21 (ραφαλ [B]), where, for ב 'sons of,' **Q** and Pesh. four times read ב 'his son.' So Kittel; Bertheau follows MT.

2. A Simeonite chieftain who attacked the Amalekites of Mt. Seir (apparently in Hezekiah's time), 1 Ch. 14:2 (ραφαίας [L]). See ISH, SIMEON.

3. b. TOIA (q.v.): 1 Ch. 7:2 (ραφαרא [B]); cp ISSACHAR, § 7.

4. b. BINEA, 1 Ch. 9:43 (ραφαίας [N], αραχα [L.]) = 1 Ch. 8:37 (רֵפָן, RAPHAN; ραφα [B], αραχα [L.]). Cp BENJAMIN, § 9 ii. β.

5. b. HUR (4), the ruler of half 'the district of Jerusalem, and one of the repairers of the wall (Neh. 3:2, ραφαίας [L]).

He was of Jerahmeelite origin (see above). According to Meyer (*Entst.*, 119) the Calibites and Jerahmeelites do not become universally recognised as real Jews before the time of E. The study of proper names pursued in a series of articles in the present work confirms this, but with limitations. In Neh. 3: Hur, Makhiah, Paseah, Rephaiha, Urijah; in Ezra's Pan, Michael, Jieliel, Ariel; in Neh. 11 Mahalaleel, Jeroham, Mahchiah, Micha are transparent 'Jerahmeelite' names. The Jerahmeelites became so prominent that the genealogists had to do them fuller justice. But the same study of names suggests that Jerahmeelite clans were recognised both in Judah and elsewhere before the exile.—T. K. C.

REPHAIAH
14 Josh. 12

1. OT reference.

Before attention was given to traditional text, the AV (14 Josh. 12) to which was added 20:4 6:8 (the phrase 'valley') incidentally in 1. Gen. 1. The Rephaim.

No stress can be put on Gen. 14:8 prob. in 2:10, and come from a very corrupt text (see 1. Gen. 15).

Gen. 15:19-21 has merely a corruption; the and reproduced from earlier sources.

The order of (from 'Jerahmeelites' (Zarephathites) (from 'Girshites') We may infer 'Rephaim' was

3. D. 21:2 under their king therefore called also told that in Hebron? or of Rephaim. The and 'Bishan'.

If ג (Gath) in this statement is passage were Rep are said to belong that the 'Rephaim' connected—i.e., interchanged.

4. Josh. 12:14 has its own peculiar repetitions 17:14 (Joseph) complained about one lot thou art a great clear away (space) and the Rephaim to this region were their chariots of iron land is not unattainable the task of driving appear that the country N. of Sh territory is intended to be left for the people 'Cushan,' and 'C probably b'ne Eph

5. In 2 S. 21:2 Philistines are said Rāpha (רֵפְהָר) in Gen. them it is said that the 'Rāpha' (11) S rather (cp **Q** in 2:2

1. There is no occasion repetition from 2. In 7:16 read רֵפָן 3. See Steiner, *op. cit.* 4. It is usual to take reference to this valley originally had after it the 5. 2 S. 21:22 read רֵפָן

1 From a private letter of Dr. Budge.

REPHAIM

REPHAIM

REPHAIM (רִפְּאִים; ραφα[ε]ϊν [or -M], nnd [Gen. 14 Josh. 12 13, and 1 Ch.] ΓΙΓΑΝΤΕΣ [BAEL]; Josh. 17, ὄμια om.), a race of reputed giants,

1. OT references. found by the Israelites in occupation of territory on both sides of the Jorddn. Before attempting any linguistic or historical explanation, we must look into the several passages where the traditional text recognises the name, viz., Gen. 14 5 20 Dt. 2 11 20 (ραφαραιϋ [Fonce]) 3 11 13 Josh. 12 4 13 17 15, to which we may add 2 S. 21 16 18 20 22, cp 1 Ch. 20 4 6 8 (children of Harapha). The geographical phrase 'valley of Rephaim' will be treated only incidentally here (see next article).

1. Gen. 14 5. (Chedorlaomer nnd his allies 'smote the Rephaim in Ashteroth-karnaim.' No stress can be laid on this passage. In its present form Gen. 14 is probably later even than the archaeological notices in Dt. 2 10 7, and the names at present found in Gen. 14 5 probably one from a very late editor who arbitrarily 'corrected' a very corrupt text (see Sobott).)

2. Gen. 15 20. The list of Canaanite peoples in Gen. 15 19-21 comes apparently from a late redactor, but is merely suffered from ordinary transcriptional corruption; the redactor had no historical theory to serve, and reproduced, though inaccurately, names derived from earlier sources.

The names of the names is, Kenites, Kenizzites, Kadmonites (Jerahmeelites?), Hitites (from 'Rehobothites'?), Perizzites (Zarephathites?), Rephaim, Amorites, Canaanites, Girgashites (from 'Gir-shites' or 'Gir-zarites?'), Jebusites ('Shuualites?') may infer that, according to tradition, a people called Rephaim was to be found in the far S. of Palestine.

3. Dt. 2 11 20 3 11 13. A 'remnant of the Rephaim,' under their king Og, survived in Bashan, which was before called 'the land of the Rephaim.' But we are told that the Emim of Moab and the Anakim (of Iron? or Kehoboth?) were reckoned among the Rephaim. The passage comes from a late editor (D₂). 'Bashan' should certainly be 'Cushan' (see Og). 1 Ch. 20 4 6 8 (Gath) in 2 S. 21 20 is miswritten for רִפְּאִים (REPHAIM), statement is confirmed, for the warriors spoken of in that age were Rephaim. It is true, in Nu. 13 33 the b'nê 'Anâk had to belong to the Nephilim; but we shall see presently the 'Rephaim' and the 'Nephilim' must have been closely related—i.e., 'Rephaim' and 'Nephilim' may have been changed.

Josh. 12 4 13 12 depend on Dt. 2 11, etc.; but 17 14 f. its own peculiarities. When purified from corrupt additions 17 14 f. states that the tribe of Joseph (b'nê Eph) complained to Joshua that it was too large to but one lot and portion. Joshua's reply was, 'If art a great people, go up to the forest-land, and away (space) for thyself in the land of the Perizzites the Rephaim.' The Josephites objected that access to the region would be impeded by the Canaanites with chariots of iron, and Joshua rejoined that the forest-land was not unattainable, and that their strength is equal to that of driving out the Canaanites.² Here it would be that the forest-land spoken of means the hill-land of Shechem; the view that trans-Jordanic Shechem is intended is not plausible.³ But room must be for the possibility that 'Shechem' should be 'Ephraim,' and 'Canaanites' 'Kenizzites.' There were Ephraim in the Negeb (see Crit. Bib.). In 2 S. 21 22 (cp 20) four champions of the Philistines are said to have been 'born (יולדו) to the Rephaim' (בְּרֵיתֵם) in Gath (v. 22; cp v. 20), while of two of them it is said that they were 'of the descendants of Rephaim' (בְּרֵיתֵם) (118 Sim., בְּרֵיתֵם; cp 1 Ch. 20 4), or perhaps cp 20 in v. 22) 'of the Rephaim.'⁴

There is no occasion to reject the reading כְּנַעֲנִים as an repetition from the preceding clause. In 16 read בְּרֵיתֵם אֲשֶׁר יָלְדוּם, and in v. 18 בְּרֵיתֵם אֲשֶׁר יָלְדוּם. (retenuage, ad loc.) It is usual to take בְּרֵיתֵם as an epenthesis; but the art. is attached to this view. It surely comes from רִפְּאִים, which had after it the stroke of abbreviation (רִפְּאִים). In 22 read בְּרֵיתֵם אֲשֶׁר יָלְדוּם לָבֵיתֵם, 'were born to the (or, a)

There is, however, great difficulty in the text as it now stands, Surely the Philistines were quite formidable enough without having to accept the assistance of the remnant of the Rephaim. Are we to suppose that the references to the Rephaim in 2 S. 21 16 22 are a later appendage to the tradition, suggested by a reminiscence of the tradition respecting Og? Or is there not some explanation arising out of a somewhat more definite view of the older populations of Canaan made possible by textual criticism?

It would be tedious to sum up here all the evidence directly or indirectly affecting the subject in hand provided by our textual criticism. Two passages, however, are specially important.

2. Origin of name. In Josh. 17 15 it is evident that רִפְּאִים and רִפְּאִים are two competing readings, and that the former is more probably correct. And in 2 S. 5 18-20 it is plain that the spot called רִפְּאִים is in the valley of Rephaim. It is maintained elsewhere (see PELETHITES, ZAREPHATH) that the tribe whose centre on the S. Palestinian border was at Zarephath (= ZEPHATH) was prominent in early Israelitish legend, and that its name underwent strange mutilations and corruptions. Among these transformations may probably be included Zelophehad, Salhad, names connected with the N.; and Pelistim¹ and Letusim, names connected with the S. That 'Perizzi' and 'Pelisti' are connected is not a violent supposition. Both are most probably corruptions of Sarephath (Zarephathite), and it is hardly less plausible to conjecture that Rephaim is a corruption of Perasim, though an alternative derivation from Jerahmeelim is equally possible. Thus—to return to the statement in 2 S. 5 18-20—instead of 'Baal-perazim' in the 'valley of Rephaim,' the original tradition probably spoke of 'Baal-sarephathim in the valley of Jerahmeelim' (= Zarephathite). That such long names were early corrupted, and that the corruption took different forms in different parts of Palestine, can easily be understood.

The result to which we are tending, and which it would lead us into too many digressions to justify fully, is that the Sarephathim or Jerahmeelim migrated into many parts both of eastern and of western Palestine. They started from the S.; it is not a random statement of Gen. 10 6 that PUT (פּוּט from פּוּץ) was the brother of (the N. Arabian) Cush and Mizraim and the son of Ham (Jerahmeel?), and of Gen. 25 3 that LETUSIM was the brother of Lemnim (Jerahmeelim?) and the son of Dedan (i.e., S. Edom). The Sarephathim were in fact probably a branch of the Jerahmeelites, who, as our textual criticism tends to show, spread over many parts both of Western, and of Eastern, Palestine (note the Phœnician Zarephath, and cp JERAMEEL; EAST, CHILDREN OF). The Jerahmeelites or Sarephathites, according to the genealogies, became largely fused with the Israelites, and how much truth there may be in the statement that OG the Rephaimite (Sarephathite? or Jerahmeelite?) and his people were smitten, till there were no survivors (Nu. 21 35), it is impossible to say.

It is hardly worth while to discuss the question whether the representation of the Rephaim—i.e., possibly the Jerahmeelites of Sarephath—as giants (cp Am. 9, where 'the Amorite' is thus described) is purely mythical. Whether the Edomitish race (to which the Jerahmeelites belonged) was taller than the later Israelitish race or not, it is certain that the instinctive tendency of legend (both in Europe and in Asia) to picture aboriginal races as of gigantic stature would have led to such a representation. According to Robertson Smith,² the giant-legends arose in part

house of the Rephaim' (cp I S. 7 20 אֲשֶׁר). In 2 S. 21, BAEL has ραφα and also γίγαντες with ραφα in v. 22; BAEL γίγαντες in v. 20, 18, 16, 13, 10, 7, 5, γίγαντες and ραφα v. 22, whilst in 1 Ch. 20 BAEL has γίγαντες in v. 4, 6, BAEL ραφα, BAEL ραφα and also BAEL γίγαντες.)

¹ The 'Philistines' of 2 S. 21 15-22 were really the Zarephathites; 'Gath' should be 'Rehoboth.' See PELETHITES, REHOBOTH.

² Note communicated to Prof. Driver, Deut. 43.

REPHAIM, VALLEY OF

from the contemplation of ancient ruins of great works and supposed gigantic tombs. This may very well have been the case, in view of the legends attaching to huge sarcophagi, like that assigned to Og in Dt., at the present day. See OG.

A brief reference to other theories of the origin of the name Rephaim must suffice. The view that it is connected with Ar. *rafa'a* 'to lift up,' and means 'giants,' is not at all plausible; no cognate of *rafa'a* can be pointed to in Hebrew, Aramaic, or Assyrian. Stade (*GT* 116 126) was the first to connect the name with the Rephaim or 'shades' (see DEAD and DEATH). This has been taken up by Schwally (*Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 64, n. 1 [1892]; *ZATW* 18 132 [1898]). From the sense of 'spirits of the dead' arose, it is supposed, that of 'primeval population.' Schwally confirms this by a legend of the Howas in Madagascar (*ZATW*, *loc.*). This is surely most improbable. The transition is difficult, even if we do not hold, with Stade, that *רפאים*, the word for 'the shades,' means 'the weak.' It is most reasonable, therefore, to hold that, like a large proportion of ethnic names, Rephaim has been worn down from a longer form, and this form we may venture to trace either in Jerahme'elim or in Sarephathim.

See also REPHAIM, VALLEY OF, and on Job 26 3 see DEAD. T. K. C.

REPHAIM, VALLEY OF, also VALLEY OF THE GIANTS (רְפָאִים): Josh. 15 8 16 2 S. 5 18 22 23 13 1 Ch. 11 15 14 9 Is. 17 5; Is. *en dāragi sterēq* [B*AAQT]; Josh. 15, γῆ ραφαίμ [AL], -p [B], Josh. 18 εμεραφαίμ [H], -μ [A], 2 S. 5, τὴν κοιλάδα τῶν ῥεφθαίων [BAL], 2 S. 23 τῆ κοιλ. ραφαίμ [B], -p [A], τῆ τῶν [L]; 1 Ch. τῆ κοιλάδι τῶν γιγάντων [H*AL]; *vallis Rephaim* and *gigantum*.

According to the prevalent theory, which supposes the same locality to be referred to in all the passages,

the 'Valley of Rephaim' was an upland plain near Jerusalem and Bethlechem (cp 2 S. 23 13 f.) where not only corn and olive trees flourished (Is. 17 5 f.), but the so-called Baqa trees (see MULBERRY) grew. At its N. end was a hill over which ran the boundary of Judah and Benjamin (Josh. 15 6 18 16). The plain was famous as the scene of fights between David and the Philistines, (2 S. 5 18 22 23 13; cp 1 Ch. 14 9 11 15). Elsewhere, however, has been offered the theory that the enemies referred to in 2 S. 5 18 22 and the related passages were not the Philistines but the Zarephathites (see ZAREPHATH), and that the place referred to in 2 S. 23 14 was not Bethlechem but Beth-jerahmeel (thus the whole scene becomes historically and geographically more plausible). Elsewhere, too (see REPHAIM) we have urged that Rephaim, the name of an early population of Canaan, is probably a much worn-down form either of Sarephathim (Zarephathites), or perhaps more probably of Jerahme'elim.

It would seem, then, that in 2 S. 5 18 22, etc., the 'valley (upland plain) of Rephaim (Jerahme'Elim)'

cannot be a plain near Jerusalem, and that, like the *'emek hā-ēlāh* of 1 S. 17 2 (see ELAH, VALLEY OF), it was one of the Rephaim. 'valleys or spaces between the low sloping hills' (Palmer) in the neighbourhood of Ruheibeh (Reholoth), possibly indeed the Wādy Ruheibeh itself, though the broad Wādy el-Milh may also come into consideration (see NEGED).

In the case of Is. 17 5, when we consider the manifest play on the name Ephraim in the next verse, it is possible to suppose (a) that *רפאים* (Rephaim)

should rather be *רפאים* (Ephraim), and to identify this *'emek* with a part of the Great Plain of Esdraelon. (b) There are, however, also good critical arguments for identifying this *'emek* with that in the story of David. The question is subordinate to the large inquiry, Does Is. 17 1-11 predict the ruin of Syria and Ephraim, or of the kingdom of Jerahmeel? See *Crit. Bib.* But there is no objection to the view (c) that the *'emek rep'haim* of Josh. 15 8 18 16 really did derive its name from the Jerahme'elim; in fact, the early population of Jerusalem was probably a combination of Amorites and Jerahmeelites (see

1 Cp B, 1 S. 4 8 τῶν θῶν τῶν στερεῶν τούτων (B sing.).

REPHIDIM

REHOBOTH). The upland plain referred to seems to be the Bekā'a, which stretches from the SW. side of Jerusalem southwards as far as Mār Elyās (3 hr. from Jerusalem), which may indeed be the 'mountain' referred to in Joshua.

Eus. and Jer. (OS 288 22 147 6) place the 'Valley of Rephaim' on the N. of Jerusalem, and Kittel (*Gesch. der Hebr.* 2 131) follows them on grounds derived from the (surely corrupt) text of 2 S. 5 22 ff. Tobler's main objection¹ to the ordinary view is that *'emek* means a 'valley,' not a 'plain.' But *'emek* is constantly used of plains shut in by hills, and this is just what the Bekā'a is, 'shut in on all sides by rocky hill-tops and ridges' (Porter). T. K. C.

REPHAN (רֶפְחָן), Acts 7 43 RV, AV REMPHAN.

REPHIDIM (רֶפְדִּים), plain-country, 'strata' 2 2; ΡΑΦΙΔΕΙΝ [BAFL]. Ex. 17 8 19 2 Nu. 33 14 f. 7). A place where the Amalekites attacked the Israelites and were defeated by Joshua with the aid of the wonder-working staff of Moses. As we see from his arrangement of the passages of diverse origin which he has brought together, R considers this event to have occurred when, according to P, the Israelites encamped at Rephidim immediately before entering the wilderness of Sinai. He also thinks that the spot (spots?) called Massah and Meribah (see were?) in the district of Rephidim, which, in this case, must have extended to, or perhaps even have been equivalent to, Horeb (see Ex. 17 6, 'the rock in Horeb'). On the analysis of sources, see EXODUS (BOOK), § 3.

The existence of a popular tradition of a war waged with varying fortunes by the early Israelites against the

Amalekites may be assumed without discussion (see AMALEK, § 2; MOSES, § 12). But we have still to ask, Did tradition connect this war, or an episode of this war, with Rephidim? Some scholars (*Oxf. Hex.* 107) have doubted this; according to them, the connection of the battle described in Ex. 17 8-16 with Rephidim is purely editorial. Textual criticism may contribute something to the decision of this point. Among the names of the stations of the Israelites there are only two which end in -im, viz. Elin and Rephidim. It is difficult not to conjecture that both these names are corruptions of ethnics. That Elin probably comes from Jerahmeel or Jerahmeelim has been suggested already (MOSES, § 12). We have also conjectured that Marah (the reported name of the preceding station) has arisen out of another fragment of Jerahmeel, viz. Marah (from Rehen; cp REHEM, SELA). It may now be added that Rephidim is probably a corrupt fragment of Jerahmeelim.

'Rephidim' (רֶפְדִּים), we may suppose, comes from 'Rēphāim' (רֶפְאִים), which, through the intermediate stage of 'Rēphāim' (רֶפְאִים), comes from 'Renāim' (רֶנְאִים), i.e., 'Jerahme'elim' (רְחַמְעֵלִים); the corruption is easier and not less certain than that which we meet with sometimes, of Jerahmeel into Ephraim.

Bacon (*Ex.* 88, note *) has acutely conjectured that Ex. 15 26 (a passage usually assigned to R₁) may be based on an earlier document which derived the name Rephidim from *rapha* (רָפָא), 'to heal.' The name presupposed in the early tradition may have been not Rephidim but Rephaelim; רָפָא naturally suggests the explanation, 'for I am Yahwē that heals thee.'² In short, the closing words of v. 26 may originally have stood in a context relative to the name Rephaelim.

From this point of view we cannot question the fact that early tradition connected the battle in Ex. 17 8-16 with Rephidim, the name of which place (like Meribah) appears to be a distortion of the ethnic Jerahmeelim. The truth is that there were traditional stories in circulation respecting two fertile spots in the Jerahmeelite country occupied by the migrating Israelites. One appears in a double form in Ex. 15 23-25a, and in 1 2 2; another has also a double representation in Ex.

¹ *Dritte Uebersetzung*, 262.

² See RAHAEL, and cp *Eth. Enoch*, 107, where Raphael is commanded to proclaim that God will heal the earth.

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REPHIDIM

17:16 2 4-7 (part) and, in a very fragmentary form, in 17:37 (part). The second certainly refers to the oasis of 'Ain Gadiis (the fountain of the Jerahmeelite Kadesh). And it is not unreasonable to hold that the Amalekite attack spoken of in Ex. 17:8 was connected in the original tradition with this fountain, the possession of which was naturally grudged by the Jerahmeelites (now become unfriendly?—see MOSES) to the intruding Israelites. (In this case, the 'hill' spoken of in 17:9f. may be one of the earth-covered limestone hills at the north-eastern sweep of the oasis; cp Trumbull, *Kadesh-barnea*, 273.) This, at any rate, is the view suggested by the text of Ex. 17 in its present form; but even if we reject it, there is strong probability in the opinion that the Amalekites attacked Israel in Rephidim—i.e., Jerahmeelim—because we have express evidence (Nu. 13:29, cp Gen. 14:7) that the Negeb, including Kadesh, was the region specially occupied by the Jerahmeelite clans.

That the story of the Amalekite attack, not less than that of the smitten rock (v. 6, 'the rock in Horeb'), is placed too early by R, seems beyond doubt. The Moses who stood apart from the fight, holding the 'rod of Elohim,' but who after a time was in danger of letting his hand sink, and who committed the military leadership to Joshua, is clearly an old man; we are placed by this story at the beginning of the various wars which tradition referred to the close of the life of Moses. See MOSES; and cp JEHOVAH-NISSI, MASSAH AND MERIBAH, WANDERINGS.

In the above statement we have been compelled to assume that Horeb or Sinai was not in the so-called

2. Earlier geographical theories. Sinaitic Peninsula, but in close proximity to Kadesh, i.e., in the Jebel Magrah, on the SW. frontier of the Negeb (see MOSES, §§ 5.14). If, however, we suppose that Sinai is either Jebel Serbäl or el-el Müsä (see SINAI, § 18), we may, with several modern geographers (Lepsius, Ebers, Ritter, A. P. Stanley, C. W. Wilson, E. H. Palmer), be tempted to attach ourselves to the tradition, recorded especially by Cosmas Indicopleustes (535 A.D.) and Antoninus Martyr (circa 600 A.D.), which identifies Rephidim with Feirän, the ancient Pharan, the ruins of which and at the junction of the Wädy 'Alyät with the Wädy Feirän, about 4 m. N. of Serbäl. Antoninus Martyr speaks of an 'oratorium,' whose altar is set on the stones which were put under Moses while he was praying. Evidently he refers to the Jebel et-Tahühneh, the right bank of the Wädy Feirän, which is about 10 ft. high, and is covered with remains of Christian cells, and chapels. This view was adopted as a whole by the members of the Sinai Expedition, except F. W. Holland (see *Ordnance Survey of Peninsula of Sinai*, 153 ff.). More plausible, if the connection of the story of the rock and that of the battle be maintained, is the view of Ebers (*Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, 174); cp Lepsius, *Briefe*, 349 ff.) that the biblical Rephidim is to be placed in the dry, north-western part of the Wädy Feirän, where the Amalekites might be supposed to have gathered to prevent the Israelites from entering the oasis. Robinson's theory (*BR 1* 179), adopted by F. W. Holland (*Recovery of Jerusalem*, 174), that Rephidim is in the narrow gorge of el-Ayeh in the great Wädy es-Sheikh—the Wädy by which, according to this traveller, the Israelites approached Horeb—is less defensible, for reasons well summed up by E. H. Palmer (*Sinai*, 202); cp also *Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula*, 1323. These theories depend, as we have seen, on the correctness of the traditional theory as to the general

RESURRECTION

position of Horeb or Sinai, which is open to much question, and indeed appears to some scholars hardly defensible.

T. K. C.

RESAIAS (ΡΗΣΑΙΑΣ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5:8 RV = Ezra 2:2, REELAIAS.

RESEN (רֶסֶן; ΔΑΡΕΜ [A/DL]; -EN [E]; *Resen*) is named in Gen. 10:12, as a city lying between Nineveh

and Kalah. Menant therefore considered it to be represented by the ruin-heaps of Selämiye. Bochart and recently Noldeke have connected it with the Larissa of Xenophon (*Anab.* iii. 47), the site of which, however, is uncertain, though Frd. Del. (*Culte Bib.-lex.* 731) suggests identifying it with Nimräd (cp CALAH). In the inscriptions, so far published, no city of any importance bears a name like Resen. A city of the name RĒ-ĒS-Ē-ni (RĒS-Ē-ni) appears as not far from Nineveh, in the Bavian description of Sennacherib (*AB 2* 116 f., cp Del. *Par.* 188261); but there is nothing to show that it was an ancient foundation. There is little hope of its identification till the district has been properly explored.

C. W. H. J.

From an exegetical point of view the matter is further complicated by the words which follow Resen—'the same is the great city.' Does this refer to Resen? No one would have doubted this, but for the silence of antiquity as to any important city near Nineveh with a name resembling Resen. RĒS-Ē-ni—i.e., 'fountain-head, place of fountains,' is not a probable name at all. To suppose a 'tetrapolis' with two such doubtful names as Rehoboth-*Ir* and Resen is a desperate expedient. If, however, Nimrod was a N. Arabian, not a Babylonian, hero, a probable identification of Resen may be made.

2. Text-critical solution. נִינְוֶה (misread Calah) is in the view of the present writer one of the many corruptions of יִרְמְיָאֵל (Jerahmeel); נִינְוֶה (which was read Nineveh) not improbably come from הֶבְרֹן (Hebron); and הַרְמֵז הַגָּדוֹל (that is, Jerahmeel), a gloss on נִינְוֶה. 'Between Hebron and Jerahmeel' appears to be a suitable description of Beersheba, the name of which is sometimes corrupted into בְּרֵשֶׁת וְבֵרֶךְ. See NIMROD. § 1, C. W. H. J.; § 2, T. K. C.

RESERVOIR (תְּהוֹמָה), Is. 22:11, RV). See CONDUITS, § 1 [5].

RESHEPH (רֶשֶׁף; ΣΑΡΑΦ [B], ΡΑΣΕΦ [A], ΡΑΣΗΦ [L]), a 'son' of Ephraim, 1 Ch. 7:25 (see EPHRAIM, § 12). The other names include SHEERAH (i.e., Ashhur?), Ammihud (i.e. Jerahmeel?) Elishama (i.e., Ishmael?). 'Resheph' herefore should perhaps be רֶשֶׁת (cp 8¹¹), and mean 'Zaphathite'; cp רֶשֶׁת בֶּן זַרְפָּתִי, Neh. 3:31—i.e., a Zarephathite. Clermont-Ganneau, however, suggests that *Arsuf* (=the Apollonia of Jos.), about 7 m. N. of Jaffa, may correspond to an ancient town Resheph. Resheph (identified with Apollo) was the Phœnician and N. Syrian fire-god and war-god (cp *CS 1* n. 10, and Hadad-inscr. from Zenjirli, *ll.* 3, 11), whose cultus was introduced into Egypt during the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties (see list of gods on altar in Turin Museum, *TSBA 3* 429, l. 67, and plate; and cp E. Meyer, *ZDMG 31* 719 723 f.).¹ Close to *Arsuf* is an extraordinary holy place—a *ḥarām*, which, under Moslem forms, possibly continues a primitive cultus (Cl.-Ganneau, *Horus of saint Georges*, 17; cp Baed. 239). See, further, PHŒNICIA, § 12, end.

T. K. C.

RESURRECTION. See ESCRATOLOGY (index).

¹ For further references see Maspero, *Struggle of Nations*, 156, n. 1.

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RESURRECTION- AND ASCENSION-NARRATIVES

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The resurrection of Jesus is held to be the central fact upon which the Christian church rests. Even at a date so early as that of 1 Cor. Paul treats it as such in an elaborate discussion (1 Cor. 15:1-26).

In particular he rests upon it three fundamental thoughts of the Christian faith: (1) the belief that the death of Jesus was not—what in accordance with Dt. 21:23 (Gal. 3:13) it must have seemed to be—the death of a malefactor, but a divine judgment for the forgiveness of sins and for the salvation of men (1 Cor. 15:17 Rom. 4:25 6:4-7, etc.); (2) a vindication of the supremacy of the exalted Christ over the Church (1 Cor. 15:25 f. Rom. 1:4 2 Cor. 13:4, etc.); and (3) a pledge of the certainty of an ultimate resurrection of all believers to a life of everlasting blessedness (1 Cor. 15:18-29 6:4 Rom. 6:8 8:11, etc.).

Whilst the second and the third of these points were so held at all times, that was not quite the case with the first. At a date as early as that of the speeches of Peter in Acts (see Acts, § 14) the resurrection of Jesus was not the divine confirmation of the truth that the death of Jesus laid the foundations of the salvation of mankind; the death is there represented rather as a calamity (3:14-15 5:30) even if it was (according to 2:23 4:28) fore-ordained of God. But the significance of the resurrection of Jesus does not become on that account the less; on the contrary it figures as being itself the act with which the forgiveness of sins is connected (5:31, cp 3:26). Most modern schools of theology in like manner refrain from regarding the resurrection as an event without which the theologian would not be able to regard Jesus' death as a divine arrangement for the salvation of men.

Such theologians also, however, do not on that account attach to it any the less importance; rather do they see in it the divine guarantee for the truth that the person of Jesus and the cause which he represented could not remain under the power of death, but must of necessity at last gain the victory over all enemies in spite of every apparent momentary triumph.

It seems accordingly in logic inevitable that if at any time it should come to be recognised that the resurrection of Jesus never happened, the Christian faith with respect to all the points just mentioned would necessarily come to an end.

The shock to which the Christian religion and the Christian church would be exposed by any such discovery would appear to be all the heavier when it is reflected that only two other propositions can be named which would place it in equal or greater danger; the one, that the death of Jesus did not procure the salvation of mankind, the other that Jesus never existed at all. The first of these two theses would leave many schools of thought within the limits of Christianity comparatively unaffected, for they find the redeeming work of Jesus in his life, not, as Paul and orthodox theologians generally, in his death; on the other hand their faith would be most seriously affected if they found themselves constrained to recognise that Jesus remained under the power of death.

The reason for dreading all these dangers is that upon the assumption of the resurrection of Jesus (as also upon that of his atoning death and upon that of his existence at all) are based propositions which are fundamental to the Christian faith.—propositions concerning God and his relation to men, upon the truth of which no less an issue depends than the salvation of mankind. The question concerns things of priceless value, and the judgments upon which all interest concentrates are (to use the language of modern German

theologians) Werthurtheile—i.e., judgments which declare that to be able to believe such and such is for the religious man a thing of absolute value; unless such things can be accepted he can only despair. Thus the believing man can cherish no more urgent desire than that the basis upon which these beliefs, which are for him so priceless, rest should be raised securely above the reach of doubt.

Yet what is this basis? It consists in an affirmation regarding a fact in history which is known to us only through tradition and accordingly is open to historical criticism just as any other fact is. Indeed, whilst the very existence of Jesus and the fact of his death on the cross have been questioned by only a very few,¹ and on the other hand the meaning of his death, as soon as the fact has been admitted, is left an open question to every one, we find that the resurrection of Jesus—as is not surprising in view of its supernatural character—is in very many quarters and with growing distinctness characterised as unhistorical, and that not merely when it is conceived of as having been a revivification of the dead body of Jesus, but also when it is defended in some spiritualistic form.

The present examination of the subject will not start from the proposition that 'miracles are impossible.'

Such a proposition rests upon a theory of the universe (Weltanschauung), not upon exhaustive examination of all the events which may be spoken of as miracles. Even should we by any chance find ourselves in a position to say that every alleged miraculous occurrence from the beginning of time down to the present hour had been duly examined and found non-miraculous, we should not thereby be secured against the possibility of something occurring to-morrow which we should be compelled to recognise as a miracle. Empirically, only so much as this stands fast—and no more—that as regards present-day occurrences the persons who reckon with the possibility of a miracle (by miracle we here throughout understand an occurrence that unquestionably is against natural law) are very few, and that present-day occurrences which are represented as miraculous are on closer examination invariably found to possess no such character.

The normal procedure of the historian accordingly in dealing with the events of the past will be in the first instance to try whether a non-miraculous explanation will serve, and to come to the other conclusion only on the strength of quite unexceptionable testimony. Needless to say, in doing so, he must be free from all prepossession. He must accordingly, where biblical authors are concerned, in the first instance, look at their statements in the light of their own presuppositions even though in the end he may find himself shut up to the conclusion that not only the statements but also the presuppositions are erroneous.

I. NARRATIVES EXAMINED

For our most authentic information on the subject of

¹ Loman, who in 1881 altogether denied the existence of Jesus, affirmed it in 1884 and still more distinctly in 1885. Amongst those who have most recently maintained the negative may be named Edwin Johnson, the author of *Antiqua Mater* (anonymous; 1887) and *The Rise of Christendom* (1890), and John M. Robertson, *Christianity and Mythology* (1900) and *A Short History of Christianity* (1902).

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the resurrection of Jesus we naturally look to the Gospels; these, however, exhibit contradictions of the most glaring kind. Reimarus, whose work was published by Lessing as *Wolfenbütteleer Fragmente*, enumerated ten contradictions; in reality their number is much greater. (Mk. 16: 7-9 is not taken account of in this place; see below, § 8.)

(a) Of the watch and seal set upon the sepulchre, and of the bribing of the soldiers of the watch, we read only in Mt. (27: 62-66 28: 11-15). In Mk. and Lk. these features are not only not mentioned; they are excluded by the representation of the women as intending to anoint the body and (in Mk. at least) as foreseeing difficulty only in the weight of the stone, not in the presence of a military guard. In Mt. the women's object is simply to see the sepulchre (28: 1); they have therefore heard of its being guarded, as in fact they very easily could.)

(b) According to Lk. (23: 54-56) the women got ready the spices before sunset on Friday; according to Mk. (16: 1) they did not buy them till after sunset on Saturday. In Jn. the incident does not occur at all, for according to 19: 39-40 Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus have already embalmed the body before laying it in the grave, whilst according to Mk. 15: 46 = Mt. 27: 59 f. = Lk. 23: 53 Joseph alone (without Nicodemus) simply wrapped it in a fine linen cloth.

(c) The persons who come to the sepulchre on the morning of the resurrection are; according to Mk. (16: 1), Mary Magdalene, Mary of James (cp MARY, §§ 26-23), and Salome; according to Mt. (28: 1) only the two Marys (the designation 'the other Mary' is explained by 27: 56); according to Lk. (24: 1), in addition to the two Marys, Joanna (cp 8: 3) and the other women with them; according to Jn. (20: 1) only Mary Magdalene, to whom, however, are added Peter and the beloved disciple. In agreement with this last we have only the notice in Lk. (24: 24) that after the women 'some of those with us' (*τινες τῶν σὺν ἡμῶν*) had gone to the sepulchre and had found the report of the women to be true; also the notice in 24: 12 (a verse not found in the 'western' MSS) according to which Peter, after the visit of the women, to the sepulchre, and looping down beheld the linen clothes alone, and wondering departed. This verse, though we can hardly suppose it to have come from Jn. 20: 8, is still open to the suspicion of being a later interpolation,—all the more because the mention of Peter alone does not harmonise with the 'some' (*τινες*) of v. 24, and them' (*αὐτῶν*) of v. 13 connects with v. 11, not with 12.

(d) The time of the visit of the women to the sepulchre is; in Mk. (16: 1) 'when the sun was risen,' in Mt. (28: 1, 'at early dawn') and Jn. (20: 1, 'early, when it was yet dark') before sunrise, but in Mt. (28: 1) about a day earlier.

(e) Late on the Sabbath (*ὄψις σαββάτου*) means unquestionably, according to the Jewish division of the day, the time about sunset, the words immediately following—*τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς αἶθρα*, 'as the light shone forth towards the first day of the week' (see WEEK, § 7)—are elucidated by Lk. 23: 54, where the words the time of sunset—is indicated by the expression *ἔσθ' ἔτι σαββάτου ἐπιφωσκούσῃ*, 'the Sabbath shone forth.' This expression is usually explained by reference to the custom of kindling the Sabbath before the beginning of the Sabbath because on Sabbath it was unlawful to do so. Keim, however (*Gesch. Jesu Nazareni*, 3: 552 f.; ET 6: 302), produces evidence of the *usus loquendi* for the other days of the week; and this will

must not be inferred from the plural, 'we do not know' (*οὐκ οἶδμεν*; 20: 2), that Jn. thought of other women as also present. The inference is excluded by the sing. 'comes' (*ἔρχεται*) of v. 1. The pl. 'we know' (*οἶδμεν*) therefore can only be added to express Mary Magdalene's thought that other women in whom perhaps some knowledge of the facts might have been presumed did not actually possess it any more than herself—not an unconscious reminiscence of the 'women' of the Gospels. In 20: 13 we find correctly the singular: 'I know not.'

cover the case of its employment in Mt. The word 'by night,' *νυκτός*, in 28: 13 also goes to show that Mt. pictured to himself the journey of the women to the sepulchre and the opening of the sepulchre of the earthquake (or the angel) as having happened by the night. Furthermore it is conceivable that Mt. should have been brought to this divergence to the extent of half a day from the account by the other evangelists precisely if he had followed Mk. with strict precision. For in point of fact Mk. indicates, first (16: 1), sunset by the phrase 'when the Sabbath was past' (*διαγενομένου τοῦ σαββάτου*) and, next (16: 2) mentions sunrise; his reference to sunset is in connection with the purchase of the spices, a circumstance which Mt. had no occasion to notice. Thus Mt. might come to look upon the second time-determination as synonymous with the first, inasmuch as the actual words 'very early on the first day of the week' (*ἀπὸ πρῶτος τῆς μετὰ τῶν σαββάτων*), if the Jewish division of the day is assumed, does not absolutely exclude such a view. (Cp. further, § 26 a.)

(f) According to Mk. (16: 4), Lk. (24: 2), and Jn. (20: 7) those who came to the sepulchre found that the stone at the door had already been rolled away; according to Mt. (28: 2) it was rolled back in the presence of the women by an angel who in a great earthquake came down from heaven.)

(g) In Mk. (16: 5-7), as in Mt. (28: 2-7), there is only one angel; in Lk. (24: 7) and Jn. (20: 12 f.) there are two (in Lk. called 'men,' *ἄνδρες*, but 'in dazzling apparel,' *ἐν ἑσθήτῃ ἀστρατοῦσιν*, somewhat as in Mt. 28: 3; Mk. 16: 5.)

(h) According to Mk. this one angel, according to Jn. the two, sat in the sepulchre; according to Mt. the one angel sits without the sepulchre upon the stone; according to Lk. the two come up to the women, to all appearance not until these have already left the sepulchre.

(i) As for what was seen in the sepulchre, according to Mk. (16: 5) it was only the angel, and according to Lk. (24: 3), at least when the women entered, there was nothing. According to Mt. (28: 2-5) the women do not inform themselves as to the condition of the grave. Similarly Mary Magdalene, according to Jn. 20: 1, at her first visit. Thereafter the beloved disciple is the first to look in, when he sees the linen clothes (20: 5); next Peter enters and sees besides the linen clothes the napkin wrapped up in a place by itself (20: 6 f.). Finally, Mary looks in and sees the two angels.

(j) The explanations given by the angels to the women contain the one point in the whole narrative in which there is, at least in the synoptics, complete agreement (v. 6): 'he rose, he is not here' (*ἦγέρθη, οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε*). To this in Mk. and Mt. there is the preface: 'fear ye not'; the same two also have the words 'ye seek the crucified one' (similarity in Lk.). In Jn. the angels say merely (20: 13): 'Woman, why weepest thou?'

(k) The discrepancies in the instructions given to the women are among the most violent in the whole account; in Mk. and Mt. there is the injunction to say to his disciples (Mk. adds: 'and to Peter') that Jesus goes before them to Galilee and that there they will see him as he had said to them (in Mt. 28: 7 also perhaps we ought to read, 'behold, he said to you,' *ἰδοὺ εἶπεν ὑμῖν*); in Lk. on the other hand what we read is 'remember how he spake before of his death and resurrection while he was yet in Galilee.' Here, that is to say, still the word Galilee, but the sense quite opposite. In Lk. strictly there is no injunction at all (cp under r) and in Jn. we find no words which could even seem to answer the command in Mk. and Mt.

(l) No less marked are the differences as to the announcements made by the women to the disciples. According to Lk. (24: 9) they report their discovery; according to Mt. (28: 8) they intend to do so, and v. 10 leaves it to be inferred that they carried out their intention; according to Jn. (20: 18) Mary Magdalene reports, in the first instance to the two disciples, and in the second to the disciples at large, what she has seen. On the other hand, according to Mk. 16: 8 the women out of fear say nothing to any one.)

(m) As regards results of the message, in the last case of course, that in Mk., where the women say

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nothing, there can be no immediate consequence. According to Mt. (28:16) the message issues in immediate compliance with the command to go to Galilee; according to Jn. (20:10) Mary's first communication leads to the running of the two disciples to the sepulchre, whilst her second (20:18) is not said to have produced any effect. In Lk. (24:11) the women's statement produces merely the unbelief of the disciples, unless we are to regard as genuine v. 12, according to which Peter alone of the whole number hastens to the grave (see above, c).

(n) An appearance of the risen Jesus at the sepulchre itself is reported only in Jn. (20:14-17), where it is made to Mary Magdalene; (an appearance on the way back from the sepulchre to the city only in Mt. (28:9 f.), where it is made to the two Marys. Whilst in this last case, however, the women embrace Jesus' feet in Jn. he does not permit Mary Magdalene to touch him.

(o) The injunction received from Jesus himself is according to Mt. the same as that given by the angels. The women are to direct the disciples, here called 'brethren' (ἀδελφοί) by Jesus, to go to Galilee; according to Jn. Mary Magdalene is simply bidden tell his 'brethren' (ἀδελφοί) that he is ascending to heaven (see above, k).

(p) An appearance of Jesus on the day of the resurrection on the road to Emmaus is known only to Lk. (24:13-35).

(q) An appearance to Simon Peter before the evening of the same day is known only to Lk. (24:34).

The view of Origen (for the passages see in Resch, *TU v. 4* 423 and x. 3770-792), that the third evangelist says, and rightly, that Simon was the companion of Cleopas on the walk to Emmaus, is quite inadmissible. As in Origen the name is constantly used without any addition, it is evident that only Peter can be intended. It has to be observed on the other hand, however, that the announcement of an appearance of the risen Jesus to Simon is made, and made by the eleven (and their companions), to the two disciples on their return from Emmaus. For this reason, therefore, Resch prefers to read 'saying' in the nominative (ἀγορεύει for ἀγορεύει) with cod. B, according to which it is the Emmaus disciples who make the announcement. To this it has to be remarked that neither Lk. nor Origen, in view of 24:31-35, can have intended to say that Jesus had appeared in Emmaus to Peter only and not to Cleopas also. If, again, by the Simon in Origen's MSS of Lk. we ought to understand some disciple other than Peter, such a conjecture would be quite as baseless as that other guess of Church fathers and Schoolasts (see Tisch. on 24:18) that the companion of Cleopas was Nathanael, or the evangelist Luke, or a certain Am(m)on, whose name perhaps comes from the place-name Emmaus.¹

(r) An appearance on the same evening to the eleven and their companions (τοῖς ἑνδεκά καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτοῖς), at which Jesus asks the disciples to touch his hands and feet, and eats a piece of a broiled fish, is recorded by Lk. (24:33-36-38). The disciples are at this interview enjoined by Jesus to remain in Jerusalem till Pentecost (cp above, k). In also (20:19-24) assigns an appearance before the 'disciples' to the same evening, and we must presume, therefore, that here the same interview is intended as that related by Lk. The circumstances, however, are very different. In Jn. Thomas is expressly stated not to have been with the eleven; and that the number of the 'disciples' included others than the ten apostles as we read in Lk. (οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς) is not to be supposed, since Jesus solemnly sends them forth (πέμψω ὑμᾶς) and imparts to them not only the gift of the Holy Spirit (which in Lk. 24:49 he holds forth as a promise for Pentecost) but also the authority to bestow or withhold forgiveness of sins (cp MINISTRY, §§ 4, 34 c). Lk. makes no reference to the circumstance that the doors were shut when Jesus entered, any more than he does to the conferring of the authority just mentioned; Jn. on the other hand knows nothing of Jesus having

¹ The Itala could. b, e, ff², Ambrosiaster, Ambrosius (on both see Souter, *Exp. T.*, 1901-1902, p. 429 f.) in v. 13 looking forward to v. 18, add Cleopas to Am(m)on [= Emmaus] presumably because, reading ὄνοματι (so 11, 17, 20: for ἡ ὄνομα, they saw in 'Emmaus' the name not of the village but of one of the two disciples (so Nestle, *Einführung in das griech. NT* 2^{te} op. ET 122 f.).

entertained. Besides his hands, Jesus shows not his feet but his side—the piercing of which, indeed, is mentioned only in Jn. 19:34; but he does not suffer himself to be touched, yet without expressly forbidding this as he had done in the case of Mary Magdalene.

(s) Jesus first suffers his hands and his side to be touched eight days afterwards, by Thomas in presence of 'his disciples'; but this is mentioned only in Jn. (20:26-29) and after he has again entered the same house (παλιῶν ἡμερῶν) through closed doors.

(t) 'After these things' (μετὰ ταῦτα), but only according to Jn. 21, Jesus appears once more by the lake of Galilee to Peter, Thomas, Nathanael, the sons of Zebedee, and two other disciples who are not named.

(u) Galilee also, but certainly at an earlier date, was the scene of the appearance, recorded only in Mt. (28:10-20), to the eleven on the mountain to which Jesus had directed them to go (when and where he made the appointment is nowhere stated, but seems to have been recorded in a source that was used at this point). Jesus here enjoins upon them the mission to the Gentiles and baptism in the name of the Trinity. The missionary precept is in substantial agreement with Lk. 24:49 and also with Jn. 20:21 (see above, r).¹

That one and the same event should be to some extent differently described even by eye-witnesses is intelligible enough, as also that some particular incident connected with it should in later reminiscence be erroneously dissociated from it and attached to some other similar event.)

(v) Thus no serious importance ought, for example, to be given to the circumstance that the words in which the disciples are bidden by the angel to betake themselves to Galilee, do not exactly agree in the different accounts, and that one narrator assigns the missionary precept to one appearance, another to another. To this, however, there are limits.

Whether the sepulchre was guarded or not guarded, how many women went to the sepulchre, whether or not the disciples were bidden to go to Galilee, whether or not when Jesus appeared Mary Magdalene was alone, whether or not Thomas was present, whether or not Jesus asked for food and then actually partook of it, whether or not he allowed himself to be touched; above all, whether the appearances occurred in Jerusalem or in Galilee, and whether the women reported what they had seen at the sepulchre or were silent about it—these and many other points are matters with regard to which the eye-witnesses or those who had their information directly from eye-witnesses, could not possibly have been in the least uncertainty. Yet, what differences! Differences, too, of which it is impossible to say that they are partly explicable by the fact that one narrator gives one occurrence and another another without wishing thereby to exclude all the rest. Lk. enumerates a consecutive series of appearances and brings it to a close (24:51) with the

¹ The harmonistic attempt to dispose of this appearance in Galilee by maintaining that Galilee here means one of the summits of the Mount of Olives near Jerusalem—whether the summit on the N. or that called in 2 K. 23:13 the 'mount of corruption' (see DIRECTION, MOUNT OF; OLIVES, MOUNT OF, § 2), by which supposition Mt. 28:16 is brought into agreement with Lk. 24:50. This, however, has its basis only on assertions of medieval pilgrims. The matter is not improved by the purely conjectural assumption of Resch (*TU* x. 2 381-389 x. 375 f.) that in Mt. 28:10 and already in 20:32 28:10 = Mk. 14:28 107, 'Galilee' (Γαλιλαία) is a wrong rendering of the *gallil* (גליל) in the original Hebrew gospel postulated by him, the neighbourhood of Jerusalem (περιὸς Ἰερουσαλὴμ Mt. 3:5 Mk. 1:28, etc.) being what was really intended. In Tertullian's (*Apol.* 21) 'cum discipulis quibusdam apud Galileam Judaeae regionem ad quadraginta dies egit' Resch even finds Galilee used as the name of this district (see, against this, Schürer, *TLZ*, 1897, p. 187 f.). That, further, the Mount of Olives belonged to this district Resch accepts from the medieval pilgrims; and that it constituted the central point of the district, so that the disciples could at once understand by the 'district' to which (according to Mk. 16:7 Mt. 28:10) they were directed the Mount of Olives, as being the 'mountain where Jesus had appointed them (τὸ ὄρος ὃ ἐστάθη αὐτοῖς ὡς ἱερὸς: 28:10), he derives from his own authority. The *Acta Pilati* and the *Gesta Pilati*, finally, which place the ascension of Jesus at once in Galilee and on the Mount of Olives, embody no true geographical recollection but only a quite crude harmonistic attempt (cp the passages in Zahn, *Gesch. d. N. Test.*, 2:227; also Thilo, *Cod. Apeec.* VI 1:17-222). See also MATTHIAS.

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157, see § 11 c.

RESURRECTION- AND ASCENSION-NARRATIVES

express statement that Jesus parted from them; and all these occurrences are represented as having happened on one and the same day. In Jn., on the other hand, the events of the twentieth chapter alone require eight days. Mt. and Mk. know of appearances to disciples only in Galilee, Lk. and Jn. 20 only of appearances in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood (Emmaus), neither of the last-named evangelists taking any account whatever of any appearances in Galilee—not till Jn. 21 do we come upon one of this description; but this chapter is by another hand (see JOHN, SON OF ZEbedEE, § 40).

(b) Refuge is often sought in the reflection that sometimes an event may, after all, have actually happened, even if the accounts of it are quite discrepant. A famous illustration often quoted in this connection is the case of Hannibal, who quite certainly did cross the Alps, although Livy's account of the route taken by him is entirely different from that of Polybius. Most assuredly. The fact, however, that whatever be the contradictions of chroniclers, he actually did cross the Alps is a certainty for us, only because we know for certain that at one date he was to be found on the Gallic side, and at a subsequent date on the Italian. If it were just as clearly made out that Jesus, after his death, came back again to this life, we could, indeed, in that case, with an easy mind, leave the differences between the narratives to settle themselves. Here, however, the position of matters is that the actuality of the resurrection of Jesus depends for its establishment upon these very narratives; and in such a case unimpeachable witnesses are naturally demanded.

Livy and Polybius lived centuries after the occurrence which they relate, and they were dependent for their facts upon written sources which perhaps were wanting in accuracy, and moreover, were themselves in turn derived from inadequate sources. If any deficiency, even of only an approximately similar character, has to be admitted in the acquaintance of the writers of the gospels with the circumstances of the resurrection of Jesus, there is little prospect of anyone being induced to accept it as a fact, on the strength of such testimony, unless he has from the beginning been predisposed to do so without any conclusion from the contradictions between the gospels that the writers of them were far removed from the event they describe. If we possessed only one gospel, we might perhaps be inclined to accept it; but how far astray should we be according to the view of Lk. if we relied, let us say, on Mt. alone, or, according to the view of Jn., if we pinned our faith to Lk. In point of fact, not only do the evangelists each follow different narratives; they also each have distinct theories of their own as to Galilee or Jerusalem being the scene of the appearances, as to whether Jesus ate and was touched, and so forth (cp. § 194, 276, d).

Shall we then betake ourselves to extra-canonical sources?

Of these, several are often regarded as superior to the canonical in antiquity; so, for example, the Gospel of the Hebrews. This view, however, so far as the extant fragments at least are concerned, is distinctly not warranted (see GOSPELS, § 155).

(a) For our present discussion the following citation by Jerome (*Vir. ill.* 2) from this gospel comes into consideration:—

'The Lord after he had given the cloth to the slave of the priest, went to James and appeared to him; for James had sworn that he would not eat bread from that hour in which he had drunk the cup of the Lord until he should see him rising again from them that sleep'; and again after a little: 'Bring, says he, bread and drink, and immediately there is added: 'The Lord, food and bread, and immediately there is added: 'The man has risen again from them that sleep, because the man can delictet sindonem servo sacerdoti, vivit ad Jacobum illa hora qua liberat calicem domini donec videret eum argentem a dorientibus'; rursusque post paululum: 'afferte enim et mensam et panem, statimque additur: 'tulit enim et benedixit ac fregit et dedit Jacobo Justo et dixit ei: nientibus.'

This story is, to begin with, untrustworthy, because, according to the canonical gospels, James was not present at all at the last supper of Jesus.

Lightfoot's conjecture (*Gal.* 266 = *Dissert. on Apost. Age*, 1841) that 'dominus' ought to be read for 'domini' seems, indeed, supported by some ecclesiastical writers (see in Handmann,

in the simple statement, 'he appeared to James,' Cor. 15: 5).

7 L'v. § 799a) who reproduce the passage in this sense; but it is by no means certain. 'The Lord had drunk the cup' (bibere calicem domini) would then have reference to the death of Jesus; such a figurative expression, however, is little in keeping with the simple narrative style of the fragment. Moreover, the bread which Jesus 'blesses and breaks' clearly answers to the bread of the eucharist, and this is to the point if James had eaten nothing since being present at the last supper. Earlier students may have perceived the contradiction between the reading of the Lord' (domini) and the canonical narratives just as easily as Lightfoot, and on this account have substituted 'the Lord' (dominus; in the nom.).

(b) Nor is the Gospel of the Hebrews wanting at other points in equally bold contradictions to the canonical gospels. Jesus is represented as having given his linen garment to the servant of the high priest. This (apart from what we read in the Gospel of Peter; see below, § 58) is the only appearance, anywhere recorded, of Jesus to a non-believer. What enormous importance would it not possess, were it truly historical! How could the evangelists, and Paul, possibly have suffered it to escape them? It is, however, only too easily conceivable that they knew nothing at all about it.

In order to reach James it was first necessary for Jesus, according to our fragment, to walk; but it was not so in the case of the servant of the high priest, who must, accordingly, be thought of as having been in the immediate neighbourhood of the sepulchre. What was he doing there? The most likely conjecture will be that he was taking part in the watching of the sepulchre. This, however, means yet another step beyond the already unhistorical canonical account (below, § 20), in so far as according to Mt. 27: 62 the chief priests and Pharisees took part only in the sealing of the stone at the door of the sepulchre, and has its parallel in the part taken by the presbyters in the watching of the sepulchre according to the Gospel of Peter (38), which, as regards this part of the narrative, goes still another step farther than the canonical account (see below, § 58). It has to be remarked that the linen cloth was the only clothing which speaks of several cloths, is plainly no, taken into account in the gospel of the Hebrews. This being so it would have been too great an offence against decorum that Jesus should have given this garment to the servant of the high priest. It will therefore be necessary to suppose that he had already assumed another form. In that case also, however, the handing over of the garment to the servant makes an advance upon the canonical account. The synopsists, in reporting the resurrection, make no mention of the cloth at all, and in Jn. the clothes are all found lying in the sepulchre, which at all events better accords with the reserve with which the mystery of the resurrection is treated than would be the case if we were asked to believe that Jesus had brought the cloth with him from the sepulchre as a trophy and deposited it as an ultimate proof of his resurrection. Lastly, it has to be remembered how violently the Gospel of the Hebrews, although in agreement with Paul (1 Cor. 15: 7) as regards an appearance to James, also conflicts with that apostle in so far as it makes out this appearance to have been the first; also how natural it was that precisely in a gospel for Hebrews James, the head of the church at Jerusalem, should be glorified by means of some such narrative as this.

(c) In Ignatius (*ad Smyrn.* 32) we meet with the following passage:—'and when he came to those about Peter he said to them, Take, handle me and see that I am not a demon without a body. And straightway they touched him and believed' (καὶ ὄτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς: λαβετε ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον. καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἤψαντο καὶ ἐπίστευσαν). Eusebius (*HE* iii. 3611) confesses that he does not know where Ignatius can have taken this from. Jerome (*Vir. ill.* 16), on the other hand, informs us that it comes from the Gospel of the Hebrews (only he wrongly names the Epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp, not that to the Smyrnavans).

Brandt (390: 395; see below, § 39) plausibly conjectures that the quotation belongs to the passage, quoted above under a, marked by Jerome by the words 'again after a little' ('rursus post paululum'); Jesus appeared to James, then went with him to Peter and his companions, permitted himself to be touched there, and ordered food to be brought, and so forth. We hear of the invitation to touch him in Lk. 24: 39, and that passage, not Jn. 20: 27, the other hand, 'holiness demon' (δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον) agrees with 27: 37) which is the reading of Lk. or with the 'appearance' (φαντασμα, because in point of fact he really regarded the risen Jesus as a nothing new. This second fragment, accordingly, conveys nothing new. Lk. may not unreasonably be regarded as its source. See, further, below § 59.

In the fragment of the Gospel of Peter discovered in

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1892 various scholars, and especially Harnack, have

8. Gospel of Peter.

discussed a maximum of really ancient matter ('a first class source').¹ It is to be observed, however, that, (1) as regards the watch set on the sepulchre, the Peter fragment goes still further beyond the canonical account than the Gospel to the Hebrews does (see § 4 A).

Not only do the elders of the Jews keep watch along with the Roman soldiers; the writer also is able to give the name of the officer in command of the guard (Petronius) and to inform his readers that the stone at the door of the sepulchre was sealed with seven seals, and that a booth was erected for the use of the guard. What is still more surprising, the soldiers report the occurrence of the resurrection not to the chief priests but to Pilate,—precisely the person from whom, according to Mt 28 14, all knowledge of the fact ought if possible to have been withheld,—and it is Pilate who, at the request of the Jews, enjoins silence on the soldiers (28-49).

(b) The actual resurrection of Jesus, which in the canonical accounts is, with noticeable reserve, always only indicated as having occurred already, never described, is here represented as having occurred before the very eyes of the Roman and Jewish watchers, and, indeed, in a way which can only be described as grotesque (35-44).

During the night the heavens open, two men (youths) come down in dazzling splendour, the stone rolls away of its own accord, the two youths enter the sepulchre, three men re-emerge, two of them supporting the third, the heads of the two reach to the sky, that of the third goes beyond it (cp Wisd. 18 12); a cross follows them, and to the question heard from heaven 'Hast thou preached to the dead?' it answers 'Yea'; the heavens open once more, a man comes down and enters the sepulchre (this is the angel whom the women see there next morning). This, however, is not all; in r. 19, after the cry of Jesus 'My Strength, my Strength, thou hast abandoned me' (ἡ δύναμις μου, ἡ δύναμις μου, κερδέεις ἄνευ μου—thus, in all probability, by way of toning down the expression of God-forsakenness) we find the words 'and when he had spoken he was taken up' (ἐὰν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀναβήσῃ), which can hardly be understood otherwise than as meaning a taking up into heaven.² This last, therefore, is twice related in our fragment; for that Jesus goes into heaven along with the two angels is made clear by the word of the angel to the women (r. 56): 'he is risen and has gone thither whence he was sent' (ἀνστήσῃ καὶ ἀναβήσῃ ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἀνεστράφη).

(c) The account of what Mary Magdalene and 'her friends' found at the sepulchre (50-57) is essentially in agreement with what we read in Mk. So, also, the statement that they flee filled with fear, without our being told that they related to any one what had occurred. On the closing day of the paschal festival 'the twelve disciples' are still weeping and mourning in Jerusalem (58 f.).

(d) On this closing day the disciples betake themselves each to his home, that is to say, to Galilee. For in r. 60 the narrative proceeds: 'but I, Simon Peter, and Andrew . . . went (to fish) to the sea, and with us were Levi the son of Alphaeus whom the Lord . . . ' (here the fragment breaks off). Plainly the continuation related an appearance of Jesus by the sea of Galilee, such as we meet with in Jn. 21. Yet in Jn. it is precisely Andrew and Levi who are not mentioned.³

¹ *Bruchstücke des Evng. u. der Apokalypse des Petrus*, 1891; *ACL II.* (= *Chronol.*) 1124.

² Cp Acts 1 11. Mk. 16 12. See also, which in Mk. 15 37 Lk. 23 46 rightly says '(Jesus) expired (or, ended)', has in Mt. 27 50 'his spirit went up'; and Origen (*Comm. in Mt. series* [Lat.], ed. de la Rue, 3 224 b, § 140) 'statim ut clamavit ad patrem repositus est'.

³ As regards Levi, Resch (*TU* x. 3 399-412 x. 4 109) tries to controvert this, identifying Levi's identity with Matthew (Mk. 2 14. Mt. 9 9), whom in turn, on account of the like meaning of the two names, he identifies with Nathanael who appears in Jn. 21 2. Of these two identifications, however, even that of Levi with Matthew is questionable, and complete identity in the meanings of two names can never be held to prove the identity of the bearers. Cp PUECH, col. 3707, n. 1; NATHANAEL. The attempt may be made, without such identifications of different names, to maintain the identity of the fact recorded in the Gospel of Peter with that recorded in Jn.; this may be done by pointing to the possibility that Andrew and Levi may be intended by the two unnamed disciples in Jn. 21 2. It is an attempt which would to a certain extent be plausible but only if a fact might really be assumed which both writers wish to describe. But in 21 2-4 is open to the suspicion of being not a description of a fact, but rather the clothing of an idea; and we may suspect, in particular, that the two unnamed disciples

(e) The element here that admits of being regarded as especially odd is that the first appearance of Jesus occurs in Galilee and to Peter. Hardly, however, to Peter alone as is stated by Paul (1 Cor. 15 5) and Lk. (24 34). Furthermore, it might seem to be original here that the first appearance does not occur until more than eight days after the death of Jesus. Such, however, cannot be regarded with certainty as the meaning of the fragment.

Unquestionably the writer is in error if he thinks that on the last day of the paschal festival many pilgrims, and also the apostles, set out for their homes; for this day fell in that year on a Sabbath, and even if that had not been so, it had the validity of a Sabbath and thus precluded the possibility of travelling. Another evidence of ignorance or carelessness in matters of chronology is seen in r. 27, where, after describing the burial of Jesus, Peter goes on to say: 'we fasted and sat mourning and weeping day and night (ἠνείκεν ἡμεῖς ἡμέρας) until the Sabbath,' although the writer, according to r. 28, rightly dates the death of Jesus on the evening of Friday. If this be so, it is not impossible that he may have regarded the paschal festival as one not of eight days' duration, but of only two. The Sabbath is rightly regarded by him as the first day of the feast; in r. 50 he mentions the Sunday (ἡμέραν) as the day on which the women visited the sepulchre; and immediately after the words 'the women fell full of fear, he proceeds in r. 52 to add: 'and it was the last of the days of unleavened bread (ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα τῆς ἀζύμων τῆς ἑσχάτης). Although the possibility is not excluded that these words transplant us to a later date, it still remains the most natural interpretation of the form of expression to suppose the meaning to be: 'but at that time (when the women fled) it was the last of the days,' etc. This is impossible at least to be quite certain that an interval of more than eight days between the resurrection and the first appearance of Jesus is intended. Besides, as we shall afterwards discuss (see below, § 22 d), it has not the smallest inherent probability.

(f) On the whole, then, what we have to say with regard to the gospel of Peter must be that, inasmuch as the greater part of its contents is of a legendary character, we cannot rely upon anything we find in it merely because it is found in the gospel of Peter. If the reader by any chance finds any statements contained in it to be credible, he does so on grounds of inherent probability alone, and must ask, almost in astonishment, how by any possibility a statement of such a kind could have found its way hither. Moreover, the data which come most nearly under this category are already known to us from canonical sources;—such as that the resurrection and the ascension were but one and the same act (§ 16 c), that the disciples received from the women no word as to the state of the sepulchre, and that the first appearance of the risen Jesus was in Galilee (Mk. 16 7 f. Mt. 28 7 16 f.). The sole statement worthy of credence not with in the gospel of Peter and nowhere else is that found in r. 27—that the disciples fasted (cp § 36 a). In Peter, however, we can have no certainty that the author is drawing upon authentic tradition; he may very easily have drawn upon his own imagination for this realistic touch.

There remains yet one other extant account of the resurrection by a writer who in like manner did not feel himself bound to follow the canonical accounts; it occurs in a Coptic book of anti-Gnostic tendency, found at Akhmim in Egypt, and described by Carl Schmidt (*SB. III.*, 1895, pp. 705-711); the conversation of the risen Jesus with his disciples contained in it has been reproduced and discussed by Harnack (*Theol. Studien für B. H. E. B.*, 1897, pp. 1-8), who dates it somewhere between 150 and 180 A. D.

The contents are as follows:—Mary, Martha, and Mary Magdalene wish to anoint the body of Jesus, but find the sepulchre empty. Jesus appears to them and says: 'I am he whom ye seek, and bids that one of them go to their brethren and say 'Come, the Master is risen.' Martha does so, but meets with no credence, and Mary, whom Jesus sends after Martha has reported her failure, has no better success. Finally Jesus himself goes along with the women, calls the disciples out, and

were added only in order to gain the complete number 'seven' (below, § 29 c; SIMON PETER, § 22 c). Therefore, to identify with the account in the Gospel of Peter (to which Gospel the idea intended in Jn. was presumably quite foreign), the identification being based on so slender a foundation, would be very imprudent.

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7. Isolated extra-canonical details.

Biblical Text
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they still continue to be in doubt, bids Peter, Thomas, and Andrew touch his hands, his side, and his feet respectively, citing also Wisd. 18:17. Then they confess their sins, especially their unbelief.

This narrative contains much that is new, but nothing that could claim greater credulity than the canonical gospels. An appearance of Jesus occurs at the sepulchre, not, however, to one woman or two, as in Jn. and Mt. respectively, but to three; so also the unbelief of the disciples dwelt on in Lk. 24:11-41 reappears in intensified form, and in addition St. Thomas two other disciples are bidden touch the wounds of Jesus.

Other isolated details also, differing from those commonly current, have come down to us from a time, presumably, in which older traditions still continued to produce after-effects.

(a) Cod. Bezae Cantabrigiae (k) has this interpolation before Mk. 16:4 (see *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, 2:22): 'Suddenly, however, at the third hour, darkness came on by day throughout the whole world and angels came down from heaven and will rise (read: and rising) in the brightness of the living God went up with him, and forthwith it was light' ('subito notum ad horam tertiam tenebrae defecerunt per totum orbem terrarum et descenderunt de caelis angeli et surgent euntes in claritate vivi dei simul ascendent cum eo et continuo lux facta est'). This about the angels agrees with the Gospel of Peter (see above, § 5*b*), except that there the event occurs during the night, whilst in cod. k we are bidden think of it as preceded by an eclipse and therefore as happening by day—at the third hour, in other words at 9 A.M.

It is, however, hard to believe that the interpolator actually supposed that the women took some three hours (from sunrise) to consider who should roll away the stone (16:2*k*). Perhaps the datum is the result of a confusion. This would be all the sorer because a darkness is elsewhere reported as having occurred at the crucifixion—although, not as having occurred in twelve till three (so also in Gospel of Peter, 15, 22). If we leave the darkness out of account and understand the three hours according to Roman and modern reckoning as three o'clock in the morning, then the final clause 'continuo lux facta est' agrees with both texts of the *Amphora Philati* (A, 9 and 10) in this hour the sun rose, manifestly to mark the time of the resurrection. So also agrees Lagarde's reconstruction of *Amphora Philati*, 5:14, which Kesch (*J.C.*, 3750) quotes from *Amphora Philati*, *Antiochiana*, 2:31; that Jesus slept through the Sabbath and for three hours over and above. One has to reckon the day in Roman fashion from midnight to night.

(b) In the *Didaskalia* (extant in Syriac), which came into existence in the third century, based upon older records, we read (ed. Lagarde, 88*f.*, according to *Ch. Texts*, 3761) that 'during the night before the dawn of the first day of the week Jesus appeared to Mary Magdalene and Mary the daughter of James, and the morning of the first day of the week he entered the house of Levi, and then he appeared also to us; moreover he said to us while he was instructing us: Where do ye fast on my account in these days?' and so on. Mention is made of Levi in the Gospel of Peter (above, § 5*b*), but in a widely different connection, fasting is also mentioned there (§ 5 [f]). The name of Mary is called the daughter (not the mother) of Alphaeus in Ss also.

According to K. Syr. var. Syr. *Lucan.*, Vg. etc., in 141 Jesus gives what is left from what he ate (*i.e.*, the loaves) to FR and AW, fish and an honeycomb) to the disciples.

In Tatian's *Diatessaron* Capernaum is named in 12 instead of the mountain in Galilee. In the story by the open sepulchre which Tatian gives after the Synoptics is named without any addition, and Ephrem commentary understands this of Mary the mother of Jesus. This is indicated also by the fact that previously has been entrusted by the crucified Jesus in the words of Jn. 19:20*f.* to the beloved disciple. Nevertheless there may be a confusion here, as the *Diatessaron* is not from this reference we leave the *Amphora Phil.* out of account as being a late and highly legendary work.

elsewhere undoubtedly makes use of the canonical gospels.

(c) A Christian section of the *Apocryphal Gospel* (311: 418; see SIMON PETER, § 27) presents a variation on the Gospel of Peter. Upon (the way to) those who watched the sepulchre follows: 'the angel of the church which is in heaven... *καταβασει τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν οὐρανῷ* and 'the angel of the Holy Spirit [Gabriel?]; and Michael the chief of the holy angels on the third day will open the sepulchre and the Beloved sitting on their shoulders will come forth' (316*f.*: ὁ ἀγγέλος τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ Μιχαὴλ ἀρχὼν τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν ἁγίων τῆ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀνοίξουσιν τὸ μνηστεῖον καὶ ὁ ἀγαπητὸς καθίσει ἐπὶ τοῖς ὡμοῖς αὐτῶν ἐξελθόμενος).

(f) On a still later date we have a recent notice of an apocryphal work, in a Georgian translation, belonging according to Harnack to the fifth or the sixth century; it relates to Joseph of Arimathea, and we are told that its hero is expressly spoken of as the first to whom Jesus appeared. He had been thrown into prison by the Jews for having begged the body of Jesus (S.P.W., 1901, 1:8 920-931, and, more fully, von Dobschütz in *Z. f. Kirchengesch.*, 23:1-27 [1902]).

In any event all these notices serve to show how busily and in how reckless a manner the accounts of the resurrection of Jesus continued to be handled on.

The shorter conclusion of Mk. (that headed 'ΑΛΛΟΥ' by W14) contents itself with simply saying the opposite

8. Mk. 16:9-20, of the statement (that the women had seen and heard at the grave) in 16:8; but the longer conclusion gives a variety of details.

(c) A brief summary of its most important points has been given already (see GOSPELS, § 138*d*); but it will be necessary to examine more closely some of the current views respecting it.

Rohrbach (see below, § 40), in his hypothesis based upon certain indications of Harnack, gives his adhesion to the opinion of Combeate (*Evangel.*, 1894*b*, pp. 241-254), that Mk. 16:9-20 is the work of the presbyter Aristion. We shall discuss this thesis in the form in which it has been adopted by Harnack (*U. Z.*, ii, 1: *Chron.*, 11 695-700). In order to displace the genuine conclusion of Mk. (see below, § 9) in favour of another which should be more in agreement with the other three gospels, and at the same time be the work of an authoritative person, the presbyters of the Johannine circle in Asia Minor who brought together the four gospels into a unity took a memorandum by the presbyter Aristion who, according to Papias, had been a personal disciple of Jesus (JOHN, *Ser.* of ZEPHRA, § 4).

(b) Harnack and Rohrbach, in order to maintain the literary independence of Aristion, find it necessary to deny that Mk. 16:9-20 is a mere excerpt from the canonical gospels and other writings. In this, however, they cannot but fail. The borrowing, indeed, is not made word for word; in point of fact, however, even the smallest departure from the sources admits of explanation on grounds that are obvious. Verse 6 is compounded from Jn. 20:11-17 and Lk. 8:2; 17:19*f.* from Jn. 20:18 and Lk. 24:10*f.*; 7:12 reproduces Lk. 24:13-12 and 7:13*a* Lk. 24:13-15. That the eleven did not believe the disciples from Emmaus (*τ.*, 13*b*) directly contradicts Lk. 24:14 it is true; but this is easily explicable from the view of the author that unbelief was the invariable effect of the accounts as to appearances of the risen Jesus—a view which (*τ.*, 14) he expressly puts into the mouth of Jesus himself. Thus it is by no means necessary to postulate an independent source; all that is needed is unity in the fundamental conception of the matter.

(c) Zahn (*U. Z.*, § 52=227-240) derives *τ.*, 14-18 from Aristion, but declines to do so 'like in the case of *τ.*, 6-13 and in that of 10*f.* In 15 he finds not merely compilation but actual narrative, and that without dependence on the canonical gospels. In reality, however, *τ.*, 14 simply carries further what is found in Lk. 24:28-38 Jn. 20:27; *τ.*, 17 is an adaptation of Mt. 28:10 to Pauline and Catholic phraseology ('world' [κόσμος], 'preach the gospel' [ἀγγέλλω τὸ εὐαγγέλιον], 'creature' [ἄριστος]), and if baptism in the name of the Trinity is

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TABULAR VIEW OF LEADING PARTICULARS

	PAUL	Mk.	Mt.	Lk.	Jn.	Mk. xvi. 9-20	GOSP. HEB.	GOSP. PET.	COPT.	ETHIOP.
AT SEPULCHRE	Watch	..	..	soldiers	..	..	soldiers (and servant of priest?)	soldiers and presbyters	..	..
	Jesus comes forth	..	..	..	..	..	..	in the night; with 2 angels; stone re- moves itself	..	..
	Time when women come	..	after sun- rise	evening be- fore	before sun- rise	before sun- rise	(in the morning)	..	in the morning	..
	Stone when women come	..	already re- moved	is removed by angel; earthquake	already re- moved	already re- moved	..	..	already re- moved	(already re- moved)
	Angels when women come	..	1	1	2	2	..	..	1	..
	Women	..	1; Mary Magd.; M. (m. of James (the less and James); Salome	2; Mary Magd.; M. mother of James and Joseph	M. Magd.; Joanna; M. of James; and others	M. Magd.;	..	..	M. Magd. and her companions	Mary, Martha, M. Magd.
	Men	..	..	the watchers	(Peter?)	she tells Peter and the beloved disciple	..	..	the watchers	..
	In sepulchre	..	the angel	..	nothing	a the cloths & the angels	..	..	the angel	nothing
	See Jesus at sepulchre	..	..	the 2 women; touch Jesus' feet	..	M. Magd.;	..	..	the watchers,	the 3 women
	See Jesus (at sepulchre?)	..	..	..	..	..	M. Magd.	the servant; receives Jesus' gar- ment	..	..
Angel's charge	..	to send dis- ciples to Galilee	to send dis- ciples to Galilee	..	..	..	..	..	..
Jesus' charge	..	..	ditto	..	to announce ascension	..	..	..	..
WOMEN'S REPORT: to whom	..	not made	(the dis- ciples)	the 11 and others	a see above & the (11) disciples	the disciples	..	(not made)	the disciples twice	..
result	..	..	journey to Galilee	unbelief	..	unbelief	..	..	unbelief	..
OTHER	Peter	Peter?	..	Peter	..	..	James; bread for him	..	..	..
APPEARANCES	the twelve	the (11) dis- ciples?	the 11 dis- ciples;	at Emmaus; supper	the (10) dis- ciples;	the 11;	Peter with others;	Peter, An- drew, Levi (& others?)	the (11) dis- ciples;	the dis- ciples
OF	..	..	some doubt;	they doubt;	closed doors;	..	..	..	..	..
JESUS	..	..	missionary command;	Jesus touched;	J. shows his wounds;	(missionary command);	Jesus touched	..	Jesus touched	..
TO	over 500 James	..	'I am with you always'	Holy Spirit promised	Holy Spirit given	..	..	..	..	..
PLACE OF APPEARANCES	..	(Galilee)	Galilee	Jerusalem	a Jerusalem; lastly & Sea of Gal.	(Jerusalem?)	(Jerusalem?)	Sea of Gal.	(Jerusalem?)	..
ASCENSION	(at the resur- rection)	first evening Acts: after 40 days	first morn- ing	at a meal (on the 1st evening?)	..	a at death & at the resur- rection

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RESURRECTION- AND ASCENSION-NARRATIVES

not mentioned that becomes very intelligible after Conybeare's demonstration (*ZNTW*, 1901, pp. 275-288; cp *Hibb. Journ.* 1, p. 96 ff.) that even Eusebius down to 325 A.D. read nothing as to this in Mt. (cp *MINISTRY*, § 54). Verse 16 is the most elaborated dogmatic of the apostolic and post-apostolic time (Acts 16:31, *MINISTRY*, § 26). The casting-out of devils in 7: 17 rests on Mk. 6:7-13 Mt. 10: 1-1k. B. 10: 17, the speaking with new tongues (i.e., languages of foreign peoples) on Acts 2: 1-11 (cp *SPIRITUAL GIFTS*, § 10); 'they shall take up serpents' (7: 16) is borrowed partly from Acts 28: 3-6 and partly from the express promise of Jesus in Lk. 10: 19; the gift of healing of diseases by laying-on of hands from Acts 28: 2. With-out limitation to the method by imposition of hands such a gift is already bestowed upon the apostles in Mt. 10: 1 Lk. 9: 1, and is exercised by them in Mk. 6: 13 Lk. 9: 6.

The drinking of deadly poison with impunity is the only thing for which we have to look outside of the NT canon; but here it is not Aristion that we encounter but the daughter of Philip, from whom Papias claims to have heard of such a thing in the case of Justus Barsabas (cp *PLIN.*, § 44). To say the least, then, 7: 17 ff. are quite as much a mere cataloguing abstract as 7: 9-13 are. Nor is the situation changed by the addition after 7: 14 which Jerome quotes in one place from Greek MSS: 'And they apologised saying: this age of iniquity and unbelief is under Satan, who by his impure spirits does not suffer the true virtue of God to be apprehended; wherefore now reveal thy justice' (et illi satisfacientes [made amends, here meaning: apologised] dicentes: saeculum istud iniquitatis et incredulitatis sub Satana est, qui non sinit per immundos spiritus veram dei apprehendi virtutem; idcirco jam nunc revela justitiam tuam.) It is very easily explained as being a gloss.

(d) The conclusion of Mk. betrays no acquaintance with Jn. 21 or the Gospel of Peter; on the other hand we cannot say with confidence that the author had occasion to use them even had he known them. In the Gospel of Peter (27) the disciples are spoken of as in Mk. 16: 7 as 'mourning and weep[ing]' (*πενθοῦσες καὶ κλαίουσες*). But this collocation of words is quite current (1k. 6: 25 Jas. 4: 9 Rev. 18: 11 15: 10), and the idea conveyed was an obvious one both from the situation itself and also as fulfilment of the prophecy in Jn. 16: 20, and thus is no proof of literary dependence.

(e) There is thus no particular reason why we should assign to a personal disciple of Jesus such as Aristion the authorship of so unagree an excerpt as Mk. 16: 7-20 from which absolutely nothing new is to be learned.

A marginal gloss—comparatively late it may be—in an Oxford MS. of Rufinus speaks of the story about Justus Barsabas in *Act. III. 309* (see above, C) as a communication from Aristion (*Epist. 1291, 6, p. 246*). Should this happen to rest upon older tradition, it conceivably may have been what furnished the reason for attributing to Aristion first the allusion to the same thing in Mk. 16: 19 and afterwards erroneously the whole passage (7: 9-20).

(f) Neither is there much greater probability in the conjecture Resch (*TC* x. 2450-456) that in Conybeare's Armenian Manuscript by the presbyter Aristion is meant the Jewish Christian of Pella in Perea, to whom the Dialogue between Jason and Jewish-Christian in the conclusion of Mk. (see above, 6: 29) is another part of Resch's hypothesis—that it was this Aristion at the same time gathered together the four gospels into a whole which is quite inadmissible. Resch is able to make out a Jewish-Christian character for this grouping only inasmuch as he assigns the first place.

(g) The attempt to bring into close connection the composition of Mk. 16: 7-20 and the grouping of the four gospels as sole canonical sources for the life of Jesus must be given up.

If, however, there be even merely an element of truth

Jer. contra Pelag. 2: 15; ed. Vallarsi, 278 f. Zahn (*Geogr. u. Histor. Kanons*, 2: 150, 3; *Einh.*, § 52, n. 7) defends the thing 'sub Satana . . . qui' given above; the usual reading 'substantia . . . quae'.

Van Kasteren (*Rev. bibl. internat.*, 1902, pp. 249-255) seeks to defend the authenticity of this appendix. He maintains, besides, that the whole passage (16: 7-20) has been used in Hermas, ix. 25, 2, and even in Heb. 1: 4-2 vs. These arguments, missing in Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses of Mk.* (1871), and as capable of supporting the posteriority as the priority of 16: 7-20, if they necessarily implied literary acquaintance.

in the theory that the genuine conclusion of Mk. was removed on account of its inconsistency with the other gospels, we are led to the conjecture that what it stated must have been all the more original in proportion as the others are recent.

9. Lost conclusion of Mk.

(a) Harnack and Rohrbach suppose that the lost conclusion was what lay at the foundation of the Gospel of Peter and Jn. 21.

What is said, they think, was to the effect that as the women said nothing about what had occurred at the sepulchre (16: 8) the disciples went to Galilee—not at the command of Jesus but (as in the Gospel of Peter) of their own motion and in deep depression. Here Jesus appeared to a group of them by the lake as they were fishing (so far the Gospel of Peter) and rehabilitated Peter who had been overwhelmed with a sense of his guilt in denying Jesus (cp Jn. 21: 15-17). The saying of Jesus, on the other hand, about the beloved disciple (20: 24) is an addition of the author of Jn. 21. Apart from that saying Jn. 21 describes the first appearance of the risen Jesus, which is given as the third appearance (21: 14) only in order to bring Lk. and Jn. into agreement. Rohrbach seeks to discover in the genuine conclusion of Mk. also an appearance of Jesus to the eleven, and brings into connection with this the fragment in Ignatius spoken of above (§ 4 c) which Rohrbach would faint detach from the Gospel of the Hebrews and claim for the genuine conclusion of Mk.

(b) Of such hypotheses we may admit everything that can be based upon Mk. 16: 7. Even if the women, as we read in 7: 8, kept silence as to the injunction of the angel, it still remains the fact that, according to the view of the author, it was the divine will that 'the disciples and Peter' should go to Galilee and there see the risen Jesus. That the disciples should have fulfilled this injunction without being acquainted with it is explained in the Gospel of Peter by the fact that the festival had come to an end; according to *GOSPELS*, § 138 a, there is a quite different explanation. In any case it is clear that it cannot have been Mk.'s intention to close his gospel at 16: 8; he must have treated also the Galilean events for which he had prepared his readers. From the remarkable order 'his disciples and Peter' we must not conclude that an appearance to the disciples was first related and then one to Peter; for it is not said that his disciples and Peter will see him, but 'I will his disciples and Peter.' All we can conjecture with any confidence is that Peter in some way or other played a special part in the lost narrative.

(c) What we find in Harnack and Rohrbach going beyond this is quite untenable. That the Gospel of Peter and Jn. 21 have no common source, results at the outset from the fact that the names of the apostles on the shore of the lake are not the same (cp § 5 d, n.) That Jn. 21 originally was a description of the first appearance of the risen Jesus, is in itself not impossible; but there is nothing that directly indicates it.

The reserve of the disciples, in particular (21: 12), in virtue of which none of them durst ask the Lord who he was, would be appropriate, not only at the first, but at any appearance. In the consummately delicate manner in which it is referred to in 7: 15-17, Peter's denial could have been alluded to at any other appearance besides the first, if the situation presented occasion for it; and a rehabilitation of Peter which one cannot help expecting at the first appearance, need not have carried with it, in the first instance, more than his restoration to grace, not his investiture with the office of leader of the church (cp § 37 c). This installation of Peter, however, is explained much more readily by reference to a later ecclesiastical situation. The Fourth Gospel at its first publication had met with opposition, and in the circles in which it had arisen it was perceived that it would fail to meet with ecclesiastical recognition if the great prominence given to the beloved disciple and the comparative depreciation of Peter, which ran through the entire book (see *SINUS P. 138*, § 22), were to be continued. It was determined, therefore, to renounce in an appendix the authority of Peter to some extent (*MIXTURE*, § 30 a). If this be so, however, the words about the abiding importance of the beloved disciple (21: 20-24), as also about the death of Peter (21: 18, 19), which would certainly be inappropriate at a first appearance, will be integral parts, not merely inorganically attached additions. Yet once more, the thought that Jesus institute a substitute for the Last Supper (in 21: 14) the remainder of which is quite manifest) is not appropriate to a first appearance of Jesus, but must be regarded as the result of later reflection (see § 20 c).

(d) Harnack and Rohrbach become very specially involved in obscurities when they maintain that the

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genuine conclusion of Mk. with its first appearance of Jesus was at the same time in agreement with the account in 1 Cor. 15, and with that in Lk. 24, according to which Jesus appeared to Peter. The expression of Paul, and in like manner that of Lk., unquestionably mean: to Peter alone. That, however, is exactly what Jn. 21 does not say, nor yet in all probability did the Gospel of Peter.

In Jn. 21 not only is Peter not the only one to recognise Jesus; he is not even the first; the first is the beloved disciple. Rohlfach has recourse to the conjecture that, in the genuine conclusion of Mk., at the decisive scene, the recognition of Jesus and the word of restitution, the other disciples apart from Peter were either, like the disciples at Emmaus whose eyes were hidden (Lk. 24), prevented by divine arrangement from recognising Jesus, or were not present at all, and that this scene was followed by another separate appearance to the eleven (above, *et*). Harnack, to judge by his silence, does not accept this, but in doing so leaves it all the more unclear how far the appearance to several disciples is to be held the same as an appearance to Peter (above).

(c) If such an appearance cannot be assumed to have been contained in the lost conclusion of Mk. with certainty, the attempt must also be abandoned to invest the passage with the nimbus which would attach to it if it had really contained the full narrative of what Paul and Lk. (24) dismiss with a single word as the earliest of the occurrences after the resurrection of Jesus. The lost conclusion in question may have been relatively more original than the canonical and extra-canonical accounts which have come down to us; but we cannot safely venture to regard it as having been absolutely the first.

If now it has been made out that the extra-canonical accounts contain nothing of any consequence which

10. 1 Cor. 15-11 goes beyond the canonical—except in itself considered.

ultimately the existence of an interval of more than eight days between the resurrection of Jesus and his first appearance 15:51—and that the canonical gospels are at irreconcilable variance with each other, we have finally to turn to the narrative of Paul. It has fared badly. Reimarus and Lessing completely ignored it. The entire body of conservative theology denies it any decisive importance, and the most advanced critical theology in rejecting all the Pauline epistles of course rejects this also. It is very striking to observe, however, how slight are the objections that can be brought against it. Let us take, in the first place, those which are urged against the account in itself considered.

(a) Steck (*Galater-b.*, 1888, pp. 18-101) finds at the very outset that the word 'make known' (*γνωσθε*; 1 Cor. 15:1) shows the writer to have been aware that he was making a statement which, at the time of his making it (according to Steck, in the 2nd cent.), was new. The answer is simple; a writer can surely quite easily say of a thing already known 'I make known unto you,' if he wishes to call attention to it as something very weighty, or desires gently to reproach or rebuke his readers for not having kept it in mind. The remark holds good here as well as in 12:3 Gal. 1:11.

(b) According to 13:11 what precedes is given out alike by Paul and by the original apostles. Steck holds it to be artificially composed to suit such a purpose; the twelve would represent the narrower circle of disciples destined for the mission to the Jews; the 500 that wider circle, hinted at in Lk. 10:1, for the mission to the Gentiles. In this case, however, we are constrained to ask why the author, who according to Steck had full scope for his fancy, should have chosen the number 500, not 70? And why does he cite James (surely a Jewish Christian) after, not before, the alleged representatives of the Gentile mission, and afterwards, over and above, 'all the apostles,' whom no one can assert to have belonged distinctly to the Jewish-Christian or to the Gentile-Christian circle?

(c) Whether the original apostles included in their preaching also this, that Jesus had appeared to Paul, may be regarded as questionable in view of their strained relations with Paul. At an early date, however, when the churches of Judaea gloried in Paul (Gal. 1:23) they certainly proclaimed it, since the conversion of this most zealous opponent of Christianity cannot but have seemed to them to be the greatest triumph of the new religion. Accordingly, Paul might very well assume that they were still doing so. Yet it must not by any means be positively affirmed that he says so; for from 1 Cor. 15:7 onwards the verbs no longer depend, as in 27:15, on 'how that (ord);' the sentences are all independent propositions. Otherwise we should be compelled to go so far as to say that Paul describes the contents of 15:5 also—that is, the appearance of Jesus to

himself—as something which according to 27:15 he has received (*παρελαβον*). Steck does not shrink from drawing this inference. In doing so, however, he does the writer an injustice. For when the writer wrote 27:15, his intention was to set forth what he had received; but he was surely not thereby precluded from adding something of the same kind with regard to himself, of which the readers would be able to see for themselves that he had not 'received' it. In like manner also he must not be detained from saying in 27:15, by way of *resumé*, that he and the original apostles preach in the manner stated in the preceding context, although certainly 27:9 ff. perhaps also 27:8, do not form part of the preaching of the original apostles.

(d) Van Manen (*Patristica*, 3, 1896, pp. 67-71) finds 15:1-11 out of agreement with 27:12-38; for in the former passage the hope of a future resurrection of the body is made to depend upon the fact of the resurrection of Jesus, whilst in the latter it is held upon quite different grounds into which this fact does not enter. It must be noted, however, that if a thing rests upon more grounds than one, it is quite fitting that these should be set forth separately. Besides, in point of fact, the resurrection of Jesus is returned to in 27:20 as having a bearing upon the argument.

(e) Another point made by Van Manen is that 'was seen' (*ωραθη*) is repeated in 27:6, but not in 27:56. That, however, really proves nothing against either the genuineness or the unity of the section. The addition in 27:6 of whom the greater part remain until now, but some are fallen asleep' is found by Van Manen too copiously in style after the curt expressions in 27:3-5; and, moreover, he considers it to be brought in too late, since, if such an observation were to be made with reference to the 500, it ought also to have been mentioned with regard to the 12, whether they were still alive or not. But here again it may be replied that the Corinthians either knew or could have informed themselves as to the twelve, whilst the case was different with the 500. As for 'all the apostles' (*τοις αποστολοις παντοις*) in 27:7, to which Van Manen takes particular exception on the ground that they are identical with the 'Peter and the twelve' in 27:5, our reply must simply be that this is not the case; see *MINISTRIA*, § 17.

(f) Paul's designation of himself (15:6) as the least of the apostles, is regarded by Van Manen as not in agreement with his claim to apostolic rank and authority (1:4 to 9:11). Yet a solution of the apparent contradiction can be found in 15:10: 'not I, but the grace of God.' Besides, the slight against Paul would be unintelligible on the part of an admirer of his in the second century; it is intelligible only in the mouth of Paul himself, who elsewhere also shows himself as ready to humble himself in the sight of God as he is disinclined to do so before men.

(g) A further argument of Van Manen (p. 126) is that in 15:8-10 the life of the apostle is looked back upon as already completed. Yet Paul might also look back upon his life so far as completed and say quite fairly, as he does say: 'I laboured more abundantly than they all.'

(h) In particular, no difficulty ought to be caused by the words: 'last of all he appeared to me also.' Paul could quite well have been aware that since the appearance of Jesus made to himself, no other had been reported. But of those which he himself, according to 2 Cor. 12:1-4 46, afterwards lived to experience, none approached to that of Damascus in fundamental importance; thus he had all the more occasion to close his series with it, because his first vision of the risen Jesus may itself have occurred a considerable time after the other appearances (§ 30 [f]), and importance attached to the number of distinct persons who had seen visions, rather than to the number of visions such persons had had.

For the rest, Brandt (414 f.) gives up as un-Pauline only one expression: 'as unto the one born out of the season' (*κατα καιρον γεννησθαι*), which he considers to have been borrowed by a glossator for the Valentinian *gnosis* (cf. Straatman, *Krit. Stud. over 1 Cor.*, vol. 2, Groningen, 1865, pp. 196-204). Yet no stringent necessity for this is apparent. It is true that the expression (*κατακαιρον*) does not literally fit Paul, for it denotes an early birth, whereas he could more appropriately have been called a late birth. There is some difficulty, therefore, in supposing that Paul himself can have actually chosen this expression. To meet this difficulty we may perhaps suppose that Paul is taking up a phrase which had been used against him by way of reproach, because after all it has some applicability to his case. This theory would also best explain the definite article before (*τησπουαρι*), which is reproduced neither in AV nor in RV (one born).

That 1 Cor. 15:1-11 is dependent on the Gospels has been pronounced impossible even by Steck, since it

11. 1 Cor. 15:1-11 contains appearances of Jesus which are not found there. It is only the older than the earlier date of 1 Cor. that Steck disputes.

(a) Steck regards it as certainly historical that the

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(b) Steck 1 Cor. par drawn by appearance original accounts two accounts to application 500 men at § 36e.

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12. Completeness of 1 Cor. 15:1-11

him. Did we n has done so we For Paul nothing rested upon the (1 Cor. 15:14 f.) impossible to be was the inclination therefore, must everything that his fifteen days' he had the best of the subject in the the future resurre consequence acc 15:12), also the the entire basis question. In 12 argument wherew restation; is it in th could have passel Jesus, whilst yet first and most im opponents? But i

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of fact, least of all a fact of such importance and one with regard to which they alone were in a position to give evidence.

(b) Not less wide of the mark is the other explanation of Paul's silence upon the empty sepulchre, that the idea of a reanimation of the dead body did not fit in with his theology. If it were indeed the fact that his theology was opposed to this, it is nevertheless true that this theology of his came into being only after his conversion to Christianity. When he first came to know of Jesus as risen: he was still a Jew and therefore conceived of resurrection at all in no other way than as reanimation of the body (§ 17 c). Since, as soon as he had become a believer, he certainly held what had been imparted to him about Jesus to be a divine arrangement, he had no occasion whatever to alter his conception. Thus nothing then prevented him from believing that the grave was found empty—on the supposition that this was reported to him. And even in the wording of 1 Cor. there was no hindrance to his so believing.

That Jesus was buried and that 'he has been raised' (1 Cor. 15) cannot be affirmed by any one who has not the reanimation of the body in mind. It is correct to say that Paul has abandoned the Jewish conception in so far as he figures to himself the body of Jesus as being like the dead at the Last Day, who 'shall be raised incorruptible,' and like the bodies of those who shall then be alive and who 'shall be changed' (1 Cor. 15 42-52). The risen Jesus therefore was incapable of eating or of being touched (see §§ 14, 17 c); on the other hand, if he was to rise from the dead his body must needs come forth from the grave, otherwise the idea of resurrection would be abandoned. This is the case in 2 Cor. 5:1-8, according to which every individual immediately on his death passes into a state of glory with Christ, but it is not yet so in 1 Cor.

(c) Relatively the most reasonable suggestion is that Paul is silent regarding the empty sepulchre (though acquainted with the fact) because he fears that an appeal to the testimony of women will produce an unfavourable impression. This, however, is to misjudge Paul. If he knew and believed what was reported about the empty grave he must of course have regarded the participation of the women as a divine appointment; and just as he refused to be ashamed of the gospel although aware that in so many quarters it was regarded as mere foolishness (Rom. 1:16 1 Cor. 12) so also he would have refused to be ashamed of an appointment of God whereby women were made the chief witnesses to the truth of the resurrection.

Before proceeding to draw our final conclusions, however, from 1 Cor. 15, it will be convenient that we should examine the accounts of the resurrection.

16. Ascension.

(a) The view which is found in all books of doctrine and which underlies the observance of the ecclesiastical feast of the ascension, that Jesus was taken up into heaven forty days after his resurrection, rests solely upon Acts 1:39 (13 is not so exact), and thus on a datum which did not become known to the compiler of Acts till late in life.

We conjecture it to have been first made plain to the writer of Acts by the consideration that the disciples seemed still to be in need of much instruction at the hands of Jesus. The suggestion that the number forty is not to be taken literally becomes all the more natural in proportion to the lateness of its appearing. Moses passes forty days on Mount Sinai with God when receiving the law (Ex. 34:28); according to 4 Esd. 11:23 36:42-49 Ezra spends forty days in dictating afresh the OT (which had been lost in the destruction of Jerusalem in 526), and is seventy books of prophecy, and is thereafter taken up into heaven.¹

(b) In his gospel the author of Acts has assigned the ascension to a time late in the evening of the day of the resurrection (Lk. 24:420 33 36 50 f.).

Brandt (175-177) thinks Lk. cannot really have intended to represent Jesus as having ascended at night and therefore supposes the scene with the disciples at Emmaus not to have been introduced by the author until after 24:36-53 (appearances to the disciples, and ascension) had been written. If Brandt

1 According to the Valentinians and Ophites (Apol. Iren. i. 1 § [32] 287 [30 14]) Jesus remained on earth for eighteen months after his resurrection; so also *Act. Isa.* 7:15 in the Ethiopic text (545 days); according to *Pistis Sophia*, 1, eleven years.

is right we may suppose Lk. thought of the ascension as having occurred some hours earlier. The words 'and was carried up into heaven' (καὶ ἀνεβήθη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς: v. 51) are wanting, it is true, in μ^1 D and some Old Latin MSS. But even if the shorter form should be the more original, the words 'he parted from them' (ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν), which all authorities have (1 Διδόστη), would convey the same sense. Without some definite departure of Jesus it would be incomprehensible how the disciples should have been limited, as we read in v. 52 f., to praising God in the temple without having further intercourse with Jesus. It is highly probable that the words 'and was carried up into heaven' (καὶ ἀνεβήθη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς) were struck out at a very early period by a reader who wished to remove the discrepancy with Acts 1:3-9.

(c) In any case the dating of the ascension as having happened late on the day of the resurrection is confirmed by Barn. 159: 'We keep holy the eighth day (i. e., Sunday) . . . in which also Jesus rose from the dead and, after appearing, went up to heaven' (ἀκούειν τῆν ἡμέραν τὴν ὀγδόην . . . ἐν ἣ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ φανερωθεὶς ἀνέβη εἰς οὐρανοῖς), as also by Mk 16:9-20, where the order of the events in Lk. clearly lies at the foundation; in all probability also by Jn. 20:17 22, according to which on the morning of the resurrection Jesus is not yet ascended and in the evening already imparts the Holy Spirit to the disciples.

According to 7:39 the Holy Spirit first comes into being after Jesus has been glorified, in other words after his exaltation to heaven where he is encompassed by glory (δόξα). That Jesus does not suffer himself to be touched in 20:17 is not formally contradicted by what is said of the evening of the same day (in 20:20 he only shows the disciples his wounds); the contradiction does not emerge till eight days afterwards (20:27). On the other hand it perfectly fits in with the theory of 7:39 that the Holy Spirit is called (ἐκ) another comforter (ἄλλος παράκλητος; 14:16) who cannot come until after Jesus has gone away (Jesus must thus be thought of as the first παράκλητος and in point of fact is called παράκλητος in 1 Jn. 2:1, although there he is thought of as exalted) and that Jesus will send him forth from the father, that is, from heaven (15:26); cf. further 16:7.

(d) The Fourth Gospel is distinguished from Lk., Barn., and Mk. 16:9-20 by this, that it represents Jesus as still continuing to appear on earth after he has ascended.

When Jesus foretells his coming again in Jn. 14:18 it is clear from the connection with v. 17, that he means the coming of the Holy Spirit, with whom, in fact, according to 7:39, 2 Cor. 13:17 he is identical. On the other hand, the manner in which the same thought is expressed in 14:18 to 21 ('a little while . . . and ye shall see me') speaks strongly for the view that the appearances of the risen Jesus are intended; so also perhaps in 14:19, whilst 14:20 14:22 admit both interpretations and perhaps ought to receive both.

(e) The original conception of the ascension has been preserved in this, that the appearances of the risen Jesus occur after he has been received up into heaven; resurrection and ascension are a single act, Jesus is taken up directly from the grave, or from the underworld, into heaven.² Any direct proof for this, it is true, can hardly be adduced apart from the Gospel of Peter (above, § 5 d); the proof lies in the silence of the NT writers as to a special act of ascension. In particular, it ought (if known) to have been definitely mentioned in 1 Cor. 15:4-8, since, in point of fact, according to Lk., the appearances to Peter and the apostles, etc. were made before the ascension, whilst those to Paul on the other hand undoubtedly occurred after that event; and yet Paul uses with reference to them all the same word 'was seen' (ὤφθη, on which see below, § 17 a).

1 On the apologetic side there is often an inclination to make use of the well-known fact that the ancients were in the habit of employing for their literary work ready-made papyrus-rolls of a fixed length, within the limits of which they were wont to confine themselves. It is suggested that Lk., through failure of his space, may have found himself compelled to report the ascension so very briefly and inexactly, that it was possible for the impression to arise that he meant to assign it to the resurrection day, whereas in reality he meant to place it forty days later, and already had the intention of setting this forth more precisely in his later work. It may suffice, in answer to this, to say that Lk. must have perceived that the paper was coming to an end long before the last moment, and cannot have been forced, by any such discovery, into giving an account of the events which was not in accordance with his knowledge.

2 The descent into the underworld is originally merely another expression for his death and burial. Whether a preaching of Jesus in the underworld is connected with this (see MINISTREY, § 26) is for our present purpose indifferent.

So, a follower of God immediately against (καθ' ἑαυτῶν) who by translation are to understand Jesus too, and without the expression τῆν Παύλου τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ὀγδόην the purpose of his disciples there, and Mt. this closing his of it as in consideration that in 28:11-12 been given say nothing ever, not that from Mt. Ignatius spoken of it does not even Tertullian, a:1 (see V. Robinson, 1:1 chap. 13), (1) that after heaven.

11.—I The original in the pre-

17. Resurrection and appearance

which have Paul's account throw light not only to not have em anything had and made which others

(b) Appear that is to say pression of have it that legend or to ness of the 1 Jesus altogether attestation of of the resurre of the resurre times to which

(c) The idea Jesus made his thus had the speaking, the order of being anywhere and (d) It was each appearance regarded, each

1 The order in (καθ' ἑαυτῶν) was believed on it (καθ' ἑαυτῶν), accords ascension. May perhaps placed it order to those vague and indeter ending for his perhaps some such zing it a somewhat disciples' thought and he was raised

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So, also, Rom. 8. 4. Eph. 1. 20 (and with reference to the followers of Jesus Eph. 2. 6) place the sitting at the right hand of God immediately after the resurrection. Heb. 1. 3 10. 12 12. 2 against the descent (καταβήσας) into Hades only the ascent (ἀναβήσας) that raises Jesus above all heavens. So also the translation from Hades to Heaven if at least by *ἐν αἵματι* we are to understand 'with blood,' which according to 4. 14 6. 20 8. 2 10. 12 Jesus must offer in the heavenly sanctuary. 1 Pet. 3. 19 22 without violence, and equally little is the reader compelled by the expression 'goes before you into Galilee' (ἔμπροσθεν ὑμῶν εἰς γαλιλαίαν), Mk. 16. 7 = Mt. 28. 7, to assume that Jesus made the journey from the sepulchre to Galilee by way of earth; the purpose of the expression is simply to convey that Jesus expects his disciples in Galilee in order that he may appear to them there, and this he can very well have done from heaven. For Mt. 16. 19 this interpretation is directly indicated by the writer's closing his book without any ascension; he must have thought of it as inseparably connected with the resurrection. Another consideration pointing in the same direction rests on the fact that in 28. 18 Jesus is already able to say that all authority has been given him in heaven and on earth. As regards Mk. we can say nothing positive with reference to this point; there is, however, not the least probability that his last conclusion differed from Mt. in this respect. In Clem. Rom., Hermas, Polycarp, Ignatius we still find no mention of an ascension, nor yet is it spoken of in the *Dulche* (this last, it ought to be added, indeed, Tertullian continue to regard both events as two parts of one act (see Von Schubert, *Comp. des pseudopetrim. Evangelien-fragmente*, 1891, 136-138); the Apology of Aristides (83) in Robinson, *Texts and Studies*, i. 141. 77; Ureek, *ibid.*, 1904, 207 f. [chap. 15], German in Raabe, *TU* ix. 1. 3, § 2, end) says similarly that after three days he rose again and was taken up into heaven.)

II.—DETERMINATION OF OUTWARD FACTS.

The original conception of the ascension as set forth in the preceding section will supply us directly with some guidance when we proceed to the task of disentangling the real historical facts regarding the resurrection from the multitude of the accounts which have come down to us.

17. Real appearances. (a) As we do so we must in the first instance take Paul's account as our guide. That account is fitted to throw light upon the nature of the appearances made not only to Paul himself but also to others, for he would not have employed the same word 'was seen' (ὤφθη) if anything had been known to him by which the appearance made to himself was distinguished from those which others had received.

(b) Appearances of the risen Jesus did actually occur; that is to say, the followers of Jesus really had the impression of having seen him. The historian who will have it that the alleged appearances are due merely to legend or to invention must deny not only the genuineness of the Pauline Epistles but also the historicity of Jesus altogether. The great difference between the testimony of the nativity narratives and that of those of the resurrection lies in the fact that the earliest account of the resurrection arose simultaneously with the occurrences to which they relate.)

(c) The idea held regarding the occurrences was that Jesus made his appearances from heaven (§ 16. c). He was had the nature of a heavenly being. Broadly speaking, the angels were the most familiar type of this order of being—the angels who can show themselves anywhere and again disappear.

(d) It was thought, as matter of course, that after each appearance Jesus returned into heaven. So far as the appearance ended with an ascension.

The order in 1 Tim. 3. 16 where 'was received up in glory' (ἀρβήθη ἐν δόξῃ) comes after 'was preached to the nations, believed on in the world' (κηρύχθη ἐν ὅσῳ κόσμῳ, ἐπίστευθη ἐν ὅσῳ κόσμῳ), accords with no known or conceivable position of the ascension. May we hazard the conjecture that the author placed it at the close of his conversation simply in order to close with a concrete fact rather than a somewhat vague and indeterminate proposition, and so make a better ending for his poetical piece, and that in doing so he followed some such train of ideas as that in Mk. 16. 15 f. 19, only with a somewhat different turn; the command of Jesus that his disciples should preach him and believe in him was fulfilled when he was raised up to heaven?

Precisely for this reason, however, it is not permissible to suppose that any single ascension once and for all was ever observed; on such a supposition Jesus would still have remained a denizen of earth after the appearances preceding the final one.

(e) [That the risen Jesus ate or was touched was never observed. Not only does Paul say nothing of any such occurrence; the thing would also be contrary to the nature of a being appearing from heaven. Flesh and bones, which are attributed to Jesus in 1 k. 24. 39, assuredly he had not; he really made his appearances, although it is expressly denied in the verse just cited, as spirit (πνεῦμα) in the sense in which the angels are spirits (πνεύματα; Heb. 1. 14.) On this point the Jewish Christians most certainly agreed with Paul (§ 15. b) so far as the person of Jesus was concerned.

It is indeed the case that in Jewish-Christian circles there was current a conception of a resurrection with a new earthly body, in accordance with which Jesus was taken to be the risen Haphtsi, or Elijah (Mk. 6. 14-16). This, however, was not the only conception by which Christians were influenced. On the contrary, from Jesus himself they had received the idea that in the resurrection men shall be as the angels of God (Mk. 12. 25 and). And if there was any case in which more than in another they had occasion to apply this exalted conception, it would be in that of the body of their risen Lord. They knew indeed his prediction that one day he would come again on the clouds of heaven (Mk. 14. 19). For them also, as for Paul (1 Cor. 15. 20), accordingly, a new era began. Not only so; it is extremely probable that the 'similitudes' of the Book of Enoch (chaps. 37-71; cf. Apocalypic, § 30) are pre-Christian; and their existence in heaven is attributed to the Messiah and Dan. 7. 13 well have had knowledge of him. The original apostles may very well have had knowledge of this, even without having ever read the book. There is, therefore, not the slightest difficulty in attributing to them the conception of the resurrection body of Jesus which Paul himself had and imputed to them. It is only with regard to the future resurrection of all mankind that Paul parts company with them, in so far as he thinks of the resurrection body of believers as being as heavenly and free from flesh and blood as was the resurrection body of Jesus (1 Cor. 15. 44-53), a consequence drawn neither by the Jewish Christians nor yet by the later Gentile Christians who taught the resurrection of the flesh (symbolum Romanum, see MINISTRY, § 27. n., and, later, symbolum apostolicum; Hermas, *Sim.* v. 7. 2; Justin, *Dial.* 83, end; 2 Clem. Rom. 91. 145, etc., and already 1 Clem. 26. 3). That the Pharisaic, and accordingly also the primitive Christian, expectation looked for a reanimation of the body appears in such passages as 2 Mac. 7. 10 f. 14. 46. Mt. 27. 52. Acts 2. 31. Rev. 20. 13. Josephus also states this correctly in *Ant.* xviii. 1. 3, § 14. *BJ* iii. 8. 5, § 374; it is only in *BJ* ii. 8. 14, § 163, that by the expression 'remove into another body' (μεταβαίνειν εἰς ἕτερον σῶμα) he has Hellenised the conception and thereby misled his readers.

(f) On the other hand, it is fully to be believed that men had the impression that they saw in full reality (below, § 34. b, c, d) the wounds which Jesus had received on the cross, or perhaps even perceived that he showed them. The form which men beheld must of course show the most complete resemblance to that which Jesus bore upon earth, and to this, after the crucifixion, the wounds (not, however, the wound in the side, the spear-thrust being unhistorical, see JETTS, *Son of ZEREBBETH*, § 23. d) necessarily belonged. As the form of the risen Jesus at the same time appeared in heavenly splendour and created the certainty that Jesus had vanquished death and laid aside everything that was earthly, there remains a possibility that in the case of many to whom he appeared attention was not fixed upon his wounds. It is particularly easy to suppose this in the case of Paul.

(g) From the nature of the appearances as described, it is further quite possible that they occurred even when the witnesses found themselves, as in Jn. 20. 10, 26, shut in with closed doors, or that, as we read in Mk. 16. 14, 19, Jesus was taken up into heaven direct from the apartment. Even if one entertains doubts as to whether the authors cited had enough certain information to enable them to say that this actually was so in the cases which they give, it still has to be acknowledged that the statement is not inconsistent with the nature of the appearances.

On the other hand, there is to be drawn from the 1 Muirhead, *Times of Christ* (1898), pp. 140-150; Schmiedel, *Prot. Monatshefte*, 1868, pp. 255-257; 1901, p. 339 f.

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various accounts one deduction which goes very deep:

18. No words heard.

no words were heard from the risen Jesus. (a) At first sight the hearing of words might appear not to be excluded by the simple 'was seen' (*ὤφθη*) of Paul. It is to be noted, however, that where Paul speaks of having received messages from heaven, he expressly specifies 'revelations' (*ἀποκαλύψεις*) as well as 'visions' (*ὁράματα*: 2 Cor. 12:4), and where the distinction is employed it is clear that spoken words come under the former not the latter category.

(b) As against this, appeal will doubtless be made to the reports in Acts as to the appearances of Jesus to Paul on the journey to Damascus. Not successfully, however; they contradict one another so violently (see Acts, § 2) that it is difficult to imagine how it could ever have been possible for an author to take them up into his book in their present forms, not to speak of the impossibility of accepting them in points where they are unsupported by the epistles of Paul. In these epistles, there is not the slightest countenance for the belief that Paul heard words, although he had the strongest motives for referring to them had he been in a position to do so. It is on the appearance on the journey to Damascus that he bases his claim to have been called to the apostolate by Jesus himself. The claim was hotly denied by his opponents: it was to his interest, therefore, to bring forward everything that could validly be adduced in its support. In pressing it (1 Cor. 9:1, 'Am I not an apostle?') he assuredly would not have stopped short at the question, 'Have I not seen Jesus our Lord?' had he been in a position to go on and ask, 'Has he not himself named me his apostle?' with such words engraven on his memory as those we read in Acts 9:6 22:10 or (above all) 26:16-18. The analogy of the angelic appearances cited above (§ 17c) thus no longer holds good. Words are heard from angels; no words were heard from Jesus.

(c) What holds good of the appearance to Paul is true also (see § 17a) of the others of which we read. If, too, we apply a searching examination to the words which have been reported, it is precisely the most characteristic of them that we shall find ourselves most irresistibly constrained to abandon. The request for food and the invitation to touch the wounds of the crucified Jesus (Lk. 24:41 Jn. 20:27) are, as we have seen in § 17c, inadmissible. So also, as has been seen in § 16e, the saying, 'I am not yet ascended into the Father' (20:17). The power to forgive sins or to declare them unforgiven (20:23) belongs to God alone, and cannot be handed over by Jesus to his disciples (see MINISTRY, § 4). The doctrine that the passion of Jesus was necessary in virtue of a divine appointment is invariably brought forward by Paul as the gospel that had been made manifest to himself alone and must be laboriously maintained in the face of its gainsayers; how triumphantly would he not have been able to meet them had he only heard the least suggestion that the men of the primitive church had heard the same doctrine from the mouth of Jesus himself in the manner recorded in Lk. 24:25-27 44:46! Once more, how could the original apostles have been able to call themselves disciples of Jesus if, after having been sent out by him as missionaries to the Gentiles (Lk. 22:47f. Mk. 16:6 and the canonical text of Mt. 28:10), they actually made it a stipulation at the council of Jerusalem (Gal. 2:9) that their activity was to be confined within the limits of Israel? As for the text of Mt. 28:19 on baptism and the trinitarian formula, see MINISTRY, § 5e, cf. *Hibb. Journ.*, Oct. 1902, pp. 102-103; and on Jn. 21:15-22 see above, § 10.

19. Galilee the scene of the first appearances.

(a) In addition to what is said there special emphasis

is given to the fact that the first appearances happened in Galilee. The most convincing reasons for this conclusion have already been summarised under GOSPELS (§ 138a).

may be laid on the fact that there is no gospel in which appearances to men (not women) are reported as having been made both in Galilee and in Jerusalem; for Jn. 21 is an appendix by another hand.

It is only Mt. that, besides the appearance to the disciples in Galilee, knows of the women on the return from the sepulchre (28:9f.); this, however, will be regarded by very many as unhistorical, being absent from Mk. (which nevertheless in this section so closely follows by Mt.) and containing nothing more than a repetition of the injunction already given by the angel to the women, to bid the disciples repair to Galilee. In any case the appearance comes from a separate source. If we leave Mt. 28:9f. out of account it becomes perfectly clear that no one gospel from the first reported appearances of the risen Jesus in Galilee as well as in Jerusalem. The gospels in fact fall exactly into two classes: Mk., Mt. and the Gospel of Peter are for Galilee; Lk., Jn., and Mk. 16:7-20 for Jerusalem, and the Gospel of the Hebrews also does not indicate in any way that it looks for James and Peter and Peter's companions elsewhere than in the place where it finds the servant of the high priest (see above, § 4a, b), viz. in Jerusalem. It is only afterwards that the writer of Jn. 21 sees fit to change this 'either, or' into a 'both, and'; so also Mt., but without admitting an appearance to any male disciples in Jerusalem.

If, however, Galilee and Jerusalem were at first mutually exclusive, both cannot rest upon equally valid tradition; there must have been some reason why the one locality was changed for the other.

(b) Such a reason for transferring the appearances from Galilee to Jerusalem has been indicated in GOSPELS (§ 138a). Its force becomes all the greater when it is realised how small has been the success of even the most distinguished critics in attempting to make out the opposite.

All that Loofs (see below, § 30) has to say is (p. 28), 'Those narrators who represent the whole life of Jesus, with the exception of the last eight days, as having been passed in Galilee, may have transferred to Galilee also the appearances of the risen Jesus, with regard to which they were very defectively informed; they may have done so all the more easily because the first persons of whom they had occasion to speak in connection with the resurrection were women from Galilee.' The question at once presents itself: What has the circumstance that they belonged to Galilee to do with the present matter? They were in point of fact in Jerusalem. What is the relevancy of the observation that the activity of Jesus apart from the last eight days, had been wholly in Galilee? His grave at any rate was in Jerusalem, and his disciples were also there, according to the testimony of Mk., Mt., and the Gospel of Peter, at least. That the present writer holds the statement as to the presence of the disciples at Jerusalem to be unhistorical does not affect the argument; for the point is that Loofs regards precisely that statement as historical. It is all the more necessary to ask: How does Loofs know that Mk. and Mt. were very defectively informed with regard to the appearances of the risen Jesus?

If this was indeed so, if Mk. and Mt. had to fall back on their own powers of conjecture, where else were they to look for appearances if not in Jerusalem where the grave, the women, and the disciples were? Thus the tradition which induced them to place the appearances in Galilee must have been one of very great stability.

B. Weiss (to pass over other names), in the interests of the Jerusalem tradition, doubts the historicity of the statement that the women received from the angel the injunction to bid the disciples proceed to Galilee, especially as this injunction is merely a reminiscence of Jesus' words in Gethsemane, that after he rose from the dead he would go before the disciples to Galilee (Mk. 11:28). So *Leben Jesu* 2:400 (ET 3:303). On p. 506 (ET 3:292), however, Weiss says that that command of the angel to the women (to direct the disciples to go to Galilee) is only a reminiscence of the command of the same character which the risen Jesus himself lays upon Mary Magdalene, according to Mt. 28:7 (where, according to Weiss, only the second Mary is erroneously combined with Mary Magdalene rightly mentioned in the eye-witness John [20:17-18]). Thus what Weiss holds to be an error (the command to bid the disciples go to Galilee) must be held (if the Jerusalem tradition is to be maintained) to have got itself clothed in a very remarkable form: not only as an angelic word (Mk. 28:7 Mk. 16:7) but also as a word of the risen Lord himself (Mt. 28:10), in the account of an appearance that is guaranteed by an eye-witness.

(c) In reality the error lies in quite another direction: in making Jesus appear at the sepulchre to the women or Mary Magdalene, as the case may be. On the account in Mt. see above (a). That of Jn., however, is open to just as serious objections, for its chief saying, 'I am not yet ascended into the Father,' rests on a theory of the nature of the Holy Ghost that is peculiar to the Fourth Gospel (§ 16, c). If, however, Jn. 5

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account can lay no claim to authenticity we may be all the surer that it is a transformation of the account of Mt. Of its being so there are, moreover, several indications. In Jn., as in Mt., one of Jesus' sayings is only a repetition of a word of the angels: 'Woman, why weepest thou?' A reminiscence of the fact that when the woman met Jesus they had in Mt. already retired from the sepulchre may perhaps be recognised in 'she turned herself back' (*εστράφη εις τα οπισσω*) in Jn. 20:14. Only one woman appearing at the grave in Jn. is perhaps to be explained by the observation that the recognition-scene becomes more dramatic when Jesus has no need to utter more than a single word: 'Mary.' (cp. further, § 25, c.)

(d) In 1 Cor. 15 Paul mentions no place. The enumeration he gives would not preclude the reader from supposing that the various appearances had occurred in quite different places—for example, most of them in Galilee, even if that to James were to be thought of as having been made in Jerusalem. It is, however, quite improbable that James was in Jerusalem again so soon (see MINISTRY, § 21 d), or that he should have experienced the appearance of the risen Jesus at so late a time that it might nevertheless be supposed that James had already removed to Jerusalem (see below, § 30 [f]).

The sealing and watching of the sepulchre (Mt. 27:62-66 28:11-15) is now very generally given up even by those scholars who still hold by the resurrection narratives as a whole. (a) As already pointed out above (§ 2 a), in Mk. it is not only, as in Lk. and Jn., absent; it is absolutely excluded by the women's question; they have no apprehensions about the watch, only about the stone. (b) Again, it is exceedingly improbable that the Jews remembered any prophecy of Jesus that he was to rise again in three days (Mt. 27:63). According to the Gospels Jesus made prophecies of the kind only to the innermost circle of his disciples (Mk. 8:27-31 9:30 f. 10:32-34 and Jn.). Indeed in Mk. and Lk. not even the women remember the prophecy, otherwise they would not have set out to embalm the body. (c) Again, the explanation which the high priests and elders suggest, according to Mt. 28:13, is untenable; for if the soldiers were asleep at the time they could not testify that the disciples stole the body. (d) Not less unlikely is the supposition that the Jewish authorities actually believed the account of the soldiers regarding the fact of the resurrection of Jesus. Surely the consequence must have been, as with Paul at a later date, their conversion to the faith of Jesus. If, on the other hand, they remained unmoved, they must also have believed that, however perplexing it might at first appear, the affair was capable of explanation otherwise than by the resurrection of Jesus, and must have loved Pilate to institute a strict inquiry into the conduct of the soldiers, rather than have sought to bribe the soldiers. (e) Above all, the soldiers could not have accepted a bribe, least of all if they had nothing better to offer by way of ostensible defence than that they had fallen asleep. For this the penalty was death. According to Mt. 28:12 we actually find Agrippa I. putting to death the soldiers who had allowed Peter to escape from prison, and this is conclusive as to the nature of military responsibilities, even if in point of fact the liberation of Peter was brought about through no fault of his keepers (cp. SIMON PETER, § 3, c.). Roman soldiers knew only too well the strictness with which discipline was administered, and promise of the Jewish authorities to obtain immunity from Pilate, if needful (Mt. 28:14), would have had no impression on them. (f) The best criticism has its whole force on the narrative is the simple fact that the Gospel of Peter, which unquestionably is later than Mt., avoids it altogether and concludes quite differently (cp. above, § 5 a.)

that Jesus was buried in a usual way, not—as is con-

jectured by Volkmar (*Religion Jesu*, 77 f. 257-259 [1857]. *Die Evangelien* [1870] = *Marcus u. die Synopse* [1876], 603) on the basis of Is. 53:9 22:16-17 Rev. 11:8 f.—left unburned, or at most cast into a hole and

21. Empty sepulchre unhistorical.

covered with some earth, is established by 1 Cor. 15:4 (cp. Kern, *Gesch. Jesu von Nazaret*, 3525-527, ET 6:271-274). But the accounts of the empty sepulchre are none of them admissible. As to this the leading points have already been summarised in GOSPELS (§ 138 c'). Some further considerations may be added.

(a) The three points from which we have to start are the silence of Paul (as of the entire NT apart from the Gospels; see, especially, Acts 2:29-32)—a silence which would be wholly inexplicable were the story true (§ 15); next, the statement in Mk. 16:8 that the women said nothing of their experiences at the sepulchre—a statement which has to be understood in the sense that Mk. was the first to be in a position to publish the facts; in other words, that the whole story is a very late production; lastly, if (as we have seen) the first appearances of Jesus were in Galilee, the tidings of them must have arrived at Jerusalem much too late to allow of examination of the sepulchre with any satisfactory results. If a body had been found it would have been too far advanced in decay to allow of identification; if there were none, this could be accounted for very easily without postulating a resurrection.

(b) The attempt to explain the evangelical reports without assuming a resurrection is, however, the line taken by very many theologians also who hold by what is said as to the empty sepulchre and yet assume no miracle. In the first place they postulate a removal of the body by persons whose action had no connection with the question of a resurrection.

On account of the approach of the Sabbath (they hold) the body had in any case to be laid in some grave or other, even perhaps without leave asked of the owner. It was, therefore, necessary that it should be removed afterwards to a more suitable place; or the owner himself may have removed it. A reminiscence of this is even discovered in Jn. 20:15. Or, if the sepulchre belonged to Joseph of Arimathea, even he may not have desired to have the body of a stranger permanently occupying a place in the sepulchre of his family. On all these assumptions what strikes one is the promptitude with which the transference must have been made. To do so on the Sabbath before sundown was unlawful; yet very early next morning the transference had already been effected (according to Mt. even immediately after the sundown which marked the close of the Sabbath; see, however, § 2 d).

(c) Others suggest that the enemies of the Christians had removed the body of Jesus in order that it might not receive the veneration of his followers. The surprising thing in this would be, not so much that such a policy would have given the greatest possible, though unintentional, impetus to such veneration, as rather this, that such action would presuppose a disposition to worship the dead body for which it would be difficult to find a precedent among the Jews, for whom any contact with a corpse meant defilement.

(d) For a long time the favourite view was that the disciples themselves actually had done what, according to Mt. 27:64, the Jewish authorities were apprehensive they might do, and, according to 28:11-15, imputed to them falsely, namely, that they had stolen the body in order that they might afterwards proclaim that Jesus had risen.

Renan (*Apôtres*, 42 f., ET 69 f.), without expressly stating this purpose of the disciples, is inclined to attribute a share in the removal of the body to Mary Magdalene (whose predisposition to mental malady [Lk. 8:2] he accentuates), because only a woman's hand would have left the clothes in such order as is described in Jn. 20:7. That a theft of this kind would have had the effect of convincing gainsayers of the resurrection of Jesus is not very easy to believe. On the other hand, it could in certain circumstances have made some impression on followers of Jesus.

The question forces itself, however: Who was there to set the plan on foot? The disciples were utterly cast down; to all probable seeming, in fact, they were not even in Jerusalem at all (GOSPELS, § 138 a). The

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theory thus breaks down at the outset, and it seems superfluous to ask whether the disciples would have ventured to act in a sense contrary to the ordinance of God who had suffered their master to die.

(c) We mention, lastly, yet another theory, which is most clearly a mere refuge of despair—the theory, namely, that the earthquake (mentioned only in Mt. 28.2) opened a chasm immediately under the sepulchre, into which the body of Jesus disappeared.

Not only this, however, but also all the other hypotheses mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs, become superfluous on the adoption of the view that the statements about the empty sepulchre are unhistorical.

As soon as his approaching death came to be foreseen by Jesus, he must have looked forward also to his annulment, unless, indeed, he at the same time had abandoned the belief that he was the Messiah ordained by God to

22. The third day.

establish the divine kingdom upon earth. (a) As is said elsewhere (GOSPELS, § 145 [f]), it is not probable that Jesus foretold simply his resurrection; that took him into heaven, whereas the work of the Messiah lay upon earth. The most important prediction accordingly was that of his coming again from heaven. The time fixed by him is variously stated in the Gospels as being at the end of the then living generation (Mt. 16.27 f.), after a probably shorter interval (10.23), and in the immediate future (*ταρ ἄρτι*, Mt. 26.64). The most certain conclusion that can be deduced from this variation clearly is that Jesus never gave any precise date, and this for the reason that he himself (see Mk. 13.32=Mt. 24.36) did not know it; yet it is also very possible that he used the expression 'in' or 'after' 'three days' as a conventional designation for a very short interval (Lk. 13.32 Mk. 11.93 13.29 and parallels, on which see MINISTRY, § 2 a).

(b) As soon as the question came to be one not of his coming again from heaven, but of his rising again from the dead, the expression 'after three days,' in itself a very indefinite one, came to have a more exact meaning. The Jewish belief was that the soul lingered for three days only, near the body it had left, in the hope of returning to it; after that the body became so changed that a reanimation was no longer possible (see JENTSCH, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 20 a; and Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, 2324 f.). It was only natural that in thinking of the resurrection of Jesus this limit should be kept in mind (Mk. 8.31 9.31 10.34 and; Lk. 24.7 46). If it is somewhat difficult to believe that Jesus uttered these prophecies so early (especially in connection with Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi; see GOSPELS, § 145 c), and with such exactitude of detail, it must nevertheless be recognised that he may very well, at one time or another, have expressed himself in some such sense.

(c) The OT texts that have special relevance in this connection are 2 K. 20.5 and Hos. 6.2 (in both of which the interval of three days is brought into connection with a revivification, if not after death, at least after a sickness or time of weakness); and Jonah 2.1 [17] also—the three days' sojourn of the prophet in the belly of the whale—is in Mt. 12.40, albeit in a very inappropriate and interrupting way (see GOSPELS, § 145 c), interpreted with reference to the period during which Jesus was to remain in the grave. Paul expressly refers to the Scriptures in 1 Cor. 15.4. A forsaking 'for a small moment' is spoken of also in Is. 54.7.

(d) In this way it became possible for the resurrection of Jesus, if expected at all to be expected exactly after three days. The expectation, however, would hardly have had any result if those who had expected had not also had the consciousness of having seen him. In itself considered it was not absolutely imperative that the first appearances should coincide with the precise time of the expected resurrection. But if they had occurred much later the belief that the resurrection

actually had happened precisely three days after death could hardly have been held very firmly. As, however, we find it in point of fact held with equal firmness by Paul (1 Cor. 15.4) and by the evangelists, the balance of probabilities favours the view that the first appearances happened on the same day or only a little later.

With this it fits in very well if we suppose that the disciples shortly after the arrest of Jesus, and Peter shortly after his denial, had already set out for Galilee, so that they might arrive there on the third day (cp Jos. 1.77. 52, § 209). This is, moreover, the reason why the Gospel of Peter, in spite of all appearance, has no probability in its favour if it really means to convey that the disciples did not set out on their return journey to Galilee until the eighth or rather the ninth day after the death of Jesus, and that thus at least eleven days elapsed before the first appearance of the risen Jesus was experienced (see above, § 5 c).

(e) According to the Gospels Jesus remained under the power of death not for about seventy-two hours but only for somewhere between twenty-six and thirty-six hours. These, however, in fact, according to Jewish reckoning, are distributed between Friday, Saturday and Sunday. In two of the OT passages referred to above—2 K. 20.5 and Hos. 6.2—we read not 'after three days,' but 'on the third day.' Thus the Gospel tradition literally satisfies the expression.

It must have appeared fitting that the rising of Jesus should occur at as early a moment as possible after the third day had begun. From the same sense of fitness the visit of the women, once it was accepted as a fact, was naturally assigned to the early morning hours. Where Mk. has 'after three days' (*μετα τρεις ημερας*; Lk. 9.31 10.34), the parallel passages consistently have 'on the third day' (*τη τριτη ημερα*; Mt. 16.21 17.21 20.13 Lk. 9.22 18.31 as also 24.7 46, cp also 24.21 Acts 10.40). The latter expression in Mt. and Lk. may possibly be dependent on the account of the course of events as given by themselves, and thus Mk.'s phrase might seem to have been the original one. Yet we must not imagine that the two phrases were for the evangelists really incompatible. Matthew himself says in one place (27.63 f.) that Jesus foretold his resurrection 'after three days' (*μετα τρεις ημερας*) and represents the Jews as basing upon this their petition to Pilate that the sepulchre may be guarded 'till the third day' (*εως της τριτης ημερας*). Were this to be taken literally it would have no sense, for in that case no watch would have been asked for precisely the fourth day, which was the critical one. From this it follows also that we are not compelled to regard Mt. 12.40 (see above, c) as genuine for the reason that, according to the report in the Gospels, the time of the fulfilment was shorter than that appointed in Jesus' prophecy. Jn. 2.19-21 says: *εω τριτης ημερας*.

As for the number of the appearances, Paul knows of more than we find in any one Gospel—viz., five, over and above that made to himself.

(a) It is not possible, however, to identify each of even the few Gospel accounts with one of Paul's.

Let one example suffice in illustration of the kind of violence in dealing with texts required in order to effect identifications.

Resch (*ZW.* 4.421-426, s. 2301-309, s. 377) identifies the appearance to Peter with that to the unnamed disciple at Emmaus (see above, § 29), that to the Twelve with Lk. 24.33-49 and Jn. 20.19-24 (above, § 27), that to the Five Hundred with Lk. 24.50 f., where, nevertheless, 'thou' (*αδελφος*) denotes precisely the same persons as we find in 24.33 f. That to James he identifies with that to Thomas and the other disciples in Jn. 20.26-29. This James he holds to be identical with James the son of Alphaeus, who may (Resch says) have been named Thomas—i.e., twin—because his brother Judas of James is called Twin in Syriac tradition (Lips. *Apokr. Ap. Gen. h.* i. 20. 227; ii. 2. 154. 173 f.). Finally, the appearance to 'all the apostles' is, according to Resch, that mentioned in Mt. 28.1-20 and Acts 1.4-12.

(b) If one addresses oneself to the problems without harmonistic prepossessions, the safest criteria for identifying an event of which there are two accounts will be the presence of characteristic details and (next in importance) exact time-data. Unfortunately Paul supplies us with no details, and dates are gained only indirectly, so far as they can be deduced from the order in which he mentions the events. The number of persons said to have been involved in a historical event is a secure criterion of its identity only if the number is small. As soon as it becomes considerable, an error within moderate limits is not wholly inconceivable.

(c) On the other hand, Paul admits of his appearance mentioned in 1 Cor. 15.5 as an appearance recorded by only one person (cp Jn. 20.30-31; Jn. 20.31-32). The apostles; but their exactly identical words 'they' (*αυτοι*) must' (*αυτοι*) features mention the more readily merely as a witness (evening of the Emmaus) (Jn. 20.11-12). Nevertheless, the kernel common to all appearances to the Twelve here also belongs to the Hebrews, only one of whom is named by name, and of whom Paul speaks of as 'all the apostles' (1 Cor. 15.5).

(d) The expression 'proposed para- (accepted), that the Hebrews (above the apostles' of Acts 14.12. The of the author, in the Third Gospel of persons; it is the earlier narrative Jn. 20.26-29 admit merely as being any gospel, of an approximating company is in Jn. 19.38. Paul by quite different even so many same occurrence other hand, in Paul at the sepulchre Magdalene alone the two disciples which has some Gospel of Peter (c) It has already 15. 18 c) that Paul to mention at least and at Emmaus has this difficulty, and narratives to Paul. How could the much that is found been acquainted tradition which is easily answered, instance in which Jn. in which his words who could speak evangelists do, or to the sepulchre (his readers an account merely been great interest; an appeared to five h the time when the been considered so apostles, whose pla had already come § 31). Even the merely seen (though Lk. (24.34), not dese

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(c) On these principles the only identification that admits of being made without question is that of the appearance to Peter in 1 Cor. 15, with the appearance mentioned in Lk. 24.34. Next in Paul's account comes an appearance to the Twelve. A similar appearance is recorded by Mt. as the only one he knows. In Lk. the only appearance to the Eleven (with others) is in 24.33-51; Jn. 20.19-24 contains the first appearance to ten apostles; but we must identify the two on account of their exactly similar date (§ 27). Cf. also the almost identical words in Lk. 24.36, 'stood in the midst of them' (*ἔστη ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν*) and Jn. 20.19, 'stood in the midst' (*ἔστη ἐν τῷ μέσῳ*). The diversity of the special features mentioned by Lk. and Jn. may be ignored all the more readily if we find ourselves able to regard them merely as unhistorical embellishments. Both date the evening of the resurrection day, however, and place Jerusalem as quite irreconcilable with those in Mt. nevertheless it will remain open to us to recognise as common to all three accounts that after the appearance to Peter there was another to the Eleven. There also belongs the second fragment of the Gospel of the Hebrews (above, § 4c). Thus, however, is the only one of Resch's identifications that can stand scrutiny, and even so Mt. must be left out.

(d) The appearance to the 500 has no parallels (the supposed parallel referred to in § 11b cannot be accepted), that to James only in the Gospel of the Hebrews (above, § 4a, b). As parallel to that to 'all apostles' on the other hand we must not adduce 15.1-12. The event related there is, in the intention of the author, not the sequel to the only appearance in the Third Gospel (24.33-51) to about the same number persons; it aims at correcting that part (24.44-51) of an earlier narrative which ends with the Ascension. 20.26-29 admits of being cited in this connection only as being the only repetition to be met with in the Gospel, of an appearance to a company of disciples approximating this number. Since, however, this comes in Jn. supplemented only by Thomas and in by quite different persons, we have no assurance even so much as a reminiscence of one and the same occurrence underlies the two accounts. On the other hand, in Paul the appearance of the risen Jesus at the sepulchre to the two Marys (Mt.), or to Mary Magdalene alone (Jn.), is unmentioned, as also that to two disciples at Emmaus and that reported in Jn. 21.3-14 has some resemblance to what we find in the Gospel of Peter (above, § 5d).

It has already been shown at some length (§§ 8c) that Paul would certainly not have omitted mention at least the appearances at the sepulchre at Emmaus had he been aware of them. To meet this difficulty, and establish the priority of the Gospel narratives to Paul, the counter question has been asked: could the evangelists possibly have allowed so that is found in Paul to escape them, if they had acquainted with his narrative or even with the one which underlies it? This question, however, is only answered. For a writer who could report an appearance in which Jesus had partaken of food (Lk.), or in which his wounds had been touched (Lk., Jn.), or in which he could speak of the empty sepulchre as all four Gospels do, or of appearances of the risen Jesus close to the sepulchre (Mt., Jn.)—for such a writer and for such an accumulation of instances in which Jesus had been seen no longer possessed any very special interest; and a case even in which he had been seen to five hundred brethren at once would, at the time when the Gospels were written, hardly have been considered so important as an appearance to two persons, whose place in the reverence of the faithful is ready come to be very exalted (see MINISTRY, above, § 10). Even the instance in which Jesus had been seen (though) by Peter is only touched on by Paul (1 Cor. 15.5), not described, plainly because the narrative

alongside of the others would be too devoid of colour.

To this want of interest in mere visual appearances of the risen Jesus we can add, however, in the case of the evangelists a positive interest, that of serving definite purposes by their narratives. (a) It makes for confirmation of what has been laid down in preceding sections (§§ 17-22) as to the elements in the accounts of the resurrection which alone can be recognised as historical, if we are in a position to show that everything in the accounts which goes beyond such indubitably historical elements is a product of tendencies which by an inherent necessity could not fail to lead to a shaping of the accounts in the form in which they now lie before us, even where there is no substratum of actual fact. In so far as these tendencies give us the right to pronounce unhistorical everything that can be explained by their means, in the absence of sufficient testimony to historical fact, they may be appropriately considered now in the course of the investigation as to objective facts in the resurrection-narratives on which we are at present engaged. It will appear that at all points the reference to tendencies supplies an adequate explanation of all the statements which we have been unable to accept as historical.

(b) As regards the nature of these tendencies:—some are directly apologetic, having for their object to preclude the possibility of certain definite objections against the actuality of the resurrection. Others are apologetic indirectly, their aim being to round off the picture by supplying gaps so that no questions may remain open. Lastly, some have in view the needs of the church itself, tracing back, as they do, to the risen Jesus certain instructions which were not found in the reports of the period of his earthly ministry (§ 28), or seeking to compensate for the want of that direct assurance of the continued life of Jesus which later generations were no longer able to command (§ 29).

(c) That the evangelical narratives as a whole are in many ways influenced by tendency has been shown in the GOSPELS, §§ 108-114 and JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, §§ 17, 20 c, 23, 35 b, and elsewhere. How close at hand apologetic interests were where the story of the resurrection was concerned is seen even in the fact that the entire statement of Paul is made with an apologetic view—only, in his case there is no justification for the conjecture that the contents of his statement were altered by this consideration (§§ 10 f.). In the Gospels, on the other hand, we have at least one point in which this is particularly clear, and recognised even by very conservative theologians.

In Mt. 28.15 it is expressly said that the report of the theft of the body by the disciples was current among the Jews in the writer's time. The writer traces it back to the false testimony of the guard at the sepulchre procured by bribery on the part of the Jewish authorities. If we find ourselves unable to regard this bribery, or indeed any part of the story as to the watch set over the sepulchre, as historical, we are shut up to supposing that the allegations arose from the desire (or tendency) to make the story of the theft of the body by the disciples seem untenable. (d) It must at the same time be expressly emphasised that we are by no means compelled to think of this tendency as operative in such a manner that an author would produce from his own brain a quite new narrative in the apologetic direction. Precisely the same result—namely, the complete unhistoricity and the 'tendency' character of a narrative—emerges if we assume that the narrative has grown up only bit by bit, by the co-operation of several, and has reached its present form under the influence of naive and artless presuppositions and pardonable misunderstandings, in some such manner as we have sought to render probable elsewhere for a series of narratives found in the Fourth Gospel (see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 35, a f.). A special reason for making the same attempt in the case of the resurrection is found in the character of the accounts themselves. If they were pure inventions it would be very difficult to

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understand why, for example, of the disciples at Emmaus one is nameless, and of those in Jn. 21 two are unnamed, or why the appearances to Peter as being the first, or that to the 500 as being the most imposing, should not have received detailed adornment. Cp. further, §§ 10c, 25c.

(c) To help us to realise how such a narrative could come into existence by successive steps, let us take the example referred to above—that of the watch set on the sepulchre.

A Christian who found himself confronted for the first time with the assertion that the disciples had stolen the body of Jesus naturally opposed it to the utmost. As, however, at the same time (as we must suppose, if we believe the narrative of Mt. to be unhistorical) he found himself unable to adduce any counter-evidence, he would be constrained to have recourse to conjectures, and to say something like this: 'The Jews, we may be quite certain, saw to the watching of the sepulchre; they could very well have known that Jesus had predicted his rising again for the third day.' A somewhat careless Christian bystander received the impression that in these suggestions what he was listening to was not mere conjecture but statement of fact, and circulated it among his friends as such; that it was unhesitatingly believed by Christians is not astonishing. Next, let us suppose, another propounded the question: Did then the men of the guard actually see what happened at the resurrection of Jesus? Again the answer could only be a conjecture; but just as certainly it must have run as follows: 'Unquestionably; for they were continuously at the sepulchre, and Roman soldiers never sleep on guard.' As, further, at the time we are at present supposing, the statement that the women had found the stone rolled away had long been current, conjecture as to what the guards had observed before the arrival of the women could hardly have been other than to the effect that there had been an earthquake and that an angel had come down from heaven and rolled away the stone. That this conjecture also should have been taken up as a statement of fact is easy to suppose. Lastly, a listener perhaps would ask: 'Why then did not the soldiers tell what had happened, and why have we been left in ignorance of this until now?' Once more the answer—a conjecture merely, yet ready to be accepted as a fact—was at hand: 'The Jewish authorities will doubtless have bidden them to suppress the truth and to spread instead of it the rumour that the disciples had stolen the body.'

Without pursuing this line of explanation further in details, let us now endeavour to see what were the conscious or unconscious apologetic tendencies at work which could have given rise to the unhistorical elements in the gospel narratives. (a) If Jesus was risen, his grave must have been empty. If this was disputed, the Christians asserted it as a fact, and that with the very best intention of affirming what was true. Therefore, no hesitation was felt in further declaring that (according to all reasonable conjecture) the women who had witnessed Jesus' death had wished to anoint his body and thus had come to know of the emptiness of the grave. In the fact that according to Mk. and Mt. this was not alleged regarding the male disciples we can see still a true recollection that those disciples were by that time no longer in Jerusalem (see GOSPELS, § 128 a); this feature was not first added by our canonical evangelists Mk. and Mt., for they already presuppose the presence of the disciples in Jerusalem.

(b) Why then should not these disciples themselves have gone to the sepulchre? In an earlier phase of the narratives it was, no doubt, borne in mind that these disciples, if in Jerusalem at all, had to remain in concealment, and even a writing so late as the Gospel of Peter (26) knew that very well. Lk., however (2124), ignores it. This statement that 'certain' (τινες) disciples went to the sepulchre is still very vague. But Jn. forthwith lays hold of it and definitely names Peter and the beloved disciple, and reports upon their rivalry in a manner that betrays a conscious tendency much more strongly than most of the other narratives (cp. SIMON PETER, § 22b).

(c) The most obvious conjecture must necessarily have been that Jesus was seen immediately at the sepulchre itself. Here also may be distinguished two stages. The earlier is the account of Mt.; Jn. recasts it (§ 19c). If Jn. had been a free inventor it would

be hard to say why he does not assign the appearance of Jesus at the sepulchre to Peter and the beloved disciple, both of whom nevertheless he represents as examining the sepulchre. Since he names only a woman as receiving the appearance he shows himself bound by the representation which we now find in Mt., in spite of all the comparative freedom with which he departs from it. So also the Coptic account, and the *Didachala* (above, §§ 6, 7b).

(d) In all the reports hitherto mentioned, however, Jesus was seen only after, not during, his resurrection. The possibility of filling up this blank was offered by the story of the guard at the sepulchre, which on its own merits has already been discussed (above, § 24c). It could in point of fact fill the blank in an (apologetically) extremely effective way, inasmuch as it was by unbelievers that the actual fact of the resurrection was observed.

The timidity which restrained the other writers from touching upon this incident continued to be still operative with Mt. also, but that he does not say that the person of Jesus was actually seen, and adds that the watchers became as dead men (28a). The Gospel of Peter has completely overcome this timidity; the watchers observe accurately each of the successive phases of the resurrection and see Jesus himself as he emerges from the tomb. The codex Bezae Cantabrigiae (above, § 7a) relates this simply as a fact without mention of the witnesses. The statement of the Gospel of the Hebrews—that Jesus gave the linen shroud to the servant of the high-priest—stands upon the same plane.

As long as there was still current knowledge that the first appearances of the risen Jesus were in Galilee, the fact could be reconciled with the presence

of the disciples in Jerusalem on the morning of the resurrection only (1) on the assumption that they were then directed to go to Galilee. The natural media for conveying such a communication must have seemed to be the angels at the sepulchre in the first instance, and after them the women. So Mk. and Mt. So far as Mt. is concerned this direction to be given to the disciples was perhaps the reason, or a reason in addition to that suggested in § 2d, why the women should be made to go to the grave so early on the evening ending the Sabbath, so that the disciples might still in the course of the night have time to set out and if possible obtain a sight of Jesus within three days after his crucifixion.

(b) Yet such a combination as this was altogether too strange. Why should Jesus not have appeared forthwith in Jerusalem to the disciples? Accordingly Lk. and Jn. simply suppressed the direction to go to Galilee, finding themselves unable to accept it and transferred the appearances to Jerusalem. On it was not our canonical evangelists who did both things at one and the same time, but there had sprung up, irrespective of Mk. and Mt., the feeling that Jesus must in any case have already appeared to the disciples in Jerusalem; it presented itself to Lk. and Jn. with a certain degree of authority, and these writers had not now any occasion to invent but simply to choose what seemed to them the more probable representation, and then, when in the preparation of their respective Gospels they reached the order to go to Galilee, merely to pass over it or get round it (§ 2k), as no longer compatible with the new view.

As against all assurances that the risen Jesus had been seen, it was always possible to raise the objection that what was seen had been merely 'a vision' (ὄρασμα). One good way

of meeting this objection was to offer assurance that the eye-witnesses had assured themselves of the continuity with all the more care and circumspection because they themselves had at first shared this doubt. It is thus that we are to explain the care with which the disbelief of the disciples is accentuated.

So in Mt. 2817 ('but some doubted,' of 28 28:17-18).

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24:17-41—in 29: 37-41 we have a doubt that is hardly intelligible in the present connection, since all those present have already in 29: 13 confessed their faith in the resurrection of Jesus (an unevenness that would be removed by the hypothesis of a fragment spoken in § 16 f.) also with special emphasis in Jn. 20: 9 Mk. 16: 11 f. and in the Coptic account. The counterpart, a specially strong faith, is shown by James, in the Gospel of the Hebrews, in his oath that he would fast until Jesus had risen again.

(3) If then it was held important to be able to overcome doubts, it was always possible to produce some impression of assurance could be given that Jesus had been not only seen but also heard. As to the substance of what he said something will be found in the next section (§ 28); for the present, all that comes into consideration is the simple fact of speech. For narrators who had never themselves witnessed an appearance of Jesus it was an exceedingly natural thing to assume that Jesus had been not only seen but also heard, and it was equally easy for their hearers to take their conjecture for fact. At the same time, since it was not impossible also to hear words, as Paul reports himself to have done (2 Cor. 12: 4), without the experience being more than an ecstasy, some yet stronger proof of objectivity still remained necessary.

(4) In § 17 [f] stress has already been laid on the fact that in the bodily figure of Jesus which was seen the marks of the wounds were also included; nay more, that spectators even perhaps believed themselves to see that he was showing them. Still, a real guarantee of the actuality of his return to this earth had not been received until the wounds had been touched.

Whilst, however, there is between such an 'actual' seeing and a touching a distinction so great that it can hardly be exaggerated, it is one which is capable of being almost entirely overlooked by people who neither themselves had witnessed an appearance of Jesus nor were familiar with the principles of psychology; and thus it would not be impossible for them, without any consciousness of inaccuracy, still less of deliberate perversion of the truth, to change the statement which eye-witnesses had actually made as to having seen the wounds into the different statement that Jesus had invited the disciples to touch them. So Lk. 24: 39 Jn. 20: 27 also the Coptic account and the second fragment of the Gospel of the Hebrews (§ 4 c), in the stated case with the express addition that the disciples availed themselves of the invitation. In a naive way a touching of Jesus by the women is mentioned in Mt. 28: 9.

(5) Lk. goes yet another step further in his statement (12 f.) that Jesus asked for food, and partook of it in the presence of the disciples. This is in 24: 41 expressly characterised as a still stronger proof of the reality of the resurrection than the fact that he had been touched. Here, accordingly, the popular conceptions as to the time of the resurrection body underlying Mk. 16: 15, which in the earliest period were not applied to Jesus (17 c), gain influence. Jn. does not follow Lk. in 24: 41; he declines to represent the risen Jesus in so strongly and frankly sensuous a manner. Yet even his representation is surpassed by the extra-canonical Simon in Lk. 24: 41 (§ 7 c) that Jesus gave to his disciples the remainder of the food of which he had been taking. An eating in their presence here becomes an eating with them, which according to Acts 10: 41 was, in a continually happening.

It becomes now quite easy to understand how the narrators had ceased to shrink from such representations, the reporter passed over that particular touch accounts actually proceeding from eye-witnesses touching to which Jesus had vanished after each appearance, and how instead of this it was unsuspectingly

ing, Jesus passes over the doubt of these disciples without it, the inserta would still show that a reader of the period found it fitting to presuppose doubts on the part of the disciples.

The question in Jn. 21: 5, quite on a level with Lk. 24: 41 (to eat?), has a quite different significance; in Jn. does not intend to eat, but to give them to eat. Neither does Lk. 24: 41 (the scene at Emmaus) imply a representation of Jesus as eating. See § 22. The rendering of *συνάγεισθαι* in EVng of Acts 14: 17 'eat with them', however, very doubtful (EV 'being assembled with them').

taken for granted that Jesus had still remained upon earth and had dealings with his disciples in every respect as a man. In the earliest stage of this way of representing matters, such a condition of things was held to have lasted for only one day; but afterwards the time was extended to forty days (§ 19 a, A).

That this second view was not met with in tradition from the beginning, but owes its existence to a transformation of the earlier view, is absolutely certain unless we assign Acts to another than the author of the Third Gospel. The cause of the transformation is very apparent; the disciples were, during all the lifetime of Jesus, very weakly, and at the end still needed much instruction 'concerning the kingdom of God' (επιμαρτυροῦντες τὸν θεόν: Acts 1: 3).

(7) The idea of a continuous presence of Jesus upon earth, if only for a single day, necessarily carried with it the consequence that this condition terminated in an ascension.

No one needed to invent the idea; every account of eye-witnesses had closed with the more or less definite statement that Jesus had again disappeared, and disappeared into heaven (§ 17 d). At the same time the tendency to adorn a plain story shows itself at work with sufficient clearness if we compare the simple 'he parted from them and was carried up into heaven' (*ἔβησεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ἀνεφάρτα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*) of Lk. 24: 51, or even Mk. 16: 19, with the circumstantial account given in Acts 1: 9-11. The original limitation of the period during which appearances of Jesus occurred to a single day will have operated along with the other causes mentioned in § 23 c to bring about the exclusion by Lk. of the appearance to the 500, that to James, and that to 'all the apostles'.

The belief once created that Jesus in his various appearances had also spoken, the door lay wide open

for all kinds of conjectures as to what he had said. (a) In this region the most obvious conjecture was that Jesus uttered words leading up to, or explaining, the alleged facts which we have already considered.

Thus it fits the situation equally that in Mt. 28 to Jesus repeats to the women the injunction of the angels to bid the disciples repair to Galilee, and that in Lk. 24: 49 and Acts 1: 4 on the other hand, he bids them remain in Jerusalem, whilst in Jn. 20: 17 he merely sends them word that he is ascending to heaven, and for this reason does not suffer Mary Magdalene to touch him. It is still in accordance with the same principle that he is represented as at a later date making the request that his disciples should touch him, and asking the disciples whether they have anything to eat (§ 27 c, d).

(b) Other words of Jesus apply to situations which we have not yet discussed. Thus, in Lk. 24: 39 and in the *Diatessaron* (§ 7 b), as well as in the speech to James in the Gospel of the Hebrews, the purpose is to prepare the way for a joyful frame of heart and mind. The words in Jn. 20: 26, 'Peace be unto you,' as also those to Saul, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?' (Acts 9: 4, etc.), are singularly well chosen.

(c) What must have presented itself as the main object must have been that of instructing the disciples, before the final departure of Jesus, in everything which was still necessary for their future tasks.

To this category of instruction belongs the repeated insistence upon the uncertainty of the time of the end of the world (Acts 1: 7; cp Mk. 13: 32) but very specially, as new matter, the proof that the passion of Jesus had been appointed by God and foretold by the prophets (Lk. 24: 26-27 44-48). If Jesus in the manner established a correct understanding of events that were past, it was natural, indeed inevitable, to think that, over and above this, he had given all the new directions for the future which were in point of fact followed in the church and therefore could not but have proceeded from its founder. Thus (it was held) it must necessarily have been Jesus who told the disciples that 'all authority had been given unto him in heaven and on earth,' and that he was with them always, even unto the end of the world (Mt. 28: 18-20); he it was who must have instituted the mission to the Gentiles (Mt. 28: 19; Lk. 24: 47; Mk. 16: 15), as also baptism (Mk. 16: 16, and the canonical text of Mt. 28: 19; but cp § 8.), and he too it must have been who promised the power of performing miracles (Mk. 16: 17), yet also demanded a faith that believed without having seen (Jn. 20: 29). This in view of the fact that he knew of, and was able to foretell, the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost (Lk. 24: 49; Acts 1: 5; 2), if he did not himself impart the Spirit as in Jn. 20: 22.

(d) This leads us to the significance which the words of the risen Jesus have, especially for the apostles; for it is only to them that in Jn. the Spirit is imparted, as also the power to forgive or to retain sins (20: 23) or, indeed, a formal mission of any kind (20: 21). We find,

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further, that in the missionary precept the disciples come first into account, just as in Acts (especially 26:16-17) it is Paul who does so. In Jn. 21:21 has to do entirely with having the relative rank in the regard of the church between Peter on the one hand and the beloved disciple on the other (19:27; similarly 20:15 (cp SIMON PETER, § 22*b*)). The gospel tradition has therefore made use of its accounts of the resurrection of Jesus in a very decided manner for the purpose of carrying back to Jesus the high esteem in which the apostles were held at a later time.

With other reasons (§§ 21*e*-27 [C]) the purpose just referred to may have co-operated to bring it about that the evangelists recorded almost exclusively only appearances to apostles and pass over in silence those to the *gentes* and to James, — indeed, that Mt. contents himself with recording no more than one appearance — an appearance in which B. Weiss even discerns a free fusion of all that Mt. knew by tradition regarding the appearances of Jesus.

At last, however, the emphasis that had been laid on the literal historical fact of the resurrection of Jesus

gave place to something different. However firmly established the resurrection might seem to be historically, however little open to any shadow of doubt in the minds of the faithful, its value for them was nevertheless small: it was nothing more than an event of past time. What faith demands is something present, something now and always capable of being experienced afresh. The demand for a faith that could believe without having seen (Jn. 20:27-29; 1 Pet. 1:8) was hard to satisfy. Thus there came to be felt a need for such a turn being given to the resurrection-narrative as should make the continued life of Jesus capable of being experienced anew at all times (Mt. 28:20: 'I am with you always'), and thus the historical statements as to his long-past appearances — accounts which had been elaborated with such care — in great measure lost their importance.

(A) Towards this result Paul had already contributed. The risen Christ is for him identical with the Holy Spirit (2 Cor. 3:17; Rom. 8:9-11, and often). The fourth evangelist followed him in this (§ 16*c*; JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDAE, § 26*c*). Therefore in the Fourth Gospel the risen Jesus having ascended to heaven bestows the Holy Spirit already on the very day of the resurrection. Only to the disciples, indeed, in 20:22, but according to 7:37*f*, expressly to all believers; and therefore it is not open to doubt that 16:7-13; 14:18-20; 15:26, etc., are also to be interpreted in the latter sense. As Holy Spirit Jesus is always present.

(B) A somewhat more sensible substitute for vision of the risen Jesus is the observance of the ordinance of the Supper. This is the true meaning of the deeply significant narrative of the disciples at Emmaus (cp CLEOPAS). The wish of Christianity — 'abide with us' — did not admit of being fulfilled in a literal sense; but in every act of communion 'he went in to abide with them' (Lk. 24:29). Not with flesh and bones as in the case of the primitive disciples (24:36), but 'in another form' (*ἐν ἑτέρῳ μυστῆρι*; Mk. 16:12); and whilst the result of all that could be told about the empty grave was 'him they saw not,' he is now presently recognised 'in the breaking of the bread' (Lk. 24:34-35). It is plain that the knowledge ascribed to the two disciples, so skilfully embodied in this narrative, could not have been drawn by them from the events described by Lk. even if they had literally happened to them on the resurrection day; it is naturally the product of a long growth, and that too in Gentile-Christian circles in which the orphic element in Jesus was neither so familiar nor so important as in the primitive-apostolical. It is clearly a reminiscence of a celebration of the Lord's Supper that we have also in Jn. 21:13 and in the giving of the bread to James in the Gospel of the Hebrews; only, in Jn. it has its prototype in the feeding of the five thousand with loaves and fishes (6:9-13=21:6), which, however, in turn bears the most express marks of being but a clothing of the Supper (see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDAE, §§ 20*c*, 21*c*). The number 'seven' as applied to the disciples corresponds to the number of baskets which in the second 'feeding' in the Synoptists (Mk. 8:8=Mt. 15:17) were filled with the fragments that remained over; whilst in Jn. 6:13, in agreement with the first 'feeding' in the Synoptists (Mk. 6:41=Mt. 14:20=Lk. 9:17), twelve baskets are filled, corresponding to the number 'twelve' as applied to the disciples. The mysterious character of the presence of the risen Jesus at the Supper appears at Emmaus

in his disappearance when the two disciples recognised him (Lk. 24:31), at the Sea of Galilee in no one asking him who he was (Jn. 21:14).

III. EXPLANATION OF THE FACTS.

The last problem still demanding solution, is how to explain the only fact that has emerged in the course of our examination — the fact that Jesus

30. Nature of Jesus' resurrection-body. Any attempted explanation presupposes an insight into subjective experience that perhaps can never be completely attained. It demands, therefore, the greatest caution. It cannot, however, be left unattempted.

(a) The investigator who holds himself bound to accept and make intelligible as literal fact everything recorded in the resurrection narratives, even of the canonical gospels merely, cannot fulfil his task on any other condition than that he assumes a revivification of the buried body of Jesus to a new period of earthly life, hardly less earthly than when Jesus was taken for Elijah or the Baptist risen from the dead (Mk. 6:14-16; 8:28 and Lk. cp 9:11-13; Mt. 11:14). It only remains to be stipulated that he who does so shall fully realise that what he is assuming is a miracle in the fullest sense of the word. Many theologians are strangely wanting in clearness as to this. Even, however, after one has clearly understood what he is accepting, it is impossible to stop here: for such a view does justice only to one side — the physical and sensuous — of the resurrection-narratives; not to the other, according to which Jesus was nevertheless exalted to heaven, a thing impossible for flesh and blood (1 Cor. 15:50).

(b) In order to do justice to this second side also, recourse is often had to the theory of a gradual sublimation or spiritualisation of the resurrection-body of Jesus — at first wholly material — whereby it was gradually made fit for its ascension. Again, what has to be insisted on is that the miracle is not hereby diminished, on the contrary, to the original miracle of the revivification of the material body is added a second — that of the spiritualisation of the material body. The thing, however, is also quite inconceivable; how is one to represent to oneself the stages of the transition?

A body which is already capable of making its way through closed doors must surely have ceased to be tangible (Jn. 20:26-27). Moreover, such a view is in direct contradiction to what we find in NT, not only in 1 Cor. 15:50-53 but also in the gospels; for the touching there referred to and (in Lk. 24:39-43) the eating happen precisely at the last appearance of Jesus which is immediately followed by the ascension; and the precept not to touch is placed in Jn. (20:17) at an earlier point. So, also, we read that Jesus is immediately recognised in his later appearances, but precisely in the earlier ones not (Lk. 24:16; Jn. 20:14).

(c) If we decide to confine ourselves to the task of explaining what we take to be the simple fact according to 1 Cor. 15, we must not suffer ourselves to forget that Paul thinks of the future resurrection-body of man — which he regards as heavenly and pneumatic — as conformed to the pattern of the resurrection-body of Jesus (so 1 Cor. 15:45-49).¹ Jesus' body also, then, in his view must have been heavenly and pneumatic; and as Paul in 1 Cor. has not yet given up the revivification of the buried body (§ 15*b*), he must have thought of the pneumatic attributes possessed by it as having arisen through metamorphosis, such as, according to 1 Cor. 15:51-53, is to happen also to the bodies of those men and women who shall still be alive at the last day. According to what we have seen in § 17*e* the original apostles also agree in this. Thus the explanation of the facts which proceeds on the belief of the apostles that a body of Jesus was really seen must think of that body as heavenly and pneumatic; not, however, in such a sense that it was given to Jesus at his resurrection as a new

¹ In 7:24 the future — 'we shall bear' (*φοροσμεν*) — is to be read. An exhortation, 'let us bear' (*φοροσμεν*); so 11:14 which is meaningless, for the resurrection-body is obtained without our co-operation. The confusion of *ο* and *ω* with copists is very common; see Gal. 6:10-12; 1 Jn. 5:20; Rom. 5:11-14, etc.

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32. Objective visions.

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body whilst the old body remained in the grave, but in the sense that it came into existence through a change wrought on the buried body. On this explanation the resurrection has as much an entirely miraculous character as it has on either of the other two theories already considered.

In order to escape so far as may be from miracle of the character described in the preceding section, and, generally, to be rid of the question of the corporeity of the risen Jesus, recourse is often had to the view that it was only the spirit of Jesus that rose and appeared to his followers. Here opinion is divided as to whether such a thing is possible without a miracle or not. Any one who holds appearances of the spirits of the departed to be possible in the natural order will be able to dispense with assuming a miracle here. The majority, however, maintain the negative. Moreover, such persons declare that the appearances of Jesus to his disciples differ considerably from the manner in which the spiritualism of the present day holds appearances of spirits to occur. They find themselves compelled accordingly, if it was merely the spirit of Jesus that was alive and manifested itself, to postulate a miracle whereby it was made visible.

It is to be observed, moreover, that this view—that only the spirit lives on—is in no respect different from the doctrine of the immortality of the soul except in this, that in the particular case in question the continuance of the life of the spirit begins only on the third day after death. This, however, is a collocation of quite heterogeneous ideas. The essence of the doctrine of immortality lies in this, that the life of the soul is never interrupted, and thus there can be no thought at all of vivification after remaining for a time in a state of death. Revivification can occur only in the case of a being that is capable of dying—in other words, in a body. This is a Jewish idea, that of immortality is a Greek. The latter is adopted in the Book of Wisdom, and Paul comes near it in 2 Cor. 5:1-8 (§ 15 A); for the great apostle it is from the outset excluded (§ 17 c). It is discovered to be necessary, accordingly, to go a step farther. The belief that the risen Jesus actually did appear is frankly given up.

(a) The disciples, we are told, saw nothing real; neither the body of Jesus, clothed with earthly or heavenly attributes, nor the spirit of Jesus whether in true spirit form or in some kind of veiled visibility. What they believed they saw was really only a visionary image, without any real substance of Jesus; but this visionary image was lived in their souls immediately by God in order they might be assured that Jesus was risen. For this reason the vision is called objective.

(b) The belief is entertained that by this method of revealing the matter the assumption of a miracle is superfluous; all that is postulated is merely a divine act of revelation. Keim has invented for this purpose, which he also supports, the phrase: telegram from heaven. This act of revelation itself, however, is no less than a miracle. Were it not miraculous, the visionary image of the risen Jesus in the minds of his disciples could only have its origin in their own subjective condition. This is exactly what is denied and must be denied; otherwise the disciples must be held to have had their faith in the resurrection within themselves and needed no divine revelation of it. The subjective condition of the disciples must on this view be presented as one of the greatest prostration, which is changed into its opposite only by a revelation coming from God.

It has to be remarked, further, that according to the view Jesus' continued existence must be regarded as miraculous in the full sense. If the presupposition that his soul was immortal like the soul of any man, his continued life would be a matter of

course and did not require to be made known by a special revelation. But what is aimed at in putting forward this view is much rather to establish the complete difference between Jesus and all other men which has been from the first claimed for him by the assertion of his resurrection, but yet to be able to dispense with miracle. This can never succeed.

If a really non-miraculous explanation is desired, then apart from subjective visions (of which more hereafter) two possibilities present themselves.

33. Non-miraculous explanations (excluding visions).

(a) The hypothesis that Jesus was only apparently dead found many supporters in the days of rationalism, and it has also been espoused by a writer so modern as Hase (*Christ. Lehr.*, 1876, § 112). That crucified persons taken down from the cross while still in life have been known to rise again is testified by Herodotus (7:174) and Josephus (Ant. 1:10, § 402/3). In a case of seeming death indeed it is not credible, but in a case of actual death it is not only credible, but also a fact. More than 1000 persons are said to have been taken down from the cross while still in life, and many of these persons are said to have lived for a long time afterwards. More than 1000 persons are said to have been taken down from the cross while still in life, and many of these persons are said to have lived for a long time afterwards. More than 1000 persons are said to have been taken down from the cross while still in life, and many of these persons are said to have lived for a long time afterwards.

(b) The hypothesis that although Jesus did not recover, the disciples were deceived and found evidence for, the rumour that he was alive. Apart from all other difficulties, such a hypothesis is from the outset untenable for two reasons: not only would the disciples immediately after the death have been unable to summon courage for so gigantic a task as the theory implies, but also at a later date they would not have had courage in persecution to surrender their lives for such a faith.

Thus subjective visions are all that remain now to be dealt with. Let us endeavour first of all to determine their nature in general so far as this is practicable, without a too minute discussion of the conditions implied in the NT narratives and statements.

(a) In contradistinction from the so-called objective vision (see § 32 a), the image that is seen in the subjective vision is a product of the mental condition of the seer. The presupposition is, accordingly, that he is not only in a high degree of psychical excitement which is capable of producing in him the belief that he is seeing something which in point of fact has no objective existence, but also that all the elements which are requisite for the formation of a visionary image, whether it be views or ideas, are previously present in his mind and have engaged its activities. That in these circumstances the seer should behold an image for which there is no corresponding reality, can be spoken of as something abnormal only in so far as the occurrence is on the whole a rare one; as soon as a high degree of mental excitement is given, the existence of visions is by the laws of psychology just as intelligible and natural as, in a lower degree of mental excitement, is the occurrence of minor disturbances of sense perceptions, such as the hearing of noises and the like.

(b) The view that a subjective vision could never have led the disciples to the belief that Jesus was alive because they were able to distinguish a vision from a real experience is quite a mistake.¹ It is not in the least necessary that we should raise the question whether they were always able to do so; let it be at once

¹ On this point Beyschlag (*Leben Jesu* 142-440) is particularly instructive.

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assumed that they could. The distinction is not unknown in the NT; see, for example, Acts 12:9; indeed we may lay it down that 'was seen' (*ὤφθη*) with the single exception of Acts 7:20 always stands for another kind of seeing than that of ordinary sense perception (e.g., 1 k. 1:11, 3:11, 22:4; Acts 2: 7, 23:35, 10:7, 14:3, 16:9, 26:16 [Tim. 3:16?], Rev. 11:19, 12:1). Now, this is our warrant for calling in visions to our aid in explaining the appearances of Jesus. All that we have gained by this concession, however, is merely that the seers distinguished one and again the condition in which they were: whether ecstatic or normal; it by no means follows as a matter of course that they held the thing seen in vision to be unreal, and only what they saw when in their ordinary condition to be real. How otherwise could the very conception of such a thing as an objective vision be possible?

(1) On the contrary, it pertains precisely to the subjective vision that the seer, if he is not a person thoroughly instructed in psychology and the natural sciences, is compelled to hold what he sees in his vision for real as long as it does not bring before him something which to his conception is impossible. Wherein otherwise would consist the delusion, which nevertheless every one knows to be connected with subjective vision, if not in this, that the visionary seeks for the cause of what he has seen in the external world, not in his own mental condition? And indeed the visionaries of the Bible had more extended powers than modern visionaries have for taking a visionary image as an objective reality; for, if they were unable to attribute to the image they saw any ordinary mundane reality because it was contrary to their ideas of mundane things, they could always attribute to it a heavenly reality, and it was only if it was contrary to their conception of things heavenly that they came to recognise it as a product of their own fantasy.

(2) We have therefore to distinguish between three experiences which were regarded as possible by the disciples and their contemporaries: (1) the seeing of an earthly person by the use of the ordinary organs of sight; (2) the seeing of a person in a real yet heavenly corporeity, not by the bodily eyes but in a vision (*ὄρασις*: 1 k. 1:22, 21:2; Acts 26:19, 2 Cor. 12:1; or *δρασις*: Acts 2:17, Rev. 9:17; or *δραμα*: Acts 9:10, 10:17, 11:5, 16:9, 18:9), in a state of ecstasy (*ἔκστασις*: Acts 10:10, 11:5, 22:17), or, it may be, outside of the seer's own body (2 Cor. 12:2, 7); (3) the production of a false image on the mind without any corresponding outward reality. The first of these possibilities (ordinary seeing) is contemplated only by those evangelists who speak of Jesus as eating and as being touched, and who never themselves had been present at appearances of the risen Jesus. The second possibility (visionary seeing of a heavenly corporeity) is what the witnesses of such appearances intended and what Paul indicates by the word 'was seen' (*ὤφθη*). With the third possibility (false image) it has this in common that in both the condition of the participants is visionary; with the first (ordinary seeing), that the participants hold what they see to be absolutely real and to have an existence external to themselves (but not with a mundane reality).

(3) It was the mistake of many critics to assume that by the use of 'was seen' (*ὤφθη*) the purely subjective origin of what had been seen was conceded by Paul himself. The same error, however, is almost entirely shared also by apologists such as Beyschlag when they suppose that the participants, if they had held that condition to be that of visionaries, would at the same time have perceived the unreality of what they saw. This hypothetically enunciated statement of the apologists is distinguished from the categorical assertion of the critics in only one point: the apologists will have it that the participant need not necessarily attribute the origin of what he sees to the state of his own mind, but can attribute it to God, yet without the result that, in

the latter case, in his view the thing seen becomes invested with reality.

Thus Beyschlag (as above, 422-43) is of opinion that Acts 16:9 does not make Paul believe that in reality a man of Macedonia stood before him, nor 10:10-11 make Peter think that in reality a sheet containing real animals was let down from heaven, not only not in mundane actuality but also not even heavenly actuality; on the contrary, in each case neither had taken in more than this, that God was seeking to give them to understand something by means of sensible images. This way of looking at matters is utterly inconsistent with the belief of that time. If it is God who sends the Macedonian or the sheet containing the beasts, as a matter of course it is believed that these things are sent really (possessing of course not mundane but heavenly actuality); for where it is presupposed that God can if he chooses send them really, it would be quite unaccountable to believe that he has nevertheless not done so. That the sending is not done for its own sake merely, but has for its purpose to incite Paul or Peter to a particular course of action, is indeed true; but this does not by any means divest the thing which God has sent of its reality. Beyschlag makes it seem as if this were so merely by a reference to Acts 12:9: 'He knew that it was true which was done by the angel, but thought he saw a vision.' It is correct to say that the same word (*ὤφθη*) is employed here as is used in 16:9, 10:17 to 11:5, and that Peter regards this vision (*ὄραμα*) as something unreal. Here however the distinction is drawn in a preceding paragraph (above, 418) to be applied: that a Macedonian or a sheet containing beasts, endowed with a heavenly corporeity could be sent by God was regarded by Paul and by Peter respectively as thoroughly possible; on the other hand, in 12:9 it is presupposed that the liberation of Peter when it was not true but a vision would have been regarded by him as impossible. In like manner, if 'vision' (*ὄρασις*) in 10:17-19 means something opposed to reality, a mere appearance (*εἰδωλασμα*) that meaning is secured only by the antithesis in the sentence. The angel Raphael, who has accompanied Tobias, says here by way of after-explanation of what his real nature was: 'I have neither eaten nor drunken, but ye saw only an appearance.' The identity of the word (*ὄραμα* or *ὄρασις*) thus by no means proves identity of judgment upon the matter here in question, namely the reality or unreality of what has been seen.

(4) Equally mistaken would it be to maintain that visionaries are throughout the whole OT and NT regarded as an inferior form of divine revelation. Beyschlag deduces this from a single text (Nu 12:6-8): to a prophet I reveal myself by visions or dreams, but with Moses I speak face to face. Not only is the dream placed upon a level with the vision, an equality of which there can be no thought in connection with the appearances of the risen Jesus, but also in antithesis to both is placed God's direct speaking, which undoubtedly makes known the will of God more plainly than a visual image can, the interpretation of which rests with the seer. In the case of the resurrection of Jesus, however, the situation is exactly reversed. If God had announced to the disciples by spoken words that Jesus was alive, even if they fully believed these words to have been received immediately from God, the announcement would not have been for them so clear and impressive as when they were themselves permitted to look upon the form of Jesus as of one who was alive.

(5) After what has been said in three preceding paragraphs (c, d, e) the decisive question comes to be: what sort of appearances of a person risen from the dead were regarded by the disciples as possible?

To this the answer must at once be: Not in ordinary appearances; for the idea of the immortality of the soul also was utterly strange to them (§ 17c). Next, we must say: they looked for a general resurrection of the terrestrial body to a terrestrial life on the last day; but in exceptional cases they regarded it as happening even in the present (Mt. 9:11, 23: pp. 172-3). And as they would have felt no difficulty in regarding Jesus as an exceptional instance of this last description, they would have regarded an appearance of Jesus in this form (with a terrestrial body) as a real one. This case, however, did not come into consideration; for such an appearance of Jesus does not come within the range of what is historically authentic.

What is alone authenticated is the appearance of Jesus in heavenly corporeity; but of that it has been shown in § 17c that it corresponded with the conceptions of Paul and likewise with those of the original apostles.

(6) The resultant conclusion then must be that what the disciples experienced an appearance of Jesus in heavenly corporeity they were under compulsion to regard it as objectively real, and therefore to believe that Jesus was risen because they had actually seen him

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RESURRECTION- AND ASCENSION-NARRATIVES

Consequently, this belief of theirs does not prove that what they saw was objectively real: it can equally well have been merely an image begotten of their own mental condition.

Having now, we believe, shown in a general way the possibility that the things related concerning the risen Jesus may rest upon subjective visions, what next remains for us to inquire is whether such visions have any probability in view of the known situation of the disciples.

This question admits of an affirmative answer, very particularly in the case of Paul.

It will ever remain the lasting merit of Holsten that he has traced out this research on all sides with the most penetrating analysis. The view he arrived at holds its ground alike in the presence of conservative theology and in presence of the deniers of the genuineness of all the Pauline epistles, who find the genuineness of Pauline to apostle of Jesus fixed from the law alone. An energetic nature could only pass from the one to the other, and could not possibly hold a mediating position.

(a) Paul persecuted the Christians as blasphemers, because they proclaimed as the Messiah one who by the consent of God (Dt 21:23, cp Gal 3:1) had been only marked as a criminal. (b) If, in defending his position, they quoted passages of the OT which in their view treated of the Messiah, Paul could not gainsay the applicability in a general way; all that he denied was the applicability of the passages to one who had been crucified. (c) From their appeals to the appearances of the risen Jesus, Paul certainly had come to know quite well the manner in which they would have it that they had seen the risen Jesus.

(d) Apart from this blasphemy of theirs Paul could not have recognised their honesty, seriousness, blamelessness of moral character. What if they were in the right? We may be certain that, when entered their houses and hailed them before the tribunal, there were not wanting heart-rending scenes, which in the case of a man not wholly hardened would not fail to raise ever anew the recurring question whether it was really at the behest of God that he had ordered all this cruelty. He repressed his scruples; but God had entered his soul.

What Paul had been the real with which he followed the lead of the fathers (Gal 1:14), unlike the great mass of Jewish Pharisees his contemporaries, he perceived the impossibility of fulfilling the whole of the law's demands. And, not being able to fulfil them, he renounced them. In Rom. 7:25 he has very clearly described this condition. (f) And yet the OT had promised a time of salvation, and an inconceivable that he should not hold to his hope. But how could he, if the universal fulfilment of the law which was so clearly impossible—were held to be a dispensable condition?

There of necessity must have come about in the person of Paul a combination of these two lines of thought which had hitherto remained apart. What if Christians were right in their assertion that the fulfilment of the law was the Messiah, through whom it was possible to bring salvation to the world without transgression of the law? In that case Paul, and with him all mankind, was delivered from the anguish of soul caused by transgression of the law; mercy, no longer what he might expect from God. (h) And since being so, it could only have been through the intervention of Jesus that God had willed to procure

salvation for men. For Saul, the Pharisee, could never get away from the thought that some kind of propitiation had to be made for the sins of men, before God could bring in his grace. Perhaps the Christians had even already begun to quote in support of their view Is. 53, which Paul in all probability has in his mind when, in 1 Cor. 15:3, he says that he has received by tradition the doctrine that Christ, according to the Scriptures, had been delivered as a propitiation for our sins.

(g) Whether, however, all this, which in one respect promised blessedness, but in another threatened him with divine punishment as a persecutor of the Christians, was really true or not, turned for Paul upon the answer to the question, whether in actuality Jesus was risen. For, in addition to the doctrine of propitiation, Saul the Pharisee was indissolubly wedded to the thought that 'every one that hangeth on a tree' is accused, unless God himself has unmistakably pronounced otherwise—viz. that this propitiation has no application to Jesus, who did not die the death of a criminal, but the death of a divine offering for sin. Such a divine declaration was involved, according to the Christians, in the resurrection of Jesus.

(k) It will not be necessary to dwell upon the deeply debilitating effect which such doubts must have produced in Paul's inmost soul; the vividness with which the living figure so often described to him by Christians must, time and again, have stood before him, only to be banished as often by the opposition of his intellect; until finally, only too easily, there came a time when the image of fancy refused any longer to yield to the effort of thought. All that need be pointed out further is that on his own testimony, as well as on that of Acts, Paul was very prone to visions and other ecstatic conditions (2 Cor. 12:1-4, 1 Cor. 14:18, Acts 9:12, 16:19, 22:17, 27:23). That he does not place what he had experienced at Damascus on a level with those visions of his, but speaks of it as the last appearance of the risen Jesus (1 Cor. 15:8), is intelligible enough if he was not aware of any further appearances having been made to other persons (see § 10 b); but it in no way shows that in the journey to Damascus what he saw was not a vision, but an actual meeting with the risen Jesus. The possibility, indeed the probability, of a vision here has been pointed out; it is for each reader to choose between this and a miracle.

(l) Let it be clearly understood, however, that we do not here employ the word 'vision' (*ὄρασις*) as evidence that Paul himself conceived the subjective origin of the image which he saw. (To the contrary, see § 10 b.) Neither do we make use of the expression 'in the mind' where Paul speaks of God as having revealed his son 'in me' (*ἐν ἐμοί*), to prove that Paul regarded the occurrence at Damascus as one that had taken place solely within himself. The words 'I have seen' (*ὄρασα*) and 'was seen' (*ὄραθῆναι*) in 1 Cor. 9:1 are decisive against this; for by them the apostle means to say that he has really seen Jesus as appearing to him *ab extra*. Yet so far as Gal. 1:15, 16, denotes a subsequent inward illumination of Paul, since 'but which followed immediately upon that of "the Jews religion" (*ἡ εὐαγγελία*) (1:13). In me (*ἐν ἐμοί*) in spite of the reference to "revelation" (*ἀποκάλυψις*) to the event on the road to Damascus, may mean 'within me,' in so far as the appearance easily may also 'upon me'—i.e., by changing the person into a believer (and, however, through the process of my missionary labours, which did not occur till later).

The situation of the earliest disciples very readily suggests the same explanation of the facts. (a) The mental struggle between despair and hope—the disaster involved in the death of Jesus and the hope they still somehow clung to, that the kingdom of God might still be established by Jesus—can hardly have been less than had been the struggle in the mind of Paul. Perhaps there was in their case the additional circumstance that they were fasting, a condition highly favourable to the occurrence of visions. Yet such a conjecture

ZIT. 1801, pp. 229-231; *Ann. Evang. des Paulins* (1801, 217-180); Pfleiderer, *Paul. apostol.* 1875, 20; (in the other ed. - Beyschlag, 17, K. 1874, pp. 100-101, 102-103). Specially interesting is Scholz, *Beitr. z. d. Bist.*, 1871, pp. 80-84), who recognises in the supernatural fact of the risen Jesus, which representation has enabled him to dispense with.

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is by no means indispensable, and we need not lay stress on the indication as to this given in the Gospel of Peter and in the *Dabaskalra* above, §§ 5 [f], 7*b*. All these psychological elements, however, will be more fully considered later (§ 37).

(A) On the other hand, we are unable to attach weight to the view that the disciples were gradually led by a study of the OT to a conviction that Jesus was alive, and that thus in the end they came to have visions in which they beheld his form.

Visions do not arise by processes so gradual or so placid. It is certainly correct to suppose that certain passages of the OT must have had an influence on the thoughts of the disciples in those critical days; but not that they were then discovered for the first time as a result of study. Rather must they have been long familiar, when suddenly, under the impression made by the death of Jesus, they acquire a new and decisive significance as convincing the bereaved ones that the continued life of Jesus was made assured by the word of God.

(C) From our list of such passages must be excluded many which are frequently quoted as belonging to it; for example, Is. 25*b*, Ps. 138*a*, Ezek. 38-39, Ps. 27 (although it appears to be cited in Acts 17 in this sense), and, in particular, Ps. 16*a*, although this is cited in Acts 2:27-31:13-15. What is said in the Hebrew text is that God will not suffer his pious worshipper to die (p. 6). When by a false etymology (*mg* = 'to destroy,' instead of *mg* = 'to sink') renders *l'ath*, which, as the parallelism conclusively shows, means 'grave,' by 'destruction' (*l'ath*), the mistranslation is innocuous as long as this word is taken to mean 'death,' as the translators certainly took it; it becomes misleading only on the Christian interpretation which understands the bodily corruption that follows death. Passages of the OT from which the disciples could really have drawn their conviction as to the resurrection of Jesus are Ex. 3*a* (see its employment by Jesus himself in Mk. 12:7-10, 35-37; Hos. 6:2, K. 20:5, perhaps also Ps. 118:17 Job 19:25-27, but very specially Ps. 80:11; 110) (cp. B. 100, 493-504). It must always be borne in mind, it is hardly necessary to say, that they did not interpret such passages in a critical manner and with reference to the context, but simply as they seemed to present to them a consoling thought.

(F) No weight can be given to the objection that the image of the risen Jesus which presented itself to the disciples cannot have been subjective because at first they did not recognise it. That they failed to do so is stated only in passages which must be regarded as unhistorical (Lk. 24:16, Jn. 20:14); in Lk. 24:34 it is not even said that he was not recognised.

(G) Another objection, that though perhaps the subjective explanation might be admissible in the case of a single individual, it wholly fails in the case of appearances to several, not to speak of the case of 500 at once, appears at first sight to have great weight. As against this it is worth mentioning that one of the most recent upholders of an objective resurrection of Jesus, Steude (*St. A. r.*, 1887, pp. 273-275), quite gives up this argument. In point of fact there is ample evidence to prove that visions have been seen by many, in the cases of Thomas of Canterbury, Savonarola, the Spanish general Pacheco, several crusaders—days and even months after their death—and similar occurrences also in the cases of 800 French soldiers, the Cambrards in 1686-1707, the followers of the Roman Catholic priest Pöschl in Upper Austria in 1812-1818, the 'Preaching sickness' and 'Reading sickness' in Sweden in 1841-1853, and so forth. That in circumstances of general excitement and highly strung expectation visions are contagious, and that others easily perceive that which at first had been seen by only one, is, in

view of the accumulated evidence, a fact not to be denied.

(J) The attempt has been made to argue from this, on the contrary, that subjective visions cannot be thought of as explaining the recorded facts of the resurrection, inasmuch as in that case we should be entitled to expect very many more recorded visions than are enumerated by Paul. That, however, would depend on the amount of predisposition to visions. It is very easily conceivable that this may very rapidly have diminished when, by means of a moderate number of reported appearances, the conviction had become established that Jesus had risen. On this account it is also best to presume that the first five appearances followed one another very quickly. All the more confidently in that case could Paul speak of that which he had himself received as being the last of all (§ 10*b*).

The consideration which above all others causes the most serious misgivings, is the state of deep depression in which the disciples were left by the death of Jesus. Is it conceivable that in such circumstances subjective visions should have come to them?

(K) This question, however, is essentially simplified by what has been pointed out above (§ 36*c*). I will suppose in addition that it was Peter alone who received the first vision. Could he but once find himself able to say that he had seen Jesus, the others no longer needed to be able to raise themselves out of their state of prostration by their own strength, what had happened to Peter supplied what was wanting in this respect. The question thus narrows itself to this: Is the possibility of a subjective vision excluded in the case even of Peter?

(L) Undoubtedly an unusually strong faith was needed, if in Peter the thought that Jesus, notwithstanding his death, was still alive, was to become so powerful that at last it could take the form of a vision. All the requisite conditions, however, were present. We do not at all lay weight upon the consideration that with the return to Galilee the reminiscences of Jesus associated with those localities would again take the upper hand over the impression which his death had made; for indeed this impression was indelible. But alongside of this impression there would also be recollections of the predictions of Jesus. We do not refer here primarily to the predictions of his resurrection (see § 22*a*); those referring to his coming again from heaven to set up the kingdom of God upon earth—predictions which are certainly quite historical (see GOSPELS, § 145 [f])—are much more important. They also, it is true, might seem to have been discredited by the death of Jesus; for with Peter also it was an infallible word of God, that every one that hangs on a tree is cursed (Mt. 24:14; cp. Gal. 3:10). Precisely here, however, there is a difference between the cases of the two apostles; Paul could apply this thesis to Jesus in cold blood, because he had never personally known him (2 Cor. 5:16, when rightly interpreted); Peter could not—he owed too much to him. To speak more exactly, the reason why Peter, even after the crucifixion, did not cease wholly to have faith in the prediction of Jesus, lay partly in the deep impression of his utter trustworthiness which he had left upon his disciple, and partly also in the religious inheritance which Peter felt he owed him, in the ineradicable conviction of the truth of his cause. From this conviction of the truth of Jesus' cause the conviction of his continued personal life was inseparable in the thought of this age. In this sense Renau's saying (*Apôtres*, 44 ff. 70) is true: 'ce qui a résuscité Jésus, c'est l'amour'.

(M) There is yet another point, which for the most part is utterly overlooked in this connection. We do not mean the lively temperament of Peter; for what made him specially susceptible to visions must be said. We refer to the fact that Peter had done as

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U. E. A. Abbott, *St. Thomas of Canterbury*, 1808; Hase, *Gen. Jesu*, 1876, pp. 595 f., and *Neue Propheten*, 111-122, 191 f.; Reuter, *Altmittel der Briten*, 310-312, 77-774 (1894); Schölen, *Erweg. nach Joh.* (Götting), 109 f. (1879); Renau, *Apôtres*, 16 f., 21 (I. F. 3 f., 45); Keim, *Gen. Jesu von Nazareth*, 349-352 (1872), H. F. 6, 45 ff.); Perty, *Mythische Erzähl. v. Jesu*, 110-111 (1872); K. Stein, *Psychische Contagion*, 21 f. (Erlangen, 1877); H. Hübner, *Psychische Gesundheit*, 17-41 (1845); Leulussler, *Wahnwahn in den 4 letzten Jahrhunderten*, 221-241 (1848); Bleier, *Phorie des religiösen Wahnwahn* (1848-1850); Emminghaus, *Allgem. Psychopathologie*, §§ 31 f., 37 f., 96, 111, 126 (1878), with the literature there referred to; *Allgem. Ztschr. für Psychiatrie*, 1849, pp. 253-261, 1851, pp. 115-125; 1856, pp. 546-551; 1860, pp. 565-570; Wiedemann, *Die relig. Bewegung in Oberwesterreich u. Salzburg beim Beginn des 17. Jahrh.* (1863); *Die Secte der Pöschlener in Österreich in dem Jahre 1817* (no place on title-page, 1818); Missou, *Phévre Sacré des Cambrards*, London, 1797; Blanc, *Inspiration des Cambrards*, Paris, 1859.

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Lord. Even if the circumstance, mentioned only in Lk. (226r), that after his denial his eye met that of his master, be hardly historical (cp SIMON PETER, § 19 d), there still remains a delicate suggestion of what must most infallibly have happened; the form of him whom Peter had denied must have come up before him with ever renewed vividness, however he may have struggled to escape it. Though at first he may have said to himself that this was a mere creation of his fancy, it is certainly not too bold a conjecture that a moment came when he believed he saw his Lord bodily present before him, whether it was that the eye was turned upon him with reproach and rebuke, or whether it was that he already assured him of that forgiveness, for which beyond all doubt he had been praying with all the energy of his soul.

(f) If this be sound, we shall find in the denial of Peter an occasion for the occurrence of a vision as direct as we have found the persecution of the Christians by Paul to have been. If we will, we shall be able to discern in these acts of hostility against Jesus or his followers an arrangement in the providence of God, whereby chosen vessels were prepared for the furtherance of Christianity. In any case this deed of Peter, that he held fast his faith in the imperishability of the cause of Jesus and therefore also of the person of Jesus, will remain the greatest of his life, greater still than his confession at Caesarea Philippi (Mk. 820 and 21), and the mouth of Jesus they be not historical: 'thou art Peter (i.e., a rock) and upon this rock will I build my church' (Mt. 1618, cp MINISTRY, § 4 f.), and 'Do thou, when once thou hast turned again, establish thy brethren' (Lk. 2212, cp SIMON PETER, § 15 b).

For all that has been said in the foregoing paragraphs the most that can be claimed is that it proves the possibility—the probability if you will—of the explanation from subjective visions. From the very nature of the case it would not be possible to prove the visionary character of the appearances did not be established for us by the visionaries themselves—on the contrary, everything constrained them to regard what they had seen as objective and real—nor by the reporters, who simply repeated what the visionaries had related to them. Only scientifically trained reporters could have assured us on the point, but such reporters did not then exist. Let it be observed, however, that in the vision-hypothesis it is only the judgment of the visionaries as to the objective reality of what they had seen that is set aside; any other biblical statement of fact, unless we have been compelled to set it aside as inconsistent with some other biblical statement, remains unaffected. The thesis, furthermore, attributes no want of upright-ness either to the visionary or to the reporter. The only which it points out affects merely the husk—namely, that the risen Jesus was seen in objective reality, but not the kernel of the matter, that Jesus in the spiritual sense; thus it is an error, only in the relative sense as is the dogma that the Bible is infallible in every letter (a dogma without the temporary fancy of which the church of to-day would hardly exist), or in the same sense in which the anthropomorphic view of God's being and his relation to which possesses every child is an error—an error in which the number of grown-up persons of unreligious conviction would indeed be small.

It is now once more to § 1 and the ideas on which it is held that the belief in a literal resurrection cannot be given up, we remark that the government of the church by Christ is not to be given up without any religious loss to the leading of the church by the spirit of Christ, and is desired to put it in a more personal form, the government of the church by God. That

the cause of Jesus did not die with him on the cross we are assured by history, even if his resurrection did not occur as a literal fact. It is undeniable that the church was founded, not directly upon the fact of the resurrection of Jesus, but upon the belief in his resurrection; and this faith worked with equal power whether the resurrection was an actual fact or not. The view of Paul that, apart from the literal truth of the resurrection of Jesus, there is no forgiveness of sins, has as its necessary presupposition the dogma, not of Paul the Christian but of Paul the Pharisee, that every crucified person without exception is accursed of God; as soon as the possibility of a miscarriage of justice either in the synedrium or at Pilate's judgment seat is conceded, this view *eo ipso* falls to the ground. Finally, the view that unless Jesus actually rose again the hope of the final resurrection of the dead is vain would be a sound one if this hope had consisted in the expectation that all men were to rise three days after their respective deaths. In its actual form, as hope of the resurrection at the last day, it would come to be denied, in so far as an event happening in the case of Jesus is concerned, only if Jesus himself were to continue in the state of death at the last day. In so far, however, as the idea of the immortality of the soul takes the place of the hope of a final resurrection—as in modern times is very extensively the case—it ceases to be a matter of fundamental importance whether Jesus rose again on the third day, or not; for immortality consists only in a continued existence of the soul, and that from the moment of the death of the body onwards, and is just as incapable of being confirmed or made known by a resurrection of the body as of being called in question by the absence of a resurrection. If immortality could thus be confirmed or made known, that must have been possible on the first and the second day after death, for immortality was then present. For that time, however, resurrection is excluded by presupposition.

Prins, *De voliteit van's Heeren opstanding*, 1861, and (against Prin.) Straumann, *Der volheit van's Heeren opstanding*, 1863, 132-200, 279-311; 1864, 22-95, 396-408 and (against Paul) Strauss, *ibid.*, 1863, 356-400; Gebhardt, *Die Auferstehung Christi und ihre neuesten*, 1864; Steude, *Die Auferstehung Jesu, die neuesten*, 1887, 203-205 (see above, § 36 c); Rohlfach, *Der Schluss des Marcanusangeliums*, 1894, and *Die Berichte über die Auferstehung Jesu*, 1898; Eck, 'Bedeutung der Auferstehung Jesu für die Urgemeinde u. für uns' in *Hefte zur Christlichen Welt*, No. 12, 1893; Loofs, 'Die Auferstehungsberichte u. ihr Verh.' *ibid.*, No. 33, 1898; Brückner, 'Die Berichte über die Auferstehung Jesu' in *Prot. Monatshefte*, 1899, 41-47, 96-110, 153-160. Amongst the writings on the life of Jesus see Strauss, Keim, Weiss, Heyschlag (vol. I.) and, quite specially, Brandt, *Krang. Gesch.*, 1893, 305-446, 490-517.

39. Literature. The bulk of English work upon this subject (of which the more useful or significant portions are indicated in the sub-joined paragraphs by an asterisk) falls into one or other of two classes: (a) one dealing primarily with historical and theological appreciations of the fact or truth in question; (b) the other sensitive, in the first instance, to the features of the record and the historical evidence. Owing to the backwardness and inefficiency of English criticism upon the synoptic question, and the consequent paucity of scientific work upon Mt. and Lk., especially (upon Lk. 24) note the strangely parallel story in Plutarch's *Vit. Rom.* 28), the latter class of writings is as yet insufficiently represented, being conspicuous for open-mindedness (in its better representatives) rather than for thoroughness, and theories than in constructing a satisfactory and readable hypothesis which might do justice to the complex of facts under review. Cp Fraude's *Short Studies*, 122 f.

(a) The conservative side is represented by a long series of writings, whose weakness consists mainly in the preponderance of the dogmatic over the historical element or in literalism. Of these the following are the more salient: 1. H. Martineau's *Theol. Essays* (8); Weston's *Introduct. to Study of Gospels* (6) (1828), 133-141; *The Gospel of the Resurrexion, The History of Faith* (chap. 6), and *The Revelation of the Risen Lord*; 'Melligan's' exhaustive and theological *The Resurrexion of our Lord* (4) (1894), and *The Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood of our Lord*, 1892; 'M. C. Cheyne Edgar's vigorous *Gospel of the Risen Saviour*, 1892, pp. 21-135; C. A. Row's *The Resurrexion of the Frangelists*, 1868, pp. 262 f. (critique of mythical theories); J. Kennedy's survey in *The Resurrexion of our Lord an historical fact, with examination of naturalistic hypotheses*, 1824;

Latham's curious volume *The risen Master*, 1905; and Orr's *Christian Facts of God and the World*, 1893, Lect. 6, n. C. Similarly, but with special bearing upon the narratives as part of the biography of Jesus—cf. Allison's *Studies in the Life of Christ*, 1825, chap. 18; H. Tillier's *Students' Life of Jesus*, 1898, pp. 182-4-5; besides the Lives of Christ by Farrar, Edersheim, and S. J. Andrews (ed. 1892, pp. 529 f.). The subject is competently handled also, though from a more strictly philosophical and doctrinal standpoint, by Newman Smyth (*Old Faiths in New Light*, chap. 8); H. W. Foerster (*The Christ of History and Experience*, 1897, Lect. 4 critique of vision-hypothesis); R. H. Hutton (*Theol. Essays*, 2^d 1888, pp. 111 f.); E. Griffith-Jones (*The Ascent through Christ*, 1900, pp. 117-150); H. G. Weston (*Biblioth. Sacra*, 1900, pp. 156-302) and L. S. Patwin (*ibid.*, 1899, pp. 177-190); also by Henney (*The Death of Christ*, 1902, pp. 60 f., 70 f., 121-123).

At the opposite pole of radical criticism, the most noteworthy works along this line are R. W. Meyers' *The Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, the contributions of Dr. E. A. Abbott (*On Philo-Christianism, Gnosticism, and Through Nature to Christ*, 1877, chap. 21), and Martineau's *Seat of Authority in Religion* (2^d, 1893), 363 f., 481 f., 612 f., besides the writings to be cited below.

(3) Examinations of early Christian evidence, and particularly of the gospel narratives (with that of the ascension, Acts 1:1-11), from a fairly free but reverent standpoint may be found in A. B. Bruce's *Epist. Gk. Text*, vol. 1 (2^d, 1904), 371 f., 643 f.; G. L. Cary's scholarly *Synoptic Gospels* (Internat. Handbks. to N.T., vol. 1, 1908), §§ 195-202; J. Estlin Carpenter's *First Three Gospels* (2^d, 1890), 112 f., 263 f.; A. V. McCuller's *Apocst. Age*, 1897, pp. 1-11; see, further, Blair's *Apocst. Gospels* (1879-88) on the conclusion of Mk., with the editions by Swete and Allan Menzies, Moffatt's *Hist. New Testament* (2^d, 1905), pp. 55-554 (on Mk. 16:7-8), 517-549 (on Mt. and Lk.), 624-629 (on Jn. 20:1-11), and A. Revell's article in *New World*, 1894, pp. 408-527. The distinctive aim of such contributions is to investigate not simply the verbal contents of the narratives in question, but also their mental and religious presuppositions; to get behind the stories into the world of their first hearers, with their beliefs and hopes. Extreme forms of this critical hypothesis are variously represented in such works as W. Mackintosh's *Nat. Hist. of the Christian Religion*, 1874, pp. 257-328 (mythical theory), *Supernatural Religion*, 3, 1877, p. 198 f. (in which, as in the following book, the problem is handled drastically, but uncritically isolated), *The Four Gospels as Historical Records*, 1898, pp. 451, and O. Gombé, *The Gospels and the Historical Interpretations*, 1924, pp. 121 f., 221 f., none of which, however, can be pronounced entirely satisfactory, either in method or in results. See further S. Davidson's *N.T. Introd.* (1893) 2nd ed. f. The opposite side is pleasantly but ineffectively advocated by writers like Busset's *Assurance in Apostolic Age*, 1900, 9-15 and Smiley (Hastings' *DB* 1902-4), while it is defended with a more critical grasp of the problem and its bearings by Swete (*Apostles' Creed*, 1911, p. 64 f.), A. B. Bruce (*Apostles' Creed*, pp. 181-207), Schaff (*Hist. of Church*, 1372-106), Henney (*Art. 'Ascension' in Hastings' DB* 1902-102), Prof. S. M. Comb (*Epist.* 2^d 1900-181, a critique of ET of Harnack's *Witness*); see also 'Knowing: The Witness of the Epistles', 1892, pp. 195-196, 307-314 (ascension); A. Hovey (*Am. Journ. Theol.*, 1877, pp. 516-524, a critique of Stapfer); W. F. Adeney (*Epist.* 1912-14, a critique of Weissäcker); N. J. D. White (*Appearances of Risen Lord to Individuals*, *Epist.* 10-10-74), and E. R. Bertrand ('The Value of the Ascension', *Exp.* 7, 1900-1901, pp. 152-155, and in Hastings' *DB* 1904). Despite exaggerated statements upon both sides, recent English discussions display a growing sense that there is a serious problem to be faced in the conclusion of the historical records, and that exegesis has a vivid if subsidiary part to play in its solution. This is a sign of health, if only that the demands of the public are becoming more exigent; but no advance can be looked for until English students are furnished with a scientific equipment in the shape of thoroughly critical editions of the gospels, as well as with monographs combining historical judgment and sound scholarship with some philosophic and religious appreciation of the subject.—J. W. S.

REU (רְעוּ) (רַעַיָּה), b. Peleg, a name occurring in the genealogical table connecting Shem and Abraham (Gen. 11:26; [P], 1 Ch. 125; cp. Lk. 3:35, AV Ragar). An Aramaean tribe bearing the name *Keluz* appear in S. Babylonia, in the time of Tiglath-pileser III (Schr. *ATK* 1915 f.; *KAT* 1917; *Dol. Par.* 238 ff.), but their identification with Reu is denied by S. in *ibid.* 1917. The name is common with the others in the same list, is probably Mesopotamian, and we may possibly find a trace of it in *רעו*, one of the kings of Edessa, which is doubtless for 'man of Reu', a formation parallel to the Heb. *רעו*; cp. Duval, *Hist. d'Edesse*, *Journ. Asiat.*, 1861, 1^{re} 126). Reu may have been an old Mesopotamian god (*Mon. Gesch. der Stadt Harlan*, 235). Cp. REUBEN, §§ 9 III, 10.

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- Mention (§ 1).
A lost tribe (§ 2).
First-born (§ 3).
Bilhah, Bolan (§ 4).
Alta's story (§ 5).
Other stories (§ 6).
Name (§§ 7-9).
Meaning of stories (§ 10).
Genealogies (§§ 11-13).
Lists of cities (§ 14).

Reuben¹ is repeatedly mentioned in the Hexateuch as a branch of Israel. It is often associated with Gad, and is known to each of the documents.

1. Mention. underlying the Hexateuch. The reader naturally infers that the writers of those documents had knowledge of such a community. He may indeed think it prudent to test the legitimacy of that inference, when he misses references elsewhere in the Hebrew writings. Still, the *argumentum e silentio* must be used with great care.² The facts seem to be these. Outside of the fixed tribal lists (in Chron., Ezek., and in the N.T. in Koy³ and the Chronicler's genealogies,⁴ Reuben is known, apart from an at best anachronistic gloss in 2 K. 10 (descriptive of the district harassed by Hazael), through the mention in the enumeration in Judg. 5:17, 15 ff. That chapter contains very old material and few would question its authority even when it stands alone. Only however, if we are sure that the passage says what the poet meant it to say. That, however, does not appear to have been questioned, so far as the mention of Reuben is concerned.⁵ Discussion has been confined to the question, where the mention appearing after 152 and again in a slightly variant form, after 154 really belongs. Still, is not the simplest explanation of the double occurrence that the clause is really a gloss? Other difficulties would thus be removed. It always seemed strange that so remote a community as the traditional Reuben should be mentioned by name.⁶ To speak of Gilead in general, on the other hand, without naming tribes, would be natural. I am sure Gilead⁶ would be taken to mean Gad, whilst M⁷ was perhaps referred to 'half-Manasseh,' and some reference of some kind or other would be made on the margin to Reuben. If it be thought that probability is in favour of the reference in Judg. 5 being contemporary evidence,⁷ the problem before us is to determine where Reuben lived and to explain the fact that in later times Reuben had no significance. If the other view be taken, the problem is to account for the reference in the Hexateuch.

A survey of the references (in the Hexateuch) to Reuben suggests that the solid element in them is the belief that there once was an important community called Reuben and that for some reason it had lost its place. It was a question of 'Ad or Thumud.' It is usually supposed that the latter preserved the memory of a more or less definite geographical district occupied by Reubenites. It may be done so. The evidences of such a tradition, however, are far from copious. Most of what we are told of a territory of Reuben is in D (Dt. 3:12-14, 18, 19, 21, 22) and P (Num. 32, Josh. 13:15-21, 20:1-2), and cannot safely be used for the present purpose (§ 14). There seems to be only one passage (N. 2

2. A lost tribe.

1 On the name see below; on the form, § 9. In OT ex. citations, § 2; on real meaning, § 9.
2 Special caution is needed in regard to questions bearing on the tribe.
3 On the statements in 1 Ch. 5 see § 13. On 1 Ch. 7:22 see § 2, (end).
4 Wieseler has suggested that 'Asher' is not a tribe name but a pronoun (שׂוֹר), and that 'Dan' was not a tribe name originally (U. 1914, no. 2 f.).
5 Of course Reuben may have been settled in West Palestine at the time referred to (see next note); but the post-exilic assignment of the tribe to the plain probably is so that we may be thought of the last (p. 145, § 11) first settlement (p. 145, § 2, (end)).
6 Steinerthal suggests (U. 1914, no. 2 f.) that the tribe of Gilead, not Reuben, in 170 B.C. to 160 B.C. was still settled in West Palestine (see below, § 11).
7 It would not decide the question where Reuben lived preceding two notes.

37 f.) which ever, (22) (Moabit) the sons any refer inscriptions and refer kind of to suppose rests on a firm belief. The point where it connects R. of P there kind (Josh) in the strain that Reuben other tribes had lived.

3. First-born

there was between him to be for P. Whether it would occur it would occur *dadi'm* (ib. have it, how he finds the reply ZULU. Reuben is 37:22-26), and see below, § 11. sons (p. 11) the first-born agree agreement. The vi Reuben forfeit blessing, which times although The rest of of the story use of Not so in t 35:2. No do

4. Bilhah, Bob

This story seems lost his rank.

According to (1902, 440-72, w the finding of the verbal eponym on am Jan. 1898, son. 2 Steinerthal's story what but not us. 3. whence the but do. 4. (see note) Re 5. (see note) 6. (see note) 7. (see note) 8. (see note) 9. (see note) 10. (see note) 11. (see note) 12. (see note) 13. (see note) 14. (see note) 15. (see note) 16. (see note) 17. (see note) 18. (see note) 19. (see note) 20. (see note) 21. (see note) 22. (see note) 23. (see note) 24. (see note) 25. (see note) 26. (see note) 27. (see note) 28. (see note) 29. (see note) 30. (see note) 31. (see note) 32. (see note) 33. (see note) 34. (see note) 35. (see note) 36. (see note) 37. (see note) 38. (see note) 39. (see note) 40. (see note) 41. (see note) 42. (see note) 43. (see note) 44. (see note) 45. (see note) 46. (see note) 47. (see note) 48. (see note) 49. (see note) 50. (see note) 51. (see note) 52. (see note) 53. (see note) 54. (see note) 55. (see note) 56. (see note) 57. (see note) 58. (see note) 59. (see note) 60. (see note) 61. (see note) 62. (see note) 63. (see note) 64. (see note) 65. (see note) 66. (see note) 67. (see note) 68. (see note) 69. (see note) 70. (see note) 71. (see note) 72. (see note) 73. (see note) 74. (see note) 75. (see note) 76. (see note) 77. (see note) 78. (see note) 79. (see note) 80. (see note) 81. (see note) 82. (see note) 83. (see note) 84. (see note) 85. (see note) 86. (see note) 87. (see note) 88. (see note) 89. (see note) 90. (see note) 91. (see note) 92. (see note) 93. (see note) 94. (see note) 95. (see note) 96. (see note) 97. (see note) 98. (see note) 99. (see note) 100. (see note)

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37 f.) which can perhaps be attributed to J (see, however, *Oxf. Her.*). All it has to say is that certain six (Moabite) towns were, in the Mosiac age (?) 'built' by the sons of Reuben (see below, § 14). The absence of any reference to a people called Reuben in the Mesha inscription although it mentions three of the six towns and refers to 'the men of Edom' as having 'dwelt in the land of Moab from of old' (1272) seems to require us to suppose that the statement of J, if not unhistorical, rests on a memory of days long gone. That there was a firm belief in an ancient Reuben is, indeed, clear. The point is that it need not imply a knowledge of where it had been settled. In Gen 35:27, J seems to connect Reuben with West Palestine (see § 4), and even in P there seems to be a trace of a belief of the same kind (Josh 15:6, 18:7, § 4), which may be represented in the strange story of the 'altar' (§ 5), and in the idea that Reuben crossed into West Palestine to help the other tribes to effect a settlement (cp I AD, col. 1585).

Whatever was thought of the place where Reuben had lived, a great deal of interest was felt in his fate (cp § 10). Reuben is everywhere the first-born (see end of § 6). In E, indeed, between him and Leah's other sons, Naphtali seems to be E Jacob's third son (cp NAPHTHALI, § 2). Whether this was so in the original J we cannot say: it would account for Reuben's being the ruler of the *duda'im* (ib.), which E does not mention. In J as we have it, however, Reuben has three own brothers which he calls the *duda'im* which lead to the birth of Joseph (cp ZEBULUN). The only tale E has to tell about Reuben is of how he tried to deliver Joseph (Gen. 37:20), and reminded his brothers of the fact (32:21; see below, § 19, end), and how he offered his own two sons (cp § 11) as a pledge of the safe return of Benjamin, the most significant point in all this is that Reuben was first-born. On that point there seems to be complete agreement. The problem is discussed in I Ch. 27. The view of the writer of that passage is that Reuben forfeited his right (as first-born) to the special blessing, which fell to Joseph, who thus became two sons, although his rival Judah ultimately outdid him. The rest of the points may belong to the decking out of the story (see, however, below, § 10, end).

Nat so in the case of what J has to tell us in Gen. 37:21. No doubt the story was once told with more detail (cp *Text, Reub.* 3, and *Levitic.*, § 33 show how it could be done).¹ The story seems to be J's explanation of how Reuben lost his rank. What Jacob did when he heard² of

Reuben's deed has been suppressed by R.³ It can be inferred, however, from the 'Blessing of Jacob':⁴

Reuben! thou wast my first-born
My might and the first-fruits of my manhood;
Exceeding in impetuosity,⁵ exceeding in passion!
Foaming like water . . .⁶
For thou didst ascend thy father's couch,
Then did I curse the bed⁷ he ascended.⁸

Even without Gunkel's emendation of the last line it is plain that the sequel to Gen 35:22 was a father's curse,⁹ which brought doom on the tribe (cp BLESSINGS AND CURSINGS). The effect becomes still more clear in the 'Blessing of Moses':

Let Reuben live (on), let him not die (out)!
Still, let him¹⁰ become a (mere) handful of man!¹¹

The story of Bohan the son of Reuben may have been connected with the same legend (cp NAPHTHALI, col. 3330 foot). We ought perhaps, however, to translate the word 'bohan'. The landmark would then be the flint-stone¹² of the son (or sons) (cp in Josh 18:17) of Reuben. The suggestion made elsewhere (col. 535 n. 4), however, is perhaps better: the suggestion, namely, that there is a slight corruption of the text, and that we ought to read: stone of the sons of Reuben (22) 22 22 22 reading 22 for 22 22, as 22 might be a transposed 22 22).

The reading of 22 in Josh. 18:17 would support this view. In its favour is the ease with which it could be brought into connection with a story which is otherwise perplexing. The stone

5. **Josh. 22**
'altar.'
for was it really a group of stones? In question was near 'Gethloth' (Josh. 18:17 see GETHLOTH, § 6 b). Now it was at the 'Gethloth' of the Jordan that, we are told, there was erected a sacred object to which was given a name that has been lost (see I D, GAVIOL, 21). The present text of Josh 22 leaves it uncertain on which side of Jordan the sacred erection stood, and it ascribes the building to Reuben and Gad (and half Manasseh). Perhaps Gad is an addition connected with the view that the stone was east of the Jordan. No doubt the object was not an 'altar', but a massébah or a circle of stones (see GETHLOTH § 1), and the story¹³ may be connected in some way with an attempt to account for the loss of Reuben's status.¹⁴

The suggestion just made gains, perhaps, in plausibility from the fact that in E, and probably J, there is another story that may have served the same purpose (next §).

In the older parts of Nu 16 the leaders of Reuben (see below, § 10) dare to challenge the authority of Moses and thus bring divine judgment on themselves. It is even possible that there was still another story of the same kind (see below, § 10 [1]). These stories, as they attribute to

According to Stucken ('Reuben im Lakose-Gen' in *MTG*, 1902, 449-72, which appeared after this article was in type) reading of the *tradition* was ascribed to Reuben as a patriarchal epiphany on a level with Jacob. Later syncretism made Reuben the son of Jacob. Stucken suggests (*Monatsschrift*, 19) that in the old story what Reuben did was not to murder, but to seduce, and that he used them to win the favour of Rachel, or rather of her attendant Bilhah (cp NAPHTHALI § 2). This is very plausible, but does not explain the obvious results of the story: Issachar and Joseph. According to Stucken (see note) Reuben's incest was with Leah herself, which would be in accordance with the *tradition* which is probably that in Gen. 37:21 (1) Reuben is the son of Leah. See next note.

The Joseph story the leader is Judah in J, Reuben in E (see below, § 19); cp Steuerneger, *Leviticusstudien*, 4. According to Guthe, *GT* 17, 40, Reuben's hegemony belongs to the time preceding the settlement of the Khabal tribe (cp § 10). Those tribes which acknowledge his hegemony are called Leah; the latter (Rachel's) tribes acknowledged the hegemony of Joseph.

On the suggestion of Hulmann and Steuerneger (cp I AD) story implies a re-punitive morality, the full normal text, see Haltinger, *ad loc.*

§ 17, end; see also § 11. In *Leviticus*, 15:16-17, Reuben only 'ascended a couch' (cp *Leviticus*, 15:16, and § 11, 12).

Highly probable, see *Text, New*.

1 According to Stucken (*ibid.*, col. 448, n. 1) various analogies suggest that Israel castigated Reuben for his crime (cp *Leviticus*, 15:16, 17).

2 On this passage see Haltinger.

3 Read perhaps 2222 with Gunkel.

4 *MT* 2222, obscure; see Stucken, *MTG*, 1902, 451.

5 Read perhaps 2222 with Gunkel.

6 See also Haltinger, *ad loc.*

7 See also Haltinger, *ad loc.*

8 See also Haltinger, *ad loc.*

9 On the reference to the father's curse, see Haltinger, *ad loc.*

10 In Assyrian there is no word for 'handful' (see Haltinger, *ad loc.*).

11 Cp Haltinger, *ad loc.*

12 See Haltinger, *ad loc.*

13 See Haltinger, *ad loc.*

14 See Haltinger, *ad loc.*

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What is this thing that thou doest to the people? Why sittest thou thyself alone, and all the people stand about thee from morning unto evening? . . . The thing that thou doest is not good! (Ex. 18:14-17).

Whatever be thought of the particular parallelism just referred to and its bearing on the question of the name Reuben, it is surely suggestive in regard to the general Reuben-problem that we should have a community of no historical importance, but held to be the first-born of Israel, into connection with which it is possible to bring a whole series of stories differing together in details, but coinciding in the fundamental point of setting Reuben in some form in opposition to the recognised representatives of Israel;—

1. the criticism of Reuel (Ex. 18)
2. the discontent of the sons of Reuel (Nu. 16)
3. the stone[s] erected by Reuel (Josh. 22); cp stone of Bohan
4. the ambition of Reuel (Gen. 35:22)
5. the sacrilegious greed of Achan (Achan), if he was really a Reubenite (see below, § 12)
6. the disagreement between Reuben and the other sons of Israel (at Dothan?), Gen. 42:22 [E] 'Ye would not listen'.

We may even find a seventh story when we proceed to consider the Reubenite genealogy (§ 11).

These stories seem to imply a widespread conviction of the occurrence at some time of a grave event or series of events. Such convictions are often due to actual remembrance of fact. It is possible even to go further and reconstruct a history thus:—

The Nu. 16 story (on the details see DATHAN) implies, for example, that Reuben disagreed with its associates at Kadesh and led its party northwards into Palestine. The attribution of events that Reuben settled W. of Jericho in contact with Judah, the Bilhah story (§ 3) means that the Ja-ob-Raubel tribe spread northwards and had friendly relations with Reuben, but as (see NACHTEL, § 1) when it migrated northwards, the sons of Reuben towards Bilhah became less friendly, which led to the Reubenite curse. The 'altar' story (Josh 22) means the Josephites of Shechem took refuge at the southern Reubenites, and this anger was afterwards supposed to have been against Reuben. The Dathan and Abiram story means that the south-Josephite priests finally, Reuben crossed Jordan as the Reubenite clan Hezron subsequently noted with Asenath, 1:9, last small type).

The arguments for this reconstruction are set forth skillfully by Steuermagel (*Ermwanderung*). The result is not so plausible. Is there adequate warrant, however so high an estimate of the historical character of legends (cp B. Ludler, *ZATH* 191 ff. [1901]; *JL* 2:117 ff. *KAT* 2:13, etc.)? The questions are far reaching and intricate, and are better dealt comprehensively than in relation to one particular (see TRUES, and cp NACHTEL, § 1, begin.). One may be content with the general conclusion that the name of some importance was believed to have

been of some importance was believed to have

been of some importance was believed to have

been of some importance was believed to have

been of some importance was believed to have

been of some importance was believed to have

been of some importance was believed to have

flourished some time, and the judgment that the belief was probably justified.¹

It must be remembered that if Reuben really lived east of the Jordan there may have been many traditions which failed to find a place in the literature of Western Palestine (cp GAT, § 11). On the other hand, it will not be surprising if additional reasons should be found for connecting Reuben with the southern tribes (cp STEUERMAGEL, § 8 iii.).

Reuben was believed to have had two sons. In the Joseph story indeed he had *only* two ('my two sons' Gen. 42:17 [E]); and even there it is the death of the two sons that is thought of. In Nu. 16 two sons of Reuben ate buried alive (16:31-32, J; 16:31-32, E). They are called Dathan² and Abiram³ (cp Ps. 106:17 Dt. 11:6). Dathan is a strange name⁴ (reminding one of Dothan, the scene of Reuben's argument; see above, § 10, vi); but Abiram we know as a first-born son who was said to have been buried alive in the foundation of a city. He is said to have been a son of Hitt. (*q.v.*)⁵ whereas in Nu. 16 Abiram is a son of Eliz. (*q.v.*)⁶; but these (Gen. 22 and 22:21) are not impossible variants. Abiram's brother is called Segub in Mt. of I. K. 16:34; but in 1 Ch. 2:21 the clan called Segub ben Hezron in Mt. is in Ch. 2:21 called Serug, which is in Gen. 11:20 a son of Reu (see below, § 12, end). The mention of Hezron brings us to the stock genealogy of Reuben: Gen. 46:9 Nu. 26:6

11. Genealogies. Gen. 42:17 [E]; and even there it is the death of the two sons that is thought of. In Nu. 16 two sons of Reuben ate buried alive (16:31-32, J; 16:31-32, E). They are called Dathan² and Abiram³ (cp Ps. 106:17 Dt. 11:6). Dathan is a strange name⁴ (reminding one of Dothan, the scene of Reuben's argument; see above, § 10, vi); but Abiram we know as a first-born son who was said to have been buried alive in the foundation of a city. He is said to have been a son of Hitt. (*q.v.*)⁵ whereas in Nu. 16 Abiram is a son of Eliz. (*q.v.*)⁶; but these (Gen. 22 and 22:21) are not impossible variants. Abiram's brother is called Segub in Mt. of I. K. 16:34; but in 1 Ch. 2:21 the clan called Segub ben Hezron in Mt. is in Ch. 2:21 called Serug, which is in Gen. 11:20 a son of Reu (see below, § 12, end). The mention of Hezron brings us to the stock genealogy of Reuben: Gen. 46:9 Nu. 26:6

12. In P. Ex. 6:14 = 1 Ch. 5:3. In it there is, at least at first sight, no trace of the famous two sons. In their stead we find four names—Hamoch, Pallu, Hezron, and Carmi. The first appears as a Midianite clan in Gen. 25:4 (cp GAT, § 11, last small type paragraph), the second (פאלא) generally; Jos. פאלא [a] Joe appears in Nu. 16:1 as Peleth (פאלת [BAF]), which suggests the Negel (see PELETH), but פאלא—*i.e.*, Peleg.⁷ The third and fourth (Hezron and Carmi) appear also, as has been mentioned (§ 10), in a genealogy of Judah. In the case of Hezron that seems drawn from it are warranted is at least doubtful (cp MANASSAH, § 9, last small type, and above, § 10, end). The case of Carmi is less secure. In 1 Ch. 4:1 Carmi may be a mistake for Caleh (We. Benz. *ad loc.*), and 2:8, or at least 2:7, is surely an interpolation. 2:7 might just as well stand after 5:3. On the other hand, in Josh. 7, although 7:1 may not be original, it is difficult to account for Carmi in 7:15 unless there was known to be a Carmi in Judah, or the story was originally told of Reuben, not Judah, as Steuermagel suggests (*Ermwanderung*, p. 19 [c]).

As we have seen, Dt. 11:5 mentions a 'son' of Reuben of the name of Elizah, who in Nu. 26:6⁸ is introduced into the genealogy as a son of Pallu.

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¹ On the possibility of a connection between the Leah tribes and the Habu (see NACHTEL, § 1 [sec. par.], SIMON, § 6 ii ZIBUCAN).

² Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 7. 3, § 166) reads δαθαι[ου].

³ Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 7. 3, § 166) adds Pallu (δαιαλου).

⁴ *Pa-at-ru* is a synonym of *Karradu*, 'strong' (Heb. *Asz*, *HUR* *sch. u.*, no. 36), and *Dothan* is 'rein[starkes] Thier,' Shalmanasser's *Elak*, *dehsk* (*l. c.*) mentions receiving tribute from a certain *Dothan* of Halab (towards Umma).

⁵ The passage in Judg. 3 referred to above (§ 11) articulates a strange parallelism between the Reubenites of the genealogies and the Semites of Gen. 11:10:—

Gen. 11	Reuben	Judg. 3
Eber (222)		222 (17)
Peleg (222)	פאלא	222 (17) (5 A, 162)
Ken (222)	Kenel	Kenel
Serug (222)	Serug, b. Hezron (above, § 11)	222 (17) (5 A)
Abram	Abiram (above, § 11)	

⁶ NEMUEL (*q.v.*), who appears in Nu. 26:6 as a third son (the eldest) of Elizah, may come by mistake from 7:15, where he is the eldest son of *Simeon*.

REZIA

the passage of Paul (513), and the mod. Rusafa, 3 1/2 m. SW. of Suri on the Euphrates, on the road leading to Palmyra. We have no independent notice of the destruction of Reseph, and this, together with certain other suspicious phenomena, has led the present writer to the supposition that, as most probably in many other passages, the editor has been busy in reconstructing the geographical and historical background; i.e., that 'Gozan' has been put for 'Cushan' (the N. Arabian Cush), 'Reseph' for 'Sarephath,' 'Telassar' for 'Tel-asshur' or 'Tel-asshur' (cp ASHUR), 'Arpad' for 'Ephrath.' Of the other names, 'Haran' (cp 1 Ch. 24), 'Eden,' 'Hamath' (cp 'Haran' (cp 1 Ch. 24)), 'Maacath' need not be corrupt, they are good N. Arabian border-names, familiar by tradition to Judahite writers. SEPHARVAIM [27] is made up of Sefhar (= Sarephath) and a fragment of 'and Jerahmeel'; 'Hena' and 'Evah' also probably represent the place-name 'Jerahmeel,' unless Evah has been miswritten for עֵבֶה; cp G., 2 K. 18:31. לאי פוד (עֵבֶה) אֵיבֵה of Deut. 32:12; see SEPHARVAIM, and cp Crit. Bib.

The ironical remarks of Winckler (U. Ost. 40) and Benzinger (An. 122) on the archeological learning of the late author of 2 K. 18:32, which was, however, thrown away on the hearers of the supposed speech of the Assyrian envoys to Hezekiah, are probable, however, that even at a late date the people of Judah would be able to appreciate historical references bearing on places much nearer to them than Gozan, and Rezepth, and a Mesopotamian Tel-asshur.

REZIA, RV Rizia (רִיזָיָה), § 28; 'Yahwé is gracious' for רִיזָיָה, or from some ethnic; פֶּאֶרְעִיתָ [BAL], in a genealogy of ASHUR (g.v., § 4, ii.), 1 Ch. 7:39.

REZIM (רִיזִים); ΡΑΔΩΩΝ. ΡΑΖΙΜ [B in Is. 7], ΡΑΔΩΩΝ [B in Is. 8], ΡΑΖΙΜ [Aq., Sym., Th. in 179c in Is. 8]; Ass. Ra-zi-mu. If we take the MT as it stands, it is evident that Rezim, king of Aram damascens, in alliance with Pekah of Israel, endeavoured to overthrow Ahaz, king of Judah, and to enthronize ben-Tahbel, creature of their own, in his stead. To escape from his danger, they applied for help to the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser (2 K. 16:57 ff. Is. 7:1).

To the present writer, however, it appears that there has arisen another of those confusions which have made it so difficult to attain the true course of the history of Israel (see LAFER), either in a southern country that name (see Crit. Bib.), or in an alliance with Pekah of Israel, endeavoured to overthrow Ahaz, king of Judah, and to enthronize ben-Tahbel, creature of their own, in his stead. To escape from his danger, they applied for help to the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser (2 K. 16:57 ff. Is. 7:1).

ZIN (רִיזִים); ΡΑΔΩΩΝ [BA] - ΔΑΔΩ [L] the name of the most evictive family of Nehemiah, and therefore (see INIM), according to Cheyne's theory, N. Arabian names as Shaulah [Ishmael], Gold-l [Ishim Gilead], Rezah [Jerahmeel]; Ezra 2:66 = Neh. 7:72 = 1 Esd. 5:11 ΔΑΔΩΩΝ [BA] ΡΑΔΩΩΝ [L]; DAISAN [AV].

ION (רִיזִים, 'prince?' cp Sab. רִיזִים, רִיזִים and רִיזִים).

RHEGIUM

'ruier' [PRINCE, 13]; We. Heid. 59, n. 1, would connect the name with the Ar. demy Rhd' in such Palmyrene compound names as 𐤓𐤕𐤃𐤓 [servant of R.]; but may it not be miswritten for 𐤓𐤕𐤃𐤓 the founder of a dynasty at Damascus, and a contemporary of Solomon (1 K. 11:21, εἰρημ [B], om. A, cp HEZUS; 11:21 [Vg]). Who Rezon was, is by no means clear from our text (cp DAMASCUS, § 7). Most regard him as a northern Aramean.

Rezon is called, however, son of Eliada, which is a Hebrew name, and Winckler's way of accounting for this (see ELIADA, 3) is improbable. Treating the subject in connection with ZUBAH, N. Arabian, and that his father's name, like 'Jeh'iel' is a modification of 'Jerahmeel.' It was from the king, not of the realm which he founded that Rezon fled, and the capital of our text (cp DAMASCUS, § 7). We may presume that he was an ally of Hadad, who was also an 'adversary' to Solomon, and appears to have been king, not of Edom, but of Aram (cp Jerahmeel, cannot determine; but they were close to the Negeb, which remains. Probably they were both vassals of the natural because Solomon's wife. Cp, however, Winckler, 1:2272, A. 1723 240.

RHEGIUM (ΡΗΓΙΟΝ. Acts 28:13). A town on the Italian coast, at the southern entrance of the straits of Messina (mod. Reggio).

The name (-'breach') was generally supposed to bear reference to the idea that earthquakes or the long-continued action of the sea had broken asunder or breached the land-bridge between Italy and Sicily (Strabo, 238; Diocl. Sic. 465). The Latin form of the name, Rhegium, gave rise to an almost alternative derivation (Strabo, loc.).

The town was an offshoot of the Chalcidians settled on the other side of the strait, in Messima (for a sketch of its early history, see Strabo, 257 f.). Its position on the strait made it very important, for the direct distance to Messima is only about six geographical miles, and under Anaxilas (about 494 B.C.) the two cities were united under one sceptre. Although the Syracusan tyrant Dionysius I. totally destroyed the town, so important a site could not long lie desolate, and it was re-peopled by his son and successor. During the Hannibalic war Rhegium remained loyal to Rome and materially contributed to Hannibal's ultimate defeat by cutting off his communications with Africa. After the Social war it became a Roman municipium like the other Greek cities of southern Italy. During the war between Octavian and Sextus Pompeius (38-36 B.C.), Rhegium was often the headquarters of Octavian's forces (Diocl. Cass. 48:14); and, by way of reward, its population was increased by the addition of a body of time-expired marines (Strabo, 259), and it assumed the name Rhegium Julium (Orell. Inscr. 3838). About Paul's time it was a populous and prosperous place, still preserving many traces of its Hellenic origin (Strabo, 253). It continued to exist as a considerable city throughout the period of the empire (Plin. 36). It was the terminus of the road which ran from Capua to the straits (the Via Poplita, made in 131 B.C.).

The ship in which Paul sailed had some difficulty in reaching Rhegium from Syracuse (Acts 28:13. περισπῶντες, 'by tacking'; AV 'we tacked a compass,' RV 'made a circuit'), as the wind did not be favourably. At Rhegium she remained one day waiting for a wind for the narrow passage through which for want of sea room a large ship could not easily work by tacking. The run with the S. wind northwards to Puteoli (modern Pozzuoli) would take about twenty-six hours (cp τ. 11, δευτεραίως ἄλιθαι).

With the stages of Paul's journey as given here we may compare that of Timus, afterwards Emperor, in 7 A.D. (Strab.

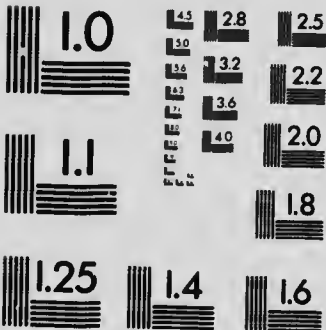
1 So to be read in preference to περισπῶντες W.H., 'tacking'.

2 For the difficulties of the straits, see Thuc. 4:24. πρὸς τὴν ὄψαν εἰκότως ἠδύνη ἐβόμισαν. Paus. v. 25:2, ἐστὶ γὰρ ὄρη κατὰ τοῦτον θάλασσαν τοῖς πορθοῖσι θάλασσαν νεοειρωτάτην πορῆσθαι, where also he gives the explanation of this characteristic.



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RIGHT, RIGHTEOUSNESS

in *δίκαιον*, *δικαιότερος* from 'custom,' 'observant of recognised usage,' 'all they stood for absolute justice and the man of ideal virtue.' Similar analogies obviously appear in the Latin *justus*, and in our own terms 'right,' 'righteous,' etc.

It is doubtful whether real instances of the primitive use—*viz.*, agreement with a physical norm—still survive in Hebrew. Lev. 19.35 Ezek. 45.13

'exact balances,' 'exact weights,' etc., are commonly quoted as cases in point.

The passages, however, are late, and as the contrasted notion of iniquity occurs in the immediate context, it is by no means clear that we should not translate 'righteous balances,' etc. Similarly 'paths of *ḥēḏ*' in Is. 23.3 may mean 'paths of righteousness,' not simply 'straight paths.' Still less can Job 22.3 be alleged as an example of *ḥēḏ* in its original—*i.e.*, physical—signification, for the translation given by Kautzsch 'early rain in full measure' is more than doubtful. We may perhaps acquiesce in the translation 'early rain for your justification'—*i.e.*, in proof that Yahwē has once more graciously accepted his people (so Wellh., Nowack, and Suenod, *AT Rel.-gesch.* 419 ff.).

Passing from the idea of conformity to a physical standard, we have to note the use of the plur. *ḥēḏ* (חֶדֶד) in the earliest fragment of Hebrew literature—*viz.*, the so-called 'Song of Deborah.' There the poet describes the valiant deeds of the Hebrews as due to the help which Yahwē gave, and might as the tribal God be fairly expected to give, his people. This seems to be his conception of *ḥēḏ*. It involves little or no ethical element. Yahwē acted in accordance with the natural bond between his worshippers and himself, and the plural form indicates the various occasions on which he did so.

To the same class we may perhaps refer Dt. 33.21, where God is said to have wrought the *ḥēḏ* of Yahwē, because he was the instrument of the divine purpose by repelling the foes of Israel. In the same poem (the 'Blessing of Moses,' II, 33.10) Zebulun calls the tribes to some sacred mountain that they may offer 'sacrifices of *ḥēḏ*,' and this may mean no more than sacrifices offered duly—*i.e.*, according to the recognised form, and as a natural return for benefits conferred. Here, if this interpretation be sound, the ethical element is not wholly absent; but it is still faint and rudimentary.²

We have to deal next with the many cases in which the legal signification predominates. In the 'Book of the Covenant' (Ex. 23.7) we read,

3. Legal or forensic sense. 'Thou shalt not put to death him who is innocent and *ḥēḏ*,' where clearly the legislator is not thinking of virtuous character, but of innocence from the charge brought before the court. This restricted use always continued long after the deeper and more universal meaning had become familiar.

Isaiah, for example (5.23) speaks of *ḥēḏ*—*i.e.*, the plea of a man who has a good case—and in Prov. 18.17 we are told that the first comer is right (*ḥēḏ*)—*i.e.*, seems to be right in his contention till his opponent appears and puts him to the proof. See also Dt. 25.1 Prov. 17.15 18.5 21.24. Here it is necessary to note the significant fact that in feminine form of *ḥēḏ* is found anywhere in the OT; indeed the use of the verb *ḥēḏ* in Gen. 38.26 (the only occurrence of *Kal* in the Hexateuch) may fairly be accepted as proof that the adjective had no feminine form. This may be naturally accounted for on the ground that *ḥēḏ* meant originally 'right in law,' and that a woman was not a 'person' with legal rights.

In early literature the use of the verb is almost wholly confined to the Hiphil, and the meaning of the verb corresponds to that of the adjective. In other words, the Hiphil verb means to decide in favour of a litigant, by declaring him to be in the right. So, for example,

¹ It is always assumed that the standard is external and recognised as correct. Thus, *o.g.*, Homer speaks of Antikles as 'good' (*εὖπαιστος*, *Od.* 19.304), adding that he excelled all men 'in knavery and the oath.' He would not have called him *δικαίος*. So now we might perhaps speak of 'a good thief,' but not of a just one.

² The use of *εὖκαιος*, *εὖκαιος* in Homer is similar.

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in Ex. 23.7 (C) after a warning against oppression of the poor by corrupt administration of justice, the general principle is enunciated, 'for thou shalt not decide in favour of a malefactor.' A slightly different shade of meaning is given to the verb in Absalom's exclamation (2 S. 15.4), 'O that they would make me a judge in the land; then if any man came to me with a plea and a case, I would help him to his right' (חֶדֶד יִשְׁפֹּטֵנִי).¹

By an easy transition the idea of legal right is extended to that of being in the right on some particular occasion with any implication as to general moral character. No more is implied in Judah's admission (Gen. 39.9), 'She' (Damai) is more in the right than I (עָוֹן עָוֹנִי), or perhaps 'She has more within her rights and can maintain her case against me.' (In this use of *ḥēḏ*, cp Job 32.2.) Further, *ḥēḏ* is used of one who is justified in his statement. This meaning is evident in Job 33.12 where, after quoting Job's words, 'Lo! in the statement I have not answered thee,' Elihu says, 'In the same way the adjective is employed, Is. 41.26, 'Who answered me this from the beginning that we might know it? . . . and he said, "Right"—*i.e.*, 'he is right?' not, 'It is true,' for the Hebrew adjective is never used of things. Examples of this meaning in noun, adjective, and verb are numerous. See for use of the noun (*ḥēḏ*) Is. 39.4 Ps. 32.5 141 Prov. 8.16 13.3 of the verb, High. Job 27.5 and in Hiphil, (perhaps), Gen. 41.16. In V. 16 the use of the root for 'truth-speaking,' 'sincerity,' is much more advanced and definite.

We may now turn to the idea of righteousness properly so called, of righteousness in its ethical signification; and here the investigation has its starting-point in the early literary prophets.

4. Ethical sense in prophets. In the reign of Jeroboam II, a capitalist class had arisen: the old tribal justice, depending on the bond of clan and still well-maintained among the Arabs of the desert, was being gone in Israel (see GOVERNMENT, § 12 ff.; LAW AND JUSTICE, § 2).

Hence the passionate cry of Amos for national righteousness, for justice in the gates—*i.e.*, for right institutions rightly administered. He rebukes his protest that external ritual is of no avail with it justice, 'Take away front me! (Yahwē speaks) the tumult of thy songs, the music of thy lutes I will not hear. But let justice roll in like a river and righteousness like a perennial stream' (5.23). True, Amos also uses the adjective *ḥēḏ* in the old legal sense (2. 1.2), and he has the administration of justice constantly in view. In his view, however, legal justice springs from the essential nature of God, who demands righteousness, not ritual worship from his people. The demand is made to the nation as a whole. Unless it is satisfied, Israel must perish utterly and there is no room left for difference in the fate of the righteous and the unrighteous individual. Hosea also insists on national righteousness; but his conception of it is at once wider and deeper than that of his predecessor. It is wider, for righteousness, as Hosea understood it, is more than bare justice. It includes *ḥēḏ*—*i.e.*, merciful consideration for others.² It is deeper, for Hosea saw that outward amendment could not be permanent without a radical change of mind. 'Sow to yourselves in righteousness; reap accordingly to lovingkindness; *break up for yourselves tilling ground*: for it is time to seek Yahwē, that the fruit of righteousness may come to you' (10.1, cp C). It is not enough to sow good seed; the ground must first be cleared and broken up; in short, the Israelites must become new men, and Yahwē will must rule their lives. Yahwē will accept no superficial conversion (6.1-4); the only remedy is a new birth by which Israel becomes a new creature (13.13).

Isaiah develops the principles of Amos and Hosea. His moral code is much the same. 'Seek out justice: set right the violent man; do justice to the orphan; plead for the widow' (1.17, 5. 10.2). He, no less than Hosea, makes religion a

¹ So *δίκαιος* in classical Greek means to give a man his due, but always in a bad sense, *viz.*, to condemn. It is only in C and NT that it means 'to declare righteous.'

² Cp *ἠμετέρας*, which corrects the defects of law, and is, therefore, *δικαίων καὶ τῆς βέλτιον δίκαιου*, Arist. *Eth. Nicom.* 5.2.

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RIGHT, RIGHTEOUSNESS

matter of the heart (29:13). Righteousness is the inexorable rule by which Yahwe governs the world (25:17), and wickedness by its own nature blasts the exhorter (9:17[13]). Because of Israel's sin the nation as a whole is doomed hopelessly (6:13f.). Still, those who believe in Yahwe as the eternal principle of righteousness can stand fast in the crash of ruin all around them (7:9). Meanwhile the prophet was educating a band of disciples (8:16) who were to be the germ of a 'remnant that was to be converted,' and in one of his latest prophecies (12:1-26) he passes from an ideal picture of Jerusalem in Davidic days (the idealisation of the past separates him in a very marked manner from Hosea) and expresses the great hope of better times to come. Judgment will have done its cleansing work; once more judges will give impartial decisions and Jerusalem shall be known as 'the fortress of righteousness, the faithful city.'

A century later Jeremiah maintained the same conception of righteousness. In 22:3 he gives what almost

6. Jeremiah

amounts to a definition of righteousness: it consists negatively in abstinence from murder and oppression of the widows and orphans, positively in securing justice for those who were powerless to help themselves. The same thought appears in other passages—e.g., in chap. 7, though the word 'righteousness' is not actually used. We must not, however, forget that Jeremiah held fast to his belief in righteousness at the cost of a personal struggle more searching and severe than that which any of his precursors had to face. It was his hard fate to learn that even a law like that of Deuteronomy, embodying as it did the best results of prophetic teaching, could not of itself change the hearts of the very men who in form, and as they believed, sincerely, complied with its requirements. Moreover, Jeremiah had to contend with the organised priesthood of Jerusalem, after the priests of the high places had been removed and when those of the central shrine claimed, on grounds which Jeremiah could not altogether gainsay, a divine sanction for their authority. Moreover his sensitive nature was exposed to continual suffering from the enmity of his contemporaries and from the national ruin which he saw first in spiritual vision and then with the bodily eye. Because of all this, Jeremiah's faith in the divine righteousness had to draw its strength from the very doubt which threatened to destroy it. 'Thou art in the right (*sādik*) O Yahwe, when I contend with thee: yet would I reason the cause with thee: why does the way of the wicked prosper?' (12:1). He knows well that the best law may be perverted by the 'lying pen of the scribes' (8:8) and that Yahwe is 'a righteous judge (*šiphēt sādēk*) proving reins and heart' (11:20). More explicitly than any earlier prophet he fuses morality and religion into one by reducing all duty to the one supreme duty of knowing Yahwe's will as revealed in his government of the world.

'Thus saith Yahwe, let not a wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let a hero glory in his valour, let not a rich man glory in his wealth. But in this let him that glories glory, that he has understanding and knows me, [knows] that I am Yahwe, who do lovingkindness, judgment, and righteousness on the earth; for in these things do I take pleasure; it is the oracle of Yahwe (22:27-28, 31).' Whereas Isaiah had seen that the people's heart was not in their worship, Jeremiah recognised the radical evil that the heart of man is weak and cannot be trusted (17:1), and he saw the hope of spiritual religion, not in amendment on man's part, but in the grace of Yahwe who would write his law in their hearts (31:33).

Finally, the expectation of a Messianic king, or line of Messianic kings, appears probably for the first time in Jeremiah. 'Yahwe will raise from the family of David [a] righteous branch.' He is to execute true justice and is to be called 'Yahwe is our righteousness' (23:5f.). The context interprets this name of the Messiah. By restoring Israel to its own land Yahwe the judge of all is to vindicate the just cause of his people against the heathen. 'In his (*i.e.*, the Messiah's) days Judah will be saved' (from heathen bondage) 'and Israel will dwell

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in security.' The history of the world is the judgment of the world. Here, however, the idea of righteousness is modified by fresh associations, and with the consequent change in the application of the word we shall have to deal presently.

We have already given from the earlier documents of the Hexateuch instances which illustrate the more restricted and primitive use of the root *šdk*. We also meet there, as might have been expected, with the prophetic use in which it is co-extensive with moral excellence.

7. *Šēdek* synonym of morality.

Yahwe, e.g., declares that he has seen how righteous Noah is (Gen. 7:1, 10): he knows that Abraham will teach his descendants 'to do judgment and righteousness' (Gen. 18:16, a late stratum of H.). Only one passage in the Hexateuch calls for special notice here, both from its intrinsic interest and from the famous argument drawn from it by Paul. The words in Gen. 15:6 (1, 2) are 'Abraham trusted in Yahwe and he reckoned it to him as righteousness.' Paul identifies the faith of Abraham with justifying faith as he himself understood it. It would be an anachronism to suppose that the writer of the words in Genesis had risen to an idea of this kind, nor is any such exegesis supported by the context. Abraham believed, not in God's pardoning grace, but in Yahwe's fidelity to his promise. In fact Abraham's faith or trust is precisely what faith as Paul conceives it is not, an 'opus per se dignum.' See FAITH, § 1.

From the ethical we may now pass to the theocratic sense of *šdikāh* and the cognate words. We have already had a glimpse of this meaning in the Messianic passage quoted from Jeremiah. It became prevalent from

8. Theocratic sense.

the time of Habakkuk. It must be remembered that Habakkuk, like Jeremiah, lived after Josiah's reform, but does not, like Jeremiah, attribute the partial failure of that reform to the depravity of the Judæan people. On the contrary, he believed that the obstacle to strict legal observance lay in the oppression of Judah by the Babylonians (1:4); for it was very hard to believe in Yahwe or his law while the Babylonian oppressor had it all his own way. The people of Judah were at least better than their oppressors; hence to Habakkuk 'the righteous' is the constant description of the Judæans, whilst 'the wicked' stands for the heathen conqueror. This terminology was adopted by subsequent writers, as may be seen from Is. 26:10 Ps. 96:1; 102:7. In the end, as Habakkuk holds, Yahwe will vindicate the cause of his people, and 'the righteous man'—*i.e.*, the man of Judah, is to live by fidelity to his God and confidence in the ultimate victory of the good cause. Here we have the outline of the picture which the Second Isaiah (*i.e.*, Is. 40-55) fills in with completer detail and added shades of meaning.¹ Whereas the earlier prophets threatened, the unknown prophet of the Exile makes it his chief endeavour to comfort Israel. No doubt the nation has sinned; but it has also been punished enough, and more than enough, and now the day of its deliverance is at hand. 'For the sake of his own faithfulness (*šdek*) Yahwe has been pleased to give great and glorious revelation' of his character (42:31).² He is a 'truth-speaking' God (*sādik*, 45:21). He has stirred up Cyrus 'in righteousness' (45:13), *i.e.*, as Yahwe ought to do, and therefore must do; he has supported him with 'his trusty right hand' ('right hand of *šdk*'), 41:10). By a glorious restoration Yahwe 'justifies' Israel—*i.e.*, decides in its favour (50:8). Hence in a multitude of cases *šdk* and *šdikāh* mean triumph (so the verb 45:23; cp *νικάω* in Rom 12:21) 'victory' (41:2 46:1), 'richness' (51:8).

¹ We may perhaps compare *καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ, optimates, probi, homines, etc.* *Μαθημαί*, used of the aristocracy without any ethical meaning. Of course the ethical words never lost their ethical sense so utterly.

² There is, however, some doubt both as to the reference in this passage, and as to its authenticity. See Marti, *ad. loc.*

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'salvation' (4613). It is significant that when *šdīkīh* retains its older and ethical force, it is used of a righteousness which comes as a divine grace being 'rained down from above' (4581). In the Second Isaiah, however, this purely ethical sense is rare, occurring only two or three times out of some twenty-five in which the Hebrew root is used.

The Second Isaiah, as we have seen, assumed that the sufferings inflicted by Babylon had sufficed to purify Israel, and hailed with joy the restoration of a righteous people. However, in the preceding generation Ezekiel had given expression to a very different view. In the latter period of his work he was a pastor of souls, a preacher addressing individuals rather than a prophet with a message to the nation. Naturally, then, he insists on individual righteousness. Each man is to be tried on his own merits; however righteous he may be, he can secure the due reward for himself and only for himself. Nay, even with the individual Yahwe deals according to his present actions, admitting no appeal to the righteousness of the past, and on the other hand forgiving iniquity in case of repentance and amendment (Ezek. 18: 14 ff., 33: 12 ff.). This ideal of righteousness in the individual conforms on the whole to the prophetic standard of individual righteousness, though it includes a larger amount of ritual observance (see esp. 18:6-2).

Now, after the restoration, the view of the Second Isaiah proved untenable. The restoration itself lacked the external glory of which he had fondly dreamt, and the evils had failed to produce that righteousness of the whole nation which was still the cherished aim of religious reformers in the Jewish Church. How was it to be accomplished? Finally and completely by the judgment of the last days, which is to fall on unfaithful Jews as well as the heathen. This is the favourite theme of Apocalyptic writers (see esp. Is. 10: 22 which is a late insertion; Mal. 3: 3; Zech. 9: 12, 13; Joel and Daniel *passim*). Meanwhile the wisdom literature taught with Ezekiel that God here and now, though not immediately, recompenses the righteous and the wicked according to their deserts, a dogma constantly reiterated in Proverbs and Psalms. Here and there a distinction is made between the 'weightier matters of the law' and such as are merely ritual, since Yahwe loves 'righteousness and judgment' more than 'sacrifice' (Prov. 21: 3, cp. *ε.g.*, Ps. 50). But more and more the 'righteous man' is one who studies and practises the whole law (Ps. 15). The righteous are really one with the *hāsīdīm*; these are to be found as a rule among the poor and afflicted Israelites (Zech. 9: 9; Ps. 56: 59), and possibly the author of Ps. 94, when he speaks (v. 15) of legal administration returning to 'righteousness,' may be looking forward to the triumph of the Pharisaic over the Sadducean party. Naturally those who made so much of the law laid great stress on deeds of mercy. But *šdīkīh* nowhere admits, as in Mishnic Hebrew, of the rendering 'alms,' though such passages as Ps. 112: 9; Dan. 4: 24 [27] are not far removed from this later use.¹

We have already, in discussing the various senses of *šdīkīh*, etc., answered by implication the question, How is a man justified or accepted as righteous before God? Something, however, has to be added here on the justification of sinners, the change from divine condemnation to divine favour. As we have seen, the ancient Hebrew believed that God's wrath could be appeased by sacrifice (I S. 26: 19-314), whereas the earliest of the literary prophets insisted that national amendment was the only way of escape from national chastisement. The idea that sin was a debt incurred and that payment was still due, however sincere the conversion might

¹ In Mt. 6: 1, *ἐλεησώμενος* is certainly the true reading, and that of TR *ἐλεησώμενος* is a gloss. Whether the gloss is correct is another question. Weis, *ad loc.*, answers this question in the affirmative; Holtzmann, *NVI. Theol.* 2: 135, in the negative.

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be, is altogether strange to Amos and his successors. 'Cease to do evil, learn to do well,' is the remedy which Isaiah proposes; nor does he doubt its efficacy: 'If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land' (Is. 1: 19-19). Ezekiel, in a passage quoted above, proposes the same rule to the individual, and combats the delusion that the merits of persons exceptionally righteous could atone for the sins of their neighbours¹ (see also Jer. 15: 31-20, and for an opposite view Gen. 18: 17 ff.). On the whole this principle ruled in later Israel. To keep the law is righteousness (Dt. 6: 25), and the man or church that does so receives *šdīkīh*—i. e. a favourable sentence 'from the God who comes to his help' (Ps. 24: 5). It is true that neither the individual Jew nor the Jewish church could always appeal with confidence to that perfect observance of the law which justified in the sight of God. On the contrary, the Psalms abound in acknowledgments of guilt (*e.g.*, Ps. 38: 4-6; 40: 13; 69: 6 [5]), and the chief motive of religion was to secure divine pardon: 'There is forgiveness with thee, that thou mayest be feared' (Ps. 130: 4). We must not, however, identify such misgivings with the reproach of conscience, with the sense of sin as Christians understand it. The Jews believed that God was offended with them because he withheld the rewards of righteousness and dealt with them as he deals with the wicked, they believed restoration to prosperity was the sure sign of pardon and of grace, a state of mind which finds its classical expression in Ps. 32. But was there no way of restoration except perfect righteousness, or, failing that, supplication to the divine mercy (as in Dan. 9: 19)? On this point the later teaching of the OT is not consistent.

The Priestly Code limits the efficacy of the sin-offering which was introduced after the exile to venial or involuntary transgression (Nu. 15: 22-31), and the mention of sacrifice in the Book of Proverbs (15: 8; 16: 21; 23: 27) is at least in harmony with this principle.

11. Atonement and propitiation.

Still, even the Priestly Code had to mitigate the strictness of its theory. On the day of Atonement the high priest laid the sins of Israel on the head of the goat which was sent into the desert (Lev. 16: 20-22); the *āshām* atoned for perjury and embezzlement (Lev. 5: 21 ff., [6: 2 ff.]; Nu. 5: 5 ff.) when preceded by restitution to the person wronged, and incense could appease Yahwe when provoked by the rebellion of his people (Nu. 17: 11 ff., [16: 46 ff.]). At a still later period it was thought that the merits of the Patriarchs atoned for the sins of Israel (see Weber, *Alttest. Theol.* 280 ff.; and the essay on the 'Merits of the Fathers' in Sanday and Headlam's *Commentary on Romans*), and we may perhaps find the germ of this dogma in the atoning efficacy which the OT attributes to the prayers of holy men (Ex. 32: 7 ff.; Nu. 14: 11 ff., 16: 22; 17: 10; Jos. 7: 6 ff.; Jer. 7: 16; 11: 14; 15: 1; Job 5: 1; 33: 23) and of angels (Zech. 1: 12; Job 5: 1; 33: 23). Very naturally the doctrine that the merits of the Fathers availed for the justification of Israel culminated in the belief that the guilt of Israel was purged by the vicarious sufferings of righteous men. This no doubt was the teaching of the Rabbis. According to them, Isaac made propitiation for Israel by the willing oblation of his own life. God smote Ezekiel that Israel might go free, and martyrdom made propitiation for sin as efficaciously as the day of Atonement.² The OT, however, lends no real support to such a theory of justification by vicarious sacrifice. The famous passage (Is. 52: 13-53: 12) which describes the sufferings of Yahwe's servant is treated elsewhere (SERVANT OF THE LORD). In spite of the corruption of the text, the general sense seems to be clear.³

¹ Alms-deeds, also were regarded as a powerful means of atonement for past sins.

² Reff. in Holtzmann, *NVI. Theol.* 1: 65 ff.

³ Verses 12 ff. are, as they stand, quite out of place, since the context requires a reference to the resurrection, not the death of the servant. See Che. *Introd. to Is.* 205, p. 1, and Duhm and Marti, *ad loc.* [also SERVANT OF THE LORD, §§ 4 (4) 5 (4)].

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Israel, the servant of Yahwè, does indeed suffer for the 'peace' and 'healing' of the nations. This, however, takes place because of the effect produced on the minds of the heathen, not because of the effect produced on the mind of God. At first the heathen regard Israel as afflicted by an angry God: they shrink from him as men shrink from a leper. But God reverses the tragic doom of his people and raises up the nation to new life. Then the heathen understand the divine purpose. They recall the meekness with which Israel endured its punishment. They acknowledge their own sinfulness and come to the knowledge of the true God who has scattered Israel abroad for a season that he may make it the light of nations and show his irresistible power in its glorious restoration.

The words *δικαιος, δικαιοσύνη*, which scarcely occur in the Fourth Gospel, are exceedingly common in Mt. and Lk., and serve to express the most striking and characteristic features of Jesus' teaching. Jesus required from his disciples a righteousness better than that of the Scribes and Pharisees, and told them that otherwise they could not enter the Kingdom of Heaven (Mt. 5:20). Generally, it may be said that Jesus restored the prophetic ideal of righteousness, at the same time deepening and extending it. The popular doctrine understood, by righteousness, not so much an honest and upright life as scrupulous attention to moral and ceremonial rules, conduct legally correct. These rules were contained in the written and oral law: Jesus declared that the traditions of the elders nullified the central purpose of the law (Mt. 7:1-13), or at best were matters of indifference (*id.*). Moreover, he not only distinguished between the more important and less important precepts of the Mosaic law (Mt. 23:23); he also criticised the law itself and set its most solemn commands aside.

No less than this is implied in words such as these—'Moses because of the hardness of your hearts suffered you to divorce your wives' (Mt. 19:8=Mk. 10:5); 'The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath' (Mt. 23:27); 'Nothing that goeth into a man from without can defile a man' (Mt. 23:27); 'Nothing that goeth out of a man from within can defile a man' (Mt. 15:17-20). Again, the righteousness which Jesus taught far transcended on its positive side that of the Mosaic law: among his disciples the *lex talionis* was to give place to a very different rule—viz., 'Do not resist evil' (Mt. 5:39)—and that is followed by a kindred command, 'Love your enemies' (Mt. 5:44).

More clearly and more consistently than any previous teacher, Jesus demanded a righteousness of the heart, and forlode malicious and inpure thoughts as sternly as the deeds of murder and lust to which they naturally tend (Mt. 5:21-28). He went deeper still, and instead of reckoning the sum of good deeds, or even good thoughts, against the opposing sum of evil deeds and thoughts, he insisted upon righteousness of character, a righteousness which is not accidental but essential, a righteousness which is one and indivisible, various as its manifestations may be: 'A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit' (Mt. 7:17). No sacrifice was to be counted too severe when personal righteousness was in peril (Mt. 5:29) or the cause of righteousness to be advanced (Mt. 19:21 Mk. 10:21 Lk. 18:22). On the one hand, all was to be done with a single eye fixed upon God and his approval (Mt. 6:1 etc.); on the other hand, the service of God consisted in the service of man for God's sake. It is on duty to man that the 'Sermon on the Mount' dwells throughout, that practical love for man of which God himself is the supreme example, and hence an infinite vista opens up before the disciple, who can never feel that he has done enough since he is to be perfect as his Father in Heaven is perfect (Mt. 5:48). So, too, the Jewish notion of a contract with God who repays tribute—done disappears in that relation of son to father which Jesus removed from the circumference and set in the centre of religion. True, God rewards those who do not reward themselves by ostentation and self-complacency. But the quality of reward is the same

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for all faithful service, long or short; it consists in admission to the kingdom in which the ideal of righteousness is realised (Mt. 20:1-16). As God bestows the powers to be used in his service, and has an absolute right to that service, no room is left for merit which does but claim its due: 'When ye shall have done all these things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants' (Lk. 17:10).

Jesus opened the Kingdom of Heaven to those who hungered and thirsted for righteousness such as this (Mt. 5:6). Whereas, however, prophets and apocalyptic writers had looked forward to a final separation of the righteous and the wicked, Jesus began his work by the great announcement that he came to call not the righteous, but sinners, to repentance (Mt. 9:13=Mk. 2:17=Lk. 5:32). He declared and pronounced the forgiveness of sins; he spoke of the joy in heaven over one sinner who repents; he taught men to believe in God by first teaching them to believe in himself. He invited men to believe in the good news (Mk. 1:15)—i.e., to have faith or trust in God as their Father, and to make this trust the guiding principle of their lives.

It would be impossible within the limits of this article to discuss the righteousness of faith of which Paul

13. Use of *δικαιος*

speaks or the connection of Christ's death with justification. It may be well, however, to indicate in conclusion the various uses of *δικαιος* and the cognate words in the NT apart from righteousness in the Pauline sense and that higher righteousness demanded by Jesus from his disciples of which we have said something already. The adjective *δικαιος*, 'righteous,' is applied to God especially as judge of all (Rev. 16:5), or to Christ (2 Tim. 4:8 Jn. 17:25); to men as observant of the Jewish law (Mt. 1:19).¹ It also is equivalent to 'virtuous' in the widest sense (Mt. 5:45 9:13=Mk. 6:20=Lk. 5:32, etc.). Once Paul distinguishes the righteous man who fulfils all his obligations from the *ἀγαθός* whose character is more genial and attractive (Rom. 5:7). 'Righteous' is also a title given to men eminently righteous (Mt. 13:17 Mk. 2:17), and by pre-eminence to Jesus (Acts 3:14 7:52 22:14). It is predicated, as the corresponding Hebrew adjective never is, of things (Mt. 20:4 Lk. 12:57 Acts 4:19 Rom. 7:12 Col. 4:1 Phil. 4:8 etc.).

The noun *δικαιοσύνη* means 'fair dealing' between man and man (passing into the wider sense of virtuous conduct; Acts 10:35 24:25 Rom. 6:13 14:17 1 Tim. 6:11 2 Tim. 2:22). Lk. uses it once only, viz., in 1:75 where it is parallel to 'holiness,' i.e., piety. Acceptance of John's baptism is spoken of (Mt. 3:15) as included in the 'fulfilment of all righteousness'—i.e., as conformable to the divine will which the Baptist announced. So, too, the Baptist is said to have come 'in the way of righteousness' (Mt. 21:32), because he preached that course of conduct which righteousness required. The verb *δικαιώω*, 'justify,' in the NT always means to pronounce just, never, either in the NT or in profane writers, to make just (the apparent exception, Rev. 22:11, in the received text arises from a false reading). It is used of men who seek to prove themselves in the right (Lk. 10:26), or to win credit for righteousness with their fellow-men (Lk. 16:15). Men are justified before God when they obtain his approval (Lk. 18:14 Mt. 12:37=Lk. 7:35). In this sense Jesus, after his resurrection, was 'justified in the Spirit' (1 Tim. 3:16) inasmuch as he received clear tokens of divine approval. As God justifies men, so men may justify God, by confessing his righteousness (Lk. 7:29 Ps. 51:6[4] as quoted in Rom. 3:4; cp Mt. 11:19), an application of the verb which is found in the Psalms of Solomon (2:16 3:5).

See Diestel, *JDT* 5:173f.; Ortlough, 'Begriff von צדק,' *ZLT* 1260, p. 401f.; Ryssel, *Synonyme des*

14. Literature. *Wahren u. Guten in den sym. Sprachen* (1872); Kautzsch, *Derivato des Stammes צדק*, Tüb., 1881; Smend, *ATRel.*; W. R. Smith, *Proph.* 309; Schwally, *Heil. Krieg im Alt. Israel.*, Willeboer, *ZATW.* 22 (1902). This last accentuates the juristic element and even in so early a passage as Judg. 5:11 translates *gibōth*, 'victories' [of Yahwè]. Willeboer's comparison of the Syr. *zakhā* to be pure, to conquer, *hāb* 'to be guilty,' 'to be defeated' is interesting and suggestive.

W. F. A.

RIMMON (רִמּוֹן; ΡΕΜΜΑΝ [BL.] -θ [-A]). According to the traditional text, the name of a god worshipped at Damascus (2 K. 5:13); apparently it enters into the

¹ The passage is difficult; but it seems to mean that Joseph was too strict an observer to marry a woman who had proved unfaithful, and too kind to make a public example of her.

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name TAB-RIMMON [q.v.], though, as we shall see, another view of the phrase in 1 K. 15:18 is at least equally possible.

A more correct pronunciation of the name of this god would be Rammān. Both name and cultus of this deity were, it is generally held,

1. Rimmon = borrowed from Assyria, and certainly Ass. Rammān. Rammān was the most prevalent name of the god of thunder and lightning (ideogram IM) who plays such an important part in the Babylonian Theogony, and is often represented as armed with the thunderbolt. The etymological meaning is 'the roarer' (*rammān* = 'to roar')—a name well suited to a thunder god. The W. Semites appear to have had another name for this god, viz., Adlu or Daddu, and Oppert (*Z. f. d. A. 1894*) supposes that Adad was the oldest name of the deity. There is thought to be a reminiscence of the identity of Adlu (or Adad) and Rammān in the compound form Hadad-rimmon (MT's reading) in Zech. 12:11; the editor of Zechariah, however, will in this case be responsible for the strange form (but see *Crit. Bib.*). We often find Rammān associated with Samas (the sun-god), like whom he is in an inscription of the Kassite period called 'lord of justice.' The Massorettes may have confounded Rammān with *rimmon* (see POMEGRANATE); though H. Derenbourg disputes the accuracy of this representation, Rimmon, according to him, being the divines pomegranate (*Kohat Memorial Studies*, 120-125 [1897]).

See especially Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Ass.*, 150-161; and *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Languages*, 12:159-162; also Schrader, 'Rammān-Rimmon,' *St. Kr.*, 1874, pp. 334 ff.; Sayce, 'the god Rammān,' *Z. f. d. A.* 1873 f.; Zimmern, *K. A. T.* 442-451.

According to Ohnefalsch-Richter (*Kypros*, Text, 115) the confusion between the Hebrew word for 'pomegranate' (רִמֹן, *rimmōn*) and the name of the originally Assyrian god Rammān is older than MT, and goes back possibly to the time of Ezekiel (and earlier). In this connection he notes that pomegranates were attached to the vestments of the high-priest and to the columns of the temple at Jerusalem. On Carthaginian stelae, moreover, we find the seated figure of the boy Adonis in the very place occupied elsewhere by the column surmounted by a pomegranate. Ohnefalsch-Richter thinks that it was an easy step to identify this tree-god Tamuz, to whom the 'rimmōn' was sacred, with the storm-god Rammān, and to call him 'Rimmon.'

According to Jensen, there is a cylinder in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg inscribed with two divine names, the one Rammān, the other Aratum. Taking this in connection with Assyrian texts which speak of the god Amurru (*i.e.*, the god of the land Amurru, the Amorite god) as the consort of Aratu, he infers that the Amorite god referred to is Rammān, *i.e.*, the storm-god, also called by the Assyrians 'the Lord of the Mountain' (רִמֹן הַהָר, 'the Baal of Lebanon.' The 'land of Amurru' was in fact originally the land of the Lebanon or Antilibanus (cp W. *GT* 132).

The present writer, however (see *Crit. Bib.*), suspects much misunderstanding in the traditional text of the

2. Rimmon = narratives of the kings of Aram, which is specially visible in names. 'Ben-hadad,' for instance, seems to be

equivalent to Bir-dadda, and Hazael to Hazā'ilu, which are attested as N. Arabian royal names in Assyrian inscriptions (*K. A. T.* 2, 148); 'Damascus' is constantly miswritten for 'Cusham'; and Rimmon, or rather Rammān, may be regarded as a popular corruption of that famous name 'Jerahmeel,' which was not only an ethnic name, but also in all probability the name of a god (see *Crit. Bib.* on 2 K. 17:30 f.). When, therefore, we read in 2 K. 5:13 of Naaman's accompanying his royal master to the house of Rimmon, this is meant (not of the storm-god, but) of the national god of Jerahmeel, who may possibly have been called Jarham or Yarham (*i.e.*, 𐤍𐤏, 'moon,' with the Arabic 'mimān'). It was not unnecessary to warn the Israelites that Naaman was only by a special indulgence allowed to do outward honour to Jarham or Jerahmeel, because there are several indications that the worship of Jerahmeel had made its way into Judah some time before the fall of the state. See, *e.g.*, Zeph. 1:5 b, where we should very probably read, '(I will cut off) those that prostrate themselves before the moon, that

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swear by Jerahmeel.'¹ It now becomes doubtful whether 'son of Tab-rimmon' in 1 K. 15:18 is correct. The king to whom Asa sent may have been, not 'Ben-hadad, son of Tab-rimmon, son of Hezion, king of Syria, that dwelt at Damascus,' but 'Ben-hadad [= Bir-dadda], native of Beth-jerahmeel² (or Rablath-jerahmeel), king of Aram (= Jerahmeel), who dwelt at (or, in) Cusham.' It should also be noticed here that Elshā, who had such close relations with a king of Aram and his general, was the present writer suspects, a prophet of the Negeb—*i.e.*, of a region which was originally Jerahmeelite.

T. K. C.

RIMMON (רִמֹן) —*i.e.*, pomegranate? —see NAMES, § 69; or from 'Jerahmeel'? —see RIMMON, 1, § 2.

1. Josh. 15:32-197; AV RIMMON; 1 Ch. 132; Zech. 14:10. See EN-RIMMON, and cp AIN, 1.

2. The name of a rock where 600 fugitives found shelter for four months (Judg. 20:47; רִמֹן, רִמֹן [BAL]t. There was a village of this name 15 R. N. N. of Jerusalem (OS 1465 2879b, identified by Robinson (2113) with the mod. *Rammōn*, rather more than 3 m. E. of Bethel, 'on and around the summit of a conical chalky hill and visible in all directions.' This would be in the wilderness of Beth-aven (Josh. 18:12). Bica (*PEFQ*, 1870, p. 128) objects that there are only a few small caves at Rammōn, and refers to Consul Finn, who heard of a vast cavern in the Wādī es-Suweinī capable of holding many hundred men. Canon Rawnsley in consequence visited the caverns in this Wādī, which he describes in *PEFQ*, 1870, pp. 118-120. Birch, following Ges. *hes.* 129b, identifies the Rimmon of Judg. 20:47 with the *Rimmon* 'under' which Saul with his 600 men, tarried (1 S. 11:1). The latter Rimmon was 'at the limit of Gela' (so read for Gibeath. See MIGNON).

3. 'Rimmon' (rather 'Rimmonah, רִמֹן), also appears in RV of Josh. 19:1 (E. boundary of Zebulun), where AV again [see 1] gives 'Kemmon,' with the addition of '-methoar,' (RV 'which stretcheth') as if a compound name. The RV at any rate recognises that the name is not compound; it also does justice to the article in רִמֹן רִמֹן (רִמֹן רִמֹן אֲמָרִית אֲמָרִית [B]; רִמֹן רִמֹן, ῥαβαρι, ἀμωρα [A]; ἐπι ἀμάρων ποτα [L]). We may render, with Dillmann and Kan. *HS.*, 'and (the) border' extends to Rimmonah (רִמֹן), and turns round (רִמֹן) to Neah (?). No doubt it is the *Rimmono* (רִמֹן, AV Rimmon), or rather *Rimmonah*, of 1 Ch. 6:62 [+], probably also the DIMNAT (רִמֹן) of Josh. 21:35, corresponding to the modern *Rammāneh* on the SE. edge of the plain of Battanf, 4 m. N. from Gath-hepher, and 7½ m. N. from Chisloth-tabor.

4. Possibly MADMENAR [q.v.] in Is. 10:31 should rather be 'Rimmonah.'

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RIMMON (רִמֹן; ΡΕΜΜΩΝ [BAL]), 'pomegranate' [so NAMES, § 69; Del. *ProL*, 205], or the Ass. divine name Rammān [Lohr, cp Kusū?], or [Che.] a distortion of the ethnic Jerahmeel, a Beerothite, the father of RECHAB and BAANATH [q.v.] (2 S. 4:250). Note that 'Rechab' may be also from 'Jerahmeel,' and that, is the story of SAUL [q.v.] shows, there was a strong Jerahmeelite element in Benjamin (Che.).

RIMMONO (רִמֹן; ΤΗΝ ΡΕΜΜΩΝ [BAL]; 1 Ch. 6:62 [77]). Rather Rimmonah. See RIMMON II, 3.

RIMMON-PAREZ. RV *Rimmon-perez* (רִמֹן פָּרֵז), a stage in the wandering in the wilderness, perhaps =

1 G. A. Smith renders MT, so far as he thinks it possible, thus, 'and those who . . . swear by their Melech,' and in a note points out the disorder of the text. Wellh. reads, 'those who bow themselves to Yahwē and swear by Mēl n.' But רִמֹן פָּרֵז, like פָּרֵז, is very probably one of the current distortions of רִמֹן. See *Crit. Bib.*

2 The much-disputed word פָּרֵז is probably a corrupt form of פָּרֵז, a variant to פָּרֵז, and nearer to the original form פָּרֵז.

RING

Zarephath-jerahmeel [Che.]; Nu. 33¹⁹ f. (ΡΕΜΜΩΝ [ΡΑΜΜΩΝ, or ΡΑΜΜΩΘ] ΦΑΡΕΘ). See WANDERINGS, § 12.

RING. The signet ring was called in Hebrew *hitham* (חֶתֶם) from its use (to seal), and *tahhath* (טַחַת) from its form (to sink, As. טַחַת); also in Bibl. Aram. 'tchā' (ܛܚܐ) Dan. 6:17, and in Targum for both *hitham* and *tahhath* (to cut, engrave).¹ See ENGRAVE. The seal was worn, as it is still by some Arabians, on a cord, *pathil* (see RIBBAND), round the neck, Gen. 38:18; later, on the right hand, Jer. 22:24. In Cant. 86 both customs seem admitted, 'on thine arm, on thy heart.' The oldest form of signet worn by all Babylonians (Herod. 1:95) was the cylinder, a large hole being bored through the edge to admit a soft woollen cord for suspension round wrist or neck.² The Egyptian scarabæus³ had a smaller hole to admit a fine wire. When used, the seal was rolled over a piece of pipeclay which was laid on an object or attached by a ribbon to a document (King, *Antique Gems*, 149). It was from the Egyptian use that the more convenient finger-ring was evolved. Such rings were among the ornaments worn by Hebrew women after the exile, Is. 3:21 (57), 13-21 being an interpolation. The word *gillil* 'ring' in Cant. 5:14 EV, for which RV¹⁸⁸⁵ preferably suggests 'cylinder,' seems to be used as a simile of the fingers of the hand (BDB, Bu. ad loc.).

The transference of Judah's signet to Tamar had no special significance—he simply gave her as a pledge an object which could obviously be identified with him.⁴ On the signet was probably a precious stone, mostly the *sham* (see ONYX), on which was engraved a figure or inscription, Ex. 28:11. Hence in an Oriental court the conveyance of the signet attested a royal message (1 K. 21:8), and in many lands was a mode of investing officers with power (Gen. 41:42 Esth. 3:10 1 Mace. 6:15 Is. *Int.* xx. 22). There is no indication that the wedding-ring was used in OT times; but in Egypt some such custom anciently prevailed. It should be added that a *δακτυλιον* was placed on the hand of the prodigal son on his restoration to his father's house (Lk. 15:22).

Nosem (נֶזֶם) conveys the meanings of both an ear-ring and a nose-ring, though usually the fuller form *nizem* *hā-aph* (נֶזֶם אֶפֶס) is used for the nose-ring.

2. Ear-ring. In Judg. 8:24, however, where the singular *nose ring* is used, it is probable that *nosem* alone means nose-ring. The whole of this passage is, however, regarded as a late gloss by Wellhausen, Moore, Biddle, and others. Neither nose-rings nor ear-rings were worn by males, though Pliny (*N.H.* 11:37 [50]) says that Oriental men wore them, and, if Judg. 8:24 be genuine Midianite soldiers did so.⁵ The nose-ring was put through the nostril and hung over the mouth. Robertson Smith explains that all such ornaments were designed as amulets and protectors to the orifices, as well as for ornament (cp *R.S.*² 453, and n. 2). The ring put through the nose of beasts (*hāh*, 'hook') is sometimes associated with *nosem* (Ex. 35:22, AV 'bracelets,' RV 'hooves'); cp *HOOK*, 2.

Several forms of ear-ring are noticed in the OT. The *lehitim* of Is. 3:20 were perhaps ear-rings (see

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ASU CUTS), to which some symbolic figure was attached. Other terms for ear-ring were derived from the shape. The *agil* (אָגִיל) was round (Lezek. 16:12, cp Bertholet on Ezek. 17 Nu. 31:50). Another kind, *netiphath* (נִתְפָּחֶת) lit. drops (KV pendants, AV collar), were probably pearls (Abulwāh compares Arab. *naḥḥat*, a small, clear pearl), or single beads or gems attached to the lobe of the ear (722; to drop), Judg. 8:6 (στραγγαλῆς [B], δρμηστικοὶ ἐμφῶθ [A.]), Is. 3:6 (Καλλιέα?) worn by Midianite men and Israhite women.

The ancient versions gave other explanations: Te. *ἄγιστος*, dialaus, chap. 18. Some Jewish interpreters connected *netiphath* with *netiphah* (Ez. 30:24, 30; SYRIAC) and *netiphah* with *netiphah* (see further, ONYXISTS, and the articles there referred to).

RINGSTRAKED (רִנְיָה) Gen. 30:35 f.; see COLOURS, § 12.

RINNAH (רִנְיָה), 'shouting??' § 74; אֲנָה [B], ΠΑΝ- ΝΩΝ [A], ΡΕΝΝΑ [L.], son of the Judahite SHIMON (17:7, 13; 1 Ch. 1:25).

RIPHATH (רִפְתָּה), Gen. 10:3 [P], ριφάθ [AET] ἐρ- [D]; Ch. 1:6, רִפְתָּה, DIMITATH [AV¹⁸⁸⁵ and RV], ἐρεϊ- φάθ [B], ριφάε [A], ριφάθ [L.]; in both places RIPHATH [Ae.], ريفث, one of the 'sons' of Gomer, Gen. 10:3 1 Ch. 1:6. According to the theory which finds N. Arabian influence and interests pervading the earlier chapters of Genesis (see PARADISE, § 6), 'Gomer' represents 'Jerahmeel,' 'Ashkenaz' comes from 'Kenaz' (or Asshur-Kenaz), 'Riphath' from 'Zarephath.' The transformation has been systematic. On the time-honoured theory, however, which bases itself on MT, we must look far away from N. Arabia. Josephus thought of Baphlagonia; Bochart and Lagarde of the Bithynian river *Ῥήθας* and the distant *Ῥήθαινα* on the Thracian Bosphorus. But if TOGARMAH [g. r.] is really Til-garimmu, on the border of Tabal, Riphath may be identified with Bit Burnatā (or Biritis), a district mentioned several times with Tabal (see Schr. *R.G.E.* 176)—whose king was an ally of Urartu and Musku. The syllable -as or -is may be regarded as a suffix (so first Hal. *R.E.* 17:164). The transposition of *h* (or *f*) and *r* is no difficulty. The suggestion is plausible, if MT may safely be followed.

T. K. C.

RISSAH (רִסְיָה) Δεσσα [B], ρ. [-AF], Δρ. [L.], a stage in the wandering in the wilderness; Nu. 33:21 f. See WANDERINGS, WILDERNESS OF.

RITHMAH (רִתְמָה) named from the רִתְמָה or juniper tree, § 103; if we should not rather read Ramath, ראמאמא [BAF], ΡΑΜΑΘΑ [L.], a stage in the wandering in the wilderness (Nu. 33:18 f.). See WANDERINGS.

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[The facts and theories about Hebrew ritual are dealt with in many articles, among the most important of which are the following: SACRIFICE, TEMPLE (§§ 34 f.), NATURE WORSHIP, ALTAR, MASSEBAH, TABERNACLE, ARK, DISPERSTION, SYNAGOGUE. On the ritual of the nations contemporary with Israel the reader may consult ARAM, ASSYRIA, BABYLON, EGYPT, MOAB, AMMON, CANAAN, PHENICIA, HITTITES, SCYTHIANS, ZOROASTRIANISM, etc.]

Of those nations, however, so great an influence on the civilisation of the whole of hither Asia was exercised by one, the Babylonian, that the facts about its ritual acquire special importance. On the other hand the amount of first-hand information on the subject is unique and, besides, not generally accessible. It is proposed, accordingly, to give here some account of the nature, and ceremonial institutions, of the Babylonian sacrificial ritual. In doing this the points in which it resembles, or differs from, the ritual of the OT will be indicated, and a brief comparison of the two systems given.]

¹ If *hitham*, Gen. 38:25f is fem. coll. = 'sealing apparatus.' Bull suggests reading הַחֶתֶם or הַחֶתֶת; Holzinger partly approves this suggestion.
² Illustrations in Perrot-Chippiez, *Art in Ass.* 2, figs. 131 ff.
³ The oldest dated Egyptian cylinder is as old as 3500 B.C. (Ebers, *Petrie, Hist. of Egypt*, 155).
⁴ Wellhausen (*Ar. Heb.*², 164 f.) thinks that the cord from which the signet hung was also an amulet. This would account for its presence on the transference of the cord in the narrative in Gen. 38.
⁵ On these grounds Moore holds that ear-rings are probably meant. For the wearing of nose-rings by Indian boys in order to pass as girls and avert the evil-eye, see Frazer, *Pausanias*, 2.

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Names for sacrifice (# 1).	Performance (# 6).
Objects offered, age, etc. (# 2 f.).	Idea, purpose (# 7 f.).
Time and place (# 4).	Human sacrifice (# 5).
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ASSYRIO-BABYLONIAN RITUAL.

A short account of Babylonian sacrifices has been already given in the Supplement to *Die Cultus-tafel von Sippar* (Joh. Jeremias, Leipzig, 25-32 [1889]). The question of how far this system is original and how far it is related to what we find elsewhere has received little or no attention. The treatment of such questions in the difficult sphere of religious institutions being always involved in uncertainty, it appears to be more than ever appropriate in regard to sacrifice, as an institution common to all peoples, to explain the same or similar ideas not as borrowed the one from the other, but as both drawn from the same source. In justification of the common designation Assyrio-Babylonian it is to be noted that, apart from a few modifications in their Pantheon, the religion of the Assyrians agrees throughout with that of the Babylonians. Of this agreement, which was maintained in spite of all political strifes, we have a historical attestation in the fact that Assur-bāni-pal had the MSS of the Babylonian priestly schools collected, supplied with an Assyrian inter-linear translation, and preserved in his state archives (see 4 R.).¹

Sacrifices were called *kirbanu* or *kurbanu* (more rarely *karbinu*, *kitrabu*; in ordinary usage, 'back-sheesh, alms.' A much commoner word is *niku*, 'to be lent, show reverence, offer homage' (cp for this meaning Del. *Agypt. III B*), used of drink offerings (*Deluge*, 147; cp *נִקְחָהּ patera*) and also of bloody sacrifices.

The root of *niku* is *naku* 'to be empty,' II. 1 'to pour out.' It was probably the pouring out of the blood that led to the transference of *niku* from its original application 'drink offering' to the meaning 'blood offering.' A rarer word than *niku* is *zibu* (*Khos.* 172), Heb. *זִבַּח*, *zibah*. For 'drink offering' we find also the words *muhhuru*, *malhuru* (in contracts), *ranku*. To *mihah* (*מִיחָה*), 'food offering,' corresponds *surkinu* (Del. *HW B surkinu*), a word formerly incorrectly rendered 'altar.' The regular stated offering (*timid*, *תִּמִּיד*) was called *sattukku* (*sattukam*, 'constant') or *ginu*, properly 'right.' Both words indicate the yearly, monthly, rarely (*Nabun.* 1443) daily, contribution to the temple for the support of the sacrifice and the priests. A synonymous word is *gukku* or *gukkinu*. The free-will offering, Heb. *נִדְבָח* (*נדבה*), is called *nindabu* (*nidbu*).

For 'to sacrifice' the commonest word is *naku*. For the sake of comparison the following may be mentioned from the many other expressions in use: *episu*, Heb. *עִפְסוּ*; *gabitu*, Heb. *גָּבִיתוּ*; *gabshu*, Heb. *גָּבְשׁוּ*; *rikša rakasu*, 'to prepare an offering.' Of special importance, moreover, are the expressions in purification texts: *karibu* (*כָּרִיבוּ*); often used of pouring water, occurring with *p* (notwithstanding Del. *HW B*), in Rassam 2 128 and *kaphru* (K 3245, *pass.*) 'to wipe,' then 'to clear, purify,' a meaning that is important in its bearing on Heb. *kipper* (*כִּפֶּר*). Cp *HW B* 13 51 17 33; Zimmermann, *Beitrage* 122 26. The offerer of the sacrifice is called *karibu* or *bel niku* (cp *Marseilles Sacrificial Table*, *כָּרִיבוּ*).

It should be specially noted that everything that the land produced was offered to the gods without distinction. Whilst in Israel it was only the produce of a people devoted to cattle-rearing and agriculture that was offered (cp *De. Lev.* 2, 379)—and this was still further narrowed by the exclusion of fruit, honey, and all sweet or fermented preparations on the one hand, and of beasts of chase and fish on the other—in the fruitful lands between the two rivers every kind of produce was freely offered to the

¹ Abbreviations used in this article. K followed by a number = some one of the tablets of the Kouyunik collection in the Brit. Mus.; *Neb. Nabun. Cyr.* = *Babylonische Texte, Inschriften des Nebukadnezar, Nabunaid, Cyrus* published by T. N. Strassmaier (Leipzig, 1887); Menant, *Les pierres gravées de la Haute Asie* (Paris, 1883).

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gods. Of vegetable products we find frequent mention of wine (*karanu*), must (*kurannu*), date wine (*akaru*), prepared from corn and dates or honey and dates. (cp *Neb.* 1035; *Nabun* 612, 871; *קָרַן*, cp *Nu.* 287), honey (*šipru*, *שִׁפְרָה*), cream (*šimiltu*, *שִׁמְלִתָּה*), a lustration prepared from various ingredients and containing oil and fat (invariably written *GAR Ni-De-A*; probably *nir-sa* is to be read; cp *Nab.* 912; *Cyr.* 3276; Arab. *marra*, 'date-stone'), the choice produce of the aradaw (*šimut appari*), garlic (*šummu*, *שׁוּמְמוּ*), first-fruits (*taliti*; *טַלִּיתָה*; *Sanh.* 161 *Kuf.* 19).¹ Food specially prepared for the gods was called *akal taknu* (4 R. 61, 62a), with which should be compared the analogous expression *קָרְבָּנֵי*. Upon the table of the gods were laid 12, or 3 × 12, loaves of *AS-AN*, that is to say wheaten flour as shewbread (cp Zimmermann, *Beitrage* 98 33 101 138; *HK* 55 226 56 230; Craig, *Relig. Texts* 106; King, *Magic and Sorcery* 408); also *akal mutki*, that is to say, unleavened bread, is several times mentioned (cp *Lev.* 24 5). Special abundance and splendour characterised the vegetable offerings of the Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian kings (cp Pognon, *Inscriptions de Hilli Brissa*; *Neb. Grot.* 136 ff.; *Neb. Grot.* 226 ff.; *Neb. Grot.* 37 ff.; *Schr. KB* 278). They were in the form of the daily *sattukku*, the state sacrifice, a sort of representation of the whole agriculture of the land. Netchadrezzar lays on the table of Marduk and Sarpanit the choicest produce of the meadow, fruit, herbs, honey, cream, milk, oil, must, date-wine, wine from different vineyards. Still more abundant is the offering of Sargon (*KB* 278), a king who offers hardly not to the gods but to himself. His splendid offering is a brilliant display of his royal wealth, at which even the gods must be amazed.

The commonest bloody sacrifice mentioned is that of the lamb (written *Lu niku* or *niku*).

The expression *Lu Nita*, often occurring in contracts, is to be read *kalamu* or *šu* (*שׁוּ*) and to be rendered 'lamb, kid.' For 'goat' we find the words *kubadu*, *kapparu* (in contracts), *mušu a-asu* (*mu* 'an old mature lamb'). Of other quadrupeds we hear of sacrificial oxen (*gumakhu* or *alap mahhu*), bullocks (*garru*, *גָּרְרוּ*), gazelles (*gabitu*), wild kine (*litu*, *לִטוּ*). The following birds were used for sacrifice: doves, geese (*us-tur*), cocks (*kuuku*, 4 R. 26 47; *Talm.* *טִּיטִי*), peacocks (*paspasu*), pheasants (*pasnu*; *Nabun.* 672 1; *Talm.* *פִּסְפִּס*). Fish (*ninu*) are always mentioned along with 'birds of heaven' (*gissar kame*).

For a bird sacrifice see Botta, *Nineveh*, pl. 110; for fish offerings see Menant 253.

No special prescriptions as to age are known. *Lu niku* probably always indicates, like *γαλαθῆνῶν* (Herod. 1 183), the young sucking lamb. We know from the contracts that victims a year old were preferred, as in P in

3a. Age and other details. Leviticus (*apal* or *marat batti*, like *קָרְבָּנֵי בָּקָר* or *שֶׁבַע* of *Nabun.* 196; 265; 272; 699 15 768 1). Mention is also made of victims of two, three (*Neb.* 399 1), and four years of age (*Cyr.* 117 4).

With regard to the condition of the animals the requirements were stricter: faultless growth (*tririphatu*, large size (*rabu*), fitness (*duššu*, *maru*), physical purity (*ebbu*, *ellu*; 'pure, shining'), and spotlessness (*akludu*; Herod. *τὰ τέλεια τῶν προβάτων*). Cp Zimmermann, *Beitrage* 100 72. In divination, however, the use of unsound victims was permitted: in the prayers to the sun-god (ed. Knudtzon, 73) we often read: *izib lu kalamu ilitika sa ana biri baru matu patu*; 'Grant that the lamb of thy divinity, which is used for inspection, may be imperfect and unsound.' It is well known that in the Israelitic cultus, thank-offerings need not be faultless (lev. 22 23).

The victim was as a rule a male, yet females also were used (*Sanh. Bava* 33 *Cyr.* 117 4 *Cyr.* 217 5). It

¹ The incense (*kufru*, *kufrinnu*, *כֻּפְרִין*; formerly wrongly read *tarrinnu*, was made from precious herbs (*gabitu* *גָּבִיתוּ*) and odoriferous woods.

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44. 14-18.

3b. Parts of victim used

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4. Time and place.

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was probably always female victims that were used in purification ceremonies; *karat buhatti li pitêrê*, 'the skin of a she-lamb still intact' (4 R 25 35c; cp 4 R 28 1, 3 11 5 R 51 51; *Amer. Ep.* 44, 60). Compare with this the prescription of a she-goat one year old for the sin offering of the individual (Nu. 15 27).

The victim was probably seldom placed entire (*kallil*, 252) on the altar. To begin with, the remarkably small size of the altars that have been found shows that only certain parts of the victims were offered. The altar of Sargon's palace is 32 inches high; that from Nimrud, actually only 22 inches.¹ That the flesh was boiled, as in Israel in early times, is shown by 5 R 61, 15, where the priest receives, along with other shares, a large pot of meat-broth (*dikkâr mû sîrî*).

With regard to the details of sacrificial ritual and practice our sources tell us little; the sculptures represent as a rule only the preparatory steps (cp Menant 254; Layard, *Monum. of Nineveh* 224). The usual form of offering was burning by fire (*ana maklûti aklu*). We know nothing of special ceremonies performed with the blood in the Babylonian ritual, such as were usual in Israel and ancient Arabia (Wellh. *Ar. Heid* 113). In a text published by Zimmern (*Beitrage*, 126), which describes the purification of the king's palace, the lintels of the palace are smeared with the blood of a lamb (*ina dimi urizi suatum*); compare for this interesting passage Ex. 12 7. It may be remarked in passing that we learn from 4 R 32 30 that there were three ways of preparing the victim: *sîr sa penti baslu sa tunri*, 'baked, boiled, smoked flesh.' The offering consisting of vegetable food was probably consumed by the sacrificers. A drastic exposure of this *pio fraus* is given us in the apocryphal Bel and the Dragon.

The following parts are expressly mentioned in 2 R 44. 14-18^{gh} 1-5^f: head (*kakkadu*), neck (*kiladu*), flank (*patu*), breast (*irtu*), rib (*silla*), loin (*sinnu*), tail (*sibbatu*), spine (*esîn sîru*), heart (*libbu*), belly (*karûu*), intestines (*qabê*), kidney (*kalitu*), knuckles (*karisinnûê*). In the contracts (cp especially the important texts, Strassm. Neb. 247 and 416; also Peiser, *Babylonische Verträge*, 107) many parts are mentioned that are still etymologically obscure (with two of them, *sîr gabbu* and *sîr sanni sili*, cp Taln. 222; tail; and 223; flank). Sacrificial flesh was probably not taboo as amongst the Israelites and the Phoenicians (Movers, *Phon.* 2118); according to a late statement of the Epistle of Jeremiah (6: 28 [Baruch 6: 28]) the Babylonian priests sold the sacrificial flesh, and their wives also cured it.

No definite prescriptions as to the times of sacrifice have reached us. The *Zakmuku* or New Year's feast, the *Akitu* feast held in honour of Marduk

4. Time and place. (Neb. Bors. 48), were signalled by processions and sacrifices. Daily sacrifices are often mentioned (Neb. Grot. 1 16 226); an animal sacrifice, in *Tigl.-pil.* 7 10 (cp 1 S. 206). In the ritual tablet for the month Ullû (cp Lotz, *Historia Sabbati*, 150 ff.), published in 4 R 32 33, it is prescribed that the daily sacrifice, consisting of a *shih* and a *minhah*, should be offered once at each rising of the moon and appearance of the dawn, fourteen times by night and fourteen times by day (cp Ex. 29 38 Nu. 28 3). A morning offering is mentioned in the text published by Zimmern, *Beitrage* 100 66. Sacrifice as a free expression of prayer and dependence (thank-offerings, *tdâh*, can hardly have been known to the Babylonians), as the highest product of the religious life, is not severely confined to definite times. On the contrary, every important event of life is celebrated by a spontaneous offering of sacrifices just as in ancient Israel. If the king of the Assyrians turns victorious from a military expedition, if in preparing a temple he finds an ancient foundation one, if he dedicates his palace, if he consecrates his

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weapons for the fight (*kakkîja ullil*), if in hunting he secures his prey, if he formally commemorates his ancestors—in each and all of these cases he offers sacrifice to the gods. It is a relief amid the annals of cruelty and pride of Assyrian rulers when we read in their boastful accounts: *ana ilîni lu niki akki*, 'I presented to the gods an offering.' For innumerable instances of this kind we may refer generally to *KB*.

The ordinary place of sacrifice was the temple. Mountain and spring also were, in accordance with the universal Semitic ideas (cp Baudissin, *Studien*, 214), regarded as sacred spots, specially suited for sacrifices. After the flood Nisuthros offered his sacrifice 'on the top of the mountain' (*ina zikkurat sadî*); and so Asur-êrni-pal (329) on the mountain Halman, and Shalmanassar (60, 10) at the source of the Euphrates.

The origin of sacrifice lies, according to Babylonian ideas, beyond the limits of human history; it existed from the time when the world was made (5. Antiquity of sacrifice. *ultu im sât mâti*). Gods and genii are often represented as sacrificing (cp

Menant, *PG* 2 37 51 50). Sin is called the founder of free-will offerings (*mukin nindabê*; 4 R 9 31); Adar, the god of offerings and drink offerings (*ilu mîbri û ramkati*; 2 R 7 35 2 R 67 67). As the formation of the earth was immediately followed by the institution of places of worship, so the newly created man was charged with religious duties towards the deity (Del. *Das bab. Welterschöpfungsepos*, 111). *Pulûhu damûku ullud nikû balûtu ûtar û taqlitu arû* . . . 'the fear of God brings grace, sacrifice enlarges life and prayer (frees from) sin.' After the deluge (147 ff.) Nisuthros sacrifices to the gods; 'then did I turn to the four winds, poured out a drink offering, offered a cereal offering on the top of the mountain; seven incense pans I set forth, and spread under them calamus, cedar wood, and *rig gir* (onycha?).' In the old Babylonian Nimrod-epos (44 60) we read in the account of the *Amores Veneris*: *taramima amil r'ia sa kanamma r'pukakki umi samma uabbahakki unikêti*; 'thou hast loved the shepherd who continually brought drink offerings to thee, daily sacrificed kids to thee.'

The inscriptions of the old Babylonian king Gudea already contain notices about sacrifices. On the New Year festival (see Schr. *KB* 326 61) he offers to the goddess Ba'u amongst other things a cow, a sheep, six lambs, seven baskets of dates, a pot of cream, palm pith (?), fifteen chickens, fishes, cucumbers, as *sattukku* or regular sacrifice. A rich source of information upon the sacrificial arrangements in the later Babylonian period is to be found in the thousands of Babylonian contracts in which bills and receipts connected with temple revenues and dues, as well as lists relating to the regular sacrifices, bulk very largely.¹

Sacrifice was in the hands of the priestly caste, who were held in the highest esteem and enjoyed special privileges.² So great indeed was the esteem in which they were held in

6. Performance. Babylon in earlier times that even the king needed their mediation for sacrifice and prayer (cp Menant, *PG* 1 128 f.). In Assyria, however, the king reserves for himself the supreme priesthood, calling himself the exalted high-priest and sacrificing to the god with his own hand (Per. Chip. *Assyria*, 41 [*Assyria*, 455]); Menant, *PG* 2 164). Just as Ezekiel in his ordering of the priesthood assigns to the king in the public worship an independent and important position, so we repeatedly read in the liturgical tablets preserved in 4 R 32 33; *r'ia nisê rabûti nindabûu ukûn*; 'the shepherd of the great peoples shall bring his offering.' In the contracts there is frequent mention of the king's offering and of that of the crown prince (*sa apal sarrî*); *Nabon.* 265 332 2

¹ A good index to the relative texts is provided by H. L. Taltquist, *Die Sprache der Contracte Nabonaid's* (Helsingfors, 1900).

² Diodorus Siculus (2 29) has given us a vivid and adequate account of their functions.

¹ Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, 1 256 f.

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50488. As in Israel, the priests had assigned to them definite portions of the offerings. According to the ritual of the sun temple at Sippar the priests received the loins, the skin, the ribs, the sinews, the belly, the chitterling, the knuckles of all cattle and lambs that were offered, as well as a pot of sacrificial broth (S R 61 col. 3). In the contracts minute details are met with as to priestly dues (Neb. 247, 416; Peiser, *Bab. Texte*, 107). It is interesting to observe that in Babylonian as in Israel (see Lev. 21 16 ff.) rules were laid down respecting the freedom from bodily blemish that was required in priests. In a priestly catechism of Sippar (K. 2480-4494, published by Craig, *Religious Texts*, Leipzig, 1895) we read as follows:—

Umukina ana lu usgir piritti ilani sabutu abillu lu mannu ana suppi lu kin turpi ana mahar ilu Samas lu ilu Kammam usannawana usibbasu enuna apil amel baru; and farther on: amel ilakku lu saratu illu lu lu ana kiti lu mirdutu tuklu ana mahar ilu Samas lu ilu Kammam ahar biru lu prosu tobi abil amel baru lu saratu lu ana lu ana kiti lu mardutu lu tuklu ahar ana hiru lu ana uspi ubanu ana ana . . . mal isibba usgallu sapkulu paplanu . . . usgir pardu lu ilu Samas lu ilu Kammam.

'A wise man who guards the secrets of the great gods shall cause his son whom he loves, with tablet and pen to take oath before Samas and Kammam, and the son of a magician shall teach him when to do so. A priest who is noble in descent, and whose clothing (?) and measurement (?) are perfect, shall present himself before Samas and Kammam in the place of angry and oracle. The son of a priest whose descent is not noble and who is not perfect in clothing (?) and in measure, who has squint (?) eyes, broken teeth, bruised thumbs, boils or swellings on his feet . . . shall not keep the temple of Samas and Kammam.'

Sacrifice rests ultimately on the idea that it gives pleasure to the deity (cp. *Di. Lev.*, 379). For Israel, the conception of sacrifice as a meal for Yahweh is reflected in such expressions as

7. Fundamental idea.

Gen. 8:21 *Di. 3315* (1277). In the Babylonian records, the gods feast in heaven (4 R 19:59: *ilini rabutu isanu kutrinna akal sumu ellu kurannu dimga lu lu ilpat kiti ikkalu*: 'the glorious gods smell the incense, noble food of heaven, pure wine, which no hand has touched, do they eat . . . ; they eat the offering (4 R 17:36: *akalu akal nigisu mahar*: 'eat his food, accept his sacrifice'); they inhale with physical delight the savour of the offering (*Deluge*, 151: *ilini esinu erba ilini esinu erba fiba kima zumu eli bel niku iptahru*: 'the gods scent the savour, the gods scent the sweet savour; like flies do they gather themselves together about the offerer'); cp. the analogous expression *Gen. 8:21*: the gods love the offering that man brings (*Amur.* 125: *nadan zabisu ilani rabutu lu sumu lu isittim mannu*: 'the glorious gods of heaven and earth love the gift of his sacrifice'). What is active in the offering is the voluntary surrender of a private possession (Figl. 77: *ana biblat libbika akki*: 'I sacrificed as my heart enjoined'). As a subject in the presence of his king, so does man come into the presence of his god with gift and tribute. In a text, printed in 4 R 20, which describes the solemn return of the god Marduk from Elam to Babylon and the sacrificial feast then celebrated in his honour, the imperial sacrifice is described in the following terms (rev. 22 f.): *sumu hagal-labana isitum hysiba tintum mihirtaba kutu iribbu kutubabba kut lu mahra malu sumu usanna kabutu bilatunnu nizu ana bilbilim. Aslu tubbuhu du lu alap mahru zibu savruhu senu kutrinna armannu ulgesi erba fibu*: 'the heaven pours out its abundance, the earth its fullness, the sea its gifts, the mountains their produce; their incomparable offerings, everything that can be named, their heavy tribute do they bring to the lord of all; lambs are slaughtered, great oxen sacrificed in herds, the sacrifice is made rich, incense is prepared, a sweet smouldering savour mounts up, delicious odour.' Probably the step from the concep-

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tion of the offering as a gift and a meal of the deity to that of a finer and, so to speak, spiritual, appreciation of that which was brought in sacrifice was made at a comparatively early period. So much is indicated by the fact that even from ancient times prayer was associated with sacrifice. In the pictorial representations of sacrificial scenes we constantly find the man who prays in close association with him who offers. The gesture of prayer was threefold—*ni kiti, lapu kiti, tukina appi*—lifting up of the hands, folding of the hands, casting down of the countenance.

The purpose of sacrifice is, invariably, to influence the deity in favour of the sacrificer. Man brings gifts to the gods in order that they may be moved thereby to reciprocity—to show him a favourable disposition in return.¹

8. Purpose.

When the kings of Esarhaddon and Assur-lani-pal were constantly menaced by the incursions of the Gaurri they multiplied their offerings and prayer (see Knudtzon, *l.c.*). In the liturgies of that period a standing expression is as follows:—*ana libbi kalami anni izzetamma ana ana kubuamma*: 'because of this lamb offered in sacrifice arise thou and establish faithfulness and mercy.'

So, in like manner, the gods are represented as receiving over the sacrificial gifts brought them by their human worshippers (K. 1547, rev. 11: *igdamru matkaku azlu ana sub libbi ilini igdamru*: 'accomplished as my cleansing sacrifices, to the gladdening of the hearts of the gods are my sacrifices of lambs accomplished'). The feature of joy and gladness which so markedly characterised the sacrificial meals of pre-exilic Israel (*Gen. 22: 7, 8, 12, 17*; SACRIFICE, § 18) is by no means absent from the Babylonian functions. Thus in 3 R 36:2 we read (*akal akdu liti kurannu nunu bukun nu'id illiti*) 'eat food, drink must, make music, honour my god!'

Predominant, however, over this joyous note which finds such marked expression among the peoples of classical antiquity there is found in the Babylonian ritual a feature which is common to all Semitic religions—the element of propitiation. Here, of course, we must divest ourselves of all theological preconceptions, and put aside all such notions as that of an atoning efficacy attaching to the blood as the seat of life, or of a divine wrath that expends itself upon the sacrificial animal, or even of a *ratio vicaria*, when we speak of the idea of propitiation as underlying Babylonian sacrifices. The similarity of the words and forms does not necessarily involve similarity in the religious conception. The Babylonians possessed the same words for sin (*hitta*), grace (*anna*), propitiation (*patu*) as the Hebrews had; but it is certain that they did not associate with the words the same thoughts. At the same time it is significant and by no means accident that it has its roots firmly planted in the very nature of the religious ideas involved—that every offering offered with the object of averting evil of any kind whatsoever was associated with the notion of a propitiatory, cleansing, purifying efficacy. In a hymn to Samas we read (4 R 17:46: *amelu apil ilinu enun arnam emu mardutu marsi ibbi marsi lua marsi nu il ilu Samas enu nis kitiia kulamma akalu akal nigisu maharmanisu. Ilkat ana ilinu bukun ina kibitika inissu lipper arantu linnasihu*, 'man, the son of his god, sin, transgression lies upon him. His physical strength is impaired, he languishes in disense. O Samas, behold the uplifting of my hands, eat his food, accept his sacrifice, O God. Take off his fetters. At thy command may his sin be taken away, his transgressions blotted out.' Other passages subjoined explain themselves. 4 R 54:7: *muhar kudrahu lili pidu ana hakkar sulme mahruka litallak*: 'accept the gift he brings, receive his ransom money (100); let him walk before

1 Cp. King, *Babylon, Magic*, 17 28 (1866): *asukku kutuinnu iribu sabu kinis naplisannima simi kabu-ai*. 'I present you with incense, agreeable vapour; look at me truly, hear my words.'

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1 Cp. King, *Babylon, Magic*, 17 28 (1866): *asukku kutuinnu iribu sabu kinis naplisannima simi kabu-ai*. 'I present you with incense, agreeable vapour; look at me truly, hear my words.'

them on the ground of peace.' 4 R. 55. obv. 211; *nif katta iteva ana mahiri u nisababbi ana nima elambu* *imut iteva ana mahiri*; 'whereby his god accepts the lifting up of his hands and takes pleasure in his free-will offerings, whereby the angry gods turn themselves propitiously towards him.' 4 R. 577 *akilli u nisababbi ana piseki ki ana lipsuwa liminani*; 'the food and the fitness which is spread out before thy face, may it take away mine evil.'¹ The following remarkable passage, from a hymn to Marduk, stands unfortunately alone (K. 246; cp 2 R. 185); *amulu nubbirku ina nif kima' tulud kima ki' mami limnatiti*; 'May the man plagued with fever be purified like shining metal through a gracious peace offering.' In contracts the expression *alap tappiri*, 'redemption ox' (Aeb. 13212-213) often occurs; cp with this Lev. 13 (1877-87).

The idea of atonement in the OT has found its classical expression in the *kapparah* of P (see MEYER-SKAT, § 2). In this connection it is important to observe that the root *ak* is attested in Babylonia also, *kašuru* in the rituals meaning 'to cleanse,' 'to purify.' 4 R. 1633 *amlu nubbirku ana ita kappama*; 'Cleanse (with the water of the oath) the man plagued with fever, the son of his god.' 4 R. 2753; *akilla ita' ita' andi' thutu kappama*; 'cleanse the unclean foods (of the same). In K. 2215 the precept frequently recurs *haru takappar* 'thou, O king, purify,' as also the phrase *takpiti* of the ceremony of purification (*kima takpiti takpiti*) which thou hast accomplished (the rites of purification).² Whilst the phrase already quoted is—*nif kullud* (corresponding to the Heb. *kelem*), which, as we see from 1 S. 139, 2 S. 23, 2 S. Ezek. 43, 7, denotes a purificatory offering; cp SACRIFICE, § 11). As of only occasional occurrence, we frequently in contracts meet with the word *akilla*, *akillamu*, which in accordance with the primary meaning of the root *akilla* may be rendered 'turning towards' (on the part of the deity), and taken in the sense of a propitiatory sacrifice. Cp *Yabon* 2149, 2223, 2341, 4767, 2, *Cyr*, 2233 with the *akilla* named in *Yabon*, 299, 317.

A few words must be said on the subjects of human sacrifice, offerings to the dead, and sacrifices of chastity.³

9. Human sacrifice, etc.

It is a remarkable circumstance that hitherto no authentic evidence for the burning of human sacrifices has been met with in any of the cuneiform inscriptions. It would be unwise, however, to base much upon the *argumentum e silentio* here, for reticence with reference to such a sad and repulsive practice is only what we should expect. The passage, so often quoted in 4 R. 266, where the priest is bidden to offer for the life of the sick man a kid (*niri u*)—head, neck, breast of the one for head, neck, breast of the other—does not come into account here. The text is a description of a magical operation such as may be compared with that given in 2 K. 134. The Babylonian sculptures, on the other hand, supply traces of human sacrifices that are almost unmistakable (see Menant, *PG* 104 f. 97), though it is not impossible that the representations in question are intended to figure, not human sacrifices, but ceremonies connected with circumcision. In the wider sense of the term the Babylonian ban (see BAN) has to be regarded as of the nature of human sacrifice. That the same conception is not altogether absent from the Heb. *kelem* (against Di. *Lev.* 377) is proved by Is. 316, where the destruction of Israel's enemies at Bozrah is treated as a '68 722. Sennacherib (530) put to death the troops of Sûzib at the command of Ašur his lord. Sîn-meser (*Mo. Obz.* 17) burnt the young men and maidens in his hand of captives. The ban pronounced by Ašur-bani-pal (610) over his enemies extends also to the lower animals (cp *Judg.* 20, 48). A sacrificial offering of prisoners (cp 1 S. 153) is thus recorded by Ašur-bani-pal (470): 'the remainder of the people I put to death beside the great steer, where my grandfather Sennacherib had been murdered, making lamentation for him.' In 4 R. 633 Ašur figures as the bloodthirsty goddess who devours human flesh; *itanatti dimi nibitti ka'amilitti šer ša lã akilli nîrpaddu ša lã karāši*;

'she (the daughter of Ann) has drunk the satisfying blood of men, flesh that cannot be grieved, bones that cannot be grieved.' The probability is that the Babylonians practised human sacrifice secretly without formally taking it up into the recognised worship. In the older period (of which we have a reminiscence in Gen. 22), as well as in times of religious declension (2 K. 17-1), the Israelites doubtless borrowed the practice of human sacrifice from the peoples in their immediate neighbourhood.

As for offerings to the dead, which in Babylonia are forbidden in the OT as relics of heathenism (1 K. 2314), but the practice of which was not un- known even at a late date (Jer. 167), evidence of their use among the Babylonians and Assyrians is of frequent occurrence (see A. Jeremias, *Lebensfragen von Ikonisch dem Tode*, 53). The Descent of Istar closes with the charge of the priest to the necromancer: 'If she vouchsafe not liberation to thee, then turn thy face towards her and pour out pure water with precious balsam before Tammuz the husband of her youth.' Ašur-bani-pal (Lehmann, *Sammamudin*, 273) says: *ani kispî nak mi' ana dinnimê karriim utkîlî nakhi bi šutulu arkis*; 'for the lament of the pourer out of water on behalf of the spirits of thy ancestors, the kings I gave orders because it had been abolished.' In the burying-places of Sughd and Elhilda were discovered traces of offerings to the dead: calcined date-stones, bones of oxen, sheep, birds. Representations of sacrifices to the dead are given in Perrot, *Le. 361*, and Menant, *PG* 284. The dirge as a Babylonian institution is attested also by Ezek. 814. The sacrifice of chastity, mentioned by Herodotus (1199), is bluntly described in the Epistle of Jeremiah (17, 41 [= Baruch 64]). Even in the Ninnu-epos, Istar the goddess of love already appears (491) surrounded by a whole troop of attendants: *uptakhar ittu Istar kiširitti lamhîti u kirimîti*; 'there assembled the goddess Istar, the servants, harlots, and concubines.' In the period of religious decay the worship by such hierodulia became naturalised in Jerusalem (2 K. 237).

10. Lustrations.

The subject of lustrations stands in close connection with that of sacrifice in the Hebrew Torah, and has a large place in the Babylonian ritual. The texts relating to it are very difficult, especially because they are often written in pure ideograms. At the foundation of these purifications lies the conception that an unclean substance can be removed by a clean, and a clean be taken up by an unclean. That which is unclean has a contagious character, that which is clean has a sympathetic power. So 4 R. 162: *mê šunîti ana karpatî tirma ana ribîti tubkama maruštu ša imûki imasšuru ribîtu libal ra'bum naditum ša kima mê libalîk kîpi ša ina ra'li naditi tulludu ana arkati lituru*; 'this water pour thou into a pot, then pour out in the street; let the street carry off the sickness which deprives of strength, and let the poison poured into it be washed away like the water, let the spell which has united itself with the poison poured in be averted.' The spell (from which the sickness proceeds) is transferred to the poison, the poison is absorbed by the water, the water is carried off by the street; thus the sufferer has a threefold guarantee that he will be healed of his sickness.

As ingredients were employed such things as from their external appearance or internal qualities were fitted to be symbols of purity. Water is mentioned with special frequency. In lustrations libations of water are offered to Šamaš. Marduk and Ea the gods of pure exorcism are honoured with libations and sacrifices in the house of sprinkling (*bit imki*); 5 K. 5051. In the temple was a laver (*agubtu*). In an oath formula (*Maqla*, 34, 47) occurs this expression: *ana ilîni ša šami mê anamdin kima anšû ana kîšunu utubkunuû attunu kîši ullilanni*; 'I offer water to the gods of heaven. As I perform your purification for you, so do ye cleanse me.' The waters of the Euphrates

¹ Cp King, *Le.* 5, 276.
² On human sacrifice cp Lenormant, *Études accadiennes*, 112; Sayce, *TSA* 425; Menant, *PG* 150.

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and the Titans were regarded as having special efficacy (Vine 17 [1912], *Zammeth*, *Serp* 4106, 40, 271), we have this interesting passage: 'By Maribak's command be the bowl with thy guilt, thy hair, taken away like the unclean water from thy body and thy hands and swallowed up by the earth.'

Besides water, frequent mention is made of honey (*abana*), wine (*baratu*), milk (*arbu*), cream (*himatu*), tamar, bright minerals such as salt (*asaru*), alum (*sikkatu*), alkali (*adnoo*); and, for the vegetable kingdom, corn (*apantu*), the wood of various trees, such as cedar (*arimu*),ypress (*arudu*), palm (*asib. komaru*), calamus (*kinnu fahu*); cp 2:27, 27, 28, 29 (*onycha*) all sorts of incense (*supumu*, 2:27).

As a clean place—*atru ella*, exactly corresponding to the ארצות הטהורות of Nu. 19—*the wilderness is frequently named.*¹ 4 R 8:11: *manit ana siri atru ela iseti*, 'let the hair depart to the wilderness, the clean place.' (cp 4 R 11:3), 4 R 56:1: *ana pin namatu ta siri pisaki labnu*, 'to the beasts of the wilderness turn thy face.' It is on a similar conception of the wilderness as the clean place that the Israhelite custom of sending the goat for Azael into the wilderness on the day of Atonement appears to rest (but see AZAZEL). Of the other goat also which had to be burnt, Josephus remarks (*Ant.* iii. 114) that before the burning it had to be brought to a very clean place—(cp *καθαρώταρον χωριον*).

Purity—physical cleanliness—is postulated in every sacrificial act, as in every exercise of religion (4 R 23:19): *kita elliti ikki mihparatu*, 'with pure hands be sacrifices before thee.' 4 R 19 no. 2: *kita msi kiki abbi*, 'wash thy hand, purify thy hand.' *Alapla 10864: uturu sru masu ka. uramua sru mid kiti*, 'the morning dawn is past, I have washed my hands; the morning glow has shone, I have washed my hands'. All who were sick or who associated with those who were unclean became themselves unclean (4 R 62:4: *li ella li elliti ul itamar*, 'the unclean man, the unclean woman, shall he not look upon').

That contact with the dead defiled may be assumed as matter of course; of sexual defilement this is expressly stated by Herodotus (1:98): cp 4 R 20:3, 3: *zamasu ta kitara odamka ul tamber ardatu ta kitara ta msa itapuz*: 'to a woman whose hand is not pure, he has joined himself; at a maid-servant whose hand is not washed, he has looked.'

Foods also were distinguished as clean and unclean. In the prayer addressed to the sun-god we often meet with such expressions as these: *minma lu'u ikulu lita ipisu ulappitu akabbisu*, 'if he perchance has eaten, drunken, anointed with, touched, or trodden on, ought that was unclean.' In the calendar given in 5 R, 48-49 occur food prohibitions. For the 9th of Iyyar fish is forbidden, for the 30th of Ab swine flesh (*ur lapi*), for the 27th of Tisri swine flesh, beef (*ur alpi*), for the 10th of Marhoshan dates, for the 23rd of Iyyar, 29th of Kisleu, and 6th of Tebet contact with women.

The Babylonian ritual of purification urgently needs systematic exhibition, especially on account of its close connection with OT views. Nowack (*Ill* 275) remarks with truth that the biblical ideas of clean and unclean had their rise elsewhere than on the soil of Yahwism (cp Smeul, *Rel. gesch.* 334). In such a law of purification as that which we find in Lev. 14 unquestionably many pre-Israelitic representations are present. The cedar-wood mentioned in Lev. 14, is one of the cleansing media of the Babylonian ritual also (4 R 16:12 5 R 51:15); the bird which in Lev. 14 is charged with carrying off the leprosy into space is often met with in Babylonian litany (4 R 1:26 4 R 59:2, rev. 14: 'I will rend asunder my wickedness, let the bird carry it away up to the sky'). The sevenfold sprinkling of the person to be cleansed (Lev. 14) recalls such passages as 4 R 26:12: *adi siffu zamur ameli katu puzimna*, 'seven times anoint the body of that man.' The besmearing with blood on the tip of the right ear, on the right thumb, on the great toe of the

1. The *atru* is perhaps regarded as pure because it receives unpurified and dead bodies without harm.

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right foot, prescribed in Lev. 14, has its analogues in many magical texts (cp *LSA* P 31:52; *abna* 11:1; *ana kakhira ta ennu ana ubinnu ishita ana nammu labnu*, 'lay the shining stone on the fishes(?) of thy eyes, on his little finger, on his left side'). An interesting parallel to the offering of purification prescribed for the poor, which follows the magical operation prescribed in Lev. 14, occurs in K 8:180. There the person to be purified is bidden take hold of the hands of the sacrificer who pours water upon the hand of the sufferer, lays incense upon the dish, and solemnly prepares the sacrificial meal. Then, further, we read: *Zamma rubi la ta kel issiru ana maklute ikalu lamma makluna ta libbi ku i ikulu*, 'if he is a rich man he shall hand over a dove(s) to be burned, but if he is a pauper he shall cause the heart of a sheep to be burned.'

i. *Points of resemblance.*—(a) A large number of expressions relating to sacrifice are common to both rituals—*e.g.*, *kurbannu* (כֻּרְבָּנִים), *asra* (אָשְׂרָה), *salmu* (שַׁלְמוֹ), *kuribu* (כֻּרְיָבִי), *lahhu* (לָחַח), *kapuru* (כָּפְרוּ).

11. Summary. (a) In bloody sacrifices, the same species of animals are employed (ox, sheep, goat). Animals of a year old are preferred, sacrifices of a more advanced age are rare. Female animals are in the one case used for purifications, in the other (Nu. 15:3) for sin offerings. The offering of defective animals was in the one case allowed for purposes of atonement, in the other for free-will offerings (Lev. 22:3). Generally speaking, both rituals required that the victim should be without blemish. As in the Babylonian ritual the *sittukku*—*i.e.*, the regular and obligatory sacrifices—*is at the foundation of the worship, so also in P, and still more in Ezekiel, is the tamid, the regular daily offering, made statutory and the centre of the whole divine service.* (c) As for unbloody sacrifices, among the Babylonians systematic use was made of various materials of which the employment in Israel was only exceptional, such as wine, water, oil. The incense offering (*kurbannu*) was unknown to early Israel. All the more striking is the frequent and important place it takes in the ritual law of P which provides a special altar for the *ketoret*. Jeremiah (4:20) has a polemic against it as a modern and outlandish innovation. The unknown author of Is. 65:3 names Babylon as the land in which sacrifices are offered in gardens, and incense offered upon bricks (cp *Chors.* 172; *Sarg. Ann.* 1:44; 4 R 49:3). The incense offering of post-exilic Israel may perhaps have been borrowed from the Babylonian ritual.

ii. *Points of difference.*—(a) In the vegetable offerings of the Hebrew Toráh only those products figure which represent a right of private ownership acquired by labour and trouble. Honey, cream, milk, fruit occur frequently as Babylonian offerings, but never amongst those of the OT. The wine libation is no longer an independent offering in P (SACRIFICE, § 35). Ezekiel prohibited it altogether—doubtless, however, only on account of abuses connected with it (1 S. 14).² As regards bloody sacrifices, offerings of fish and game were excluded from the Hebrew ritual. Both are inherently the property of Yahwé and thus not appropriate as sacrificial gifts. The fish offering, on the other hand, is frequently mentioned in Assyrian and late Babylonian inscriptions, and game offerings were in great favour. In *Tigl.-pil.* 74 ff. we read: 'herds of hind, stags, chamois (?), wild goats, which I had taken in hunting in large numbers, I brought together like sheep, and the progeny that was born of them I offered as my heart bade me, along with pure sacrificial lambs, to the god Asur.'

(c) As for the fundamental idea underlying sacrifice, the Hebrew sacrifice in its older form gave a special development to the conception of a sacred communion between God and the worshipper as represented in the

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act of offering (cp Wellh. *Ibid.* 114); the Babylonian cultus, on the other hand, affords no trace of this. All the more strongly is the idea of the purificatory and propitiatory character of sacrifices which comes into the foreground in P and Ezekiel; conspicuous in the Babylonian cultus. Singular to say, however, that shows not the faintest trace of a *šim* ISACRIFICIUM, § 27), *hattith* (SACRIFICIUM, § 28); we may assume that the sin and the trespass offering of the Hebrew Torah, although all that we know of their technique is wholly of post-exilic date, were entirely of Israelite growth.

RIVAL (צָרָה), 1 S. 16 RV, AV ADVISARY.

RIVER. For the rivers and streams mentioned in the EV, see, generally, GEOGRAPHY, § 5; PALESTINE, §§ 6, 13; EGYPT, § 6; ASSYRIA, § 4; MOAB, § 4f.; also EUPHRATES, JORDAN, NILE, etc.

The regular word for river is *r. nahar* (נָהָר, N. Sem., Ar. *nahr* is probably a loan-word). See TOPOGRAPHY, § 5, and 1 p. A. CANALAKAIM. Other words occasionally so rendered are: 1. *šarāp* (שָׂרָפ); cp CANAL, GEOGRAPHY, § 5 (in) used regularly of the NILE (1 S. 17) or of its arms, once of a mining-shaft (1 S. 28-9), and in Dan. 12:7 of the Tigris. The last mentioned unrestricted use of the word appears again in later Hebrew.

2. *nihal* (נִיחַל, N. Sem.) corresponds to the Ar. *nahal* or *nahal*-valley; see GEOGRAPHY, § 5 (IV), and cp BOOKS.

Two terms appear to designate primarily canals or conduits: 1. *šābīl* (שָׂבִיל, flow, run), Jer. 17:8 (*šābīl* [BRAM]) of which *nihal* (נִיחַל) in Dan. 2:6 (see U 1) seems to be a mere phonetic variation. Cp the form *nihal* in plur. 1 S. 30:25 (EV 'streams'), 4:14 (EV 'watercourses').

2. *šābīl* (שָׂבִיל, Ps. 40:4) [šābīl] (cp *šābīl*, Job 20:17 EV 'river', in *Judg.* 3:13, RV 'watercourses' (so Moore); cp, however, Bu., Now.).

For the sake of completeness mention may here be made of: 1. *šābīl* (שָׂבִיל), Nu. 21:15, AV 'stream'; on the meaning see ARABO-PERSIAN.

2. *nihal* (נִיחַל), lit. 'flowing', Ps. 7:7 Cant. 4:15, 'streams.

RIVER OF EGYPT (נַחַל מִצְרַיִם). See EGYPT, BROOK OF.

RIVER OF THE WILDERNESS (נַחַל הַעֲרָבָה). See ARABIA, BROOK OF THE.

RIZIA (רִזְיָה), 1 Ch. 7:39 RV, AV REZIA.

RIZPAH (רִצְפָה); § 71, 'pavement'; ΡΕΣΦΑ [BAL], daughter of MAH [g. r.]. Saul's concubine, 2 S. 3:7 21:7, (ρεσφαθη) [Am. r. z]. According to the existing tradition 'Ishbosheth' was angry with Abner for taking possession of his father's concubine, and Abner indignantly repelled the accusation (on 2 S. 3:8 see NABAL). Winckler, however, plausibly holds (*GT* 2:196) that the original tradition interpreted this fact differently, and that in reality Abner had de throne 'Ishbosheth,' and signified his assumption of Saul's crown by taking possession of Saul's wife (cp 12:11 16:22). The pathetic story of Rizpah's conduct when her two sons ARMONI (see SAM. § 6) and MEFIBOSHETH [g. r.] and the five sons of Michal or rather MERAI [g. r.] had been put to death, to remove the blood-guiltiness of the land, is also, according to Winckler (*GT* 2:241), unhistorical; he suspects mythological affinities, and compares the myth of Nobe (Preller, *Griech. Myth.* 2:269). According to 2 S. 21:11 ff., it was on hearing of the act of Rizpah, that David sent for the bones of Saul and Jonathan, that they might be buried together in the sepulchre of Kish at Zela, or rather Laish (=Shalishah). See ZELAH.

On the Rizpah-story see further *RSZ* 419 ff., and on the myth of execution (רִצְפָה) see HANGING, 2 d; on the source of the narrative, see SAMUEL (BOOKS), §§ 4 ff.; We. *CH* 263; Bu. *Ar. Sa.* 257 f. T. K. C.

ROAST. See COOKING, § 6; SACRIFICE, § 6.

ROBE, the rendering suggests an outer garment of some richness, more elaborate and elegant than an ordinary mantle.

ROE

The word occurs most frequently as the rendering of *māš* (see MANTLE, § 21 f.), occasionally, too, of *maššānāth*, *šānāth*, and (for AV *dox*) *šān* (2 S. 1:10, 3), and of *maššānāth*, *šānāth*, *šān* (see 1 S. 7), *šānāth* (1 S. 1:22 2:4), *šānāth* (1 S. 3:22 RV (see 1 S. 7)), *šānāth* (1 S. 1:22 2:4), *šānāth* (1 S. 3:22 RV), and *šānāth* (1 S. 1:22 2:4). It is applied to the most general terms *šān* (1 K. 22:30) (cp 1 S. 1:22 2:4), *šān* (1 S. 3:22 RV), and *šānāth* (1 S. 22:30), and is once used to render *šānāth* (1 S. 22:30), on which see 1 S. 22:30. See THICK, MANTLE, and cp CLOTHING, GARMENT.

ROBOAM (מְרֹבָאָם), RV RUTHOBAM.

ROCK. 1. *šān* (שָׂן). See NAMES OF GOD, § 15, and ZEK. [Under Z. thirty-two places are cited] while *šān* seems to have become altogether a synonym for 'rock.' In four *šān* in four *šānāth*; *šān* (1 S. 17:10), *šān* (1 S. 22:30), *šān* (1 S. 22:30), *šān* (1 S. 22:30), *šān* (1 S. 22:30), *šān* (1 S. 22:30), and in Dt. 32:37 Hab. 1:12 *šān* shows a different root.]

2. *šān* (שָׂן). See STAFF. [In 2 S. 22:15 1 S. 17:10, 31:4 [1] 42:10], *šān* is a synonym of *šān*, and a divine title. King (*šān*), too, holds *šān* once used of a heathen god, but *šān* (EV 'his rock') in 1 S. 31:4 if correct, is parallel to *šān* (EV 'his princes'). See *Crit. Tab.*]

3. *šān* (שָׂן), *šān* (Judg. 8:26 RV), cp FORTRESS; 4. *šān* (שָׂן), *šān* (1 S. 28:9), cp PLANT; 5. *šān* (שָׂן) (Jer. 4:9 Job 30:6); cp CEPHUS, SIMON PETER.

ROCKBADGER (רִצְפָה), Lev. 11:3 RVmg., EV CONY.

ROD. Of the following words, the first three are also rendered 'staff'; see 1 S. 30:12 (the staff of judgment), 1 S. 23:4 (שָׂן), see STAFF, 1), Gen 32:10 (Jacob's staff); for a very special sense of *šān* and *šān*, see SEPHER.

1. *šān* (שָׂן), *šān* (שָׂן), to stretch out): of the staff or wand of the traveller (Gen. 38:18, etc.), shepherd (Ex. 4:2, etc.), wonder-worker (Ex. 7:9, etc.), warrior (1 S. 14:27, etc.), task-master (1 S. 9:14, etc.), ruler (Jer. 48:17, etc.); an implement of punishment (1 S. 30:12), used also in beating out black cummin (*šān*, 1 S. 28:27). The 'rods' in Nu. 17:17 ff. (17:17 ff.) are apparently 'shafts,' i.e., arrows or spears. *šān* is also rendered 'staff' (the staff of judgment), 1 S. 30:12. Cp the Ar. *nabat*, Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1:147, 379.

2. *šān* (שָׂן), cp Ass. *šabatu*, 'to beat' (whence *šibtu*, 'staff,' as something to beat with, but also 'massacre,' *Erl. Tel.*) (a) As an implement of punishment (Prov. 10:13 Eccl. 1); the bastinado as authorised by law is referred to in Dt. 25:1-3, and (probably) 10:22, 28. See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12. In *šān* the verb is *šān*, *šān*; *šān* is used only of threshing in agriculture. (b) As used for beating cummin (*kammôn*, 1 S. 28:27). (c) As the shepherd's staff, or chlostick (Ar. *nabat*), Ps. 23:4 Lev. 27:12 Ex. 20:17. (d) Of the ruler's staff; see SEPHER. (e) Of a weapon, in time of stress, 2 S. 23:21. Both *šān* and *šān* are used also metaphorically in the sense of 'tribe' (see TABI).

3. *šān* (שָׂן), literally a shoot or wand (Jer. 1:11 Gen. 30:37, etc.); of traveller's staff, Gen. 32:11; of the shepherd's, 1 S. 17:4, 31 Zech. 11:7-14; once perhaps of a crutch, see STAFF.

4. *šān* (שָׂן), used only metaphorically (but as representing its literal sense of 'shoot,' 'scion' or 'twig'), 1 S. 11:1 Prov. 14:3

5. *šān* (שָׂן), 1 Cor. 4:21 Heb. 9:4 Rev. 2:27 11:12 5:19 15, all, except 1 Cor. (Lc.) and Rev. 11, influenced by O1.

The 'beating with rods' (*šān*) in Acts 16:22 2 Cor. 11:25 is the Roman punishment inflicted by the factors (EV 'serjeants,' *παθούχοι*: Acts 16:35).

RODANIM (רֹדָנִים), 1 Ch. 17: AVmg., RV; AV DODANIM.

ROE. The rendering of: 1. *šān* (שָׂן), (Ar. *šān*, Aram. *šān*) (cp Taurus), Ass. *šān*; *šān* [BRAM] in EV of 1 Ch. 12:8, and 2 S. 2:1 ('wild roe,' lit. 'roe that is in the field,' cp RVmg.), and, with RVmg. 'gazelle,' in EV of Cant. 2:7 (δ οὐραμεστὸς) and 17 (δ δόξαρος) 3:5 (δ οὐραμεστὸς) 14; AV only in Ecclus. 27:20 (RV 'gazelle'); also the rendering of the fem. form *šān*, *šān*, in Cant. 4:5 7:3 [4] RV (RVmg. 'gazelle,' not in AV). When mentioned as an article of food *šān* is rendered *Roebuck* (Dt. 12:15 22 14:5 15:22 1 K. 4:23 [53], AV; RV 'gazelle').

2. *šān* (שָׂן), Prov. 5:19, RV, DOE; cp GOAT, § 2

3. *šān* (שָׂן), Cant. 4:5 7:3 [4], AV 'young roe,' RV 'fawn,' see HART.

4. *šān* (שָׂן) (lit. 'red'), Dt. 14:5 1 K. 4:23 [53]; AV FALLOW-DEER (βοῦβαλος [AV, in Dt.]; B in Dt., and BAL. in Kl. om.?)

ROGELIM

Like the GAZELLE and HART, the roe is chiefly alluded to for its swiftness, and partly on account of its grace and beauty is a favourite image of female charms.¹ On the species in general see GOAT, § 2, and note that the name *schmar* (no. 4 above) is still used by the Arabs for the true *Cervus capreolus* (cp Dr. Deut., ad loc., and see ANTELOPE). The *Capreolus capri*, with which the *schmar* has also been identified, is a small form found distributed over Europe and W. Asia, and still occurs in Palestine; specimens of it were seen by Tristram on Lebanon, and by Conder (*Tent-Work*, 91 [1837]) on Mt. Carmel. The follower (cp AV), *Cervus dama*, is a native of N. Africa and of the countries surrounding the Mediterranean, whence it has been introduced into many civilised countries. It occurs also in N. Palestine, but is said to be scarce. A nearly allied species, *C. mesopotamicus*, is found in parts of W. Persia. A. E. S.—S. A. C.

ROGELIM (רֹגֵלִים; רֹגֵלֵי אֶלְיָהוּ [BA], פֶּקֶדֶת בֵּית גַּלְגַּל [L]); the home of Barzilai the Gileadite (2 S. 17:27-19:31). The existence of such a place is questionable. Probably the passages relative to Barzilai are based on an earlier passage respecting מִתְחַבְּסִיֶּתוּ [q. v. § 2] which had already become corrupt, and רֹגֵלִים (Rogelim) is a corruption of בֵּית גַּלְגַּל Beth-gallim, i. e., Beth-galgal (see GALLIM; SAUL, § 4).

The corruption arose from a scribe's *labine oculi*. In 2 S. 17:27 f. the true text probably ran (see CH. and cp VARS) בֵּיתֵי גַלְגַּלִּים בְּהַרֵי אֶלְיָהוּ וְעִמֹּן וְעַמֹּן וְעַמֹּן. But בְּהַרֵי אֶלְיָהוּ was miswritten בְּהַרֵי אֶלְיָהוּ; the consequence of which was that one scribe (followed by MT and Ch.) wrote בְּהַרֵי אֶלְיָהוּ, and another (followed by Ch.) wrote בְּהַרֵי אֶלְיָהוּ, instead of בְּהַרֵי אֶלְיָהוּ. The *הַרְעָאוֹן* of Ch. represents אֶלְיָהוּ (cp Judg. 3:17 f.). 2 S. 19:11 was harmonised, as to the name of Barzilai's home, with 2 S. 17:27 in each of the texts. T. K. C.

ROHGAH (רוּחָה קַי רֹהֵגָה Kr.), a name in a genealogy of ASHER (7:3; § 4 ii.). In 1 Ch. 7:34 "[Mih] and Rohgah" becomes [אַחִיֹּרָא [B], [אַחִיֹּרָא וְרָגָא [M], [הַיִּר] וְכַי רֹארוּע [L.]; but *rohgah*; Pesh. om. passage); cp AU, 2.

ROIMUS (רוֹעִימוֹי [B]), 1 Esd. 5:8 = Ezra 2:2, REIUM, 1.

ROLL. 1. רֹלֵל, *roll*; חַרְטוֹן, חַרְטָה, כֶּפֶלֶת, Jer. 36:7, etc. See WRITING.

2. רֹלֵל, *roll*; for רֹלֵל 'S has τώμα καινού μεγάλη [BR] τώμα χάρτου κ. μ. [M]; RV 'tablet.' A tablet of wood or stone is probably meant. 1 S. 8:13. For the glycinim of Is. 3:23 cp MURSON, end.

3. רֹלֵל, *roll*; עֲרָבָה, RV 'archives.' See WRITING and cp HISTORICAL LITERATURE.

ROLLER (רֹלֵל; מַלְאָגְמָא [BAQF; cp Is. 16]), Ezek. 30:21, one of the few references to surgical practice in the EV (see MEDICINE). *Hittal* from *χέντινω* used in Ezek. 16:4 of swaddling (cp derivative in Job 38:9) is properly a bandage (cp Toy's rendering in *SHOT*) rather than a poultice (as Ch.).

ROMANTI EZER (רֹמַנְטִי עֶזֶר, § 23, according to the Chrodiar a son of Henan; 1 Ch. 25:4 וְרֹמַנְטִי עֶזֶר וְרֹמַנְטִי עֶזֶר [B, superer. ωθ B⁴], רֹמַנְטִי עֶזֶר [A], רֹמַנְטִי עֶזֶר [A], *romanthazer* [Vg.], but see HEMAN.

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History of criticism (§§ 1-3).	Conclusion (§ 12).
What 'Romans' seems to be (§ 4).	Author (§§ 20-22).
Contents (§ 5).	His date (§ 23).
Not a letter (§§ 6-9).	Value of Work (§ 24).
Structure (§§ 10-11).	Defenders of authenticity (§ 25).
Late date (§§ 11-17).	Literature (§ 26).

Of Epistles to the Romans Old-Christian Literature is acquainted with two—that of Paul and that of

¹ If these animals were sacred to the goddess of love (see GAZELLE), another plausible origin of the reference might be sought for.

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Ignatius. As regards the latter, the reader is referred to what has been said under OLD-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE (§ 28 f.). The 'Epistle of Paul to the Romans' has come down to us from antiquity not as a separate work but as one of the most distinguished members of a group—the 'epistles of Paul' (ἐπιστολαὶ Παύλου)—in which its title in the shortest form, followed by Ti. VII among others (after RABC, etc.), is 'to Romans' (ᾠς Ῥωμαίους).

From the beginning (first by Marcion, about 140 A.D.) the work, as an integral part of the authoritative

1. History of criticism; traditional view.

'Apostle' (ὁ Ἀπόστολος, τὸ ἀποστόλου)—i. e., Paul (Παῦλος)—in other words as a canonical writing, was tacitly recognised as the work of the apostle Paul. This continued without a break till 1702, Justin took no notice of Paul; Irenaeus and Tertullian—the latter with a scornful 'hereticorum apostolus' on his lips—laboured to raise the 'apostle' in the estimation of the faith (cp PART, § 48); but no one ever thought of doubting the genuineness of the letters attributed to the apostle—or of defending it. During the whole of that period the question did not so much

as exist. There is indeed a very old case in point—, perhaps it had already arisen even in the second century—as to the

2. Theory of compositeness.

existence of the epistle in two forms, a longer and a shorter, even after omission of the two last chapters (15, 16). Origenes, Marcion with this last omission; but Origen's older contemporary Tertullian says nothing of that, though he several times reprimands the heretic for having tampered with the text of chaps. 1-14. The probability is that Tertullian had no acquaintance with chaps. 15 f. At any rate, he made no citation from them in his polemic against Marcion (*adv. Marc.* 5:13-14), although in its course he leaves none of the previous chapters (1-11) unquoted to and speaks of one expression—'tribunal Christi' (11:1)—as written 'in clausula' [epistula]; cp van Manen, *P. vultus*, 2:10-118.

In recent times the tradition of the text as regards chaps. 15-16 has frequently come under discussion. The conclusion is not only that the chapters in question were unknown to Marcion and probably also to other ancient witnesses, including Irenaeus and Cyprian, but also that there were in circulation at an early date MSS. in which the doxology Rom. 16:25-27 either occurred alone immediately after 14:23 or was entirely wanting (cp Ti.; Sanday-Headlam, *Comm.* (1895), 89 f.; S. Davidson, *Intr.* 13, 1894, 1:120-123).

To these facts were added, at a later date, considerations based on the contents of chaps. 15-16 tending to show that they hardly fitted in with chaps. 1-14. Semler (*Diss. de duplici appendice ad Rom.* 1767; *Paraphrase ad Rom.* 1768), soon afterwards supported by Eichhorn (*ad in das N.Y.*) held chap. 15 f. to be by Paul but not to have originally belonged to the Epistle to the Romans. Baur (*Ueb. Zschern.* 1836, *Paulus*, 134 f., cp *Paulus* 2, 1 [1864], 300-304), followed, in the main, among others by Schweiger (*Ueb. ad Zeitalter*), Zellert, (C. C.), S. Davidson (*Intr.* 13, 1894, 1:123), and controverted by Kling (*St. Kr.* 1837), De Wette and others maintained the piece to be spurious. Since Baur, many scholars have endeavoured to steer a middle course by seeking, in very divergent ways, it is true—for the close of the letter supposed lost, in chaps. 15, 16. So among others, Lucht (*Ueb. ad beiden letzten Kap. des Römerbrieffs*, 1871), Volkmar (*Ueb. ad Brief*, 1875), Schöten (*Th. T.* 1876), Brückner (*Rechtsw.* 1890), Baljon (*Gesch. v. d. Bocken des N.T.* 1901, p. 307). In these various attempts an important part was always played by the conjecture, first put forth by Schulz (*St. Kr.* 1830), that in Rom. 16:25-27 what we really have is an epistle of Paul to the Ephesians.

In this direction—that of holding more Pauline epistles than one to have been incorporated with each other or amalgamated together to form the canonical epistle to the Romans—the way had already been laid (leaving 15, 16 out of account) by Henmann in 1768.

He argued, according to Meyer (*Komm.* 3 [1856], vi. 3), for the 'strange hypothesis' that a new Epistle to the Romans begins at chap. 15, whilst chap. 16 contains two postscripts (cp 1:23 and 25-27) to the first. Eichhorn (*Ueb.* 1829, 1829) guessed that Paul in reading over the epistle after it had been

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by an amanuensis made various additions with his own hand. C. H. Weisse (*Philos. Dogm.*, 1855) held Rom. 9-11 to be a later insertion. He found moreover a number of minor insertions in the Epistle, and finally concluded that chaps. 9-10+16:1-16:20A, probably had belonged originally to an Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians (cp his *Baur, v. Kritik der paul. Br.*, 1867, edited by Sulze). Laurent (*Antes. Studen.*, 1869) supposed Paul to have written with his own hand to his Epistle to the Romans a number of notes which subsequently by accident found their way into the text. Renan (*St. Paul*) was of opinion that Paul had published his Epistle to the Romans in several forms—e.g., chaps. 1-11+15; chaps. 1-14+16 (part); out of these forms the epistle known to us ultimately grew. Straatman (*Th. T.*, 1868, 38-57), controverted by Rovers (*ib.*, 210-225), came to the conclusion that chaps. 12-14 do not fit in with what precedes; that these chapters along with chap. 16 belong to an Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians; and that the close of the Epistle to the Romans, properly so called, is found in chap. 15. Spitta (*Zur Gesch. u. Litt. des Christentums*, 11:30, 1893) contended, and at a later date (3:191, 192) reaffirmed, though with some modifications of minor importance, that our Epistle to the Romans is the result of a fitting-together of two epistles written by Paul at separate times, one before and one after his visit to Rome, and addressed to the Christians there. The first and longer, a well rounded whole, consisted of 1:1-11:30, 15:8-33, 16:1-27; the second, partly worked into the first, has not reached us in its entirety; we recognise with certainty only the portions: 12:1-15:7 and 16:1-20.

Pferson-Naber (*Verisimilia*, 1826), controverted by Kuenen (*Th. T.*, 1886, cp van Maanen, *Byblad van de Hervorming*, 1887, Nos. 4, and *Bibl. mod. Theol.*, 1887), point to a number of joinings and sutures, traces of manipulation and compilation, in the traditional text of the Epistle to the Romans, with a view to proving its *genuina conditio*. Michelsen (*Th. T.*, 1886-7) sought to distinguish in that text five or six editions of Paul's Epistle, in the course of which various far-reaching modifications may be supposed to have been made. Sulze (*Prot. Kirchenzeitg.*, 1888, no. 42) pressed still further for the recognition of additions and insertions. Volter repeated his 'Vatum, etc.' (recorded in *Th. T.*, 1886) in a separate publication (*Die Komposition der paulin. Hauptbriefe*, 1890), and sought to prove again that our canonical Epistle to the Romans is the fruit of repeated redaction and expansion of a genuine epistle of the apostle.

Thus, there has been no lack of effort on the part of scholars to satisfy themselves and each other of the composite character of the traditional text. Equally decided, however, at least with most of them, is the opinion that nevertheless the text is, for the most part, and in the main, from the hand of Paul. This conviction was for a long time tacitly assumed, rather than explicitly expressed. So even by Baur, Weisse, and Straatman, whilst it was brought to the foreground, but with friendly yet polemical emphasis, as against the representatives of 'advanced criticism,' by Spitta. As regards the others mentioned above, most hesitation was to be noticed in Pferson-Naber, Michelsen, and Volter; but even these, one and all, continued to speak of an original letter, written by Paul to the Romans.

Not a few writers continued simply to maintain the *prima facie* character of the canonical epistle or, as occasion offered, to defend it in their notes and discussions, commentaries and introductions.

For details, *pro et contra*, and some guidance through the extensive literature, the student may consult Holtzmann, *Einl. ch. 1892*, 242-6; Sanday-Headlam, *Comm.*, 1895, pp. 85-98; Zahn, *Einl.*, 100-5, 1208-219; for a more complete though not always accurate account of the doubts regarding the unity of the work, Clemens, *Die Einheitlichkeit der paulin. Briefe*, 1891, cp *Th. T.*, 1895, 640 ff.

The first to break in all simplicity with the axiom of the genuineness of our canonical epistle to the Romans, though without saying so in so many words, was E. Evanson. He appended to *The Dissolution of the four generally received Evangelists*, 1792, some considerations against the justice of the received view which regarded Paul as author of the epistle—considerations based upon the contents themselves and a comparison between them and Acts (pp. 256-261). Controverted by Priestley and others, Evanson's arguments soon fell to oblivion.

Sixty years afterwards Bruno Bauer (*Kritik der paulin. Briefe*, 1852, 347-76) took up the work of Evanson, without, so far as appears, being acquainted with the writings of that scholar. He was not successful, however, in gaining a hearing—not at least until after

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he had repeated his doubts in more compendious form in his *Christus u. die Caesaren* (1877, pp. 371-380).

Soon afterwards A. D. Loman ('*Questions paulinae*' in *Th. T.*, 1882) developed the reasons which seemed to him to render necessary a revision of the criticism of the epistles of Paul which was then current. Without going into details as regarded Romans, he declared all the epistles to be the productions of a later time. Rud. Steck (*Der Galaterbrief nach seiner Echtheit untersucht, nebst kritischen Bemerkungen zu den paulinischen Hauptbriefen*, 1888) came to the same conclusion and took occasion to point out some peculiarities connected with the Epistle to the Romans. The same investigation was more fully carried out, and substantially with the same result, by W. C. van Maanen (*Paulus II. De brief aan de Romeinen*, 1891; cp *Handleiding voor de Oudkerk, letterkunde*, 1900, ch. 3, §§ 10-10), and Prof. W. B. Smith of Tulane University, Louisiana, has recently begun independently to follow the same path. The *Outlook* (New York) of Nov. 1900 contained a preliminary article by him, signed 'Criticus' to misprint for 'Criticus'), and in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1901, a series of articles bearing the author's own name was begun—the first entitled 'Address and Destination of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans,' and the second 'Unto Romans: 15 and 16.'

The newer criticism has made itself heard and goes forward on its path in spite of much opposition and strife, applauded by some, rejected by many. For its character and aims see PAUL, §§ 34-36, and cp §§ 37-48. Its desire is to read 'the Epistle of Paul to the Romans' as well as the rest of the canonical books without any fear of the lam that lies upon aught that may perchance prove to be contrary to tradition, whether ecclesiastical or scientific; uninfluenced by any antecedent presumption as to the correctness of the current views as to contents, origin, or meaning of the text as it has come down to us, however highly esteemed be the quarter—Tübingen or any other—from which they have reached us; free, too, from the dominion of any conviction, received by faith merely, and held to be superior to any test of examination, as to the epistle being indubitably the work of Paul and of Paul alone. It seeks to read the epistle in the pure light of history, exactly as it appears after repeated examination has been made on every side, as it at last presents itself to the student who really wishes to take knowledge of the contents with as little prejudice as possible.

Coming before us, as it does, as a component part of the group known as 'the Epistles of Paul,' handed down from ancient times, Romans appears indeed to be neither more nor less

than an epistle of the apostle, written probably at Corinth and addressed to the Christians at Rome, whom he hopes to visit ere long after having made a journey to Jerusalem. Both superscription and subscription, as well as tradition, indicate this, even if we leave out of account the words 'in Rome' (*ἐν Ῥώμῃ*) and 'to those in Rome' (*τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ*) which are wanting in some MSS in 17:15. We have only, in connection with the superscription and subscription, to look at the manner in which the epistle begins and ends (1:1-15 15:14-16:27), at the way in which the writer throughout addresses his readers as brethren (1:13 7:14 8:12 10:1 11:25 12:1 15:14/30 16:17), stirs them up, admonishes them and discusses with them, as persons with whom he stands on a friendly footing, and has opened a correspondence on all sorts of subjects. The appearance of Tertius as amanuensis (16:22) need cause no surprise, it being assumed that perhaps Paul himself may not have been very ready with the pen.

If we turn for a little from a consideration of the literary form to occupy ourselves more with the contents, the first thing that strikes us is the conspicuously methodical way in which the writer has set forth his material. After an address

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and benediction (11-7), an introduction (18-15), and a statement of what he regards as the essential matter as regards the preaching of the gospel—a thing not to be ashamed of but to be everywhere preached as a power of God for the salvation of every believer whether Jew or Greek (16f.)—come two great doctrinal sections followed by an ethical section. The first doctrinal section, 13-8, 39, is devoted to the elucidation of the truth that the gospel is the means for the salvation of Jews and Greeks, because in it is revealed the righteousness of God from faith to faith; the other, 9-11, to an earnest discussion of what seems to be a complete rejection of the Jews by God; the third, the ethical section (12-15), to a setting forth of the conduct that befits the Christian both towards God and towards man in general, and towards the weak and their claims in particular.

In substance the doctrine is as follows. Sin has alienated all men, Jews and Gentiles alike, from God, so that neither our natural knowledge of God nor the law is able to help us (13-20). A new way of salvation is opened up. 'God's righteousness has been manifested' (δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ φανερώται) for all men without distinction, by faith in relation to Jesus Christ (31-31). It is accordingly of no importance to be descended from Abraham according to the flesh; Abraham in the higher sense is the father of those who believe (4). Justified by faith, we have peace with God and the best hopes for the future (5). Let no one, however, suppose that the doctrine of grace, the persuasion that we are under grace, not under the law, will conduce to sin or bring the law into contempt. Such conclusions can and must be peremptorily set aside (6-7). The emancipated life of the Christian, free from the law of sin and death, is a glorious one (8). Israel, the ancient people of the promises with its great privileges, appears indeed to be rejected, yet will finally be gathered in (9-11). The life of Christians, in relation to God and man, must in every respect give evidence of complete renewal and absolute consecration (12-15). Finally, a closing word as to the apostle's vocation which he hopes to fulfil in Rome also; a commendation of Phoebe, greetings, exhortations, benedictions, and an ascription of praise to God (15-16-27).

If, at a first inspection, the work presents itself to us as an epistle written by Paul to the Christians at Rome, on closer examination it becomes difficult to adhere to such a view. Difficulties arise on every side. To begin with—as regards the form that is assumed. We are acquainted with no letters of antiquity with any such exordium as this: 'Paul, bond-slave of Jesus Christ, called an apostle, separated unto the gospel of God . . . to all those who are in Rome . . . grace to you and peace from God our father and the Lord Jesus Christ' (Παῦλος δούλος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, κλητὸς ἀπόστολος ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ . . . πᾶσιν τοῖς ὄσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ . . . χάρις ὑμῶν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ); nor with any conclusion so high-sounding as the doxology of 16:25-27, or the prayer for the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ which is heard in 16:20 (or 16:24). In every other case the epistles of antiquity invariably begin plainly and simply.

Thus, for example, in the collection of Oxyrhynchus papyri (1181) we have Εἰρήνη Τασιώφραε καὶ φίλων ἐνδοξαίειν . . . and at the close εὐ πράττετε; or (1183) Χαίρειαι Διογισταί τῷ κυρίῳ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν and, at the close, ἐρωσθαί σε εὐχόμαι. Greetings are indeed conveyed both from and to various persons; but never are so many introduced as in Rom. 16:1-16, where in fact at the end all the churches salute. A letter-writer may, at the outset, seek to bring himself into closer relationship with his reader or to make himself known more exactly; but in the many examples of real letters that have come down to us from ancient times we nowhere find anything even approaching the amplitude of Rom. 12-6. Nor yet does any real letter, whether intended for few or for many, so far as

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we are in a position to judge, ever give us cause, because by its length or its elaborate method it resembles a treatise arranged in orderly sections, to regard it as a book, as our canonical epistle to the Romans does, with its great subdivisions (already taken account of under § 5).

We may, in truth, safely dispense with further comparison between our epistle and any real letters from ancient times, so impossible is it to regard it as an actual epistle, to whatever date, locality, or author we may assign it.

7. Style of address.

How could any one at the very beginning of a letter, in which, too, the first desire he writes to express is that of writing solemnly, earnestly, directly, allow himself to expatiate, as this writer does, in such a parenthesis? He speaks as a didactic expounder who, for the most part, directly and as concisely as possible, deals with a number of disputed points, with regard to which the reader may be supposed to be in doubt or uncertainty because in point of fact they have gained acceptance within certain circles. These expositions relate to nothing more or less than such points as the relation of the Pauline Gospel to the OT (2: 2), the descent of the Son of God from the house of David (2: 3), the evidence of the Messiahship of Jesus derived from his resurrection (2: 4), the origin and the legitimacy of the Pauline preaching (3: 5). At the same time the readers (who have not yet been named and are first addressed in 2: 7) are assured that they belong to the Gentiles (ἔθνη), with reference to whom Paul has received his apostleship, although, according to 11:10-13, he has never as yet met them and consequently has not been the means of their conversion. All this within a single parenthesis. In such wise no letter was ever begun.

The writer addresses himself to 'all' the members of a wide circle—let us say in Rome; even if the words 'in Rome' (ἐν Ῥώμῃ) and 'those who are in Rome' (τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ, 17:15), according to some MS authorities do not belong to the original text, their meaning is assured by the superscription 'to Romans' (πρὸς Ῥωμαίους; cp 15:22-29) and by the unvarying tradition as to the destination of the 'epistle'. The Paul whom we meet here addresses his discourse to a wide public, and utters in lofty tones such words as these: 'O, man, whoever thou be who judgest, etc.' (ὦ ἄνθρωπε πᾶς ὁ κρίνων κ.τ.λ., 2:1), 'O, man, who judgest, etc.' (ὦ ἄνθρωπε ὁ κρίνων κ.τ.λ., 2:3), 'If thou bearest the name of a Jew, etc.' (εἰ δὲ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ἐπονομάει κ.τ.λ., 2:17), 'Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God?' (ὦ ἄνθρωπε, μενοῦνγε σὺ τίς εἶ ὁ ἀνταποκρινόμενος τῷ θεῷ, 9:20), 'But I speak to you that are Gentiles' (ὑμῶν δὲ λέγω τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, 11:13), 'I say . . . to every man that is among you, etc.' (λέγω . . . παντὶ τῷ ὄντι ἐν ὑμῶν κ.τ.λ., 12:3), 'Who art thou that judgest the servant of another?' (σὺ τίς εἶ ὁ κρίνων ἀλλότριον οἰκέτην, 14:4), 'But thou, why dost thou judge thy brother?' (σὺ δὲ τί κρίνεις τὸν ἀδελφόν σου, 14:10), 'For if because of meat thy brother is grieved, etc.' (εἰ γὰρ διὰ βρώμα ὁ ἀδελφός σου λυπείται κ.τ.λ., 14:15), etc. Often the argument proceeds uninterruptedly for a long time without any indication of the existence of a definite circle of persons to whom it is addressed. Yet, on the other hand also, the abstract argumentation gives place to direct address, the word of admonition or exhortation spoken to the brethren (ἀδελφοί), whether named or unnamed—the mention of whom, however, when it occurs, is a purely oratorical form and no natural expression of the existence of any special relation between the writer and his assumed readers. Of the passages coming within the scope of this remark (some of them, already noticed in § 4), none presents any peculiarity in this respect. On the contrary, every one of them produces uniformly the same impression; in this manner no real letter is ever written.

The last chapter has nothing of the character of a postscript to a letter already completed, although the letter appears to end with 15:30-33. Strange, in the sense of being not natural but artificial, is the appearance

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in 1622 of Tertius ('I, Tertius, who write the epistle'; ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολήν), the secretary of Paul, who, however, seems himself to have had a hand in the letter, since we find him saying in 1515, 'I wrote to you' (ἔγραψα ὑμῖν). Strange especially is Tertius's greeting of the readers in his own name, in the midst of the greetings which Paul seems to be transmitting through him, 17: 21-23.

The contents of the epistle, largely consisting of argument and discussions on doctrinal theses, differ as widely as possible from what one is wont to expect in a letter—so widely that many have long laboured at the task of making a suitable paraphrase of the 'text-book' while retaining their belief in its epistolary character. (See, for example, the specimen in Holtzmann, *Einl.*⁷⁶, 237; cp S. Davidson, *Intr.*⁷⁵, 113-116.)

In vain do we make the attempt in some degree to picture to ourselves what the relation was between the supposed author and his readers. Acts supplies no light. There we read that when Paul is approaching Rome the brethren go to meet him, not because they had previously had a letter from him, but because they have heard various things regarding his recent fortunes (28:14 f.). As for the Jews of the metropolis, they have heard nothing either good or bad concerning him (7: 21). Tradition, apart from the N.T., has equally little to say about the epistle, whether as to its reception or as to what impression it may have made. The document itself says something, but only what adds to the confusion. The truth of the matter seems unattainable. Scholars lose themselves in most contradictory conjectures as to the occasion and purpose of the writing.

See, amongst others, Meyer-Weiss, *Komm.*⁸⁶, 1899, pp. 23-33; Holtzmann, *Einl.*⁷⁶, 236-241; Lipsius, *Comm.*⁷⁵, 1892, pp. 75-76; Sunday-Headlam, *Comm.*, 1895, chaps. 38-44; van Manen, *Paulus*, 220-23.

Who the supposed readers of the epistle were can only be gathered from its contents. But these are so different in many aspects that it is possible to say with equal justice that the church in Rome was Jewish-Christian, Gentile-Christian, or a mixture of the two.

Cp the various conclusions in Meyer-Weiss, 19-22; Holtzmann, 212-237; Lipsius, 70-73; Steck, *Gal.* 350-363; Völler, *Th. F.*, 1889, pp. 270-272, and *Komp.* 8 f.; van Manen, *Paulus*, 221-253.

It may be added here that the work is throughout addressed to 'brethren' of all kinds, and sometimes it seems also to have been intended for Jews and Gentiles who stood in no connection whatever with Christianity. Did any one ever give to a particular letter an aim so general, without realising that his letter had ceased to be a letter at all in the natural meaning of the word, and had become what we are accustomed to call an open letter, an occasional writing, a book? Everything leads to the one conclusion; the epistolary form is not real, it is merely assumed; we have here to do, not with an actual letter of Paul to the Romans, but rather with a treatise, a book, that with the outward resemblance of a letter is nevertheless something quite different. Cp **EPISTOLARY LITERATURE**, § 1-3; **OLD CHRISTIAN LITERATURE**, § 18 f.

The same conclusion results from a closer examination of the whole as it lies before us, whenever we direct our attention to the connection of its several parts.

9. Kind of unity. The relative unity of the book there is no reason for doubting. It is not, however, unity of the kind we are accustomed to expect in a book written after more or less careful preparation, in accordance with a more or less carefully considered and logically developed plan; not unity such as is the outcome of a free elaboration of the materials after these have been more or less diligently collected, and fully mastered by the writer. Least of all, a unity such as we look for in a letter, whether we think of it as written at one sitting or as written bit by bit and at intervals. It is rather a unity of such a sort as reminds us of that

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of a synoptical gospel, with regard to which no one doubts that it is the result of a characteristic process of redaction and remanement, curtailment, correction, and supplementation by the help of older pieces drawn from other sources. It is such unity as we find in reading Acts, although we do not hesitate for a single moment to realise that Lk. has made an often very palpable use of written sources. There is unity of language and style, of thought, of feeling, of opinion; but at the same time there are, not seldom, great diversities in all these respects. The result, obviously, of the unmistakable circumstance that the writer of the canonical epistle has made continual and manifold use of words, forms of expression, arguments, derived from sources known to him, whether retained in his memory or lying before him in written form.

Proof of the justice of this view is supplied by the various attempts made by earlier and later exegetes to expound the epistle as a completely rounded whole—attempts in which it is found necessary at every turn to resort to the assumption of all sorts of conceivable and inconceivable figures and forms of speech, and thus conceal the existence of joints and sutures, hiatuses, and unintelligible transitions. More particularly is this seen in the scientific line taken by Henmann, Semler, Eichhorn, Weisse, Straatman, Volter, Michelsen, Spitta, and so many others (some of these names are enumerated in § 2), who have argued, and continue to argue, for the view that more than one epistle of Paul lies concealed in the apparently homogeneous canonical epistle, or for the view that there have been interpolations, more or less numerous, on an unusually large scale. In the last resort, on an (as far as possible) unprejudiced reading of the text which has come down to us—a reading no longer under the dominion of a foregone conclusion, to be maintained at all hazards, that here we have to do with the original work of the apostle Paul, sent by him to the church at Rome—we shall find that what lies before us is simply a writing from Christian antiquity presenting itself as such a work, which we must try to interpret as best we can.

10. Failures to find unity.

The traces of additions and redactions in the various sections and subsections of the epistle are innumerable. It would be superfluous, even if space allowed, to go through all the details on this head. A few examples may suffice. Compared with the first part (1:18-8:39), the second (9-11), although now an integral portion of the work, betrays tokens of an originally different source. There is no inherent connection between them, although this can, if desired, be sought in the desire to set forth a wholly new doctrinal subject in a wholly new manner. In the second we no longer hear of the doctrine of justification by faith; the treatment of the subject enunciated in 1:16 f. is no longer continued. What takes its place is something quite different and wholly unconnected with it; a discussion, namely, of the doctrinal question, 'Why is it that the Gentiles are admitted and Israel excluded from salvation?' This discussion is directed not, like the contents of the first part, ostensibly to Christian Jews, but to Gentiles. There is nothing in the first part that anywhere suggests any such affection for Israel as is everywhere apparent throughout the second part, and especially in 9:1-3, 10:1-11:25-39; nothing that comes into comparison with the solemn declaration of 9:1 in which the writer bears witness to his great sorrow and unceasing pain of heart concerning Israel. This exordium points to a quite different situation, in which 'Paul' requires to be cleared of the reproach of not concerning himself about God's ancient people. Hence the wish expressed by him that he might become anathema front Christ (ἀπό τοῦ Χριστοῦ) for his brethren's sake, his kinship according to the flesh (συνγενεὶς κατὰ σάρκα, 9:3). Hence his zeal here and in 11:1 to declare himself an Israelite, of

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the seed of Abraham, the tribe of Benjamin. Hence also the summing-up of the ancient privilege of Israel, 'whose is the adoption and the glory and the covenants' (94 f.), in comparison with which the simple statement that they were entrusted with the oracles of God (32) sinks into insignificance. In the first part a quite different tone is assumed towards the Jew (10-11), with whom the speaker appears to have nothing in common. There we find Jew and Greek placed exactly on an equality (10 29 f. 30); the idea of the Jews that as such they could have any advantage over the heathen is in set terms controverted (21-32), and it is declared that descent from Abraham, according to the flesh, is of no value (4). Here, on the other hand (9-11), we have earnest discussion of the question how it is possible to reconcile the actual position of Israel in comparison with the Gentile world with the divine purpose and the promise made to the fathers. Here, too, a high-pitched acknowledgment of the privileges of Israel, the one good olive-tree, the stem upon which the wild olive branches—the believing Gentiles—are grafted; Israel in the end is certain to be wholly saved, being, as touching the election, beloved for the fathers' sake (κατὰ τὴν ἐκλογὴν ἀγαπητοὶ διὰ τοὺς πατέρας, 94 f. 10 21 17 f. 25 28). In the first part, a sharp repudiation of the law in respect of its powerlessness to work anything that is good (320 f. 27 415 614 75 f., etc.); in the second a holding up of the giving of the law (νομοθεσία) as a precious gift (94). In the first part the earnest claim to justification by faith (5 1), to being under grace (6 14), to a walk in newness of spirit (7 6); in the second the assurance that 'if thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord, and shalt believe in thy heart that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved' (10 9).

Observe, again, the difference in respect of language. The words 'just,' 'justify,' 'be justified' (δικαίος, δικαιοσύνη, δικαιοσύνη), nowhere occur in chaps. 9-11, nor yet the expression 'both Jews and Greeks' (Ἰσραὴλ τε καὶ Ἕλληνας), except in 10 12 where apparently it is not original, or at least has no meaning after the words 'for there is no distinction' (οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν διαστολή). The words 'Israelite' and 'Israel' are not met with in 1-8, whilst in 9-11 the first occurs three and the second eleven times. On the other hand, we have 'Jew' nine times in 1-8, but only twice in 9-11, and in both cases its occurrence seems probably due to the redactor. The 'adoption' (ἰσθεσία), which, according to 8 15 (cp Gal. 4 5 Eph. 1 5) is a privilege of all Christians, whether Jews or Greeks, recurs in 9 4 in connection with a supposed predestination of Israel as the son of God; the word is the same but it sounds quite differently. In 1-8 Christ is seven times called the son of God, and in 9-11 never. On the other hand, he is probably called God in 9 5 but nowhere in 1-8. Whilst in 1-8 we find no other form of the verb 'say' (εἰπεῖν) than 'shall we say' (εἰροῦμεν), in 9 19 f. 11 19 we also have 'thou wilt say' (εἰρήεις) and 'shall the thing say?' (εἰρήεις). If the occurrence of the expression 'what then shall we say?' (τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν) in 9 14 20, as well as in 4 1 6 1 7 8 11, points to oneness of language, it has nevertheless to be noted that in 1-8 it never, as in 9 12, is followed by a question, but always by a categorical answer. A speaker who says that Israel 'following after a law of righteousness did not arrive at [that] law' (διώκων νόμου δικαιοσύνης εἰς νόμον οὐκ ἔφθασεν, 9 31) understands by 'law' (νόμος) something quite different, and at the same time is following a quite different use of language, from one who declares that the Jew sins 'under law' (ἐν νόμῳ or ἐν νόμῳ); shall be judged 'by law' (διὰ νόμου, 2 12); doeth not 'the things of the law' (τὰ τοῦ νόμου, 2 14), is not justified 'by works of law' (ἐξ ἔργων νόμου), comes to knowledge of sin 'through law' (διὰ νόμου, 3 20) and lives 'under law' (ὑπὸ νόμου, 6 14). Only the latter is thinking of the Mosaic law, about which the former would not speak so depreciatingly. In chaps. 9-11, as Steck (Gal. 362)

justly remarks, a much more superficial use is made of the proof from scripture, 'and the whole representation and language is somewhat less delicate.'

The third part of the epistle (12-15 13) seems to be closely connected with that which precedes. Observe the 'then' (οὖν; 12 1), and notice how the writer harks back to 9-11 in his declaration (15 8) that Christ has been made a minister of the circumcision with reference to the promise of God, and to 1 16 f. or 1 18-8 39 in the same declaration supplemented with the statement (15 9) that Christ appeared also that the Gentiles might glorify God for his mercy. But the connection when more closely examined will be found to be only mechanical. There is no real inward connection. No one expects a hortatory passage such as this after 11 33-6. Nor yet where some would find place it, after ch. 8 or ch. 6.

The exhortations and instructions given in 12-15 13, however we put the different parts together, stand in no relation to the preceding argument; the same holds good of the exordium 12 1 f. Though usual, it is not correct to say that Paul first develops his doctrinal system 1 18-11 36, and then his ethical in 12-15 13; or even to say in the modified form of the statement that he follows up the doctrinal with an ethical section. Exhortations are not wanting in the first part, nor doctrines in the last. The truth is that in 1 18-11 36 the doctrinal element is prominent, just as the hortatory is in 12-15 13. In other words, the two pieces are of different character. They betray difference of origin. 12-15 13 is, originally, not a completion of

thought out and committed to writing by the same person, but rather—at least substantially—an independent composition, perhaps, it may be, as some have conjectured, brought hither from another context. It has more points of agreement with certain portions of the Epistles to the Corinthians than with Rom. 1-11. Compare, in general, the manner of writing and the nature of the subjects treated.

In detail, compare such expressions as 'beseech . . . by' (παρακαλῶ . . . διὰ), 12 1, with 1 Cor. 1 10 2 Cor. 10 1, whereas 'beseech' (παρακαλεῖν), however Pauline, is found neither in Rom. 1-11 nor in 12-13; the 'mercies' (οἰκτιρμοί) of God, 12 1, with the 'mercies' (οἰκτιρμοί) of the Father in 2 Cor. 1 3, but nowhere named in Rom. 1-11; 'this age' (ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος) 12 2, with 1 Cor. 1 20 2 Cor. 3 12 2 Cor. 4 4, but not found in Rom. 1-11; the representation that the Christian can still be renewed by the renewing of the mind (ἀνακαίνωσις τοῦ νοῦ; 12 2) with the assurance that though the outer man perish, 'that which is within us is renewed day by day' (ὁ εἶσω ἡμῶν ἀκαταίτητος ἡμέρα καὶ ἡμέρα, 2 Cor. 4 16) whereas Rom. 1-11 knows nothing of this 'renewal,' and could hardly have introduced it alongside of its doctrine that the Christian is dead so far as sin is concerned (6 2) so that he now stands in the service of newness of spirit (7 6). Compare, again, the assurance that God gives to each a measure of faith (ἐκάστη μέτρον πίστεως; 12 3) with 'only, as the Lord has supplied to each' (εἰ μὴ ἐκάστη ὡς μετέρικεν; 1 Cor. 7 14), 'according to the measure of the province (RVmg., or limit) which God apportioned to us as a measure' (κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τοῦ κανόνος, οὐ μετέρικεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς μέτρον; 2 Cor. 10 13), and the declaration that not every one receives faith through the spirit (1 Cor. 12 6), as also that there is a still more excellent way than that implied in the spiritual gifts of which faith is one, —namely, love (1 Cor. 12 31), —whereas not only are the words 'apportion' (μετέρικεν) and 'measure' (μέτρον) unknown to Rom. 1-11, but so also is 'love' (ἀγάπη) in the sense of love to God and one's neighbour, and (equally so) a faith (πίστις) which is not regarded as the beginning of a new life, in comparison with which love is not required simply because that and everything else that is needed is already possessed where faith is; the distinction between various spiritual gifts (12 8) compared with 1 Cor. 12 4-11 and 29 1-7; the whole attitude towards self-exaltation (12 3) compared with 1 Cor. 16 7, and 12 12-20; the exhortations to the practice of love, zeal, and purity (12 6-21 and 13 8-14) compared with 1 Cor. 13 1-3; 14 1-20 30 15 5 5 11 10 11 12-20, where, amongst other things, the occurrence of 'cleave' (κολλᾶσθαι) in Rom. 12 5 and 1 Cor. 6 17 f., though nowhere else to be found in the Pauline epistles, is to be noticed; the occurrence also of 'having thought for things honourable in the sight of all men' (ἐπινοῶμενοι κατὰ ἑπινοῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων; Rom. 12 17) as compared with the only parallel expression 'for we take thought for things honourable, not only in the sight of the Lord, but also in the sight of men' (ἐπινοῶμεν γὰρ κατὰ οὐ μόνον ἑπινοῶν κυρίου ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπινοῶν ἀνθρώπων; 2 Cor. 8 21; cp Prov. 24 12 26, ver. 13 used several times also in 1 and 2 Cor., but never in Rom. 1-11; the special exhortations to subjection to authority and to

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possibility—which, in fact, no one denies—of a development in Paul's mind during the years that elapsed between his conversion and the writing of his epistles. The Paulinism of the epistles in question is, on their own showing, in its main features at least (with which we are here concerned) as old as the Christian life of Paul; but such a Paulinism is even for thoughtful believers in the supernatural inconceivable as having come into existence immediately after Paul had become a Christian. Let the student read and ponder the sketch of Paulinism given by van Manen in *Paulus*, 216-147, cp 211-217; and in *Paul.*, § 49.

The kinship of Paulinism (especially in the form in which it occurs in the Epistle to the Romans) with gnosis, which has been recognised and remarked both by older and by younger critics—amongst others by Basilides, Marcion, Valentinus, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Holsten, Hilgenfeld, Schotten, Heinrici, Pfeleiderer, Weizsäcker, Harnack (cp van Manen, *Paulus*, 2134-106)—leads also to the same conclusion: that Paul cannot have written this epistle. As to the precise date at which (Christian) gnosis first made its appearance there may be some measure of uncertainty: whether in the last years of Trajan (ob. 117 A.D.), as is commonly supposed, or perhaps some decades earlier; in no event can the date be carried back very far, and certainly not so far back as to within a few years of the death of Jesus. With regard to this it is not legitimate to argue, with Baljon (*Gesch.* 77), that in the Pauline gnosis 'no doctrine of a demiurge, no theory of æons is found.' It is years since Harnack (*196²* 1196-7) rightly showed that the essence of the matter is not to be looked for in such details as these.

In addition to the assumed acquaintance (already remarked on) of the readers of the epistle with the Pauline gospel, there are other peculiarities that indicate the church addressed as one of long standing. It is acquainted with various types of doctrine (617). It can look back upon its conversion as an event that had taken place a considerable time ago (1311). It has need of being stirred up to a renewal of its mind (122) and of many other exhortations (12-14). It has in its midst high-minded persons whose thoughts exalt themselves above the measure of faith given them (123). It does not seem superfluous to remind them that each belongs to the other as members of one body endowed with differing gifts. There are prophets, ministers, teachers, exhorters, givers, rulers, and those who show mercy, and it appears to be necessary that each should be reminded of what he ought to do or how he ought to behave. The prophet must keep within the limits of the faith that has been received, and be careful to speak according to the proportion of that faith (*κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως*, 126); the minister, the teacher, and the exhorter must each busy himself exclusively with the work entrusted to him; the giver must discharge his task with simplicity, the ruler his with diligence; he that shows mercy is to do so with cheerfulness (124-8). The mutual relations must be considered anew and carefully regulated, both in general (129-21 138-10), and, in particular, with respect to the special 'necessities of the saints,' the duty of hospitality, the attitude to be maintained towards persecutors (1212 ff.), the public authority, and the fulfilment of the duties of citizenship (131-7). A vigorous exhortation to vigilance and an earnest warning against revellings and drunkenness, chambering and wantonness, strife and envy, are not superfluous (1311-14). There are weak ones in the faith, who avoid the use of wine and flesh (141 f. 21); others who hold one day holy above others, and as regards their food consider themselves bound by obsolete precepts regarding clean and unclean (145 f. 14 f. 20). Others again who regard all these things with lofty disdain, making no distinction between clean and

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unclean food, deeming that they are free to eat and drink as they choose, and that all days are alike; but these, just because of the freedom they rejoice in, give offence to many brethren and are the cause of their moral declension (115 f. 13 15 20-23). These divergent practices have already continued for so long that the writer, so far as the first two (wine and flesh, clean and unclean) are concerned, is in perplexity between them himself, and has no other plan than to raise himself above them all in order to urge a general point of view—a genuinely 'catholic' one—of 'give and take,' in which the principle of freedom is recommended and its application urged in the fine maxims: let no one give offence, let each one be fully persuaded in his own mind, all that is not of faith is sin (145 13 23).

The church is exposed to persecution; it suffers with Christ. It has need of comfort. What is said in this connection cannot be explained from any circumstances at Rome known to us before Nero and the time of the great fire in 64. It points rather to later days when Christians were continually exposed to bloody persecutions. See 5-5 817-39 1212 14.

One decisive proof that in our epistle we are listening to the voice of one who lived after the death of Paul in 64 A.D. is to be found in the manner in which the question of the rejection of Israel is handled in chaps. 9-11. That question could not thus occupy the foreground or bulk so largely in the minds of Christian writers and readers as long as Jerusalem was still standing, and there was nothing to support the vague expectation of its approaching overthrow which some entertained. The allusions to the great events of the year 70, the overthrow of the Jewish commonwealth, and the expectations which connected themselves with this event are manifest. Any one who will read what is said, particularly in 1111-22, about the downfall of the Jews (*τὸ παράπτωμα αὐτῶν*), about the branches that have been broken off (*ἔξεκλάσθησαν κλάδοι*) and the 'cutting off' (*ἀποτομία*) which has come upon those who are fallen (*ἐπὶ τοῖς πεσούτοις*), can be under no misapprehension on this point.

If we now sum up the points that have been touched on in §§ 6-18, we need have no hesitation in deciding that the arguments are convincing:

19. Conclusion. Our canonical Epistle to the Romans is not what it seems to be, not a letter written by the apostle and sent to a definite church; it is a tractate, a book, designed to be read aloud at Christian meetings, a piece to be read in Church (kirchliches Vorlesungsstück), or homily, as Spitta (*Zur Gesch.* 359) has phrased it. It is a book written in the form of a letter, not written after the kind of preparation with which we write our books, but compiled rather in a very peculiar manner by use of existing written materials wherein the same subjects were treated in a similar or at least not very divergent way. We can best form some conception of the method followed here by studying the text of one of the synoptical gospels with an eye to the method in which it was presumably composed; or by tracing in detail the manner in which such authors as the writer of the present epistle make use of the OT. They quote from its words alternately verbatim and freely, often, too, without any reference to the OT context, so that we can trace the question only by comparison of the text we possess which has been wholly or partly followed (cp van Manen, *Paulus*, 2217-9).

The study of the 'epistle' from the point of view of its probable composition, enables us to distinguish what treatises or portions of treatises were probably made use of before the text came into existence in its present form. In this way the work as a whole makes us acquainted with underlying views then prevalent, and accepted or controverted by our author—on the universality of sin and its fatal consequences (118-320); on righteousness by faith (321-31); on the connection between this and Abraham as father of the faithful (4); the fruits of

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justification (5); three objections against Paulinism (6-14 6:15-7:6 7:7-25); the glories of the new life in Christ (8); the rejection of the Jews (9-11); what is the duty of Christians towards God and man generally, and towards the weak and the principles held by them in particular (12-15:13). Such views, however greatly they may vary in purpose and scope, all belong to one main direction, one school of thought, the Pauline. We give them this name because we gain our best and most comprehensive acquaintance with the school from the 'epistles of Paul,' just as we speak of the Johannine School and the Johannine tendency, although we know nothing about the connection between the school or tendency on the one side, and the well-known apostolic name connected with it on the other. To suppose that the school originated from the historical Paul, as was formerly maintained by Steck, is possible; but the supposition finds no support in any historical facts with which we are acquainted (cp *Paulus*, 2:222-227).

What is certain, at any rate, is that the canonical epistle is not by Paul. A writing that is so called, but

on closer examination is seen to be no epistle but rather a compilation, in which, moreover, are embedded pieces that plainly show their origin in a later time, cannot possibly be attributed to the 'apostle of the Gentiles.' In this connection, however, it is inappropriate to speak of deception or forgery or pious fraud. There is not the slightest reason for supposing that our author had the faintest intention of misleading his readers, whether contemporaries or belonging to remote posterity. He simply did what so many others did in his day; he wrote something in the form (freely chosen) of a tractate, a book, or an epistle, under the name of some one whom he esteemed or whose name he could most conveniently and best associate with his work, without any wrong intention or bad faith, because he belonged or wished to be thought to belong, to the party or school which was wont to rally under his master's standard. His own name remained unknown; but his *nom de plume* was preserved and passed from mouth to mouth wherever his work was received and read. What reason was there for inquiring and searching after his real name if the work itself was read, quoted, copied, and circulated with general approval? The work might bear evidence of the artist so far as concerned person, surroundings, sufferings. In this case, according to the epistle, he was a Christian, one of the Pauline School, a polished and educated man with a heart full of zeal for the religious needs of humanity; a

21. His method.

Paulinist, however, of the right wing. He raises himself above the different shades of opinion which he knows so well by letting them find alternate expression, by letting the voice now of the one and now of the other be heard. He gives utterance to words so sharply explicit as these: 'by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified in his sight' (3:20); 'now are we delivered from the law wherein we were held' (7:6); but also to other words, so friendly in their tone as regards the very same law: 'not the hearers . . . but the doers of the law shall be justified' (2:13); 'the law is holy,' 'spiritual' (7:12-14). He asseverates that there is no distinction between Jew and Greek (3:22); that there is with God no acceptance of persons (2:11); and that the privileges of the Jew are many (3:1 f.); that Israel is in a very special way the people of God (9:4 f. 11:1). He says that to be a son of Abraham after the flesh signifies nothing (4:1 f.), and that to be of the seed of Abraham is a specially great privilege (11:1). He recognises at one time that the wrath of God is now manifest upon the sins of men (1:18), and at another that this is yet to come (2:5-8). He speaks of it as a matter of experience that the Christian has broken with sin for good and has become a wholly new creature (6:1-7:6 and 8), and also lays down a quite different doctrine to the effect that he is still 'sold under sin,'

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continually doing the thing he would not, and he longs for emancipation from the body (7:7-25). He embraces the doctrine of a redemption of man from a power hostile to God on the ground of the love of the father (3:24 5:1 8:3 32), and with this he associates the thought of an atoning sacrifice on behalf of the sinner offered to God by Christ 'in his blood' (3:25). Paul is to him the called apostle of the Gentiles (1:1 5:13 f. 15:16 12); but also warmly attached to the Jews and ready to do everything for them (9:1-3 10:1 11:1); in possession of the 'first fruits of the spirit,' always working 'in the power of God's spirit,' but also in the manner of the original apostles 'in the power of signs and wonders' (15:19). He recognises Jesus as God's son, who has appeared 'in the likeness of sinful flesh' (8:3 12); but he also says that he is of Israel according to the flesh (9:5), and that he was first exalted to the dignity of divine sonship by his resurrection (1:3 f. 15:12). He speaks with the same facility of 'Jesus,' 'Jesus Christ,' and 'our Lord Jesus Christ' as he speaks of 'Christ' and 'Christ Jesus.' For him all distinction in the use of these various designations has practically disappeared. Not seldom do we find him affirming and denying on the same page. He knows how to give and take, when to evade arguments, and when to meet them. Already we perceive in him something of the 'catholic' spirit which rises above the strife of parties; which serves the truth and promotes the unity of believers, by siding now with the right wing, now with the left, by guiding over thorny points, and boldly thrusting difficulties aside.

As for origin, he was probably a Greek. He thinks in Greek, speaks Greek, and seems to have used no other books than those which he could

22. His origin. have consulted in Greek (cp *Paulus*, 2:186-190). His home we can place equally well in the E. or in the W. In the E., and particularly in Antioch or elsewhere in Syria, because Paulinism probably had its origin there. The catholic strain, on the other hand, within the limits of the Pauline movement, seems rather to have proceeded from Rome. The possibility is not excluded that the main portions of the letter, or if you will, of a letter, to the Romans, were written in the E., and that the last touches were put to it in Rome or elsewhere in the W.; in other words, that it was there that the epistle took the final form in which we now know it. There is a considerable number of writings which passed over from the hands of the Gnostics into those of 'catholic'-minded Christians, and in the transition were here and there revised and corrected, brought into agreement, somewhat more than appeared in their original form, with the prevailing type of what was held to be orthodox (cp Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap. gesch.* 1883-1887; Usener, *Rel.-gesch. Unters.* 1, 1889; van Manen, *Paulus*, 2:227-230).

The author has not given us the date of his work, and we can guess it only approximately. Broadly

23. Date. speaking, we may say, not earlier than the end of the first nor later than the middle of the second century. Not before the end of the first century, because after the death of Paul (about 64 A.D.) time enough must be allowed to admit of epistles being written in his name as that of a highly placed and authoritative exponent of Christianity,—the representative, not to say the 'father,' of Paulinism, a forward-reaching spiritual movement, a deeply penetrating and largely framed reform of that oldest Christianity which embodied the faith and expectations of the first disciples of Jesus after the crucifixion. Paulinism in this sense certainly did not come into existence until after the downfall of the Jewish state in 70 A.D., and—if we consider its kinship with gnosticism, and various other features which it shows—surely not before the end of the first, or the beginning of the second, century. On the other side, we may venture to say, not later than the middle of the second century. Clement of

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Alexandria, Tertullian, Irenæus, use the book towards the end of that century, and we may be sure did not hold it for a recent composition. So also Theophilus *ad Autolycum*, 314, who about 180 A.D. cited Rom. 13 *f.* as 'divine word' (Θείον λόγος). Basilides (125), and Marcion, who made his appearance at Rome in 138, knew the epistle as an authoritative work of 'the apostle.' Aristides (125-129), James (130), 1 Peter (130-140) in like manner show acquaintance with the epistle. Various circumstances combined justify the supposition that it was written probably about 120 A.D., whilst some portions of it in their original form may be regarded as somewhat earlier (cp *Paulus*, 220-233, 312-313).

If, in conclusion, we are met by the question, 'What is the value of the writing when one can no longer regard it as an epistle of Paul to the Romans?' it must never be forgotten

that the incisiveness of its dialectic, the arresting character of certain of its passages, the singular power especially of some of its briefer utterances and outpourings of the heart, the edifying nature of much of the contents, remain as they were before. The religious and ethical value, greater at all times than the æsthetic, is not diminished. The historical value, on the other hand, is considerably enhanced. True, we no longer find in it, what we were formerly supposed to find, the interesting (though in large measure not well understood) writing of the apostle, written, in the days of his activity among the Gentiles, to a church which was personally unknown to him. But what have we in its place? A book of great significance for our knowledge of the ancient Christianity that almost immediately succeeded the apostolic (the Christianity of the disciples of Jesus in the years that followed his death). There is no work from Christian antiquity that contributes more largely to our knowledge of Paulinism (whether in its first form—a form in which it has not reached us in any deliberate writing—or in its subsequent development) in its strength as an inspiring directory for conduct, and in the richness and depth of its religious thought and experience.

No serious efforts to defend the genuineness of the epistle have as yet ever been attempted. Those offered

casually and in passing, as it were, rely (as for example in Meyer-Weiss, *Komm.*¹⁰, 1899, 33-34, and in S. Davidson, *Introd.*¹¹, 1894, 117-119, 150-2) on the so-called external evidence. That is to say, its defenders rely on what is excellent proof of the existence of the epistle at the time when it was cited, or what clearly presupposes an acquaintance with it, but is of no significance whatever when the question is whether the work was in reality written by the individual who from the first was named as its author. This the Tübingen school have long perceived; Baur also did not rely on such arguments. Instead of doing so he thus expressed himself (*Paulus* 1², 1866, 276):

¹⁰Against these four epistles (Rom., 1 and 2 Cor., Gal.) not only has even the slightest suspicion of spuriousness never been raised, but in fact they bear on their face the mark of Pauline originality so uncontestedly that it is impossible to imagine by what right any critical doubt could ever possibly assert itself regarding them.

The utterance, it will be observed, wholly ignores Evanson, 1792, and of course also Bruno Bauer, who did not publish his criticism till 1851; but it also ignores the view taken by so many, including E. C. von Baur himself, who have vied with one another in the disintegration of the epistle, as also the possibility that yet others at a later date might perceive what Baur himself had not observed; nor yet does it take account of the unsatisfactoriness of any assertion (however plausible it may sound) as to the 'originality' of Paul, whom after all we know only by means of the picture that has been constructed with the aid of those very epistles with regard to which we wish to inquire whether they really were written by him. Nothing therefore is

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added to the argument when a countless host of others since Baur are never weary of repeating that 'even the Tübingen school' have raised no doubts as to the genuineness. The observation is correct, it is true. Only they forget to add: nor yet have they offered proofs that it is genuine.

Meyer-Weiss, S. Davidson, and others remain equally sparing of their arguments even after the criticism of a later date has made its voice heard. They put it aside with a single word. Weiss, with a reference to 'Parody,' by C. Hessedamm, *Der Komerkbrief beurtheilt u. gesehrtheilt*, 1891. Davidson, with the observation that the genuineness, apart from the conclusive test, many of witnesses, is fully guaranteed by internal evidence.

The internal character of the epistle and its historical allusion coincide with the external evidence in proving it an authentic production of the apostle. It bears the marks of his vigorous mind; the language and style being remarkably characteristic.

He omits, however, to tell us how he knows that anything is a 'production,' not to say an 'authentic production of the apostle'; nor yet how he has obtained his knowledge of the mind of Paul; nor yet why it is impossible for a pseudonymous author to have any characteristic language and style.

Harnack (*ACL*, ii. 1 [1897] p. vii) considers himself absolved from going into the investigation until the representatives of the newer criticism 'shall have rigorously carried out the task incumbent on them of working out everything pertaining to the subject afresh.'

Jüllicher (*Eintl.*, 1894, p. 17, 1901¹², p. 19) once and again resorted to a severe attack on 'hypercriticism' and 'pseudocriticism,' and subsequently proceeded, in dealing with the Epistle to the Romans, as if nobody had ever at any time argued against its genuineness.

Sanday and Headlam (*Comm.*, 1895, pp. 85-88) discuss exhaustively the integrity of the epistle, especially as regards chaps. 15-16, but say little about the history of the question of genuineness. They cursorily dismiss some of the objections without showing that they have really grasped their proper significance. Counter-arguments are practically not heard. So also in other commentaries whose authors had heard anything about the newer criticism referred to. Holtzen ('*Krit. Briefe über die neueste paulin. Hypothese*' in *Prot. Kirchenztg.*, 1889), Pfeleiderer (*Paulinismus*¹³, 1890; 'Holtzmann (*Eintl.*¹⁴, 1892), Lipsius (*HZ*¹⁵, 1892, pp. 83 *f.*), and others, made some general observations in favour of the genuineness that had been called in question. But these discussions were little more than insignificant 'affairs of outposts'; no real battle was delivered nor even any serious attack prepared.

Then came Zahn (*Eintl.*¹⁶, 1900, 13) with his censure on his comrades in arms against the Tübingen school for their error in having defended indeed the genuineness of the epistles 'rejected' by Baur, but not that of the 'principal epistles,' although Baur and his disciples had never so much as even attempted any proof for the positive part of their results.' Forthwith he addressed himself to the long postponed task. He gave some half-dozen general observations (pp. 112-116) not differing in substance from those which had already been made; referred to the various particular investigations to be made in a later part of the work, including the detailed treatment of the Epistle to the Romans (pp. 251-310) where 31 full pages are devoted to the subject of the integrity and not a single word to the question of genuineness.

Baljon (*Zes.h.*, 1901) perceived that something more than this was necessary to put the newer criticism to silence, if it was wrong. But what he wrote with this end in view was neither (as might have been expected) a confutation of the objections urged, nor yet an argument for the genuineness at least as solid and good as (in intention at all events) that made on behalf of Philipians, but simply a couple of pages (pp. 97-100) devoted to the history of the newer criticism and a few observations upon the objections urged by van Manen.

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So far as appears, no one has as yet addressed himself to the task of an orderly scientific discussion of the arguments on the other side, or to an effective setting forth of the arguments on behalf of the genuineness.

Good commentaries—though all, it may be remarked, written from the point of view of an undisputed and therefore indisputable genuineness—are those of J.

26. Literature. Weiss⁶ (= Meyer-Weiss⁶), 1899, R. A. Lipsius (*HC*², 1892), W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam (*Int. Crit. Comm.* 1895). They all take account of their important predecessors (see Weiss 39-41, Lipsius vii-viii, Sanday xxviii-cix), amongst whom are Origen (*ob.* 254), Chrysostom (*ob.* 457), Melancthon (1560), Calvin (1564), Torinus (1645), Tholuck (1877), Kückert (1839)², J. G. Keiche (1834-41), C. F. A. Fritzsche (1836-41), van Hengel (1834-54), de Wette (1847)⁴; as also of the works of H. Alford (*ob.* 1871), B. Jowett (1845, 1850)², C. A. Vaughan (1874)⁴, W. Kelly (1873), F. Gunkel (1879, *FT* 1881), G. Volkmar (1875), Cp. H. J. Holtzmann, *Fests.* 9 (1892), 210-246; S. Davidson, *Inte.* 3⁸ (1894), 1105-152, *The Zehn. Lekt.* 2² (1900), 1251-310, J. M. S. Baljon, *Ges. h. van de oorkonden*, *Nr.* 13 (1901), 80-101, F. Spitta, *Unt. Ab. den Br. des P. an die Römer* (1901); A. D. Loman, 'Quaest. Paulinae,' *Th. I.* (1882); R. Steck, *cat.* (1888), 154-161, 350-363, 374-382, W. C. van Manen, *Paulus II.: De brief aan de Rom.* (1861).

W. C. V. M.

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Not founded by Peter and Paul Age (§§ 10-12).
 (¶ 1 f.). Charac. (¶¶ 13-16).
 Not by Peter alone (¶ 3). Constitution and government
 Not by Paul (¶¶ 4-7). (¶ 17 f.).
 Origin among Jews in Rome Influence and importance
 (¶ 8 f.). (¶ 19 f.).
 Bibliography (¶ 21).

The earliest period of the Christian community in Rome is wrapped in impenetrable obscurity. Tradition

1. **Peter-Paul tradition.** attributes its founding to the joint labours of the apostles Peter and Paul.

This tradition, however, is unworthy of our confidence. It is comparatively recent. The oldest traces of its existence do not go back farther than to the close of the second century.

According to a notice in Eusebius (*HE* ii. 258), 'Dionysius of Corinth,' about the year 170 A.D., or somewhat later (see *OLD CHRISTIAN LITERATURE*, § 31), wrote to the Romans as follows: 'So also by this so weighty admonition [of yours]—the allusion is to the epistle of the Romans to the Corinthians (2:14)—we have brought together [anew] that planting [of the church] made by Peter and Paul, of the [churches of the] Romans and of the Corinthians. For, indeed, these two both planted us in our Corinth and likewise taught us; in like manner also after having taught together in Italy they suffered martyrdom about the same time [not necessarily, of course, at the same hour, or on the same day, the same month, or even the same year] (*ταύτα και υμεις δια της τοσαύτης νοουθεσίας την από Παύλου και Πέτρου και υμεις δια της τοσαύτης νοουθεσίας την από Παύλου και Πέτρου συνεκεράσατε. και γαρ άμφω και εις την ημετέραν Κορινθον διεπιστάντες ήνά εδίδαξαν. υμεις δε και εις την Ιταλίαν υμεις εδίδαξαν ήμαστας κατα τον αυτον καιρον*). Here the 'planting' or founding of the churches, alike of Rome and of Corinth, is clearly recognised to have been the work of the apostles Peter and Paul. It is of no avail to say with Sanday and Headlam (*Comm.* p. xxix) that the 'planting' referred to (*φύτευειν*; cp 1 Cor. 3:6 ff. 97) is not to be taken 'in the sense of first foundation.' We are not responsible for what 'Dionysius' says; but we are under obligation to understand it in the sense in which he meant it.

The same remark holds good with reference to Irenaeus when he speaks of the church at Rome as having been 'founded and constituted by the two very glorious apostles Peter and Paul' (a gloriosissimis apostolis Petro et Paulo Romae fundata et constituta, iii. 31). These two, subsequently spoken of as 'the blessed apostles,' the same authority (about 180 A.D.) goes on to state, after having founded and built up the church, handed over the government to Linus (*θεμελιώσαντες ον και οικοδομήσαντες οι μακάριοι άποστολοι την εκκλησίαν Λινου την της επισκοπης λειτουργίαν ενεχειρίσαν*, iii. 32; *Eirs. HE* v. 61). In *Eirs. HE* v. 82 he tells us that Matthew wrote a gospel for the Hebrews in their own tongue 'whilst Peter and Paul were preaching the Gospel at Rome and founding the church' (*του Πέτρου και του Παύλου εν Ρώμη ευαγγελιζόμενοι και θεμελιώσαντες την εκκλησίαν*).

These clear testimonies, however, to the founding of the church of Rome by Peter and Paul—however unhesitatingly they may have been accepted and built upon in later times—are one and all quite unworthy of credence.

2. **Not trustworthy.** and all quite unworthy of credence.

Not only are they relatively recent and obviously framed in accordance with a settled policy of glorifying the

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unity of the church as having been manifest even in its oldest communities; what is more to the point, they are at variance with older representations, whether we receive these with absolute confidence or not, of the course of events connected with the founding of a Christian community in Rome.

'Ignatius,' in his epistle to the Romans (13), written about the middle of the second century (see *OLD CHRISTIAN LITERATURE*, § 28 f.), indeed mentions 'Peter and Paul' as known and influential teachers of the church he is addressing, but says nothing as to their having founded it. The church of Rome itself speaks by the mouth of 'Clement' in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, dating from about the year 100 A.D. (see *OLD CHRISTIAN LITERATURE*, § 23 f.), of Peter and Paul as known witnesses to the truth (1 Clem. 2:3-7), but not as founders of the church. Acts is not aware of any labours of Peter and Paul carried out in common at Rome. From 28:17-28 it might seem to be a possible inference that Paul was the first to speak about Christianity to the leading Jews there; but of Peter there is no word in this connection. Just as little is Peter mentioned in the canonical epistle to the Romans, even in conjunction with 'Paul' when this apostle is speaking of his desire to become acquainted with the Christians of the metropolis, whose faith is everywhere spoken of, and whom he hopes ere long to be able to meet (1:3-15 15:22-24 20 f. 16:19). Indeed, the arrangements between Paul on the one hand, and James, Cephas, and John on the other, according to Gal. 2:9, 'we to the Gentiles and they to the circumcision' (*ημεις εις τα εθνη, αυτοι δε εις την περιτομήν*), do not lead us to expect to find in epistles of Paul any word of co-operation between Peter and Paul in the founding of individual churches. What is related as to this at a later date with regard to Rome cannot hold good in presence of the assurance given us by the Epistle to the Romans, whether by Paul himself or by an anonymous author using his name, that at Rome there was a considerable Christian community before Paul could possibly have been able to speak a single word there.

Matters do not stand much better with the belief—held absolutely for many centuries, called in question

3. **So also Peter-tradition.** at the Reformation, and again at a later period maintained by many

Protestants also—according to which the church of Rome was founded by Peter alone. This

tradition also deserves no credence, whether in the form which represents Peter as having been bishop of

Rome for twenty-five years after the founding of the church, or in the simpler form which merely conjectures

that the apostle may have contributed something to the formation and extension of the church, or at least in

later years may have visited it for a shorter or longer period. The founding of the church by Peter is ex-

cluded by the silence of Ignatius and Clement on the subject, and still more by the evidence of Acts, Galatians, and Romans. Not only do they say nothing

positive to this effect; they make it perfectly clear that from the point of view of their respective authors such a thing is not to be thought of. Acts closes its account

of Peter in 12:17 with the words, 'and he departed, and went to another place' (*και εξελθών επορεύθη εις έτερον τόπον*), and in the rest of the book Peter's name is

only once again mentioned, and in a different connection (15:6-20), where he is represented as again in

Jerusalem. In view of this passage 12:17 cannot be understood as referring to a journey to Rome for any

lengthened period, not to speak of a period of five and twenty years. Neither, however, can we understand a

visit to Rome of shorter duration, such as Harnack (*ICZ*, 2:1 [1897], 240-244, 704-710) still, with many, regards

as probable, not even with the aid of the assumption that the contents of Acts 15 were taken from another

source than that from which 'Luke' derived his other statements regarding Peter in Acts 1-12. The words

quoted do not 'of course' say that we are to think of a mere visit whether to Rome or to any other place.

They are quite clearly intended merely to indicate that the author does not propose to follow the fortunes of

Peter further; 'and going his way, he journeyed to another place.' To understand Rome as intended here becomes possible only after one has learned elsewhere, rightly or wrongly, to speak of a sojourn of the apostle in the metropolis. Acts says nothing of this, and plainly presupposes rather the exact opposite, since

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chap. 15 alluded to Peter as again in Jerusalem, and 28¹⁷⁻²⁸, speaking of Paul's meeting with Jews at Rome, leaves no room for the supposition that Peter had preceded him there as a preacher of Christianity. Galatians knows no residence of Peter other than Antioch (21¹⁻²¹)—apart from Jerusalem where, according to 1¹⁰ 2¹⁻¹⁰, he seems to have his home, an agreement that he is to address himself to 'the circumcision' being expressly mentioned. Romans knows of Christians in Rome; refers to their conversion from Judaism and heathendom, their fidelity to the Pauline type of doctrine once received (6¹⁷), and the spiritual bond subsisting between them, or many of them, and Paul; but has not a word to say about any connection, whether of long or short duration, between them and the apostle Peter, and does not even so much as mention his name. The writer, whoever he may have been, it has been rightly remarked, has no acquaintance with any tradition which represented Peter as having been the founder of the Roman Church. His declaration made in 13²⁰ f. that he, 'Paul,' would not build upon another man's foundation, however inconsistent with the desire expressed in 18¹⁵ and 15²²⁻²⁴ 29, wholly excludes it. Especially so as soon as by the word 'another' we understand, as is usually the case, an apostle—in this instance Peter.

It is, in fact, improbable that Peter ever set foot in Rome. The later traditions regarding this, including those handed down by Eusebius, have no claim to our acceptance, as has often been convincingly shown by many scholars (and recently by C. Clermen, *Preuss. Jahrb.*, 1901, pp. 404-417, and C. Erbes, *Abchr. f. Kirchengesch.*, 1901, pp. 1-47, 101-231). They possess no higher value than those relating to Thomas's preaching to the Parthians, Andrew's to the Scythians, John's in Asia Minor. When Eusebius, immediately afterwards (iii. 32, cp. ii. 255), gives expression to the conjecture that Peter preached to the Jews of the dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia, before his crucifixion (head downwards) at Rome, he attributes to him, obviously with his eye on 1 Pet. 1, a career which he himself could not possibly reconcile with the details that he gives elsewhere. According to iii. 32, Peter was for some time bishop of Antioch before Ignatius; according to ii. 258 he was, along with Paul, founder of the churches of Corinth and Rome; according to ii. 146, the powerful opponent of Simon Magus at Rome in the reign of Claudius (41-54 A.D.); according to vi. 258, the rock upon which the church of Christ is built, and the author of two epistles.

A reference to 1 Pet. 1, though often made in conjunction with 5¹³, is of no avail to support the view that Peter at some time or other had indeed made a stay, longer or shorter, in Rome. There need, indeed, be no hesitation, not even in presence of the objections of Erbes,¹ to see in 'she that is in Babylon, elect together with [you]' (*ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή*, 1 Pet. 5¹³) an allusion to the church in Rome. In 1 Pet., however, it is not Peter himself who is speaking, but an unknown author writing in the first half of the second century, 130-140 A.D. (OLD-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, § 20; PETER, EPISTLES OF, §§ 5 ff.; CHRISTIAN, § 8). He is the exponent of a tradition, not met with elsewhere, regarding Peter as apostle in a portion of the countries of Asia Minor where Paul also had laboured, and at the same time of the other widely spread tradition that Peter had his home in Rome. Acts, Galatians, and Romans, so far as we can see, are not yet acquainted with this latest tradition. Even 1 Clem., written professedly by the church of Rome, and probably, in point of fact, originating there, says nothing of a sojourn of Peter in Rome. The writer assuredly would not have passed it over in silence when speaking of Peter's glorious past in

¹ *Op. cit.*, below, 16-20. Erbes once more seeks to plead for a sojourn of Peter among the Jews in Babylon, unless perhaps we are to understand Jerusalem.

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chap. 5, or treating of the life-work of the 'apostles' in chaps. 42 and 44, if he had known anything of it. Hermas and Justin, both of them witnesses belonging to the Roman circle, are similarly silent as to ought that Peter may be supposed to have done, said, or endured there.

There are, then, as regards Peter's going to Rome, and as regards his journeyings as a whole, traditions which, in part, are mutually exclusive and in no case admit of being combined together into one consistent whole. The older ones do not imply the supposed fact of the church of Rome having been founded by Peter; they have no knowledge of it, or even bear witness against it by making statements which cannot be harmonised with it. Acts, Galatians, Romans, 1 Clem., undoubtedly come chiefly into consideration here. On the same side there fall to be grouped other NT testimonies to the martyrdom of Peter, and, more precisely, his crucifixion, drawn from very old, if not the oldest, traditions relating to the careers of the apostles, though without mention of the place where this violent death occurred. See Jn. 21¹⁸⁻²² (cp. 13³⁶) Mt. 10^{5, 7, 14, 22-33} 23³⁴⁻³⁹ 24⁹⁻¹⁴ Mk. 13⁹⁻¹³ Lk. 24⁴⁷ Acts 18. Within the circle of these ancient witnesses we can safely say—apart, if you will, from 1 Pet. 1, 5¹³—of all those in the NT, to which also may be added that of the apostolic fathers, that not a single word or even the remotest hint is found in them as to a sojourn, whether of long or of short duration, of Peter in Rome, whilst, in fact, more than one of them, by implicit or explicit declaration, are irreconcilably at variance with any such supposition. RATHER DOES EVERYTHING PLEAD FOR THE VIEW THAT PETER NEVER VISITED ROME, BUT WORKED CONTINUOUSLY IN PALESTINE—occasionally, perhaps, outside its limits, but never very far off—and that there, it may well have been in Jerusalem, somewhere about 64 A.D. under Salaminus, or, at all events, some years before the destruction of the temple and city in 70 A.D., he died a martyr's death. [See, further, SIMON PETER.]

What remains of the late tradition as to the founding of the church of Rome by Peter and Paul conjointly does not need any careful scrutiny after the name of Peter has been eliminated.

4. Paul-tradition: in Acts.

We are not, in that event, shut up to the alternative: if not by Peter and Paul together, then probably by Paul alone. This is nowhere said in any tradition so far as known to us. Tradition seems rather to have followed this course: since it is impossible that Paul can have founded the church along with Peter, his name must not be thought of in connection with the founding at all. Acts and Pauline Epistles, writings frequently read in a large circle, indicated this.

Acts knows of no Christian church at Rome at a date prior to a possible foundation by Paul after he had proclaimed the glad tidings to the Jews assembled at his lodging (28¹⁷⁻³¹). In 28¹⁵, indeed, we read of the 'brethren' who came from Rome to Appii Forum and the Three Taverns to meet Paul, and it is no doubt usual to regard these as having been Christians, but on no adequate grounds. They are, to judge from 27, 17-28, Jews, just as Roman Jews (27, 21) call their kinsmen in Judaea 'the brethren.' They are amazed at Paul's plans, and declare as distinctly as possible in 27, 22 that up to that hour they had heard nothing of 'this sect'—i.e., of the Christians—beyond the mere name. All this is in perfect agreement with the current representation in Acts, according to which Paul in his journeyings invariably first addressed himself to the Jews and thereafter to the Gentiles with a view to proceeding to the setting up of a Christian community, whether composed entirely of converted Gentiles, or partly also of former Jews (cp. 13⁴⁶ and 17-28 *passim*). The view that by the 'brethren' of Rome, alluded to in 28¹⁵, as also by

¹ So Erbes, 212, conjectures, relying upon Jos. *Ant.* xx 95.

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those of Puteoli in 2: 14, we are to understand Christians, rests solely upon the representation in Romans, according to which Christians are found in Rome long before Paul has ever visited that city.

At the same time it must be remembered that the opposite representation in Acts has no historical authoritativeness, being inextricably bound up with the tendency of that book which has been already referred to. Moreover, in Acts 28: 30 *f.* the founding of a Christian church at Rome by Paul is rather tacitly assumed than asserted in so many words. It is possible that in the 'Acts of Paul' (which were worked over by the writer of our canonical Acts, and also made use of in the composition of the Pauline Epistles, and which themselves in turn had their origin in a redaction and expansion of the recognised We-source) the original journey record (PAUL, § 37; OLD-CRISTIAN LITERATURE, § 9) may have given a somewhat different account of the conditions which Paul found at Rome and elsewhere in Italy. It may be that, according to that representation, there were already in more than one place at Rome Christians, 'brethren' in another and higher sense than that of mere kinship, and that their figurative designation is adopted by Acts so that the 'brethren' in Puteoli and Rome, according to Acts 28: 14 *f.* to be understood as Jews who were friendly disposed towards Paul, were at the same time the original Christians of these places.

However that may be, Acts nowhere contains any express statement as to the founding of a Christian church at Rome by Paul; and as little does the epistle to the Romans. What Romans implies is, clearly, rather this—that the church had already been long in existence when Paul was cherishing the hope that he might have an opportunity of personally visiting it. This view is wont to be accepted on all hands as just: by the majority, because they hold it to come from the apostle Paul; by others, the friends of advanced criticism, because, however fully convinced of the pseudographical character of the epistle (see ROMANS), they have no reason for doubting it. These have this advantage over the others that they are not, like them, sorely perplexed by Acts which betrays no acquaintance with the epistle held to have been addressed to the church of Rome by Paul

6. Romans versus Acts.

at least two years before he himself undertook the journey thither only to become aware on his arrival in the metropolis that no one there had ever heard anything about him or even about Christianity at all otherwise than by report merely. They set down the divergent representations in 'Luke' and 'Paul' simply to the account of the separate writers, and as regards a supposed founding of the church at Rome, can only say that according to 'Luke' it was perhaps the work of Paul, but according to 'Paul,' certainly not. According to 'Luke,' perhaps it was, since we must interpret in accordance with the general tendency of his 'historical' work; according to 'Paul,' because everyone thought so in those days nor yet had any one any knowledge of a founding of the church in Rome by Peter and Paul, or by

7. Other epistles.

In other Pauline epistles also there is no trace of acquaintance with any tradition which sought to represent that founding as having been brought about by Paul. In Romans there is no hint, of the kind we meet with in 1 Cor. 4: 14 2 Cor. 6: 13 12: 14 Gal. 4: 19, that 'Paul' can regard those whom he addresses as his 'children.' There is no suggestion of such a relation of Paul to Rome even in Philippians, Philemon, or 1 Clem. 5: 5-7, where there was such ample opportunity to call to mind the founding of the Roman Church by Paul had the writer been minded to refer to it. The Pauline literature says nothing at all about it, nor yet do the kindred writings, Peter, 1 Clement, Hermas, Ignatius. Rather must we say that in all of them the undisputed and indisput-

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able presupposition is that Rome was won for the gospel without the intervention of Paul, either by his epistles or by his later personal intercourse.

Whom then are we to name as founder of the Roman church? 'Not any of the apostles,' as long ago

Ambrosiaster in the so-called commentary of Ambrosius in the fourth century rightly answers (cp. Sunday and Headlam, pp. xv, cti). We could almost venture to

guess: one or more of those who probably at a quite early date, spread the glad tidings of salvation from Jerusalem westward. There was abundant opportunity in the constant intercourse between Rome and the east, even before the middle of the first century, for travellers from Palestine to return, or come for the first time, to the banks of the Tiber and there to discourse, as they had done in the various other ports and cities they touched on their route, of the 'things concerning Jesus' (*τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*; Acts 18: 25 28: 31), 'the kingdom of God' (*ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ*; Acts 14: 22 19: 8 20: 25 28: 23: 31), 'the preaching of the gospel' (*τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*; Acts 13: 12 14: 7 15: 21 16: 1). It is not necessary to have recourse to the hardly historical account of the first appearance of the apostles at Jerusalem in Acts 2, where, as we read in 17: 10 *f.*, Romans, Jews as well as proselytes, were sojourning (*οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες Ἰουδαῖοι, Ἰουδαῖοι τε καὶ προσήλυτοι*). Such Jews living in Rome, as well as Gentiles who had attached themselves to them and professed their religion, may well have visited Jerusalem on other occasions and become messengers, possibly very capable ones, of what they had seen and heard there to their brethren in the metropolis. We shall best picture to ourselves the subsequent course of events if we suppose that the preaching of the gospel and the

8. Jewish settlements at Rome.

establishment of the new religion made its way amongst 'Jews and proselytes' in Rome. Whoever wishes to picture to himself the nature of the field in which, now here, now there, the good seed was scattered by unknown sowers, must try to form some conception of the Jewish settlements in Rome as they then were. Very many they were, ordinarily confined within certain precisely defined limits, but within these moving with social freedom bound only in so far as they themselves chose to be so by the customs and practices received from their fathers, the law and what it was held to enjoin on the faithful children of Abraham by descent, or on the proselytes who had joined them. Alternately receiving the favours of the great and bowed down under the heavy burden laid upon them by authorities of a less friendly disposition; constantly exposed to risks of persecution, scorn, and derision, and seldom allowed to pass altogether without notice; engaged in the pursuit of trade and dependent on this for their daily bread, now envied for their wealth and now plunged into the depths of poverty or reduced to the ranks of professional beggars. Such, just before and during the opening decades of the first century, was the manner of life of the Jews in Rome: a great brotherhood, we may call it, broken up into a number of smaller communities; a band of aliens who know how to maintain their old manners and customs, their nationality, and their religion, in spite of many divergencies and divisions among themselves, in the midst of the surrounding Gentiles amongst whom their progenitors had settled. At first they had come to pay a visit there because commerce and political reasons had brought them to the world-city; so it had been already in the days of the Maccabees. Others again had been brought to Rome from their native country as slaves, but on closer acquaintance were hardly found suitable and often received their freedom or even were invested with the privileges of Roman citizens. So, in particular, shortly after the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey in 63 B.C. By Cæsar and others they were shown great favour. Under Tiberius they were ex-

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pelled from Rome in the year 19 A.D. and partly employed in the war against the pirates of Sardinia. Under Claudius about 49 A.D. they were again banished. Under Nero it would seem they enjoyed no special power and influence. (For details see Schürer, *OTL*, 1398, 1324-6 and specially the literature referred to there on p. 25, n. 70; cp *EB*, 2072-73, 1886f).

On this Jewish soil the earliest Roman Christianity, we may safely affirm, had already come into being before the middle of the first century. The

10. Age.

oldest distinct trace of its beginnings is found in Suetonius (*Claud.* 25), where he says of the emperor Claudius that he expelled the Jews from Rome on account of their persistent turbulence under the instigation of Christus ('Judaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulsi'; cp CHRISTIAN, § 6 n. 1). The banishment of the Jews (Acts 182 and Dio Cassius 60.6), although probably in the event not judged expedient or perhaps even possible, and in any case not carried out on any large scale, had its occasion in troubles and disturbances which had arisen among the Jews ('impulsore Chresto'—*l.c.*), at the instance or with the help of Christus. This Christus was, to judge by the manner of speech of those days, no other than (Jesus) Christ; his person and work, the views and expectations connected with him, and his cause were what led Claudius to seek to remove the Jews who had thus become troublesome. Now, though the exact year in which this resolution was come to by the emperor is uncertain, if we remember that at the beginning of his reign (41-54 A.D.) he was, according to Josephus (*J. Ant.* xiv. 52-3), favourably inclined to the Jews, we are led to think of a somewhat later date—let us say with Schürer (32f.) and others, the year 49 A.D. In that case the movement we are supposing, and its procuring cause, the first systematic preaching of Christianity in Rome, can have begun some months or years previously. We must leave open the question as to whether at a still earlier date some converts, in the course of pilgrimages to Jerusalem or through the agency of third parties in their adopted country, may not have been won for the new confession and the expectations connected with it. Rome had already for a long time been a favourite and much frequented harbour for new ideas in the sphere of religion.

With the date thus arrived at for the founding of the Christian church in Rome it agrees tolerably well that a

11. Theory of Acts and Rom.

writer in my years later, in Acts 28 (1928), could still speak as if the new sect were known only by name in the world capital when Paul first proclaimed the things of salvation to the Jews there, and that another writer—the author of Romans—did not hesitate to assume throughout his work that at that very time there had already been for a long time in Rome believers belonging to various schools of Christian thought and practice. When these books were written the days of the first founding of a church in Rome were already so far removed that in different circles divergent representations were given regarding it, though there was some danger of misrepresentation. 'Luk.' is wrong because he does not take account of the existence of any Christian church at Rome before the apostle Paul had made his voice heard there. The Pauline writer, on the other hand, represents the apostle of the Gentiles as knowing that before his arrival among them the faith of the Roman Christians was already 'proclaimed throughout the whole world' (Rom. 1.8), and in 6.7 it is the Pauline form of doctrine whereunto they have been delivered. Both the one view and the other may well be questioned as strict history. Both writers make it manifest that they no longer know the true position of matters so far as details are concerned. At the same time they confirm, each in his own way, the correctness of the date we have arrived at; at the beginning of the second century, the

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founding of the church at Rome belonged to a considerably remote past and at that distance of time could speaking broadly, be connected with a delineation of the period when Paul was setting out for, or had arrived at, the metropolis of the empire.

The nearer determination of the date is to be sought in such data as (1) the tradition regarding Paul's

with reference to a journey to Spain, by way of Rome, where a Christian church no longer needed to be founded (Rom.

15.8 f.; cp 1 Clem. 56-7); (2) the tradition of Paul's death at Rome, whether, as the ordinary reckoning has it, in 64, as Erbes thinks, on 23rd Feb. 64, or as yet others judge, at some date that cannot be more exactly determined, shortly before or in connection with the persecution of the Christians in the summer of 64; (3) all that relates to the fact of the persecution of the Christians at Rome by Nero; (4) the appearance of the 'Church of Rome' as the writer of Clement's first epistle to the Corinthians; (5) the activity of Marcellin and Valentinus among the Christians at Rome; (6) all that tradition tells us of the establishment of a bishop's see at Rome by the apostles Peter and Paul;—a very large series of testimonies continuously assuring us, each in its own way, that the founding of a Christian church at Rome goes back to the middle of the first century of our era.

The character of this church was, to begin with, no other than was to be expected from its origin within the

sphere of 'Jews and proselytes' (14.4). Ambrosiaster in speaking of Jews as

as fathers of the Christian community at Rome has here again truly said that those who

believed confessed Christ and held fast by the law ('ex quibus [Judeis] in qui crediderunt, tradiderunt Romanis ut Christum probitentes legem servarent'). In this

there is no 'exaggeration' as Sanday and Headlam (p. 25, n. 3) have thought. They indeed could hardly

have thought otherwise as long as they were dominated by belief in the genuineness of the Epistle to the Romans.

Whoever deems himself bound to maintain that belief must inevitably assume that already, before Romans

was written by Paul—on the ordinary reckoning that is to say, before 59 A.D.—there were to be met within

Rome two divergent types of Christian faith and practice, the Jewish-Christian and the Pauline. Such an

one cannot avoid facing the question; What was the church of Rome at that time? Jewish-Christian? Pauline?

Mixed? Yet all the while he is well aware—or the discovery is ever now forced upon him—that no

satisfactory answer to the question can be given. Some

texts speak very clearly for the view that the church in question consisted of former gentiles, whilst others say

the exact opposite—that it was composed of former Jews (see ROMANS, § 8; van Manen, *Paulus*, 2. 105

106-7). Yet we cannot hold with Sanday-Headlam (p. xxvii and others) the theory that it was a 'mixed'

church. To such a theory can be applied to the full what these scholars remark in another connection; 'there is no hint of such a state of things, which moreover would compel us, contrary to the manifest

intention of the writer, to think of two distinct churches in Rome, one Jewish-Christian, the other Greek-Christian, and that St. Paul wrote only to the latter.'

Any one who, on the other hand, has been able to free himself from the axiom of the genuineness and has

satisfied himself of the pseudepigraphical character of this writing of a later time (see ROMANS) no longer sees

his hands tied by the various impossible attempts that have been made to answer the questions proposed. He

is no longer perplexed by that other troublesome question; How are we to explain the fact that nowhere

in history has there remained any trace of the existence of an important Pauline community in Rome, after the apostle's epistle had been sent thither? He takes no

notice of all ideas of this sort, the pictures suggested

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in the epistle of the outward appearance and inward semblance of the Christian church in Rome in the days before Paul could possibly have preached there—as being not renderings of historical actuality but pictures of a past that never had been real, attempts to represent the old Christian period after many decades had passed. Such a student looks fast by the seemingly insignificant phrase, which yet tells us so much, of the interesting 'Aristus', by whom the Jews in Rome, according to Suetonius, in the days of Claudius (c. 41 A.D.) were troubled; and holds by the pretty generally accepted conception as to a Christian Church at Rome which had sprung out of the faith and life, the active exertions of Jews and proselytes—who had been converted to Christ, by what Ambrosiaster has said, with equal solemnity and justice—that Jews living in Rome in the days of the apostles had taught their brethren to confess Christ and to hold fast by the law.

In other words, the church in Rome was originally Jewish-Christian, and probably long remained so.

14 Jewish-Christian.

Gradually more liberal ideas crept in, thanks perhaps to the influence of more advanced preachers from abroad who had wholly or partially outgrown their Judaism, but thanks still more to the ease with which in every sphere of thought new ideas made way in Rome. Whether Paul may have had any active share in this work we are not now in a position to say. Acts leaves us in doubt, Romans testifies to good intentions but not to any work actually done. The 'epistle,' inspired theseeming abundance of the light it sheds on the events of the years immediately preceding 50 A.D. in Rome, really draws over them all an almost impenetrable veil. It gives surprising glimpses in—the history of the development of the church in the direction of greater freedom, the emancipation of Christianity from the dominion of the law, but all from a remote distance in space, probably from the East—Antioch or somewhere else in Syria, it may be, or perhaps Asia Minor—at all events, a long way off and in a distinctly later time. In reality, in the

15 Struggle of Paulinism.

more trustworthy tradition there is no trace of all this, but on the contrary, unmistakable proof that Paulinism at Rome though (i.) it struggled for a time for the victory in the days of Marcion (c. 140 A.D.) (ii.) never really took permanent root there, and never was other than an exotic.

That Paulinism flourished in some degree at Rome is very certain, as we may safely infer: (1) from the way in which it is throughout presupposed in Romans (written probably about 120 A.D.; see ROMANS, § 23) that, before his first visit to the capital, Paul already had there a large circle of friends and followers, of whom a whole series is mentioned by name in 16:3-15, and who already for a long time had been instructed in his distinctive type of doctrine (16:21); (2) from the support as well as the opposition, which Marcion met with in Rome, in various capacities, and not least of all as advocate of his 'Apostle,' the fulfil of the epistles; (3) from the friendly relation between Peter and Paul presupposed in '1 Peter,' probably written at Rome, an evidence of which relation we point not only to the Pauline form of the writing and to the mention, in the id. of Silvanus and of Mark (cp 2 Peter 3:15 f.), but also and chiefly to the strongly Pauline character of the contents; (4) from the liberal spirit of the gospel according to Mark, probably also written at Rome, along with which perhaps that according to Luke may also be named; (5) from the honour with which 'Clement' as spokesman of the church at Rome writes to the Corinthians concerning Paul (1 Clem. 5: 7-47), and more than once declares that he is influenced by the reading of his 'epistles'; (6) from the mention of Paul along with Peter as a teacher of authority by 'Clement' in his epistle to the Romans ('I do not commend you as Peter and Paul did,' 4:); (7) from the

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wide currency of the later tradition of the founding of the Christian church at Rome by 'Peter and Paul'.

Paulinism was, however, only partially successful, as is no less clearly evident: (a) from the way in which in Romans Paul now admonishes the Jews (chaps. 1-8, *passim*, and especially 2:17-29) and now shows them the greatest deference (chaps. 9-11, *passim*, especially 3:1 f., 9:1-5, 10:1); (b) from the opposition met with by Marcion in Rome which ended in his expulsion from the new religious community; (c) from the position of the name of Paul in the younger tradition—already in 'Clement' and 'Ignatius'—after that of Peter; (d) from the spirit of works brought out at Rome and extensively read there, the most outstanding of which is the so-called first Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians. The spirit there lauded, notwithstanding the reverence expressed for 'Paul' and the deference occasionally paid to the principles inaugurated by him, is much more of a Jewish-Christian character than one that testifies to warm sympathy with the gospel of freedom; rather one that is slowly gravitating toward the left than one that is averse to the right in principle; a conciliatory and advancing spirit, if you will, yet rather in many respects showing lingering attachment to the old than still standing with both feet upon the basis of the law, firmly rooted in Judaism, filled with the rich contents of the Old Testament; in a word, a spirit that in its inmost nature is becoming Catholic.

The Christian Church of Rome, in its beginnings a shoot from the Jewish stock, in the course of years took

16 Gradual change.

up and assimilated elements that were brought to it from other quarters: from the East, and particularly from Syria and Asia Minor. Its power of adaptation was of great use to it in regard to those elements in the new faith which were originally strange in it and were at home rather in the more developed circles of Paulinism, but in adapting itself the original power of the Pauline spiritual movement was in many respects taken away. In the course of years—let us say, in round numbers, between 50 and 150 A.D.—the character of the church at Rome, from being Jewish-Christian with occasional deviations towards the right and towards the left, had become, we shall not say Pauline or Gentile-Christian, but Catholic. At the later date—i.e., about the middle of the second century—it had recently been the scene of the labours of Marcion, who was excommunicated afterwards, Marcion the eager and serious advocate of 'Paul' who had already probably some years before become known to it by means of the 'epistles.' It had at the same time come into touch with, among others, that highly gifted teacher, well nigh lost in broad and deep speculations, alternately held in reverence and covered with scorn, the gnostic Valentinus. It had learned to listen to preachers of repentance like Hermas who, eminently practical, sought to win it before all things else to the urgent duty of conversion. But, however divergent may have been the paths by which it was so dissimilarly led by these and other leaders to clearer insight on many sides, and deeper experience of the fruits of faith as that translated itself into a genuine Christian life, the structure as carried out appeared always, in spite of the multirarious and manifold additions, to rest upon the old foundation—destined, as it would seem, never to become obsolete—that of the law and of Judaism, to which, as a new and indispensable element, confession of Jesus as the Christ, had been added.

How this Christian community at Rome was originally governed and organised can probably be best compared,

17 Constitution of Jewish community.

in the absence of all positive information, by calling to mind once more what we know of the spirit of that religious fellowship of the Jews out of which it arose. Like this last it had no political aims, and consequently as yet knew nothing of those who at a later time were to be called rulers and leaders, charged

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with the care of the outward life of Christians as subjects of the state. The Jewish 'Church,' although it can be so called in respect of the religious confession of its adherents, formed no unity placed under the leadership and government of a single council or of one head. It was made up rather of a great number of separate and independent congregations (*συναγωγαί*), each having its own synagogue, its own council (*γερονσία*), its own rulers (*ἀρχ*), who also sometimes at least, were partly called 'elders' (*πρεσβύτεροι*), and, whether for life (*διὰ βίου*) or for a limited period, were chosen at the beginning of the Jewish civil year (in September). They were charged with the general leadership of the community, sometimes also with the task associated with the special office of chief of the synagogue (*ἀρχισυναγωγός*). The language employed was Greek, as indeed the whole constitution with rulers (*ἀρχοντες*) and councils (*γερονσῖαι*), so far as form was concerned, seems to have been borrowed from the civil organisation usual in Greek cities (see Schürer, *Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom*, 1879, and *GJ*¹⁰⁰, 3, pp. 44-51 [1898]).

The Christian Church also, we may safely take for granted, very soon after its members had been excommunicated, or had voluntarily withdrawn from the Jewish synagogues in Rome, had their own centres, with a government proper to themselves (modelled mainly,

18. Of Christian Church.

so far as form was concerned, on that which they had left at the call of religious principle and duty), their own places of meeting (*συναγωγαί*), their own rulers (*ἀρχοντες*), who are often called elders (*πρεσβύτεροι*). Thus as what happened elsewhere throughout the cities of the Dispersion. Why not also in Rome? Acts calls the rulers 'elders' (*πρεσβύτεροι*) in 11:30, 14:23, 20:17; whenever Jerusalem is spoken of, where the apostles are regarded as having lived and laboured, we read of 'apostles and elders' (15:24, 6:2; 16:4), just as the same writer elsewhere when referring to the rulers (*ἀρχοντες*) of the Jews speaks of their 'elders' (2:17, 4:5, 8:23, 6:12, 23:14, 24:1, 25:15). For the rest, in Acts we find no allusion to any government of Christian communities, just as, in fact, of the community that arose after the arrival of Paul in Rome nothing more is said than that they met in Paul's own house (28:30 f.). In Romans there is no evidence as to the terms employed in this connection by the Christians at Rome, except in a single passage where allusion is made to 'him that ruleth' (*ὁ προϊστάμενος*: 12:8).

1 Clem., the 'epistle' of the 'church of God' at Rome to that of Corinth, has more to say. The church (*ἡ ἐκκλησία*) comes before us as a unity embracing all believers within the boundaries of a definite locality; so in the opening words and also in 41:3, 47:6 (cp 2 Clem. 2:1, 14:1, 2:4). We are not precluded from thinking that, as in the case of the Jews, this unity was made up of various circles or congregations within the larger whole which comprehended the whole body of the faithful. The supposition finds support when we consider the manner in which the occurrence of divergent ideas and practices with regard to the choice of officials is spoken of. Some consider themselves free in their choice; but others, including the writer, hold themselves bound to tradition and obliged to adhere to the ancient holders of spiritual offices as long as they have not disqualified themselves by misconduct (cp 1:3, 21:6, 42, 44, 59:2). True, this applies, so far as form is concerned, in the first instance and especially, only to the Corinthians who are being addressed, but yet also to the Romans who are speaking of themselves in the plural number (cp 7:1; see OLD-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, § 24). The most obvious explanation is to be found in the supposition that the divergent views and practices referred to were found in the different circles or congregations (*ἐκκλησῖαι*) within the bounds of the one church—*ἡ ἐκκλησία*—whether that of Rome or that of Corinth.

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However that may be, 'the church' had its rulers or leaders (*ἡγούμενοι*; 1:3) just as had the Jews (32:2), the Egyptians (51:5), and others (37:3, 55:1, 60:1). They are usually called 'elders' (*πρεσβύτεροι*; 1:3, 3:3, 21:6, 11:5, 47:6, 54:2, 57:1, cp 2 Clem. 17:3, 5), but in one instance, though in no different sense, 'overseers' (*ἐπισκοποὶ*) and 'deacons' (*διάκονοι*, 42:4 f., cp 44:1, 50:3), charged with the sacred service (*leitourgia*, 41:1, 44:2 f., 6). They were 'ministering' (*leitourgountes*; 46:3) just as in their manner were the Jews (32:2, 40), Enoch (9:2), Aaron (43:4), the angels of God (31:5 f.). In this service or ministry were included, or at least came under their superintendence, (1) the reading of scripture (*ἡ γράφη* or *αἱ ἑραὶ γράφαι*)—the OT as we now know it and whatever other writings were at that time reckoned as belonging to it; also Christian writings such as Paul's 'Epistle to the Corinthians' and other treatises, including 1 and 2 Clem. (cp 2 Clem. 19:1, 15:1, 17:5, 1 Clem. 17:1, 63:2, 7:1, OLD-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, §§ 2-4; Hemm. 17:5, ii. 1, 3, 4; Ens. III. ii. 258 iii. 385)—(2) exhortation (cp 1 Clem. *passim*) and (3) prayer (1 Clem. 59:6, 61:2, 2 Clem. 2:2). All of these, as with the Jews, at least down to near the end of the second century, were performed in Greek.

Of a monarchical government of the Church there is as yet no trace in 1 and 2 Clem. Neither is there any in the Shepherd of Hermas which, like the Epistles of Clement, knows only of elders (17:5, ii. 4, 2, 3, iii. 1, 1) and overseers, along with 'teachers' and 'deacons' (17:5, iii. 5; *Sim.* ix. 27:2). The oldest traces of monarchical church government in Rome are met with in the seven epistles of 'Ignatius' which were probably written there about the middle of the second century, and in the earliest lists of Roman bishops—little trustworthy though these are in their substance, and put together in the interests of the recognition of the episcopate, which was then coming into being, or had recently come to be important. They do not go farther back than to Anicetus, and were probably drawn up under his successor Soter, about 170 A.D. (see Harnack, *U. d.* ii. 1, 1807, pp. 70-231, esp. pp. 144-202. See, further, MINISTRY).

19. Importance of Rome.

If the question be asked, finally, as to the influence and importance of the Christian church at Rome, it was small and certainly for the first few decades, not to be compared with that of the church at Jerusalem nor yet with that of other churches of Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor. It was only gradually in the course of the second century that a change in this respect came about, under the influence of great historical events such as the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., the rebuilding of that city as *Ælia Capitolina* under Hadrian (see JERUSALEM, §§ 33 f.), and the continual process by which the West manifested its preponderance over the East. In all this there made itself felt the favourable situation of the Christian Church at Rome in the centre of Greco-Roman civilisation; the inborn inclination, and the corresponding aptitude, of what had been the Gentile element in the new church, to lead and soon to dominate believers who had their homes elsewhere, as well as unbelievers; and last, certainly not least, whatever that church was able to contribute from its own resources towards its internal growth and its external prestige. In this connection we may particularly specify: the accession not merely of slaves and people of the lower orders, but also of rich and often influential persons, sometimes even from the immediate entourage of the emperor; the courage shown by martyrs there as elsewhere; the zeal of outstanding personalities such as Valentinus and Marcion; the activity of efficient men such as 'Clement' and 'Ignatius' in labouring for the establishment of the Catholic Church; the labour expended on various sides to advance far and near the cause of knowledge, of Christian practice, of education, of consolation.

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ROME (EMPIRE)

Marcion laid the foundations of a written norm of truth, of belief (*κατὰ τὴν ἀληθείαν, τῆς πίστεως*), one gospel and ten

20. Christian literature. Pimline Epistles (τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ὁ Ἀπόστολος [τὸ Ἀποστολικὸν]), which the church as it grew Catholic soon spread far and wide and accepted—along with the older tradition—as the touchstone of truth. Into this (ecclesiastical) canon Rome, according to the list discovered and published in modern times by Muratori, introduced a larger collection of Old-Christian writings differing but slightly in extent from the NT as that was finally fixed by well-nigh the whole of Christendom. Marcion also wrote an orthodoxly conceived 'Epistle' and 'Antitheses' or 'Separation of Law and Gospel' (*Antitheses* or *Separatio legis et evangelii*); Valentinus was the author of 'Epistles,' 'Homilies,' and 'Psalms.' Some unknown writer prepared the Gospel according to Mark; 'Clement,' two 'epistles' to the Corinthians, of which the first is a 'Treatise concerning Peace and Harmony' (*ἑρμηνεία περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ ὁμονοίας*), conceived, according to its own description of itself (632), in the interests of peace in the churches, and especially in the matter of the election of elders, and the second is an 'Exhortation concerning continence' (*Συμβουσία περὶ ἐγκρατείας*, 151). Hermas wrote his *Shepherd* to stir up all to repentance; 'Ignatius' composed his 'Epistles' upon love for the promotion of martyrdom and on behalf of right views in doctrine and in life. He and others contributed largely to the upbuilding of their own as well as other churches, where their epistles were diligently read. Thus the Roman leaders exercised influence in ever-widening circles, and opened up the way, often quite unconsciously, for the spiritual predominance of their fellow-believers abroad. From the middle of the second century another element that had no small influence also was the effort after a one-man government of the church, first on the part of Rome alone, but afterwards also on that of others who afterwards associated themselves with it in this. Polycarp of Rome in the matter of orthodox observance of Easter, still knows how to maintain his freedom of thought and action in another direction than that prescribed to him. But one of his successors in the Asia Minor controversy of the Quartodecimans, Polycrates of Ephesus, was excommunicated by Victor of Rome and cut off from the fellowship of the faithful (see Baur, *Das Christenthum u. d. Christl. Kirche der drei Ersten Jahrh.*, 1853, pp. 141-157). In this manner the preponderance and authoritative, and ultimately the supremacy, of the church of Rome had already come to be recognised in the East before the end of the second century.

For the extensive literature dealing with our subject reference may be made, amongst others, to such studies on the supposed sojourn of Peter and Paul in Rome as those of

21. Bibliography. A. Harnack, *ACL*, ii, 1807, pp. 240-244, 705-710; C. Clemen, 'Ist Petrus in Rom gewesen?' in *Preuss. Jahrb.*, 1901, pp. 494-517; C. Erbes, 'Petrus nicht in Rom sondern in Jerusalem gestorben' in *Erbe's Zeitschr. f. Kirchen-gesch.*, 1901, pp. 147-161-211; on the Jews in Rome in Suiday and Headlam, *The Ep. to the Romans*, 1895, xviii-xxv; Berliner, *Gesch. der Juden in Rom*, 1870; E. Schürer, *Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom*, 1870 and *GH* 3rd, iii, 1898, pp. 28-36, 44-50. Also to the commentaries on Romans such as those of Suiday-Headlam, 1895, xiii-xlvii; R. A. Lipsius in *HT* 2nd, 1897, pp. 70-73; Meyer-Weissenb., 1893, pp. 16-22; to the NT introductions such as those of S. Davidsson, 1894, 1105-113; H. J. Holtmann, 1892, pp. 212-257; Th. Zahn, 1893, pp. 240-268; J. M. S. Baljon, 1901, pp. 88-92. See also 'Romans (Epistle to the)' in *Ency. Brit.*, 10th, 20727-730 (1896), and OLD-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, PAUL, ROMANS, SIMON PETER, in the present work. — W. C. V. M.

ROME (EMPIRE). The Roman Empire has been supposed to be alluded to in Dan. 2 and 7, but the interpretation is one which the progress of history has shown to be untenable. Driver, *Dan.*, 98; see the whole discussion, 94-102. Rome is referred to by name in biblical writings for the first time in connection with Antiochus Epiphanes; this 'sinful root,' we are told, had been a hostage at Rome (1 Macc. 1:10, ὅς ἦν ὀμρα τῆς Ῥώμης).

ROME (EMPIRE)

The topography and history of Rome and of the Roman Empire is so vast a subject and is so fully dealt with by various writers and in easily accessible works of reference, that it has been deemed sufficient, in the space at our disposal, simply to touch upon the problem of the relation of Rome to Judaism and to early Christianity.

Destined to play such an important part in the political and religious history of the Jews, the Empire

1. Rome and the Hasmonaeans. came into close touch with them for the first time in the early days of the revolt against the power of Syria.

About the year 161 B.C. Judas the Maccabee having heard of the great fame of the Romans, sent an embassy to make a league of amity and confederacy with them, and that they should take the yoke from them; for they saw that the kingdom of the Greeks did keep Israel in bondage' (1 Macc. 8:1 ff.; cp 2 Macc. 11:34, Jos. *Ant.*, xii, 106 Justin 36:3). The mission was successful; but before the news arrived Judas was slain (1 Macc. 9:1-7; Jos. *Ant.*, xii, 111). In 143 B.C. the alliance was renewed by the statesmanlike Jonathan (1 Macc. 12:1-4 10; Jos. *Ant.*, xii, 581). On the death of Jonathan, Simon, his brother and successor, like his predecessors, also sent to Rome to seek a renewal of friendship. The ambassador, this time Numenius, was again successful, and the Romans issued a decree to all the peoples of the East, announcing that they had entered into a league of friendship with the Jews' (W. D. Morrison, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 13). Hyrcanus, again, Simon's son and successor, after the death of Antiochus (129 B.C.), to escape paying any more the tribute which the Syrian had exacted, sent yet another embassy to Rome, and again 'in accordance with the settled principle of Roman policy in the East, the Jewish mission was received in a friendly manner, their grievances were attentively heard, and a decree was issued, ordering the Syrians to relinquish their claims to tribute, and declaring void whatever Antiochus had done in Judaea in opposition to previous declarations of the senate [Jos. *Ant.*, xii, 92 f.]' (Morrison, *op. cit.*, 16 f.). After this several causes combined to weaken the power of the Syrians, so that the Jews no longer had any cause to fear them.

Such were the first relations of the Jews with the Roman Empire, if we are to trust tradition; but as Morrison again observes (19), 'some of these supposed alliances rest upon very slender historical foundations.' For further details we must refer the reader to the article MACCABEES (cp ISRAEL).

While the Roman Empire was becoming more and more imperialistic, within the Jewish nation was arising

2. Jewish party-spirit. through the play of new ideas, that spirit of faction which was to rend it asunder even in the face of a common foe (see

SADDUCEES, SCRIBES AND PHARISEES; cp ISRAEL).

See again on the history of the period MACCABEES, and JANNÆUS. The disputes between Pharisees and Sadducees did not end with words; in the contest between the soldiers of Alexander and the Pharisees much blood was spilt. The struggle went on throughout the reign of Alexander, though towards the end he was able to subdue the Pharisees and their allies the Syrians; it continued during the reign of Salome Alexandra (78-69 B.C.), in which John Hyrcanus, one of Alexander's sons was content to act as high priest; and into the reign of Aristobolus (69-63 B.C.), Alexander's other son. It sapped the strength of the nation so that it was ready to fall an easy prey to a power that aimed at expansion. When the Romans, who for a time had been otherwise occupied, again turned their attention to the East, having been roused to action by the revolt of Mithridates, king of Pontus, in 88 B.C., and when success had attended their arms in the very neighbourhood of this people that had wantonly reduced itself to a state of miserable weakness, it was natural and inevitable that the Roman Empire should be further extended. Another civil war in Palestine (66 B.C.) gave Pompey his opportunity. Hyrcanus, influenced by the schemer Antipater, had plotted to

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overthrow Aristobulus. When, however, the Pharisees, assisted by the Nabataeans, were besieging Aristobulus in the temple, Marcus Scaurus, one of Pompey's lieutenants, appeared on the scene, put an end to the fight, and set Aristobulus on the throne for a time at least. The struggle between the two brothers soon broke out again. This time Aristobulus, having offended the Romans, was besieged by them in Jerusalem. With the help of the Sadducees, and in spite of the Pharisees, he was able to hold out against the besiegers; but in the end Pompey, attacking him on a Sabbath (63 B.C.), broke through and inflicted severe punishment on the Jews.

Judaea was then regarded as a conquered province. We may venture to say with Morison that the new

arrangements that resulted 'were on the whole a blessing to the peoples of the East, who were rescued from chaos and instability, and enabled, after years of anarchy, to enjoy the fruits of peace' (41). Graetz (*Hist.* 267) points out that 'the Judæan prisoners that had been dragged to Rome, were to become the nucleus of a community destined to carry on a new kind of warfare against long-established Roman institutions, ultimately to modify or partly to destroy them.' Certainly the war between the new and old ideas was to go on uninterruptedly until some adjustment could be effected. Under the Herods, when the Jews were again in large measure allowed to govern themselves, the adoption of Hellenic culture was encouraged by the rulers to such an extent that the people revolted against it. The Jews determined to rid themselves of their half-Jewish rulers. At the request of the people themselves they were at length put under the direct government of Rome. 'With the return of Judæa to a Roman administration begins the prelude of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish people—perhaps the most shocking tragedy known to the history of the world' (Cornill, *Hist. of the People of Israel*, 259). The tragedy was due to the refusal of a large section amongst the people, such as the Pharisees, the Zealots, and the Sicarii, to accept the inevitable—Roman rule and the spread of Græco-Roman ideas.

After Pompey's conquest Jewish and Roman history are closely bound up together, and the details have been sufficiently dealt with in ISRAEL, §§ 65-115, HEROD, PILATE, GOVERNMENT, JERUSALEM, SELEUCIDÆ, TRADE, and other special articles.

One of the problems of history is to discover the precise attitude adopted by the Romans towards

4. Rome and the Gospel.

Judaism, on the one hand, and towards Christianity on the other. We know that important concessions were made to the Jews and that on the whole they enjoyed a large measure of religious liberty. Unfortunately, however, we are unable to treat the history of Josephus or the narratives of the NT as in all respects historically accurate. As to Josephus, 'his persistent endeavour to make it appear that his people were actually friends of the Romans, and in reality took up arms against them unwillingly, is a notable example of his colouring of the situation, and compels the acceptance of his assertions with some caution' (Riggs, *Hist. of Jewish People*, 145; cp De Quincey, *Works*, 713 ff.). As to the Gospels, it is admitted that their present form is due to editorial redaction. Christianity was no sudden growth. It arose gradually, and only made its way by slow degrees. It represents the result of that interplay of Eastern and Western ideas which began under the DISPERSTION (27). Judaism, under the influence of Greek thought, had undergone during the dispersion a striking change. Later, the transition from Græco-Judaism to Christian Judaism, and from the ideas of Philo to those accredited to Jesus, was easy and natural. Even the stricter Judaism, itself, in the person of Hillel, helped to promote the new development. The process was accelerated by contact with

ROME (EMPIRE)

Rome. But the new movement at first met with no very great success. Christian Judaism appealed neither to the Jew nor to the Gentile. The Jew refused to give up his characteristic rites; the Gentile would not submit to purely oriental institutions. Christian Judaism was obliged to throw off more of its oriental trappings. Hence arose the purely Christian movement. This form of Christianity was probably represented by the primitive gospel. But the evolutionary process was still at work. The struggle of ideas was now going on with renewed vigour. The Roman empire had become a world-empire; everything was tending towards a world-religion. 'Christianity' had long been in the air, or in other words, 'the fullness of time had come.'

This is admitted on all hands. 'If the Empire was the greatest of hindrances to the gospel, it was also the greatest help. . . . The single fact that the Empire was universal went far to complete the fullness of time for Christ's coming. . . . Rome put a stop to the wars of nations and the great sales of slaves resulting from them, to the civil strife of cities and their numerous revolutions. Henceforth they were glad to live quietly beneath the shelter of the Roman peace. Intense and trade (witness the migratory Jews) were easier and freer than ever since in Europe till quite recently. . . . This was her [Rome's] work in history—to be the link between the ancient and the modern—between the heathen city-state of the ancient world and the Christian nations of the modern. (H. M. Gwatkin, 'Roman Empire' in Hastings' *BD*). Cp Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, chap. 9, § 6; also Seeley, *Ecce Homo*, 1; J. H. Muirhead in *The Hibb. Journ.*, 1913 [Oct. 1902], a criticism of Kidd's *Principles of W. Civilisation*; J. M. Robertson, *A Short Hist. of Christianity* (1902).

Writing of the state of the world towards the end of the first century, Reuan shows (see the references in his notes) that 'expanded ideas of universal brotherhood and a sympathy with humanity at large, derived for the most part from the Stoic philosophy, were the result of the broader system of authority and the less continued education which had now assumed control. Men dreamed of a new era and of new worlds. . . . Maxims of common humanity became current, and the Stoics earnestly taught the abstract notions of equality and the rights of men. . . . Love for the poor, sympathy for all, and charity, became virtues.' But at the same time, as often happens during a period of transition, 'on the whole, the middle of the first century is one of the worst epochs of ancient history.' Philosophers, however, were doing much to bring about a reformation, and 'there was as much grandeur in the struggle of philosophy in the first century as in that of Christianity' (*The Apostles*, ch. 17). But it was not merely a struggle of two independent forces against a common foe. A struggle of ideas was going on within and between the two reforming agencies, and between both and the popular Roman religion. The conflict resulted in the victory of neither one nor the other, but in a compromise, in the evolution of a religion adapted and adaptable to its surroundings—in other words in a paganism Christianity.

The primitive gospels seem to have been edited and amplified in view of this development. We have in

5. Romans in our present gospels, apart from the fact that there are doubtless 'gospels' within the gospels, on the whole not a picture of what really took place at the rise of the Christian movement, but a representation coloured and suggested by the ideas of a later age. Although therefore they may contain much correct information as to Roman administration in Palestine, we can hardly trust them as to the general conduct of the Romans. To take an instance, the Gospels suggest that the Romans were interested in the new movement from the start, but that the ruling Jews were almost persistently hostile to it (espe. Lk. [cp *at*o Acts]; cp Ramsay, *How Christ born at Bethl.* 267 ff.). But the movement was not such as to appeal to the Roman mind in the first instance, and the name of its founder 'appears only in profane authors of a hundred years later, and then in

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an indirect manner . . . (Renan, *Life of Jesus*, ch. 23). Writings, such as the Gospels and the Acts, written in the interest, or to explain the rise, of a religious movement, are especially liable to be influenced by bias or tendency, so that there is every reason to treat them with caution and critically to examine their statements before regarding them as strictly historical. In particular, the accounts of the betrayal, trial, and execution of the hero, whether we consider the part played by the Jews or by the Romans, are very difficult to understand. We might naturally suppose that Jesus would have been treated by the Romans as a political offender. Deliverers kept coming forward, we may be sure, in answer to the Jewish expectations. The Romans would hardly have been likely to discriminate between the new Messiah and other agitators. Each and all would be regarded equally as politically dangerous; the career of each and all would be abruptly terminated as soon as the outskirts of the cities were abandoned and an attempt was made to openly preach 'a new kingdom' in the market-place. We have examples later of the treatment which these prophets received.

For instance, to quote Cornill's graphic description (*Hist.* 260), 'a certain Theudas . . . had summoned the people to the Jordan where at his command the miracle of Joshua was to be repeated. . . . Julius sent thither a company of cavalry, who simply cut the people down and brought the head of Theudas to Jerusalem.' See THEUDAS.

It is difficult to believe that the Romans behaved as they are reported to have done at an earlier date, even when it is admitted that the circumstances at the time were rather different. It has been handed down again that the Jews themselves, or a section of them, actually anticipated Roman action, that they betrayed the author of the new movement to the Romans and were themselves allowed to play a chief part in carrying out his death-sentence. But this representation of the Jewish attitude, as well as that of the Roman procedure, looks very much like a late attempt to take the blame as far as possible off the shoulders of the Romans and lay it on the Jews. The pagan-Christian movement, and the widening gap between Jews and Christians, would give rise to a tendency to say as little as possible in disparagement of the Romans, and as much as possible to bring odium on the Jews; to adapt the teaching more and more to the mind of the Roman, to make it diverge more and more from the doctrines and practices of the Jews.

Cp GOSPELS. On the representation of Roman administration given in Acts, see ACTS. For other details see the special articles on the ROMAN places, governors, etc., mentioned in NT. See also CHRISTIAN (NAME OF), GOVERNMENT, ROMÉ (BURGH OF), ROMANS, PAUL, PILATE, PROCURATOR, PROVINCE, QUIRINUS. M. A. C.

ROPE. For *hēbel*, 'abōth, and *nīkpaš*, see **CORD**, and for 'agmōn, Job 11:2 [10:26] RV. AV 'hook,' see **RUSH**, 2, and cp **FISH**, § 5, u. 1, col. 1529.

ROSE. I. (רֹזָה); ἈΝΘΟΣ, Cant. 2:1; ΚΡΙΝΟΝ, is. 35:1†) is now usually taken, as in RV^{mg}, to be the autumn crocus, *Colchicum autumnale*, L., or some kindred species. The Heb. word, *hābaggēleth*, is closely akin to Syr. *hamsallāythā*, the meaning of which is well assured (LÖW, 174).

The rendering 'rose,' found in Kimhi and other Jewish writers, seems to rest on mere conjecture; 'lily' stands in B, Vg., Tg., and is upheld by Celsus (1:49 ff.) and others. Delitzsch (*Prod.* 1:27) compares Ass. *hubbilānu*, 'reed,' and argues for the flower-stalk or a flowering plant. As Nöldeke (*ZDMG* 40:70) says (at all events in Cant. 2:1), and the Aramaic word affords a satisfactory parallel, though, of course, this argument is not decisive against an Assyrian connection.† Various species

† The Ass. comparison is accepted by Che. (*Proph. Is.* 3, on Is. 35:1) after discussion; it is pointed out that the same plant often has a different reference in different countries. See *Is. 35:1*, who recognises the connection.]

RUBY

of colchicum found in Palestine are enumerated by Tristram (*FFP* 425).

2. The *ródon* is referred to in Wisd. 23 (σρεψόμεθα *ρόδων* κἀλεξίω), Ecclus. 24:14 [13] 39:13 (17), and 50:8 (רֹזָה 'rose'; see Schechter and Taylor). What is commonly called the 'Rose of Jericho,' the *Anastatica hieruntina*, is certainly not meant by Ben Sira, when he speaks of the 'rose-plants in Jericho.' In all these passages he apparently means the rhododendron (Tristram, *NHB* 477; cp Schick, *PEFQ*, 1900, pp. 63-65). In 3 Macc. 7:17, PTOLEMAIS (γ. 7) is called *ροδοφόρον* [V], or *ροδοφόρον* [A]. The roses of Egypt are celebrated by the Roman poet Martial.

Grätz even finds the Hebrew, or more strictly, New Hebrew word for roses in a passage of Canticles (4:13, רֹזָה for רִיחַן). This may be right (see col. 693); but cp Biddle, *ad loc.* On רֹזָה, 'rose,' in Mishna, and its Syr. and Ar. cognates, see Löw, *Aram. Pflanzenamen*, 131 f. N. M.

ROSH (רֹשׁ; ΡΩC [BAQ]), according to most, is the name of a people in Asia Minor, which, like Meshech and Tubal (confidently identified with the Moschi and the Tibareni) belonged to the empire of Gog (γ. 7) (Ezek. 38:2, 39:1). It is very strange, however, that all the names of peoples in Ezek. 38:1-6, except Rosh and Paras (7:5), should occur in the Table of Nations in Gen. 10, and, from the conjunction of Tiras with Meshech and Tubal in Gen. 10:2, von Hammer long ago plausibly conjectured the identity of Tiras and Rosh. It is noteworthy that in Judith 2:23 the 'sons of Kasses' (γ. 7), and 7:7 TIRAS are mentioned directly after Put and Lud, and it is natural to identify, first, Kasses with Rosh, and then, on the ground of the phenomena of the Lat. MSS.,¹ Kasses with Tiras. This would produce the reading 'prince of Tiras.'²

This is decidedly better than explaining רֹשׁ as 'chief prince (of Meshech, etc.)' as RV^{mg} and Smend (after Tg., Aq., Jer.). But the whole of the prophecy of Gog appears to need reconsideration (see **PROPHET**, § 27). If it is true that the prophet foretells a great N. Arabian invasion, we must suppose that רֹשׁ, like תַּרְסִישׁ and תַּרְשִׁישׁ, is a corruption of Assur (אַשּׁוּר), the name of one of the peoples in N. Arabia bordering on the old Judahite territory. Cp TARSUSIT, TIRAS.

Winckler would omit רֹשׁ as a gloss on רֹשׁ ('chief'); but this is too superficial a correction. רֹשׁ is specially one of Ezek.'s words (cp **PRINCE**, 2). T. K. C.

ROSH (רֹשׁ; ΡΩC [-ADL]), a Benjamite family name (Gen. 46:21). In the corresponding list in Nu. 26:38 f. for Ehi Rosh Muppim we find Ahiram Shephuphan, and the three names probably grew out of the two either by a simple transposition of the letters *M* and *Sh* (cp C. J. Ball, *SBOT*), or in some such way as that explained by Gray (*HPV* 35).

The MT in Gen., indeed, requires Rosh to make up its ten 'sons' of Benjamin (i.e., fourteen 'sons' of Rachel; r. 22); but B, although naming ten, preserves the original summation nine (i.e., eighteen 'sons' of Rachel). B is lacking at this point; but B¹ sees the discrepancy and, since it retains Rosh, changes the eighteen to nineteen.

ROBIN. I. רֹבִי, *rovi*, Ezek. 27:17 AV^{mg}. See **BALM**, § 1.
2. *ráphā*; Song of Three Children, 23 (Dan. 3:4) AV, RV NAPHTHA.

RUBY. In EV 'rubies' represent *fenitim*, פִּנִּיִּים. I. **Biblical** six times (Job 28:18 Lam. 4:7 Prov. 3:15 references. 8:11 20:15 31:10); in Lamentations RV^{mg} has 'corals'; in Job it has 'red coral' and 'pearls.'

¹ Vet. Lat. reads *Thiras et Raxis*, with which Pesh. must originally have agreed; *Thiras* and *Raxis* represent different readings of the same word.

² רֹשׁ תַּרְשִׁישׁ, instead of רֹשׁ רִיחַן; רֹשׁ, as Herz has remarked, might easily fall out after רֹשׁ. Toy (Ezek. *SBOT*) has also combined the names Rosh and Tiras. The above was written, however, before the appearance of his work.

RUDIMENTS

The renderings of **ⲉ** vary and (sometimes at least) manifestly represent another text (in Job, *καὶ ἐκένωσον σοφίαν ὑπὲρ τὰ ἰσώματα* [BMC, *ἰσώτα*, A]; Lam., *ὑπὲρ λίθους*; Prov. 3 15 8 11 31 10, *λίθων πολυτέλων*; Prov. 20 15, wanting?); Vg. has a different rendering in each case (Job, *trahitur autem sapientia de oculis*; Lam., *ebore antigna*; Prov. 3 15, *cunctis opibus*; 8 11, *cunctis pretiosissimis*; 20 15, *multitudo gemmarum*; 31 10, *de ultimis finibus*).

2. In Is. 54 12 (*κρῖσταλλος*), Ezek. 27 16 (*χορχορ* [BQ], *κορχορ* [A]) RV has 'rubies,' but AV 'agate' and AV^{ms} [Ezek.] 'chrysoptase,' for **ⲕⲁⲗⲕⲟⲩⲁⲗ**. See AGATE, CHRYSOPRASE.

3. In Ex. 28 17 Ezek. 28 13 RV^{ms} has 'ruby' for **ⲉⲃⲉⲙ**, 'Edem.'

The question whether rubies are referred to in the OT may at first sight appear rather complicated. It is not so, however, in reality. The claims

**2. Identificati-
tion.**

of 'rubies' as a rendering of *ῥοῦβίνος* have long since passed into abeyance; the revisers of AV, it is clear, only acquiesce in certain cases in AV's rendering 'rubies' from a feeling of uncertainty as to the absolute correctness of the marginal renderings which they propose. On the correctness of their renderings we may refer to CORAL, PEARL, and with regard to Lam. 4 7 (where the strange statement, 'they were more ruddy in body than rubies,' is ventured upon in EV) to LAMENTATIONS [BOOK], § 5, SAPPHIRE. If the precious stone called 'Edem' is really from **ⲉⲃⲉⲙ**, 'to be red,' and not rather from the name of Edom,¹ it is most plausible to identify it with the carnelian (see SARDIUS). We have, therefore, only the passages Is. 54 12 Ezek. 27 16 to deal with. Here the greatest weight is due to Prof. Ridgeway's remark (CARBUNCLE, col. 702), that there is no proof that the ruby, which is found only in Ceylon and in Burmah,² was known to the Hebrews any more than it was to the Greeks till after the time of Theophrastus. If the *usphék* is the *mafsut*-stone of the Egyptians (see CARBUNCLE, end), the *kalkôd* might conceivably be the garnet; on the possible root-meaning (to emit fire, as a fire-stick), see Ges.-Bl. and BDB. We must not, however, ignore the possibility (see CHALCIBIONY, 1, end) that the true reading of the word is, not **ⲕⲁⲗⲕⲟⲩⲁⲗ**, but **ⲕⲁⲗⲕⲟⲩⲁⲗ** (r for d). Both for the stone called 'Edem' and for that called (as we now assume) **ⲕⲁⲗⲕⲟⲩⲁⲗ**, the name of a country may be surmised as the origin—viz., in the case of 'Edem, Edom, and in that of **ⲕⲁⲗⲕⲟⲩⲁⲗ**, Jerahmeel (such corruptions of this name turn out to be common);³ the stones so designated may in fact have reached the Hebrews from N. Arabia, and so have been called respectively the Edomite and the Jerahmeelite stone. Cp SARDIUS, TOPAZ.

The true or Oriental ruby is a red variety of corundum or native alumina of great rarity and value, and to be distinguished from the spinel (an aluminate of magnesium), which is of much less estimation as a gem stone. The phraseology of ancient writers was even more confused than that now current, for they appear to have classed together under a common name, such as the *carbunculus* of Pliny or the *ἀσθαρά* of Greek writers, not only (perhaps) our two kinds of ruby, but also garnets and other inferior stones of a fiery color. See further STONES [PRECIOUS]. T. K. C.

RUDIMENTS (ⲐⲐⲒⲎⲐⲗ), Col. 2 8 20 EV, RV^{ms} ELEMENTS (q.v.).

RUE (ⲐⲒⲒⲎⲐⲐⲐ [Ti. VII]) is once mentioned (Lk. 11 42 f) as a small garden herb; in the parallel passage Mt. 23 23 anise and cummin are mentioned instead.

According to Trisram (*VIII* 47) *Ruta graveolens* is at this day cultivated in Palestine, whilst *Ruta bracteosa* is a common wild plant. Cp Low, no. 317.

RUFUS (ⲐⲐⲒⲎⲐⲗ [Ti. VII]) occurs several times in Old-Christi literature.

1. Mk. 15 21, as the son of SIMON OF CYRENE and the brother of ALEXANDER (q.v.). In the Apocryphal

¹ See TARSISH [STONE], § 3.
² Cp 'The Ruby Mines in Upper Burmah,' *Cornhill Magazine*, Dec. 1901.
³ Cp, for instance, 'Calcol,' 1 K. 4 31 [5 11].

RUMAH

Acts of Peter and Andrew, and of others, Alexander and Rufus are mentioned as disciples of Andrew, who were his companions in the country of the barbarians; cp R. A. Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap. gesch.* 1 533 f. 617 621; 3 77 79 83, E. 94 96.

2. Rom. 16 13, as a Roman Christian, well known to Paul and to the Christians in Rome as being 'the elec' (or the chosen) in the Lord.' We do not know the force of this expression. Weizsacker thinks that it hints at some special circumstances connected with his conversion. B. Weiss, Sanday-Headlam interpret: 'eminent as a Christian.' In any case it will be an *epitheton ornans* to celebrate the friend of Paul, the supposed author, who goes on to salute 'his mother and mine,' as if the Roman wife had once kindly treated him, who had not yet been in Rome. The list of greetings in Rom. 16 is not historical; the names and the additions are fanciful; cp ROMANS (EPISTLE). According to Epiphanius this Rufus was reckoned among the seventy 'others' (apostles), Lk. 10 1. A Spanish local tradition makes him the first bishop of Tortosa, consecrated by Paul. Another tells us that he was consecrated bishop of the Egyptian Thebes by Peter. His birthday is said to have been the 8th or the 19th April; cp Lipsius, 2 222 227, E 242.

3. Polycarp, *Phil.* 9 1; cp Eus. *HE* iii 36 13, as a companion of the martyrs Ignatius and Zosimus, commemorated every year on 18th Dec. at Philippi, according to *Martyrol. Rom.*

It is difficult to say whether these three, or any two of them, originally indicate the same person.

W. C. v. M.

RUG (ⲐⲒⲒⲎⲐⲗ), Judg. 4 18 RV†; see col. 509, n. 4.

RUHAMAH. See LO-RUHAMAH.

RULE (ⲐⲒⲒⲎⲐⲗ), Is. 44 13 AV, RV LINE (q.v. 2). cp HANDICRAFTS, § 2.

RULER. On the wide use of general terms of this nature, cp what has been said under the headings CAPTAIN, GOVERNOR, OFFICER.

The different Hebrew and Greek terms thus rendered are as follows:—

1. *sāgin*, see DEPUTY, 1.
2. *šār*, see PRINCE, 3, and cp ARMY, § 4, GOVERNMENT, § 21, KING.
3. *udāid*, see PRINCE, 1.
4. *udāid*, Hos. 4 18, lit. SHIELD (q.v.)—the text is not certain.
5. *udāid* (a 'ruler' in the general sense, Gen. 49 8 Prov. 6 7 Mt. 5 2 1 f), see GOVERNOR, 11.
6. *udāid*, see GOVERNOR, 9.
7. *ἀρχισυναγωγος*, Mk. 5 22, see SYNAGOGUE, § 9.
8. *ἀρχιπραιτωριος*, Jn. 2 2 f, see MEAL, § 11.
9. *πολιτάρχης*, Acts 17 6 8 (ruler of the city), see THES. SALONICA.
10. *ἐπαρχος*, 2 Macc. 4 27 AV (RV 'governor'), see STRATUS, and
11. *ἀρχων*, the most widely-used of all terms both in LXX and NT, applied, e.g., to rulers of nations (Mt. 20 25), magistrates and judges (Lk. 12 58 Rom. 13 3), officers and members of the Sanhedrin (Mt. 9 18 23 Lk. 8 41 23 13 33 Jn. 3 1); to Jesus the 'ruler' of the kings of the earth (Rev. 1 5), and to Satan the 'prince' (so EV) of devils (Mt. 9 34).

RUMAH (ⲐⲒⲒⲎⲐⲗ), the birthplace of Zebidah or Zebudah, Jehoiakim's mother (2 K. 23 36 [EK] ΚΡΟΥΜΑ [B], [EK] p. [V], [EK] ΛΟΒΕΝΝΑ [L]; Jos. *Ant.* v 32, ΕΞ ΑΒΟΥΜΑC i. e. ΑΡΟΥΜΑC), has been thought (see *III B* 20) to be the ΡΟΥΜΑ of Eusebius (*OS* 2 288 10, ΡΟΥΜΑ Η ΚΑΙ ΑΡΙΑ, in his time called ΡΕΛΦΙΘΙ, with which he identifies Arimathæa, unless 2 Ch. 36 5 (so Pesh. in 2 K.). It is the modern *Rantich* in the plain N. of Diospolis (Lydda). There were, however, several places called Rumah. Another is referred to in the Talmud as Ruma and once as Aruma (Neub. *Glog. du Talm.* 203); this seems to be the Galilean

1 See above, col. 297, n. 2.

RUNNERS

Ruma of Josephus (*B. J.* iii. 721), which may be the mod. Rūmeih, on the S. edge of the plain of Battauf, about 6 m. N. of Nazareth.

ARUMAH [*Ar.*] in Judg. 9:11 is at first sight excluded by its northern situation. Probably, however, the original story spoke of Ahimelech as king of Gusham in the Negeb (see *SHECHEM*). If so, it is plausible to identify Arumah with the Ruma of 2 K., because of the matrimonial connections between the kings of Judah and the Negeb. Like 'Ramah' (which, indeed, Pesh. reads in 2 K. and *SBA* in the supplement to 2 Ch. 36:3), 'Ramah' and 'Arumah' probably come from 'Jerahmeel', the place so designated was of Jerahmeelite origin. T. K. C.

RUNNERS (רָצָצִים). See CHARIOT, § 10; ARMY, § 4 (col. 314).

RUSH, RUSHES. 1. **רָצָצִים, gōmē'** (Ex. 23 [Syro-hex., *Ald.*, 15 ΠΑΠΥΡΟΣ; so *Aq.* Sym., *Om.*], Job 81 [ΠΑΠΥΡΟΣ], Is. 18:2 [ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΣ ΒΥΒΛΙΝΑΣ], 35:7² [ελαοφ]) is almost certainly the papyrus (cp *Ex.* 23, Job), the Hebrew name being derived from Coptic *kam*. This plant (*Cyperus Papyrus*, L.), which was a characteristic growth along the Nile banks in ancient Egypt,³ and still occurs in several localities in Palestine, rises to a height of about six feet, with a triangular tapering stem; see *PAPYRI*, § 1. Its stem supplied material for the making of boats, sails, mats, cloth, cords, and, above all, writing material. In particular, its use for the construction of light Nile boats is mentioned by Theophrastus, Pliny, and other ancient writers (cp *EGYPT*, § 8, end), and explains the references in Ex. 23 Is. 18:2, and probably also Job 9:26 (see *RV*², but cp *KEEBS*, *OSPRAY*).

2. **רָצָצִים, 'arāmōn** (Is. 9:14 [13] 19:15⁴ 58:5 [κρίκος], Job 41:2 [10:26, κρ.] 41:20⁵ [12]†) is a word for 'marsh reed,' derived from 'arām, **אַרָּם**, a 'marsh' or 'pool' (*BARTH*, *VB* 341), and very probably to be identified with *Arundo Donax*, L. (cp *Tristram*, *NHB* 436 f.). In Is. 9:14 [13] 19:15 the 'arāmōn or 'reed' is contrasted with the *kappāh* (קַפָּה) or 'palm-branch,' the latter indicating those in the high position and the former the humbler classes in the state—so *C* (below, n. 4). In Is. 58:5 among the spurious tokens of pretended piety is mentioned that of bowing the head as the head of the reed is bent by the flow of the stream in which it grows; cp 1 K. 14:15 Mt. 11:7.

In Job 41:2 [40:26] the name is transferred to the rope or cord (see *RV*) of reed used to noose the crocodile; and in Job 41:20 (1) the hot vaporous breath of this animal is compared to the steam of a seething pot' and (see *RV*) the smoke of (burning) rushes. (In both passages the text is doubtful. On Job 41:2 see *FISH*, § 5, and n. 1, where *RV*, '1.0g' is proposed as an emendation, and on Job 41:20 see *Budde*, who (with *Bi.*, *Du.*, *Beer*) reads *רָצָצִים*, 'and boiling.')] N. M.—W. T. T. -11.

RUST. 1. **רֹחַץ, hel'ah**; *rust* in Ezek. 246:11 f. of 'the bloody city, that caldron full of ioc. [AV 'scum 1] wherefrom the rust is not yet gone. 2. *βρωσις*, in Mt. 6:19 f. of 'moth and rust' (σῆς καὶ βρωσις) which consume 'treasure.' 3. *rois*, in Jas. 5:3, spoken of rusting gold and silver.

RUTH (רוּת, רֹאשׁוֹת, רֹאשׁוֹת), a Moabitish woman, the heroine of the Book of Ruth. Through her marriage with Mahlon, and subsequent marriage-at-law with Boaz (in the name of Mahlon), she became an ancestor of David, who, according to our present text, was a native of Bethlehem in Judah. Ruth's noble unselfishness was thus rewarded (cp Ruth 2:12). Her sister,

RUTH, BOOK OF

whose impulse to follow Naomi to her home in Judah was less effectual than Ruth's, was named Orpah, a name which suggests the meaning 'obstinacy.' Hence, following Pesh., it is usual (cp *Geiger*, *Urschr.* 50) to explain Ruth as a contraction of Re'uth, i. e., 'the companion,' 'one who lovingly attaches herself.' See, however, for other explanations, *RUTH* [BOOK], § 5. The account of her levirate-marriage with Boaz is given with archaeological fulness as an obsolete custom. Cp *SHOES* (*et.*).

(By old Hebrew law, as by the old law of Arabia, a wife who had been brought into her husband's house by contract and payment of a price to her father was not set free by the death of her husband to marry again at will. The right to her hand lay with the nearest heir of the dead. Originally we must suppose among the Hebrews as among the Arabs, this law was all to the disadvantage of the widow, whose hand was simply part of the dead man's estate; but, while this remained so in Arabia to the time of Mohammed, among the Hebrews the law early took quite an opposite turn; the widow of a man who died childless was held to have a right to have a son begotten on her by the next kinsman, and this son was regarded as the son of the dead and succeeded to his inheritance so that his name might not be cut off from Israel. The duty of raising up a son to the dead lay upon his brother, and in *Lev.* 25:5 is restricted to the case when brothers live together. In old times, as appears from *Gen.* 38, this was not so, and the law as put in the book of Ruth appears to be that the nearest kinsman of the dead in general had a right to 'redeem for himself' the dead man's estate, but at the same time was bound to marry the widow. The son of this marriage was reckoned as the dead man's son and succeeded to his property, so that the 'redeemer' had only a temporary usufruct in it. Naomi was too old to be married in this way, but she had certain rights over her husband's estate which the next kinsman had to buy up before he could enter on the property. And this he was willing to do, but he was not willing also to marry Ruth, and beget on her a son who would take the name and estate of the dead and leave him out of pocket. He therefore withdraws and Boaz comes in his place. That this is the sense of the transaction is clear; there is, however, a little obscurity in 4:5, where (see *Vg.*, Pesh.) one letter has fallen out and we must (with *Cappellus*, *Geiger*, *Bertheau*, etc.) read *מָה יָמִין* and translate 'What day thou buyest the field from Naomi thou must also buy Ruth,' etc. Cp *rv.* 9 f.—W. R. S.)

The notice in Ruth 4:7 has caused some difficulty. *Kalisch* (*Bible Studies*, I [1877] 61) actually suggests that לְיָמֵינוּ (EV 'in former time') may perhaps mean 'from olden times.' *Driver* (*Intr.*⁶⁶ 455), who apparently finds 4:7 and 4:18-22 the only passages which may indicate a late date, thinks that, while 4:18-22 'forms no integral part of the book,' 4:7 'has every appearance of being an explanatory gloss,' and compares the admitted gloss in 1 S. 9:9, which begins with לְיָמֵינוּ בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל. This is a perfectly legitimate view, though it entails an alteration of the text in 2:8. But we may ask this question: Supposing that the custom referred to in 4:7 had become antiquated, was not such an explanatory notice called for? T. K. C.

RUTH, BOOK OF. The story of *RUTH* (*q. v.*) forms one of the OT Hagiographa, usually reckoned as the second of the five Megilloth or Festal

1. Original position. This position corresponds to the Jewish practice of reading the book at the Feast of Pentecost; Spanish MSS, however, place Ruth at the head of the Megilloth (see *CANTICLES*); and the Talmud, in a well-known passage of *Babli Bithri* (14^b), gives it the first place among all the Hagiographa. On the other hand, *C* and the Vulgate make Ruth follow Judges. It has sometimes been held (e. g., by *Ewald*, *Hist.* 1:156; *Bertheau*, *Richter u. Ruth*,²⁰ 202) that this was its original place in the Hebrew Bible also, or rather that Ruth was originally reckoned as an appendix to Judges, since it is only by doing this, and also by reckoning Lamentations to Jeremiah, that all the books of the Hebrew canon can be reduced to twenty-two, the number assigned by Josephus and other ancient authorities. It has been shown elsewhere (*CANON*, §§ 11-14), however, that the argument for the superior antiquity of this way of reckoning breaks down on closer examination, and, whilst it was very natural that a later rearrangement should transfer Ruth from the Hagiographa to the

1 *Aq.* gives ΠΑΠΥΡΕΩΝ for רָצָצִים, *Ex.* 23:3; *Vg.* papyrus.
2 *AV* has 'bulrushes' in *Ex.* 23 (RVing 'papyrus'), Is. 18:2 (RV 'papyrus'), 'rush' in Job 8:11 (RVing 'papyrus'), and 'reeds' in Is. 35:7.
3 Is said to be now extinct in Egypt—thus *Boissier* (*Fl. Or.* 3) 'olim in Egypto, ubi destructus nunc esse videtur.' *Tristram*: 'no longer found in Africa, excepting in marshes of the White Nile in Nubia, 7° N. latitude' (*NHB* 433).
4 In both cases *C* paraphrases, μέγαν καὶ μικρὸν and ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος.
5 *C* ἀθράκων (ἀθράξ).

RUTH, BOOK OF

historical books, and place it between Judges and Samuel, no motive can be suggested for the opposite change. That the book of Ruth did not originally form part of the series of 'Former Prophets' (Judges-Kings) is further probable from the fact that it is quite untouched by the process of 'prophetic' or Deuteronomistic editing, which gave that series its present shape at a time soon after the fall of the kingdom of Judah; the narrative has no affinity with the point of view which looks on the whole history of Israel as a series of examples of divine justice and mercy in the successive rebellions and repentances of the people of God. But if the book had been known at the time when the history from Judges to Kings was edited, it could hardly have been excluded from the collection; the ancestry of David was of greater interest than that of Saul, which is given in 1 S. 9.1, whereas the old history names no ancestor of David beyond his father Jesse.

As to the date. A very early period is clearly impossible. The book does not offer itself as a document written soon after the period to which it refers; it presents itself as dealing with times far back, and takes obvious delight in depicting details of antique life and obsolete usages (on Ruth 4.1-12, see RUTH); it views the rude and stormy period before the institution of the kingship through the softening atmosphere of time, which imparts to the scene a gentle sweetness very different from the harsher colours of the old narratives of the book of Judges. [We cannot therefore very well say with Dr. C. H. H. Wright (*Introd.* 126) that the book 'must have been written after the time of David, and long prior to the Exile.'] Indeed, the interest taken in the pedigree of David points to a time when 'David' had become a symbol for the long-past ideal age. In the language, too, as we shall see presently (see § 3), there is a good deal that makes for and nothing that makes against a date subsequent to the captivity, and the very designation of a period of Hebrew history as 'the days when the judges judged' (Ruth 1.1) is based on the Deuteronomistic additions to the book of Judges (2.16f.), and does not occur till the period of the Exile.

An inferior limit for the date of the book cannot be assigned with precision. Kuenen formerly argued (*Oud.*¹ 1 [1861] 212-214) that, as the author seems to take no offence at the marriage of Israelites with Moabite women, he must have lived before the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezra 9 Neh. 13); but the same argument would prove that the Book of Esther was written before Ezra, and indeed, as Wellhausen (Bleek's *Eint.*² 205) points out, the singular Talmudic statements respecting the descent of eminent Jewish teachers from supposed heathen proselytes of antiquity (Sisera, Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar, Haman—see RAHAB) appear to imply a theory very similar to that of the Book of Ruth, which nevertheless had no polemical bearing on the practical exclusiveness of the prevalent custom. We cannot therefore assert that the Book of Ruth was not written later than about 444 B.C.

At the same time it must be admitted that the story of Ruth was written before the living impulses of Jewish literature had been choked by the growing influence of legalism. As Ewald remarks, 'we have here a narrator of a perfectly individual character,' who, 'without anxiously concealing by his language all traces of the later age in which he wrote, had obviously read himself into the spirit of the ancient works both of history and of poetry, and thus produces a very striking imitation of the older work on the kings' (*Hist.* 1154f.). The manner, however, in which he tells the story is equally remote from the legal pragmatism of Chronicles and from the prophetic pragmatism of the editor of the older histories. His work has therefore some advantage over

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the histories just mentioned, an advantage, it is true, of which the Targum (see 15f.) endeavours to deprive it. By the tone of simple piety and graciousness which pervades it, and by its freedom from the pedantry of legal orthodoxy, the book reminds us of the prologue to the colloquies of Job and the older poetical wisdom. Legalism, then, was still far from having triumphed in the field of literature when the story of Ruth was written; even a superficial student cannot close his eyes to this important fact.

The necessity of a somewhat late date will appear also from the following stylistic and linguistic considerations.

3. Linguistic data. That the style of the narrative lacks the freshness and popularity which distinguish the best sections of the Books of Samuel must be apparent, and upon examining closely the linguistic details, we shall probably become convinced that a pre-exilic origin is impossible. The learned Benedictine Calnet (*Dictionnaire historique et critique*, 1722, art. 'Ruth'), indeed, following *Ribi b. b. r. i.* 14f., ascribes the composition to the author of the Books of Samuel, a view which he supports by referring to the phrases, 'Yahwè do so to me and more also,' Ruth 1.17 (cp 1 S. 3.17, and ten other passages in Sam. and Kings), 'to uncover the ear,' Ruth 4.4 (cp 1 S. 9.13, and six other passages in Sam.). For other points of contact between Ruth and Sam. and Kings, see 4.13 and 1 S. 18.17 (רָחַץ); 1.19 and 1 S. 4.5 1 K. 1.45 (רָחַץ); 4.1 and 1 S. 21.3 2 K. 6.8 (רָחַץ); 2.1 and 1 S. 6.20.26 (רָחַץ); 'accident', and the second fem. sing. imperf. in 1.28 2.1 3.4 1 S. 1.14 (also Is. 45.10 Jer. 31.22). These coincidences, however, are outweighed, not only by the difference of style (in the more general sense) between Ruth and Sam., but also by certain forms and expressions found in Ruth but not found in Sam., some of which at least point distinctly to a post-exilic age.

The following forms and idioms (to which add the second fem. sing. imperf. in 1.27; see above) are post-classical and mostly post-exilic or exilic in use—the second fem. sing. perf. in 1.27, 3.7 (also in Jer. [often], Ezek. 18 Mic. 4.13 [hardly Micah's]);

מָרָה for מָרָה, Mara, 1.20 (cp parallels in Ezek. 27.31 30.5 etc.); 1.27, 'to shut up,' 1.13 (Mishnic, Jewish Aram., Syriac, but cp Driver);

עָרַף, 'to confirm,' 4.7 (also Ezek. 13.6 Esth. 9.21 27.29 31f. Ps. 119.28 106, and in [Aram.] Dan. 6.);

אָרַף, 'to hope,' 1.13 (Esth. 9.1 Ps. 119.166);

אָרַף אִשָּׁה, 'to take a wife,' 1.4 (Ezra 9.2 12 Neh. 13.23 1 Ch. 23.22 etc., but not Judg. 21.23 [Buddle]);

אָרַף, 'therefore,' 1.13 (as in Aram. Dan. 2.6 etc.); cp Driver.

It is also well worth noticing that the divine name or title אֱלֹהִים (exilic and post-exilic in use) occurs in Ruth 1.20f.¹ (without אֱלֹהִים), as often in Job—Ewald rightly compares Job 27.2, and (against the view that Ruth is written in a pre-exilic N. Israelitish dialect) that the relative is always אֱלֹהִים, never אֱלֹהִים (cp König, *Eint.* 286).

According to König (*Eint.* 287), the book in its present form belongs, on linguistic grounds, to the period of Jer., Ezek., and the Second Isaiah, whilst marks of the later Hebrew are wanting. Whatever may seem to point to an earlier period (e.g., the use of the older form אֱלֹהִים seven times, and of אֱלֹהִים only twice) this eminent linguistic critic regards as coincidental coinciding. It should be remarked, however, that portions of Jeremiah can be shown to be of very late date, and that the unity of the date of authorship for Is. 40-66 is doubted by an increasing number of scholars. König's dating, then, is necessarily subject to revision, and so, still more, is that of Driver (*Introd.*² 455), who embarrasses himself with the theory that Canticles and Ruth (although included in the Hagiographa) may have been written in the N. Kingdom, and preserve words current there dialectically. The book, in its present

¹ The passage, as Ewald (*Hist.* 1154) points out, is highly poetical.

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form, must surely on linguistic grounds be regarded as a post-exilic work, and we shall see later that, even if it is to some extent based on an earlier folk-story, the skill of the artist has enabled him so to expand, to enrich, and to fuse his material that it is virtually all his own work, and that a later editor has only touched the proper names and appended the genealogy.

Wellhausen is of opinion that the most important sign of date is the genealogy of David (Ruth 4:18-22, cp 1 Ch. 2:10-17).

4. Genealogy. The names of the ancestors of David were known as far as Boaz. Then memory failed, and a leap was made in 1 Ch. 2:11 Ruth 1:2 to Salma (in Ruth, Salmon), who, in 1 Ch. 2:11, is called 'the father of Bethlehem.' But Salma belongs to the same group as Caleb, Abi, and Hur, and, 'if anything is certain, it is this—that in the olden times the Canibites dwelt in the S. and not in the N. of Judah, and that David in particular by his birth belonged, not to them, but to the older part of Israel, which gravitated in the opposite direction to Israel proper, and stood in the closest connection with Benjamin.' Wellhausen adds that 'of the other members of the genealogy Nahshon and Amminadab are princes of Judah in P, whilst Ram is the firstborn of Hezron (1 Ch. 2:25), and by the meaning of his name ('the high one') is, like Abram, qualified to be the starting-point of the princely line.' On the other hand, Sam, only knows of David's father Jesse.

The argument that Salma is a tribe foreign to old Judah, which was not 'father' of Bethlehem till after the Exile, has been very generally admitted, and seemed to Robertson Smith in 1886 to decide the post-exilic origin of the genealogy. The present writer, however, cannot see his way to follow his predecessor in this particular; the genealogy is no doubt post-exilic, but is not proved to be so by Wellhausen's criticism of the proper names, all of which appear really to refer to Jerahmeelite—i.e., N. Arabian—clans and localities.¹ But he heartily agrees with W. R. Smith that 'the genealogy in 1 Ch. 2:10 ff. is quite in the manner of other genealogies in the same book.'

That the genealogy was borrowed from Chronicles and added to Ruth by a later hand seems certain, for the author of Ruth clearly recognises that 'Obed was legally the son of Mahlon, not of Boaz' (4:10). [Driver, too, remarks (*Introd.*,⁶ 455) that the genealogy 'may well have been added long after the book itself was written,' and, like König (287), leaves out of the linguistic data for the solution of the problem of age, *Waldth* and *hild*, which are characteristic of P in the Pentateuch (cp GENEALOGIES I, § 1). Bertheau, Kuenen, and Budge adhere to the view that the closing section is an integral portion of the book. But surely, if the author had given a genealogy, he would have traced it through Mahlon. The existence, however, of the genealogy suggests the possibility that two views of the descent of David were current, one of which traced him to Perez by Mahlon, and the other to the same Perez by Boaz.

[We have arrived at this point without having been obliged to interfere with the traditional text. It is, however, necessary to take that step if we would obtain a more complete comprehension of the narrative and of its historical origin.

5. Proper names. That Ruth, as it now stands, is a post-exilic work is certain; we must therefore examine the text in connection with that of other not less certainly post-exilic works, in the study of which we have already reached results which, though in points of detail subject to revision, yet on the whole seem to throw considerable light on ancient editorial processes. We shall thus find reason to suspect that the personal and geographical names in the Book of Ruth (1:1-4:17) were not altogether originally as they now stand.

Bethlehem-judah, as in the strange stories appended to Judges, is a corruption or distortion of Beth-jerahmeel, the name of some place in the region called Ephraim in the south, possibly, but by no means probably, the same as the place known as Carmel.

'Ephraim' itself (like the 'Perath' of Jer. 14:7) is possibly a mutilated form of ZAREPHATH (צָרְפָּת) and 'Moab' may be a substitute for 'Missur' (cp Moab, § 13), a region to the S. of the country called Sarephathite or Ephraimite, Elindelech, Mahlon, and Chilion—the two latter of which have been so fatally misunderstood, as if they were symbolical names—are no doubt clan-names (or different forms of the same clan-name) derived from the great ethnic name, Jerahmeel. 'Ophrah' has probably arisen by 'metathesis' from 'Ophrah'—i.e., 'Ephraim.' Ruth (Re'uth, cp Pesh.) is probably the fem. of Re'u (Gen. 11:3 ff.), which is surely equivalent to Re'uel; now Re'uel appears in Gen. 26:4 as a son of Esau, and his name is most probably a distortion of Jerahmeel, a name which in its various broken forms attached itself to different N. Arabian clans. Na'omi (Na'omy) is doubtless connected with the clan-names Na'am and Na'anani.¹ 'Boaz' (בּוֹאֵז) is less transparent; hence Stucken and Winkler do not hesitate to identify the original Boaz with a mythological figure. But the place of the bearer of this name in the genealogy, as well as in the story of Ruth, shows that he too must have a clan-name,² and remembering the 'E'bi' (עֲבִי) of 1 Ch. 11:37, which corresponds to עֲבִי (MT) or rather עֲבִי (cp עֲבִי) in 2 S. 23:35—i.e., to עֲבִי, 'Jerahmeeli,' we may restore as the original name עֲבִי, 'Arab.' עֲבִי, 'Obed,' too, is probably by metathesis from עֲבִי, Arabia.³

The statement of the narrator then, if the present writer's conjectures are sound, amounts to this—that a member of a Jerahmeelite clan who belonged to Beth-jerahmeel (in the Negeb) removed with his family, under the pressure of famine, into the land of Missur, and sojourned there for about ten years. This agrees with the original form of the story in Gen. 12:10 ff., according to which Abram (= 'father of Jerahmeel') removed from the same cause from the Jerahmeelite country to Missur or Misrit (see MIZRATH, § 2).

Another parallel story is that of the Shunammite woman who was warned by Elisha of the approach of a famine and went to the land of the 'Philistines' (2 K. 8:1-3); the original story, the present writer thinks (cp SUSAAN), represented her as a dweller in the Jerahmeelite Negeb (still in Israelite occupation), and as going farther S. to the land of Sarephath (in a wide sense of the phrase).

Nor was it only famine that drove dwellers in the Negeb to the neighbouring land of Missur. The original text of 1 S. 22:3 ff. seems to have represented David as placing his father and mother under the protection of the king of Missur at Sarephath (see MIZRATH, 3), while he was himself a wanderer in the land of Jerahmeel, and there is, in the present writer's opinion, hardly room for doubt that David lived in, or close to, the Jerahmeelite Negeb (see NEGB, § 3, and note 3), and had strong Jerahmeelite (and Misrite) affinities. The latter passage is specially important, because the ostensible object of the writer of Ruth is to prove the descent of David from a noble-minded Misrite woman.⁴ It was natural to represent that David's ancestor had already set the example of taking refuge in Missur.

We are not expressly told that 'Sarephath'—i.e., that portion of Missur which lay nearest to and included the city of Sarephath—was the locality to which Elindelech and his family repaired. But the connection of Sarephath with Moses, with the Levites, and apparently with the prophets, conjectured by the present writer (see MOSES, § 4; PROPHECY, § 6), makes it seem to him not improbable that the narrator had this place or district in his mind, and in 4:12 the kindly wish is expressed that the house of Boaz might be like the house of 'Perez' (front 'Sarephath'?) whom Tamar (= Jerahmeelith?) bore to Judah.

¹ Many Benjamite clan-names appear to the present writer to be demonstrably of N. Arabian origin.

² Stucken's connection of the name with astral mythology (*Astralmythen*, 205, note) will hardly stand examination.

³ עֲבִי (Jesse), too, very possibly comes ultimately from עֲבִי (Ishmaelite), a term which did not originally belong exclusively to nomads. The names of the ancestors of David in the genealogy are, as suggested above (§ 4), exclusively N. Arabian clan-names.

⁴ Budge (*Z.ATH* 12 [1862] 44) thinks that the notice in 1 S. 22:3 does not imply a race-connection between David and the Moabite (i.e., Misrite) king or chieftain. David, he thinks, had to negotiate with the king, whereas if his grandmother had been a Moabite, this would have been unnecessary. But this is to press the words too strongly; and indeed (assuming the tradition to be historical) fact may have required that David should represent the desired protection as a favour.

¹ Budge's *Einh.* 10-14 f., *Proph.* 247 [ET 217 f.]; cp *De cent.* 16 f. The passage in *Einh.* 10 is mostly reprinted in *CH* 357-359, [2] 233-235.

² We reckon the Negeb as the N. Arabian borderland.

The view here taken renders it probable that the story of Ruth as it now stands is not of very early post-exilic origin. For the feeling of bitterness towards the Misrites and their neighbours, on account of their long-continued oppression of Israel, apparently persisted till close on the Greek period. The date of the traditional elements, out of which, with imaginative freedom, the present story of Ruth may have been partly composed, is quite another point. As in the case of Job (see JOB [BOOK], § 4) and Jonah (see JONAH [BOOK], § 4 f.) some of these elements may have been derived from mythology or folk-lore (cp Wi. AOF 366 f.). As Stucken points out,¹ 'Ruth corresponds exactly to Tamar; she obtains Boaz by taking him unawares (Ruth 3), as Tamar obtains Judah (Gen. 38). A dim consciousness of this connection shows itself in the fact that the pedigree of Boaz is traced to Perez.' The original story of Ruth probably gave her two sons (corresponding to the two sons of Tamar), only one of whom is recorded (simply out of interest in David) by the narrator.

The 'altogether peculiar' character of Ruth among the historical and quasi-historical narratives has been pointed out by Ewald, who is 'led to conclude that this story is only one taken from a larger series of similar pieces by the same author, and that through mere chance this is the only one preserved' (*Hist.* 155). More definitely, Budde suggests (*ZATW* 12 43 ff. [1892]) that the story of Ruth may originally have formed part of the 'Midrash of the Book of the Kings' referred to in 2 Ch. 24:27. In so far as this theory is based on the language of the genealogy in 4:18-22 (in connection with Wellhausen's view that 1 Ch. 2:10-17 is a later insertion), we must agree with König (*Eint.* 289, note) that it is unproven. At the same time, Ewald's impression that the narrative of Ruth did not always stand alone seems natural.

That one of the objects of Ruth was to explain the traditional descent of David from a Misrite woman, has been mentioned already. It was true, said the writer, that his grandmother was a Misrite; but what a noble woman she was! how obedient to those fundamental laws of morality which the true God values more than sacrifice! And so a second object naturally unveils itself—viz., to prepare the readers of the book to arrive at a more favourable opinion of the moral capacity of the Misrites than, owing to the cruel oppression of Israel by the Misrites, previous generations had been able to form.

Many critics (e.g., besides Winckler and most commentators, Umbreit, *St. Kr.*, 1834, pp. 308 ff.; Geiger, *Urschr.* 49 ff.; and especially Kue. *Rel. of Isr.* 2242 f., and *Ond.*⁽²⁾ 1523-27) hold that the narrator was one of those who protested against the rigour of Ezra in the matter of mixed marriages. It is not clear, however, that any such protest would have been detected by a Jewish reader of the book. The great point with the narrator is not the marriage of Mahlon but the next-of-kin marriage of Boaz. It cannot be shown that, when married to Mahlon, Ruth became in the full sense a worshipper of Yahwè. It is much more probable that the statement of Mahlon's marriage to a Misrite woman is simply a proof that the writer was a good historical scene painter. Like the Chronicler, he knows that in early times there was a great mixture of clans, and that

¹ *Astralmythen*, 110, note. We may add that we take 'Tamar' and 'Ruth' to be ultimately corruptions of 'Jerahmeelith' (cp JERAH, § 2). Neither Stucken nor Winckler criticises the Hebrew names.

Israelites often intermarried with Jerahmeelites and Misrites. Besides, in order to produce an impression on the Jews it would be necessary for the dwelling of Boaz to have been in Judah, not in a district which in post-exilic times was not in Jewish occupation. The latest editor did no doubt arrange the geographical statements accordingly; but the author himself, as we have seen, placed Boaz in the Jerahmeelute Negeb.

Surely no one who thoroughly appreciates the charm of this book will be satisfied with the prevalent theory of its object. There is no 'tendency' about the book; it represents in no degree any party programme. And even if the writer started with the object of illustrating the life of David, he forgot this when he began to write, and only thought of it again as he was about to lay down the pen. Justly does Robertson Smith remark, 'the marriage acquires an additional interest when we know that Ruth was David's great-grandmother, but the main interest is independent of that and lies in the happy issue of Ruth and Naomi from their troubles through the loyal performance of the kinsman's part by Boaz. Doubtless the writer meant his story to be an example to his own age, as well as an interesting sketch of the past; but this is effected simply by describing the exemplary conduct of Naomi, Ruth, Boaz, and even Boaz's harvesters. All these act as simple, kindly, God-fearing people ought to act in Israel.' [At the same time, the writer must have shared the religious aspirations of his time, which, as we have seen, was probably the post-exilic age—i.e., perhaps that quieter period which followed after the first century of the Greek rule. Now, there is good evidence for the view that one of these aspirations was for a cessation of the bitter feeling between Israel and Jerahmeel. As yet the sad exclusion of Jerahmeelites and Misrites from the religious assembly had not been enacted, or, if enacted, it was ignored by the noblest Jews, who held that the N. Arabian peoples were not incapable of repentance, and that it was no disgrace to David that his pedigree contained the name of a Misrite woman. A thorough study of certain psalms and prophecies will, it is believed, strongly confirm this view, and show that the best of the Jews looked forward to a true conversion of the Misrites to the religion of the God of Israel—the 'Lord of the whole earth.' Jerusalem would yet be thronged by the children of Israel's bitter foes, seeking first for instruction and then for admission into the religious community, and it is possible to see a glance at this hope in the touching words of Boaz, 'and how thou hast left thy father and thy mother, and the land of thy nativity, and art come unto a people which thou knewest not heretofore' (Ruth 2:11). And so, ultimately, the book becomes (like Jonah) a noble record of the catholic tendency of the early Judaism.]

Among other commentaries reference may be made to J. B. Carpov, *Collegium rabbinico-biblicum in libellum Ruth*, Lipsic, 1703. [Among recent commentators, the works of Bertheau (ed. 2, 1833), Bertholet (1898), Nowack (1901) may be specially mentioned. See also Wi. AOF 365-79, and references in the course of this article.]

(§§ 1, 2, partly 4 and 7) W. K. S.
(§§ 3, 5, 6, mostly 4 and 7) T. K. C.

RYE (רֹמֶשׁ). See RIE, FITCHES.

¹ In Dt. 23 3-6 [4-7]—altogether a later insertion—the ethnics should probably be 'Jerahmeelite' and 'Misrite.' The passage conflicts with 7:7 [8], where the ethnics should be 'Aramite' (= Jerahmeelite) and 'Misrite.' Dillmann's criticism here is very incomplete. The passage must be later than the fall of Jerusalem.

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SABANNUS (CABBANNOY) [BA], 1 Esd. 8:63 RV = Ezra 8:33 BINNUI, 2.

SABAOTH, LORD OF (יהוה צבאות). See NAMES, § 123.

SABAT. 1. RV SAPHAT, a group of children of Solomon's servants (see NETUNIM) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii., § 9, § 8c), one of eight inserted in 1 Esd. 8:34 (ספח [B], ספח [A], om. L.) after Pochereth-hazzebaim of Ezra 2:57 = Neh. 7:59.

It apparently represents the form SHAPHAT = Shephathiah (in Ezra 2:57 = Neh. 7:59 = 1 Esd. 5:33 Ⓢ, AV SAPHETH, RV SAPHETH).

2. RV SEBAT (סבאר [AV] סבאר [M]), the month of that name, 1 Macc. 10:14. See MONTH, § 5.

SABATEAS (CABBATAIAC) [A] 1 Esd. 9:48 AV, RV Sabateus = Neh. 8:7, SIABBETHAI, 1.

SABATHUS (CABAΘOC) [BA] 1 Esd. 9:28 RV, AV Sabtuc = Ezra 10:27, ZABAI, 4.

SABBAN (CABBANNOY) [BA] 1 Esd. 8:62 = Ezra 8:33, BINNUI, 2.

SABBATEUS (CABBATAIAC) [BA] 1 Esd. 9:14 RV = Ezra 10:15, SIABBETHAI, 1.

SABBATH (שַׁבָּת, CABBATHON), the day of sacred rest which among the Hebrews followed six days of labour and closed the week; see WEEK.

The grammatical inflexions of the word 'Sabbath' show that it is a feminine form, properly *Sabbat-t* for *Sabbat-ti*, from שָׁבַת (*Pa'el* conjug.).

1. Etymology. The root has nothing to do with resting in the sense of enjoying repose; in transitive forms and applications it means 'to sever,' to 'put an end to,' and intransitively it means to 'desist,' to 'come to an end.'

The grammatical form of *Sabbath* suggests a transitive sense, 'the divider,' and apparently indicates the Sabbath as dividing the month. It may mean the day which puts a stop to the week's work; but that is less likely. It certainly cannot be translated 'the day of rest.' (Cp Lag. *Ubers.* 113; Kö. *Lehrg.* ii. 120f.; Hoffm. *ZATW* 3121; Wellh. *Proh.* [1883] 117, n. 1; Jastrow's article cited in § 8.)

[According to Jensen, *ZAF*, 1887, p. 278, the Assyrian ša(p)bat(tl)-tum = 'penitential prayer,' and hence 'day of penitence and prayer.' Hirschfeld (see § 8), however, derives שַׁבָּת from שָׁבַת. Cp Benz. *HA* 202, 'perhaps in its oldest form it was connected with שָׁבַת (week).' For Jastrow's view, see § 8.]

By way of preface to the present historical inquiry, and to clear away, if possible, any remnants of theological prejudice against criticism, let us consider the attitude of Jesus towards Sabbath observance. It is not too bold to say that in his opposition to the current Rabbinical views he is in harmony with the main result of modern historical criticism. This thesis will be justified at a subsequent point. The well-known and probably (see col. 1888, near foot) authentic saying, 'Think not that I am come to destroy the law' (Mt. 5:17), expresses one side of that teaching. Jesus revered the Sabbath as he revered the other religious traditions of his people; but he had also a freedom of inspiration which put a new life into his interpretation of the Sabbath law. That he was in the habit of attending the synagogue on the Sabbath, we know from Lk. 4:16 (cp v. 31). But he would not adhere to the letter of the law where works of necessity or of mercy claimed to be performed: 'the Sabbath is made for man, and not man for the Sabbath; wherefore the Son of Man is Lord also of the Sabbath' (Mk. 2:27f.). There is a

traditional saying of Jesus which may express his Janus-like habit of mind as regards the Sabbath. It ceased, indeed, to be understood when the Christian Sunday had become an institution, and so was thrust out of the canonical Church tradition; but it certainly gives us the impression of being an ancient and a genuine tradition.¹ It is the well-known addition of D (*Codex Bezae*, ed. Scrivener, 173) after Lk. 6:4: 'On the same day when he saw one working on the Sabbath he said to him: Man, if thou knowest what thou art doing thou art blessed; but if thou knowest not, thou art cursed and a transgressor of the law' (τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ θεασάμενός τινα ἐργαζόμενον τῷ σαββάτῳ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἄνθρωπε, εἰ μὲν οἶδας τί ποιεῖς, μακάριος εἶ· εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας, ἐπικατάρατος καὶ παραβάτης εἶ τοῦ νόμου). The sense is clear—it is what we find in Rom. 14:14, 23.² 'If thou knowest what thou art doing'—in other words, if thou art doing this work on the Sabbath day with the consciousness that it is a work of necessity—if thy conscience justifies thee in it—then blessed art thou.' 'But if thou knowest not'—in other words, if thou art acting against thy conscience, with a lurking fear that thou art doing aught amiss—then art thou accursed, and a transgressor of the law.' The saying in the Oxyrhynchus papyrus-fragment discovered in 1897,³ 'if you do not keep the Sabbath you will not see the Father' (ἐὰν μὴ σαββατισῆτε τὸ σάββατον οὐκ ὄψεσθε τὸν πατέρα), may also very well have been actually spoken by Jesus in its literal sense, as the expression of the same conservative temper as we find in Mt. 5:17-19, and against noisy fanatics who thought to do honour to their master by showing contempt for the day. It is more probable, however, in view of the parallel clause, 'If you do not fast [to] the world you have not found the kingdom of God' (ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσητε τὸν κόσμον οὐ μὴ εὑρήτε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ), that the saying is not intended to be understood literally.

[This is not the place to discuss the relation of the Pauline teaching to that of Jesus. Without entering into the question as to the historical origin of each of the Pauline epistles referred to, we may recall that, according to the Pauline teaching, Jesus was sent in human flesh to liberate men from servitude to the law as a whole and in every particular. The conservative side of the teaching of Jesus regarding the Sabbath could not, therefore, be reproduced in the corresponding teaching of Paul.] It is clear from Rom. 14:5f. that Paul regarded the observance of the Sabbath as essentially an *adiaphoron* for Christians; it is possible to serve the Lord by observance of a fixed day, and equally possible to serve him without such observance; the important thing is to have a clean conscience (cp also 22: 14 and 23). The Pauline attitude towards the Christians of Colossæ is not inconsistent with the magnanimous tolerance here expressed. The sharpness of Col. 2:16f. (cp Gal. 4:9f.) is due to the situation: Paul perceived that the Judaizing false teachers had raised the *adiaphoron* into an *ἀναγκαῖον*, and that an energetic protest against the imposition of any such yoke was urgently required. [There is no definite conflict between the attitude of Paul and that of Jesus. The position taken up by Jesus was perfectly natural to him, as a son of a pious Jewish family, and a preacher to the chosen

¹ Ropes, 'Die Sprüche Jesu,' in *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, xiv. 2126 (1896) also regards this as possible.

² It is more probable that the ideas in these passages rest upon an utterance of Jesus known to the apostle than that the saying attributed to Jesus in D should be an invention resting on the utterance of Paul.

³ Λόγια Ἰησοῦ (ed. Grenfell and Hunt, 1897), 10f.

people of God. It would not have been natural to Paul, a preacher to the Gentiles and not of purely Jewish culture, who seems to have felt as free towards the earthly life of Jesus as Jesus himself did towards the letter of the Mosaic Law. There were other Christians, however, who felt and acted differently from Paul.]

That the earliest Christians in Palestine observed the Sabbath is nowhere indeed expressly said,¹ but is certainly to be assumed. The silence of Acts is not to be taken as a proof of the non-observance, but contrariwise as a proof that it was observed as matter of course.

[Eusebius (*HE* 3.27) remarks that the Ebionites observed both the Sabbath and the Lord's Day; and this practice obtained to some extent in much wider circles, for the *Apostolical Constitutions* recommend that the Sabbath shall be kept as a memorial feast of the creation, and the Lord's Day as a memorial of the resurrection. —W.R.S.]

Was the Sabbath observed in the Christian mission-arches of the Dispersion? This is not an inquiry that affects our main subject, and only a glance at it can be given. We may be certain indeed that where a mission-church consisted essentially of those who had formerly been Jews or *συνάγωγαι* (see PROSLYTES) the observance of the day did not forthwith cease. It is instructive, however, to note that in the decree of Jerusalem (Acts 15.21 ff.) Sabbath observance is as little imposed as fasting on Gentile Christians as is that of any other holy day.² In estimating the historical bearing of this *testimonium ecclēsticū* it matters little whether we take the decree as actually pronounced by a council of apostles at Jerusalem³ or regard it as a later finding of the church of that city (cp COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM).

We now return to the thesis with which this article opened, viz., that the attitude of Jesus towards the Rabbinical Sabbath (see Mt. 12.1-14 Mk. 2.27) is in harmony with the main result of modern criticism. In his trenchant

4. Attitude of Jesus, resumed.

criticism of the scribes the general position which Jesus takes up is that 'the Sabbath is made for man, and not man for the Sabbath,' which is only a special application of the wider principle that the law is not an end in itself but a help towards the realisation in life of the great ideal of love to God and man, which is the sum of all true religion. On the other hand, the rules of the scribes enumerated thirty-nine main kinds of work forbidden on the Sabbath, and each of these prohibitions gave rise to new subtleties. Jesus' disciples, for example, who plucked ears of corn in passing through a field on the holy day, had, according to Rabbinical casuistry, violated the third of the thirty-nine rules, which forbade harvesting; and in healing the sick, Jesus himself broke the rule that a sick man should not receive medical aid on the Sabbath unless his life was in danger.⁴ In fact, as Jesus put it, the Rabbinical theory seemed to be that the Sabbath was not made for man but man for the Sabbath, the observance of which was so much an end in itself that the rules prescribed for it did not require to be justified by appeal to any larger principle of religion or humanity. The precepts of the law were valuable in the eyes of the scribes because they were the seal of Jewish particularism, the barrier erected between the world at large and the exclusive community of the grace of Yahwē. For this purpose the most arbitrary precepts were the most effective, and none were more so than the complicated rules

¹ Zahn, *Gesch. des Sonntags*, etc., 168, 353.
² *Id.*, *ut supra*, 173.
³ So Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, 129 ff.
⁴ [In like manner the length of journey that could be undertaken without breach of the Sabbath came to be also strictly defined (cp Mt. 23.23). For by the thirty-ninth rule it was forbidden to carry anything from one 'place' to another—a prohibition plainly based on Ex. 16.29, 'let no man go out of his place on the Sabbath day'—in other words, 'let every one stay at home.' A definition of 'place' in this connection was found in the measurement of the 'suburbs' of a Levitical city as laid down in Nu. 35.1-8—2000 cubits square. This gave the 'Sabbath limit' (שַׁבְּתֵי הַיָּמִים), and thus the 'Sabbath day's journey' (Acts 1.12; σαββατοῦ ὁδοῦ) was fixed at 2000 cubits or about 1000 yards.]

of Sabbath observance. The ideal of the Sabbath which all these rules aimed at realising was absolute rest from everything that could be called work; and even the exercise of those offices of humanity which the strictest Sabbatarians regard as a service to God, and therefore as specially appropriate to his day, was looked on as work. To save life was allowed, but only because danger to life superseded the Sabbath.¹ In like manner the special ritual at the temple prescribed for the Sabbath by the Pentateuchal law was not regarded as any part of the hallowing of the sacred day; on the contrary, the rule was that, in this regard, 'Sabbath was not kept in the sanctuary.' Strictly speaking, therefore, the Sabbath was neither a day of relief to toiling humanity nor a day appointed for public worship; the positive duties of its observance were to wear one's best clothes, eat, drink, and be glad (justified from Is. 58.13).

A more directly religious element, it is true, was introduced by the practice of attending the synagogue service; but it is to be remembered that this service was primarily regarded not as an act of worship, but as a meeting for instruction in the law. So far, therefore, as the Sabbath existed for any end outside itself, it was an institution to help every Jew to learn the law, and from this point of view it is regarded by Philo and Josephus—who are accustomed to seek a philosophical justification for the peculiar institutions of their religion. But this certainly was not the leading point of view with the mass of the Rabbinists.

Such was the position of the scribes; the Sabbath was an end in itself—a mere barrier between God's people and the world at large. Jesus maintains, as we have seen, the opposite doctrine. He declares too that his view of the law as a whole, and the interpretation of the Sabbath law which it involves, can be historically justified from the Old Testament. And in this connection he introduces two of the main methods to which historical criticism of the Old Testament has resorted in modern times: he appeals to the oldest history rather than to the Pentateuchal code as proving that the later conception of the law was unknown in ancient times (Mt. 12.34), and to the exceptions to the Sabbath law which the scribes themselves allowed in the interests of worship (v. 5) or humanity (v. 11), as showing that the Sabbath must originally have been devoted to purposes of worship and humanity, and was not always the purposeless arbitrary thing which the schoolmen made it to be. Modern criticism of the history of Sabbath observance among the Hebrews has done nothing more than follow out these arguments in detail, and show that the result is in agreement with what is known as to the dates of the several component parts of the Pentateuch.

The historical results of criticism may be thus summarised. Of the legal passages that speak of the Sabbath all those which show affinity

5. Pre-exilic and post-exilic Sabbath.

with the doctrine of the scribes—regarding the Sabbath as an arbitrary sign between Yahwē and Israel, entering into details as to particular acts that are forbidden, and enforcing the observance by several penalties, so that it no longer has any religious value, but appears as a mere legal constraint—are post-exilic (Ex. 16.23-31.12-17 35.1-3; Nu. 15.32-36); the older laws only demand such cessation from daily toil, and especially from agricultural labour, as among all ancient peoples naturally accompanied a day set apart as a religious festival, and in particular lay weight on the fact that the Sabbath is a humane institution, a holiday for the labouring classes (Ex. 23.12 Dt. 5.12-15). As it stands in these ancient laws, the Sabbath is not at all the unique thing which it was made to be by the scribes. 'The Greeks and the barbarians,' says Strabo (x.30), 'have this in common, that they accompany their sacred rites by a festal remission of labour.' So it was in old Israel: the Sabbath [which the Israelites

¹ See the Mishnah, tract 'Shabbath,' and *Fabrics*, chap. 1; and compare Schürer, *Galilee*, 2.283-41 470-475, where the rabbinical Sabbath is well explained and illustrated in detail.

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may have taken from the Canaanites—an agricultural people (see WEEK) was one of the stated religious feasts, like the new moon and the three great agricultural sacrificial celebrations (Hos. 2:11); the new moons and the Sabbaths alike called men to the sanctuary to do sacrifice (Is. 1:13); the remission of ordinary business belonged to both alike (Am. 8:5), and for precisely the same reason.¹ Hosea even takes it for granted that in captivity the Sabbath will be suspended, like all the other feasts, because in his day a feast implied a sanctuary.

This conception of the Sabbath, however, necessarily underwent an important modification in the seventh century B.C., when the local sanctuaries were abolished, and those sacrificial rites and feasts which in Hosea's time formed the essence of every act of religion were limited to the central altar, which most men could visit only at rare intervals. From that time forward the new moons, which till then had been at least as important as the Sabbaths, and were celebrated by sacrificial feasts as occasions of religious gladness, fell into insignificance, except in the conservative temple ritual. The Sabbath did not share the same fate; but with the abolition of local sacrifices it became for most Israelites an institution of humanity divorced from ritual. So it appears in the deuteronomic decalogue, and presumably also in Jer. 17:19-27. In this form the institution was able to survive the fall of the temple and the seventh day's rest was clung to in exile as one of the few outward ordinances by which the Israelite could still show his fidelity to Yahwè and mark his separation from the heathen. Hence we understand the importance attached to it from the period of the exile onward (Ezek. 20:12, 22, 23, 38; Jer. 17:19-27; Is. 56:1-7, 58:13), and the character of a sign between Yahwè and Israel ascribed to it in the post-exilic law. This attachment to the Sabbath, beautiful and touching so long as it was a spontaneous expression of continual devotion to Yahwè, required a less pleasing character when, after the exile, it came to be enforced by the civil arm (Neh. 13; cp Neh. 10:31), and when the later law even declared Sabbath-breaking a capital offence. It is just, however, to remember that without the stern discipline of the law the community of the second temple could hardly have escaped dissolution, and that Judaism alone preserved for Christianity the hard-won achievements of the prophets.

As the Sabbath was originally a religious feast, the question of the origin of the Sabbath resolves itself into an inquiry why and in what circle a festival cycle of seven days was first established. In Gen. 2:1-3 and in Ex. 20:11 the Sabbath is declared to be a memorial of the completion of the work of creation in six days. It appears certain, however, that the decalogue as it lay before the deuteronomist did not contain any allusion to the creation (see DECALOGUE), and it is generally believed that this reference was added by the same post-exilic hand that wrote Gen. 1:1-2:4a. The older account of the creation in Gen. 2:4b-25 does not recognise the hexameron, and it is even doubtful whether the original sketch of Gen. 1 distributed creation over six days. The connection, therefore, between the seven-days week and the work of creation is now generally recognised as secondary. The week and the Sabbath were already known to the writer of Gen. 1, and he used them to give the framework for his picture of the creation, which in the nature of things could not be literal and required some framework. At the same time, there was a peculiar appropriateness in associating the Sabbath with the doctrine that Yahwè is the Creator of all things;

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for we see from Is. 40:35 that this doctrine was a mainstay of Jewish faith in those very days of exile which gave the Sabbath a new importance for the faithful.

But, if the week as a religious cycle is older than the idea of the week of creation, we cannot hope to find more than probable evidence of the origin of the Sabbath. At the time of the exile the Sabbath was already an institution peculiarly Jewish, otherwise it could not have served as a mark of distinction from heathenism. This, however, does not necessarily imply that in its origin it was specifically Hebrew, but only that it had acquired distinguishing features of a marked kind. What is certain is that the origin of the Sabbath must be sought within a circle that used the week as a division of time. Here again we must distinguish between the week as such and the astrological week, i.e., the week in which the seven days are named each after the planet which is held to preside over its first hour.

If the day is divided into twenty-four hours and the planets preside in turn over each hour of the week in the order of their periodic times (Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon), we get the order of days of the week with which we are familiar. For, if the Sun presides over the first hour of Sunday, and therefore also over the eighth, the fifteenth, and the twenty-second, Venus will have the twenty-third hour, Mercury the twenty-fourth, and the Moon, as the third in order from the Sun, will preside over the first hour of Monday. Mars, as 23rd, as third from the Moon, will preside over Tuesday (Dies Martis, Mardi), and so forth.

This astrological week became widely current in the Roman empire, but was still a novelty in the time of Dio Cassius (37-18). That writer believed that it came from Egypt; but the old Egyptians had a week of ten (not seven) days, and the original home of astrology and of the division of the day into twenty-four hours is Chaldea. It is plain, however, that there is a long step between the astrological assignment of each hour of the week to a planet and the recognition of each hour of the week to a planet and the recognition of each hour of the week as an ordinary division of time by people at large. Astrology in its nature an occult science, and there is not the slightest trace of a day of twenty-four hours among the ancient Hebrews, who had the week and the Sabbath long before they had any acquaintance with the planetary science of the Babylonian priests. Moreover, it is quite clear from extant remains of Assyrian calendars that our astrological week did not prevail in civil life even among the Babylonians and Assyrians: they did not dedicate each day in turn to its astrological planet. These facts make it safe to reject one often-repeated explanation of the Sabbath, viz., that it was in its origin what it is in the astrological week, the day sacred to Saturn, and that its observance is to be derived from an ancient Hebrew worship of that planet. In truth, there is no evidence of the worship of Saturn among the oldest Hebrews (see CHUEN AND SICUTI).

The week, however, is found in various parts of the world in a form that has nothing to do with astrology or the seven planets, and with such a distribution as to make it pretty certain that it had no artificial origin, but suggested itself independently, and for natural reasons, to different races. In fact, the four quarters of the moon supply an obvious division of the month; and, wherever new moon and full moon are religious occasions, we get in the most natural way a sacred cycle of fourteen or fifteen days, of which the week of seven or eight days (determined by half-moon) is the half. Thus the old Hindus close the new and the full moon as days of sacrifice; the eve of the sacrifice was called *upavasatha*, and in Buddhism the same word (*uposatha*) has come to denote a Sabbath observed on the full moon, on the day when there is no moon, and on the two days which are eighth from the full and the new moon respectively, with fasting and other religious exercises.¹

From this point of view the most significant that in the older parts of the Hebrew scriptures the new moon

¹ Childers, *Pali Dict.*, 535; Kern, *Buddhismus* (Germ. Transl.) 8; *Jahdrbuch*, ii. 11 (ET 1239, 291).

¹ Hence also the Sabbath was quite readily made use of for the purpose of paying a visit to a man of God (2 K. 4:23), or the like, quite the opposite of the later practice, which forbade all travelling on Sabbaths and feast-days (cp Mt. 24:20 and Jos. Ant. xiii 24: οὐκ εἰσὶν ἡμεῖς οὐτὶς οὐτὶς σαββάτων οὐτὶς ἐν ἡμέρῃ ἁγίῃ).—K.M.]

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and the Sabbath are almost invariably mentioned together. The month is beyond question an old sacred division of time common to all the Semites; even the Arabs, who received the week at quite a late period from the Syrians (Birdal, *Chronology*, ET 58), greeted the new moon with religious acclamations. And this must have been an old Semitic usage, for the word which properly means 'to greet the new moon' (*saballa*) is, as Lagarde (*Orientalia*, 219) has shown, etymologically connected with the Hebrew words used of any festal joy. Among the Hebrews, or rather perhaps among the Canaanites, whose speech they borrowed, the joy at the new moon became the type of religious festivity in general. Nor are other traces wanting of the connection of sacrificial occasions—i.e., religious feasts—with the phases of the moon among the Semites. The Harranians had four sacrificial days in every month, and, of these, two at least were determined by the conjunction and opposition of the moon.¹

That full moon as well as new moon had a religious significance among the ancient Hebrews seems to follow from the fact that, when the great agricultural feasts were fixed to set days, the full moon was chosen. In older times these feast-days appear to have been Sabbaths (Lev. 23 14; cp Passover, New Moon).

A week determined by the phases of the moon has an average length of 29½ + 29½ days—i.e., three weeks out of eight would have eight days. But there seems to be in 1800, 2027, compared with 17, 1724, an indication that in old times the feast of the new moon lasted two days—a very natural institution, since it appears that the feast was fixed in advance, whilst the Hebrews of Sam's time cannot have been good enough astronomers to know beforehand on which of two successive days the new moon would actually be observed.² In that case a week of seven working days would occur only once in two months. We cannot tell when the Sabbath became dissociated from the month; but the change seems to have been made before the Book of the Covenant, which already regards the Sabbath simply as an institution of humanity and ignores the new moon. In both points it is followed by Deuteronomy.

The word 'Sabbath' (*Sabbath*), with the explanation 'day of rest of the heart,' is claimed as Assyrian on the basis of a textual emendation made by Fried. Delitzsch in 2 Rawl. 32 6. The value of this isolated and uncertain testimony cannot be placed very high, and it seems to prove too much, for it

is practically certain that the Babylonians at the time of the Hebrew exile cannot have had a Sabbath exactly corresponding in conception to what the Hebrew Sabbath had become under very special historical circumstances. What we do know from a calendar of the intercalary month Elul II. is that in that month the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th days had a peculiar character, and that on them certain acts were forbidden to the king and others. There is the greatest uncertainty as to the details (cp the very divergent renderings in *RP*, 7 150 f.; Schrader, *KAT* 19; Lotz, *Qu. de historia Sabbati*, 39 f.); but these days, which are taken to be Assyrian Sabbaths, are certainly not 'days of rest of the heart,' and to all appearance are unlucky days, and expressly designated as such.³ If, therefore, they are 'Assyrian Sabbaths' at all, they are exactly opposite in character to the Hebrew Sabbath, which was described by Hosea as a day of gladness, and never ceased to be a day of feasting and good cheer. [Cp Jastrow, in the article mentioned below.]

Besides the works already mentioned, reference should be made to W. Lotz, *Questionum de historia Sabbati libri duo* (1883), which takes account of the Assyriological evidence. Hirschfeld's 'Remarks on the etymology of Sabbath' (*J.R.A.S.* April 1896, pp. 353-359), according to Jastrow, misunderstands and misquotes the Babylonian material.

¹ The others—according to the *Fihrist*, 310 14—are the 17th and the 29th.

² It appears from Judith 8 2 that even in later times there were two days at the new moon on which it was improper to fast.

³ Lotz says they are lucky days; but the expression which he renders, *dis faustus*, is applied to every day in the calendar. The rest of his book does not rise above this example of acumen.

SABBATICAL YEAR

Nowack (*Hebr. Arch.* [1894] 214 f.) gives a lucid sketch of current theories and their grounds. See also Jensen, *Sabbath School Times* (Philadelphia), Jan. 16, 1892, and Jastrow, *Amer. J. of Theol.* 1898, pp. 315-322. Jensen is cautious and reserved on the question of a Babylonian origin of the Sabbath, which, however, Gunkel (*Schöff.* 14) and Jastrow (*op. cit.*) expressly affirm. The bridge which Gunkel fails to construct between the Babylonian atonement-Sabbath and the Hebrew rest-Sabbath, Jastrow endeavours to point out. He remarks that the Heb. *Sabbath* does in fact, like the Bab. *Sabbatum*, convey the idea of propitiation or appeasement of the divine anger, and he is of opinion that the Hebrew Sabbath was originally a *Sabbath*—i.e., a day of propitiation and appeasement, marked by atoning rites. At this stage of development it was celebrated at intervals of seven days, corresponding with changes in the moon's phases, and was identical in character with the four days in each month (7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th) that the Babylonians regarded as days which had to be converted into days of propitiation. There were also, however, other *Sabbath* days, such as the New Year's Day, the Day of Atonement, the first and eighth days of the annual pilgrimage to the chief sanctuary.

The introduction, in consequence of profound changes in religious conceptions among the Hebrews, of the custom of celebrating the Sabbath every seventh day, irrespective of the relationship of the day to the moon's phases, led to a complete separation from the ancient view of the Sabbath, whilst the introduction, at a still later period, of the doctrine that the divine work of creation was completed in six days removed the Hebrew Sabbath still further from the point at which the development of the corresponding Babylonian institution ceased. Hence the position of the Sabbath in the Priestly Code, The field, however, is still open for further investigation.

Cp also Toy, 'The earliest form of the Sabbath' *JBL* 18 99 f. (1899); and C. H. W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* (who finds that the 19th day of the month was observed by abstinence from secular business; but the deeds do not indicate that the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days were Sabbaths).

W. R. S.—K. M.—T. K. C.

SABBATH DAY'S JOURNEY. See SABBATH, § 4 n.

SABBATHEUS (ΣΑΒΒΑΤΑΙΟΣ [BA]). 1 Esd. 9 11 = Ezra 10 15, SHABBETHAI, 1.

SABBATICAL YEAR. The Jews under the second temple observed every seventh year as a Sabbath according to the (post-exilic) law of Lev. 25 1-7. It was a year in which all agriculture was remitted, in which the fields lay unsown, the vines grew unpruned, and even the natural produce was not gathered in. That this law was not observed before the captivity we learn from Lev. 26 34 f.; indeed, so long as the Hebrews were an agricultural people with little trade, in a land often ravaged by severe famines, such a law could not have been observed. Even in later times it was occasionally productive of great distress (1 Macc. 6 49 51; Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 162). In the older legislation, however, we already meet with a seven years' period in more than one connection. The release of a Hebrew servant after six years' labour (Ex. 21 2 f., Dt. 15 12 f.) has only a remote analogy to the Sabbatical year. But in Ex. 23 10 f. it is prescribed that the crop of every seventh year (apparently the self-sown crop) shall be left for the poor, and after them for the beasts. The difference between this and the later law is that the seventh year is not called a Sabbath, and that there is no indication that all land was to lie fallow on the same year. In this form a law prescribing one year's fallow in seven may have been anciently observed. It is extended in v. 11 to the vineyard and the olive-yard; but here the

SABBEUS

culture necessary to keep the vines and olive-trees in order is not forbidden; the precept is only that the produce is to be left to the poor. In Deuteronomy this law is not repeated; but a fixed seven years' period is ordained for the benefit of poor debtors, apparently in the sense that in the seventh year no interest is to be exacted by the creditor from a Hebrew, or that no proceedings are to be taken against the debtor in that year (Deut. 15:1 ff.).

W. K. S.

SABBEUS (CABBΑΙAC [BA]) 1 Esd. 9:32 = Ezra 10:31, SHIMAIAN, 19.

SABEANS occurs four times in AV, representing three distinct Hebrew words in MT; (1) in Job 1:5 אֲשֵׁרִי, RV^{ms}. SIBBA and Job 31:8 אֲשֵׁרִי, RV MEN (SIBBA); (2) in Is. 45:14 (אֲשֵׁרִי), see SKRY; and (3) in Ezek. 23:42 (AV^{ms} and RV 'drunkards'), where, however, it is no part of the original text. The Kt. אֲשֵׁרִי—i.e., אֲשֵׁרִי, the reading for which the K^{re} substitutes אֲשֵׁרִי will, the same meaning (drunkards), is an obvious interpolation due simply to dittography of the preceding אֲשֵׁרִי. On the further textual corruption of the verse see Cornill, *ad loc.*, and Toy (*S¹ 107*). Of course none of these words has anything to do with any of the religious sects that have at one time or another been called Sabians—i.e., Baptists (see art. SABIAN in *Ency. Brit.* 21:128)—a name which is etymologically quite distinct.

SABI. 1. (CABEt [A]), 1 Esd. 5:38 RV = Ezra 2:42, SHOBAL.

2. (CABEt [A]) 1 Esd. 5:34 AV, RV Sabie = Ezra 2:57; see POCHERTH-MAZEBAIN.

SABIAS (CABEt [A]) 1 Esd. 1:9 RV = 2 Ch. 35:9, HANSHABIAH, 6.

SABTA (אֲשֵׁרִי, CABBATA [B], CABBATA [A], CÉ. [L], 1 Ch. 1:9), or **Sabtah** (אֲשֵׁרִי, CABBATA [ADEL], Gen. 10:7), one of the sons of Cush. See CUSH. If 'Cush' here means the N. Arabian region of that name, we are entitled and indeed compelled to suppose that 'Sabtah' and 'Raamah' have arisen by corruption and editorial manipulation from the names of places near the S. border of Canaan. אֲשֵׁרִי will probably come from אֲשֵׁרִי 'Maacath' (the southern Maacath), which is also the original of SECCOTH in the earliest story of Jacob and in Ps. 60:2, and of SOCOH in 1 S. 17:1. Cp SHARATH. From the ordinary point of view Dillmann finds some plausibility in Tuch's suggestion that Sabta = Σαβταθα (*Peripl.* 27; also Ptolemy, Strabo), the Sabota of Phny (6:32 12:32). This was the capital of the Chatrianote (see HAZAKMAYETI), and was famous as the centre of the trade in incense. The name is the Sab. אֲשֵׁרִי, and is to be placed at Sudeir or in the NE of Yemamah; Sabta, Raamah, and Sabtea representing the districts on the coast of the Persian Gulf (*Skizze*, 2:252 f.).

T. K. C.
SABTECA (אֲשֵׁרִי, CABBATA [ADE], CÉ. [L] in Gen.; CEBEKATH [BL], -θΑΙΔΑ [A] in Ch.; ⚡ therefore indicates rather SAKTHA), one of the sons of Cush (Gen. 10:7 1 Ch. 1:9). AV has **Sabtechah** in Gen. and **Sabtecha** in Ch. Glaser, following Bochart, connects this with the name Sanydake in Carmania, on the E. side of the Persian Gulf (*Skizze*, 2:252); but Dillmann calls attention to the phonetic difference. It is perhaps really a dittographed SABTA, the 2 being a record of a reading אֲשֵׁרִי (cp ⚡ in Gen.). T. K. C.

SACAR (אֲשֵׁרִי). Probably an ethnic of the same group as ISSACHAR, ZICRI. The name has, of course, no connection with that of the little known Egyptian god SIKAR (cp ISSACHAR, col. 2292, n. 5). 1. On the name in 1 Ch. 11:35, see SHARAR and ISSACHAR, § 6 (end).
2. A son of ORED-EDOM (q.v.), 1 Ch. 26:4 (CACHAP [B], CACHAP [L], CACHAP [A]).

SACKCLOTH

SACK. The wide diffusion of this word throughout the European languages is probably due in the first instance to Phoenician trade and commerce. The word, it is true, does not happen to be found in either Phoenician or Punic, but it is vouched for in Heb., Syr., Ethiopic, and possibly Assyrian. See SACKCLOTH.

1. *sāk*, שַׂק (Sakkos [but μαρσίνος, Gen. 41:14 *sakkos*], Gen. 42:25 35 (B); in 7:270 It is due to R (Hole); Lev. 11:32 Josh. 9:4. See SACKCLOTH.

2. *šak*, שַׂק, Gen. 42:25 (šyqiot), RV 'vessel'; cp HAN.

3. *sakthah*, שַׂקְתָּה (spread out, cp Is. 40:22) only in Gen. 41:12 f. (42:25 27 f. 35 41:12 etc.). On E's term see (1) above. ⚡ in 42:27 f. 41:12 μαρσίνος.

4. *sakthah*, שַׂקְתָּה K. 440 RV AV, RV^{ms}. 'husk', AV^{ms}. 'wrink', 'garment', cp Fock, col. 132 n. 2. AV^{ms} gives a superficially plausible sense (cp SAK) derived from an anonymous Greek translator's *sakkos* (Fields *Heb.*); but a שַׂק is unknown.

It has been conjectured elsewhere (see PHOENIC, § 7) that Elisha, like Elijah, was specially a prophet of the Sack, and that שַׂק is a popular corruption of אֲשֵׁרִי. If so, אֲשֵׁרִי probably comes from אֲשֵׁרִי, 'Beth-gallin,' where אֲשֵׁרִי is another corruption of אֲשֵׁרִי. Elisha was at a place called Beth-gallim, or (see 2:30) Beth-gallim, or (since Gallim and Gilgal = Jerahmeel) Beth-jerahmeel, in the Negeb formerly belonging to the Jerahmeelites. But Lagarde's reading אֲשֵׁרִי, 'wallet' (?), suggested by the *βασκαλῶν* of ⚡ and Theod. (see H 110), is ingenious. — T. K. C.]

SACKBUT (אֲשֵׁרִי), Dan. 3:57 10:15. See MUSIC, § 6 (10).

SACKCLOTH (שַׂק; CAKKOC; *saccus, cilicium*?). It is probable that the Heb. *sāk* was originally a coarse

1. **Use**. textile fabric made from the hair of the camel or the goat (cp the meanings of CAKKOC, a borrowed word). Like the *sakthah* it could be used also as a wrap or bag (cp MANTLE, § 2 [1]); see SACK. Referring the reader, generally, to the articles DRESS and MOURNING CUSTOMS, we propose here to indicate the nature of the garment expressed by the word *sāk*, and to endeavour to ascertain the origin of the custom of wearing it.

The usage of the word suggests that the *sāk* was nothing more than a loin cloth, similar, no doubt, to the *ihrim* of Moslem pilgrims at Mecca. It was worn as a token of grief after a death (Gen. 37:34 2 S. 3:31 Joel 1:8), more commonly, however, in times of trial, to remove a calamity, or as a means of propitiation.

Thus, the *sāk* is worn after hearing bad news (2 K. 6:30 19:1 Est. 4:14, etc.), to avert a pestilence (1 Ch. 21:1), when one's neighbour lies in sickness (Ps. 35:13), or as a sign of general undefined grief (Ps. 80:11 12] 80:11 12] Is. 22:12). It is often preceded by the rending of the clothes (Gen. 37:34 1 K. 21:27 — the rending alone in Job 1:20), or by the covering of one's head with ashes or (Neh. 9:1 2 Macc. 10:25) earth. Like the *ihrim*, the *sāk* is also worn by women (Joel 1:8, cp Judith 8:5 10:3 2 Macc. 3:19). In Jon. 3:8 it is ordered to be worn by both man and beast (*šōhāmāh*).

The passages in which the *sāk* is mentioned as worn next the skin are probably not exceptional (1 K. 21:27 2 K. 6:30 Is. 32:11); Doughty has remarked the half-naked appearance of the wearers of the *ihrim*—'like bathing.'

2. **A sacred garment**. Some (e.g., Whitney, in the *Cent. Dict.*) have supposed this diffusion to be due to the incident in the story of Joseph, where the cup was hidden in the sack. This does not explain the various meanings of *saccus, saccus*, and, as a matter of fact, the Heb. *sāk* appears only thrice in the story, whilst the synonym *sakthah* occurs no fewer than fourteen times (see SACK, 3).

² *Saccus* and *cilicium* are about evenly distributed. For *cilicium* (a goat-hair cloth used for tents), see CILICIA, § 3 end, and cp TEXT, § 3.

³ *Sāk* is frequently used with *hagar*, 'gird on,' the reverse process being described by *pitah*, 'loosen' (Ps. 30:11 12] 1 S. 20:2). The *ihrim* (on which cp Wellh. *Heb.* 1:116 f. 2:12) is a loin-cloth covering the knee, one lap of which may be cast over the shoulder (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 2:479 481). In Eg. *sag*, with the determinative 'hair,' is a woollen Palestinian garment of the poor (WMM *OLZ*, 1901, col. 101).

⁴ Jarström *J.A.O.S.* 20:130 suggests that in Judith 9:1 (*σποδῶν*) the translator mistook *ihrim* (see TURBAN, § 2) for *ihim*, like his predecessor in 2 S. 13:19.

men' (Ar. Des. 2479 ff. 537), and the dress doubtless resembled the prophet's girdle which, in Job 12:13, is worn as a mark of humiliation by a king. See GIROLE.

The sackcloth of the OT, therefore, must not be regarded as in any way akin to a sack or sackcloth in the modern sense of the word, and, in endeavouring to ascertain the origin of the custom of wearing such a garb, we must not be led away by the early Christian or the later ideas with which it is associated.¹

That conservatism prevails longest in matters of cult is a familiar experience, and Schwally, Nowak, and Kittel (HA on 1 K. 21:27) favour the view that the *sak* is the clothing of an earlier half-forgotten time, which, though it may long have continued to be worn, e.g., by slaves and the poorer people, was nevertheless adopted exceptionally by the ruling classes on specific occasions (cp Dress, § 2, col. 1136, n. 4). Another view is possible.

It is to be observed (a) that the corresponding *ihram* is essentially a dress for a sacred occasion; (b) that the prophets wore a garment similar to the *sak*; and (c) that the sacred epithet itself was probably once a mere lion-cloth (see EPHOD, § 1, and cp T. C. Foote, JBL 21:41-44, 1902]). On these grounds, therefore, it seems extremely probable that the *sak* was originally a sacred garment, and it agrees with this interpretation that we find it worn by people of all classes on any especially solemn occasion (1 Ch. 21:16 J. 1:13 Dan. 9:3 1 Macc. 3:17 2 Macc. 10:25 etc.).

In view of what has been said elsewhere on the bearing of ideas of holiness upon such a matter as dress,² a plausible explanation of the custom may be attempted. Garments that have come in contact with holy things are unfit for common use, and in early Arabia certain rites were performed either in a naked state or in clothes reserved for

the purpose. There are some indications that this held good among the ancient Hebrews; and if we bear in mind that the *sak* is worn at times of great trouble, when Yahwe's help or forgiveness is besought, we may perhaps surmise that such occasions were formerly accompanied by a sacrificial rite when a special garb (as we may judge from the Arabian evidence) would not be unnatural. It would be just at such a time as this that the individual would feel himself brought into closest contact with his deity. At all events, ideas connected with worship of the dead do not cover the whole ground.

The king of Nineveh removes his royal mantle before doing the *sak* (Jon. 3:6), the 'holy' occasion requires 'holy' clothing, and the primary object of the tending of the garments is probably to put oneself in a state of nakedness as quickly as possible (Schwally, Frey).

That the use of this special garment should have been retained long after the *lex hyp.* ritual died out is not without analogy. The gradual decay is further illustrated by the fact that sometimes even it was the custom not to wear the *sak* but to lie upon it (2 S. 21:10 Is. 58:4, and that in later Jewish times the tending of the garments was confined to a small slit (Nowak, HA 1:102). See the literature at the end of MOURNING, CUSTOMS; also Selowally, *Das Leben nach d. Tode* (1892), 11 ff., Frey, *Ust. Seelengleichheit*, etc. (1898), 34 ff.

On sackcloth and nakedness, cp Jastrow, *Z.ATH.* 22:117-20 (1902), which appeared since the above article was written.

S. A. C.

SACRAMENT (*sacramentum*, the Vg. rendering of *μυστήριον* in Eph. 1:9 3:5 32 Col. 1:27 1 Tim. 3:16 Rev. 1:20 17:7). See MYSTERY, § 5.

SACRED (ἅγιος) 1 Cor. 9:13 2 Tim. 3:15 RV. See CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 1, 8.

SACRIFICE

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1. HISTORY OF SACRIFICE IN OT

The term 'sacrifice' may with etymological propriety be employed of all offerings to God; in common use it denotes specifically that class of offerings in which a victim is slain, corresponding to the Heb. *zabih* (lit. 'slaughter').³ In

¹ Cp Schwally, *Leben nach d. Tode*, 11 f. For the early Christian usages see Smith, *Dict. Christ. Ant.*, 57.

² See *Rel. Sem.* 2:451 f., Dress, § 8, and cp generally CLEAN AND UNCLEAN.

³ See WRS *EBD.* 21:132, *Rel. Sem.* 2:213 f.

the present article the word will be used in this more restricted sense, whilst offerings of grain, meal, bread, oil, and the like (Heb. *minchah*) are called 'oblations.' The term 'offering' will be employed as the equivalent of the comprehensive *korban*, as well as in such phrases as 'burnt offering' (*olah*, holocaust), peace offering (*shlem*), sin offering (*hattath*), trespass offering (*asham*).

For convenience, certain species of offering are made

¹ Cp Wi. *ACF.* 2:20, where the Assyrian king tears off his royal garments, and clothes his body in the 'Aššimnu, the dress of the penitent. Wi. (*op cit.* 44) points out that *kašimnu* is where glossed by *šakšū* (= *pu*).

SACRIFICE

the subject of special articles: see FIRSTBORN, INCENSE, TAXATION, THUR, VOW, VOLUVE OFFERING. Cp also Atonement [DAY OF], FEASTS, PASSOVER, PENTECOST, TABERNACLES; and, for Babylonian parallels, RITUAL. The present article deals in its first part (§§ 1-22) with the history of sacrifice in the OT; in its second (§§ 23-40) with the developed Jewish system; the third part (§§ 41-53) discusses beliefs and ideas connected with sacrifice, its intent, significance, efficacy, and operation; the fourth part (§§ 54-61) treats of sacrifice in the NT.

Before the invasion of Palestine the Israelite tribes were nomads; their living and their wealth were in their flocks of small cattle.¹ These also furnished the material of their sacrifices. Offerings were doubtless made also of the spoils of war, and perhaps of animals taken in the chase (see below, § 8). Our knowledge of the character of these sacrifices is derived not so much from the stories of the patriarchs in HE as from survivals in later custom and law. The nature of these survivals, together with the permanent conditions of nomadic life in the deserts of Syria and Arabia, justify us in supplementing or interpreting our scanty material by what is known of Arab sacrifice in pre-Islamic times and among the modern Bedouins.²

The occasions of sacrifice are many and various. Among the modern Arabs sacrifices are offered on the birth of a son, a circumcision, marriage, the coming of a guest; for the recovery of the sick or for the health of flocks and herds; on the inception of an enterprise, such as setting out for a foray, breaking ground for tillage, opening or enlarging a well, laying the foundation of a building; on the conclusion of a compact or covenant; the return from a successful expedition; on the anniversary of a kinsman's death, and the like.

The rites of sacrifice are of primitive simplicity. The owner ordinarily slaughters his own victim. The blood is poured upon the ground, smeared upon the sacred stone, upon the tent ropes, the door-posts of houses, or upon persons or animals. The flesh makes a feast for the owner, his family, tribesmen, and guests.

A species of sacrifice which in all probability goes back to the nomadic stage is the offering of firstlings

3. Firstlings.³ (*bekhorah*, sg. *bekôr*) of animals, that is, the first offspring of the dam, which 'opens the womb' (*ptêr rthem*, Ex. 34:19; 13:2; 12:15 Nu. 18:15; cp *ptêr Eger bshemâh*, Ex. 13:12). The shepherd Abel makes his offering 'of the firstlings of his flock and of their fat portions' (Gen. 4:4); the laws insistently demand firstlings as God's right (Ex. 13:2; 12:15; 22:29; [28 f.]; 34:19; Lev. 22:27-29; Nu. 18:15-17; Dt. 12:6-17; 14:23; 15:19-21; cp Neh. 10:36). The animal was primitively sacrificed shortly after its birth; the oldest rule is: 'Seven days it shall be with its dam; on the eighth day thou shalt give it to me' (Ex. 22:30; [29]).⁴ A similar custom existed among the heathen Arabs; the first birth (called *farâ'*) of a she-camel, goat, or ewe was sacrificed, frequently while still so young that its flesh was gelatinous and stuck to the skin. This offering of firstlings was permitted in the earliest years of Islam, Mohammed advising, however, that the sacrifice should be deferred till the victim was a year or two old; later he prohibited the *farâ'* as well as the sacrifices in Kabah (*atirah*, see below, § 4).⁵

¹ See CATTLE, GOAT, SHEEP. The nomadic Semites have no near cattle, and the ancestor of the Israelites do not appear to have been among the tribes that possessed camels (see CAMEL).
² See Wellh. *Reise in Arab. Hochländern*; Snouck-Hurgronje, *Het mekkaansche Feest*; WRS *Rel. Sem.*; for modern Arab customs, Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, 1820; *Bedouins and Wahabys*, 1825; Burckh., *Pilgrimage to el-Medinah and Mecca*, 1825; Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*; Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*; Cahiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion*, etc.
³ See FIRSTBORN, PASSOVER, § 8 f.; TAXATION AND TRIBUTE, §§ 11-13.

⁴ On the later modification of this rule see below, § 20.

⁵ See the two traditions in *Lisan* 10:119 f.; WRS *vel. Sem.*, 62 f.

SACRIFICE

The sacrifice of firstlings, like the offering of first-fruits, with which it is sometimes associated (Neh. 10:35 f., cp Ex. 22:30 f. [28 f.]; note also the connection with tithes, etc., Dt. 12:17-18; 14:23), was regarded in later times as a tribute to God (Nu. 18:15 f., Neh. 10:35 f.), and as such it has been surmised that the custom of devoting firstlings to God arose after the settlement in Canaan by 'a secondary extension of the practice of offering the fruits of the field.' (So Benzinger, *Passover*, § 6 end.) The existence of firstling sacrifices among the Arabs shows that this inference is unwarranted. The sacrifice of firstlings is the widespread custom of offering firstlings to God, as the custom of offering firstlings to God is the widespread custom of offering firstlings to God, as the custom of offering firstlings to God is the widespread custom of offering firstlings to God. (See Frazer, *Golden Bough* [2], 243 f.), which is primarily a tribute to the deity (see THUR). That there is no sufficient reason for doubting their antiquity is clear.

In the history of the exodus Moses asks the Egyptians to let the Israelites go into the desert to sacrifice to their God Yahwê, 'lest he fall upon us

4. Spring sacrifices.¹ with pestilence or with the sword' (Ex. 5:3 J., cp 3:18; 5:17; 5:18); the presence of all the people, young and old, is requisite; and they must take with them their flocks and herds to furnish the victims (10:25). From 5:3 it might seem that the sacrifice in the wilderness was something unusual, demanded on this occasion by an oracle; 5:1 (E) and 10:1 (J), however, represent it as an established institution, 'the *hag* of Yahwê.'² The season was the spring of the year, in the month called by the Canaanites *Abib* (Ex. 13:4), corresponding to the Syrian-Babylonian *Nisân*.

It is natural to connect this *hag* festival with the spring festivals of other Semitic peoples. The first eight days of the month *Kajab*, which in the old calendar fell in the spring (see Wellh. *Proleg.*, viii.; *Heid.*, 94 f.), was a great sacrificial season among the heathen Arabs. The poets compare the carnage of battle to the multitudes of victims lying around the sacred stones.³ The victim, commonly a sheep, was called *'atirah* (pl. *'atirâ'*); its blood was poured on the head of the sacred stone (Sinwair, quoted in Ramsussen, *Abdit.*, 79), the flesh consumed in a feast. Such sacrifices might be offered at home; but it was probably more common to take them to some more famous holy place (see Wellh. *Heid.*, 74, 94). The sacrifice, like Arab sacrifices in general, was often made in fulfilment of a vow. The *Kajab* sacrifices were at first kept up by the Moslems; a tradition reports Mohammed to have said: 'Every Moslem is bound to offer each year an *'adhik* (the sacrifice of the tenth of the month Dhû-l-Hijjah) and an *'atirah*' (in *Kajab*) [*Lisan* vi, 211 f.]; subsequently, however, he prohibited the *'atirah* as well as the *'farâ'* (see above, § 3). In the time of Mohammed the month Dhû-l-Hijjah, in which was held the great festival in the vicinity of Mecca, fell at the beginning of spring (Wellh. *Proleg.*, 105), and a comparison with the Passover naturally suggested itself;⁴ but further studies in the old Arab calendar have shown that this coincidence in date is accidental.

Among the Syrians, the chief feast of the year at Hierapolis was in the spring (Lucian, *Dea Syria*, 40); at Harrân the first half of Nisan was a season of special sacrifices (Fihrist, 322; Chwolson, *Stabier*, 225); evidence of the sacredness of Nisan appears in the Nabataean inscriptions at Madam Salih,⁵ and at Palmyra;⁶ the great festival of the modern Yezidis falls at the same season.⁷

A closer connection between the Hebrew spring

¹ See PASSOVER, FEASTS.
² *Hag* is a religious gathering (Nö. *ZDMG* 41:76). The word is used not only of the Canaanite-Israelite agricultural festivals, but also of Arab (and Sabæan) festivals, which brought multitudes together. There is thus no ground for the assumption that the use of the term here is due merely to the later association of the Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread (*Chag ha-masôth*).
³ Cp modern descriptions of the sacrifices at the Meccan feast.

⁴ See Snouck-Hurgronje, *Het mekkaansche Feest*, 60 f.

⁵ Berger, *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscri.*, 1884, 377 f.

⁶ WRS *E. Sem.*, 18:109, n. 2.

⁷ Badger, *Nestorians*, 1:119 f. Vernal festivals are, of course, not peculiarly Semitic.

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festival ('Passover') and the Arab Rajab sacrifices has been thought to be established by evidence that both were primitively offerings of firstlings.¹ In the Pentateuch, laws prescribing the dedication of firstlings stand in juxtaposition to ordinances for the Feast of Unleavened Bread or the Passover (see Ex. 31:13 f., Dt. 15:19-23 16:1 f., Ex. 12:43-50 13:1-10 11 13 14-16); the slaying of the firstborn of the Egyptians has been interpreted as a reprisal upon them for withholding from Yahwe, by their refusal to let Israel go, the firstlings that were his due (see Ex. 3:15 8:1-20 10:24 ff.; Wellh. 86). It has been shown, however, under PASSOVER (§ 8), that the passages cited, though compatible with such a theory of the original character of the Passover, by no means require it; and opposing considerations of much weight are to be drawn from the peculiar ritual of the Passover (see below, § 6), in which—to name but a single point—one victim is required for each household, rich or poor, whereas the number of firstlings must have varied with the owner's possessions.

Nor is it satisfactorily established that the Arab Rajab sacrifices were firstlings. It is true that the term *'atirah*, by which these victims are usually designated, is by some lexicographers made equivalent to *'ajrah*, firstling.² This is, however, nothing more than the confusion which frequently occurs in their accounts of the religious customs of 'the times of ignorance,' and over against it must be put the fact that not only the traditionalists³ but also the lexicons generally distinguish the two clearly enough.

The Passover differed conspicuously from all other Israelite sacrifices, and preserved to the last, essentially unaltered, its primitive peculiarities. In the earliest times, the carcass of the victim was probably roasted whole, either over an open fire or in a pit in the earth (as by the modern Samaritans), and the flesh sometimes eaten half raw or merely softened by fire. Dt. 16:7 prescribes that it shall be boiled, like other sacrifices. This, however, did not prevail; P preserves the primitive custom while guarding against abuse: the Passover is neither to be eaten raw nor boiled in water, but roasted in the fire (Ex. 12:9), with head, legs, and inwards. The sacrificial feast was held by night at full moon; the participants were in their everyday garb, not in ceremonial apparel; everything was done with haste; the whole victim was devoured—including, doubtless, in ancient times the *exa* which in later sacrificial ritual were offered to God by fire, and therefore strictly forbidden as food; only the bones must not be broken; the flesh must all be consumed before daybreak; if aught remained it was to be burnt up at once; with the flesh was eaten—not originally unleavened cakes, but—a salad of bitter herbs (Ex. 12:9 f., cp Nu. 9:11 f., also Dt. 16:4b).⁵

With this singular ritual has been compared the description given by Nilus of the customs of the Arabs in the desert S. of Palestine and in the Sinaitic peninsula in his own time—the end of the fourth century A. D. They sacrificed a white camel to Venus the morning star; after the chief or priest who presided at the sacrifice had slain the animal, all rushed upon the carcass with knives, hewed it to pieces, and devoured it in wild haste, hide, inwards, bones, and all, that not a scrap of it might be left for the rising sun to look upon.⁶

¹ WRS *Rel. Sem.*², 227 f. n. 454 f.; Wellh. *ProL*⁴, 86; Now. *Heb.* 2147; Benz. *Heb.* 460 f.

² *Lisim*, 6210. Note also the identical custom described in the *Lisim* under *'ajrah*, in the *Tif* (3308) under *'atirah*.

³ See Bokhâri, ed. Krehl, 3514 f.

⁴ Contrast the Arab sacrifice of Nilus, below. See WRS *Rel. Sem.*², 345.

⁵ See the description of the Passover of the modern Samaritans, Petermann, *Reisen*, 1235 ff.

⁶ Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 79:13, cp 612; WRS *Rel. Sem.*², 221 f.; Wellh. *Heid.*¹ 112 ff.

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In Ex. 12:21-27 (ultimately from J) the elders are bidden to take sheep or goats, one for each clan (*mišpaha*), slaughter them, and, dipping a bunch of herbs ('hyssop') into the blood, to strike it upon the lintel and door-posts; Yahwe will not suffer 'the destroyer' to enter a house on which he sees these blood-marks. This, an editor adds, is the historical origin and explanation of a custom in use in later times; with it he connects etymologically the name 'Passover' (*pesach*), because Yahwe 'passed over' (*pašach*) the marked houses of the Israelites (Ex. 12:24-27). The object of the rite is to protect the inmates of the house from 'the destroyer'; that is, in primitive conception, from the demons of disease and death. Similar customs with the same motive are found among many peoples.¹

Whether this rite was originally connected with the Hebrew spring feast is not clear. J, who prescribes the marking of the houses, says nothing about a feast, and, indeed, repeatedly insists that the festival of Yahwe cannot be celebrated in Egypt (Ex. 5:3 8:23-27); P orders that the blood of the lamb slain for the feast be applied to the door of every house in which it is eaten (Ex. 12:7, cp 13), a direction which Jewish tradition and practice regarded as applying only to the 'Egyptian Passover';² Dt. makes no mention of this use of the blood at the PASSOVER (*q. v.*, § 13).³ It is not unlikely that a rite originally occasional, as in the outbreak of an epidemic, came to be practised annually for the protection of the household during the coming year, and in connection with the old spring feast.⁴ The name *pesach* probably belonged, notwithstanding its etymology, to the feast rather than to the blood marking.

Some Semitic peoples, both nomadic and settled, offered in sacrifice animals taken in the chase. Gazelles were offered by the Babylonians (Jastrow, *Rel. Bab.-Ass.* 661) and probably by the Phoenicians (Sacrificial Tariffs, *CIS* 16559 1675; cp *ISAV* § 4, n. 2). Among the heathen Arabs, also, gazelles were sacrificed, but were regarded as an inferior offering; men who had vowed sheep or goats from their flocks sometimes substituted gazelles.⁵ The nomadic forefathers of the Israelites may have made similar offerings; but there is no reminiscence of this in the OT. The requirement that the blood of animals taken in the chase be poured out and covered with earth (Lev. 17:13, cp Dt. 12:16 24) is not necessarily an attenuated survival of a sacrificial rite; the belief that the soul is in the blood (Lev. 17:14, on which see below, § 40) is reason enough.⁶

Sacrifice was doubtless offered also of the spoil of war, as in later times (1 S. 15:15 21 cp 14 34; see also Gen. 14:20). Similarly the Arabs on their return from a foray sacrificed one beast of those they had taken and feasted on it before dividing the booty.⁷ The Arabs of whom Nilus wrote took by preference a human victim, a fair youth, from among their captives; in default of such, they offered a white camel.⁸ The Carthaginians, after a victory, sacrificed the fairest of their captives by night as burnt offerings (Diodorus Siculus, 20:1).

¹ See, e.g., Zimmern, *Beitr.* 2 no. 26, col. 3, l. 20 ff.; Palmer, *Des. Fed.* 60 118, etc.; Doughly, *Ar. Des.* 1490 472 210 410; Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, 444 451. A large collection of material is found in Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religions Today*, chap. 15 ff.

² So also the modern Samaritans; Petermann, *Reisen*, 1235.

³ See below, § 20.

⁴ A very similar ceremony at a great annual festival in Peru is described by Garcilasso de la Vega, *Comentarios*, 7.

⁵ Hârich, *Shu'atallah*, 69, with the scholia; al-Lâdh in *Zâinvi*, 2110.

⁶ Cp the burying of blood drawn in blood-letting, or from a nose-bleed, e.g., Doughly, *Ar. Des.* 1492; Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, 447.

⁷ WRS, *Rel. Sem.*², 491, and the Arab authors there cited.

⁸ Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 79:612 f. 641 681; see WRS *Rel. Sem.*², 362 ff.

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similar instances have been adduced from the records of Assyrian kings (Shalmaneser, *Monolith*, obv. 17). The slaying of Agag, whom Samuel hewed in pieces before Yahwé in Gilgal (1 S. 15:33), has sometimes been regarded as a sacrifice of this kind;¹ but it is doubtful whether this interpretation is correct (see below, § 13 end).

The many accounts of sacrifices in the books of Samuel and Kings are in large part taken from old and good sources, and give us comparatively full and trustworthy information for the period which they cover.

9. In Canaan: sources.

By their side we may place the similar descriptions in Judges, and in the patriarchal story as narrated by J and E (e.g., Gen. 15:7 ff.). The laws in the same sources (especially in Ex. 34 and 21:23) dealing with feasts and offerings, with the other—not inconsiderable—remains of early collections of law preserved in Dt. and II, represent the usage of Israélite and Judæan sanctuaries in the time of the kings; the condemnation of many customs in the reform legislation of the seventh century bears witness to the prevalence of the practices so zealously prohibited. The prophets, finally, paint vivid pictures of the religion of their contemporaries, with all its abuses.

The regions E. of the Jordan first occupied by Israélite tribes are capable of supporting enormous flocks upon their rich and extensive pastures.² Much of the land is very fertile and abundantly rewards cultivation; but the conditions do not constrain nomadic tribes taking possession of the country to become tillers of the soil. The case was different in Western Palestine. In the S. indeed, in the Negeb and the Wilderness of Judah, the new comers continued to be chiefly shepherds even after they adopted fixed habitations; but in the central highlands Mt. Ephraim and in the N. they were soon compelled to get most of their living from the soil. They learned from the older population of the country to raise crops of grain and pulse and to cultivate the fig, the olive, and the vine. With the arts of agriculture they learned also the religion of agriculture. To the sacrifices and festivals of their nomadic forefathers were now added the proper offerings for the bounty of the land and the season feasts of the husbandman's year (see FEASTS, § 4 f.).

10. Agricultural civilisation.

Animal sacrifice is still the most important part of worship, as we see clearly from the historical books; neat cattle, kept as plough-beasts, are added to the victims from the flock.³ First-fruits or tithes of grain and wine and oil must be consecrated in their season according to an established ritual. The worship was offered at the 'high places,' that is, in general, the old Canaanite holy places (see HIGH PLACE, §§ 2-4).

The most general term for offering, whether of animals or of other things, is *minhah*, מִנְחָה, 'gift'

11. Species of sacrifice: zébah.

(ἑ δῶρον, more frequently θυσία, a word not confined to religious uses.⁴ In distinction from other offerings specifically named—such as 'olah, zébah—minhah sometimes refers particularly to oblations of bread, meal, oil, and the like (see § 14).⁵ Animal sacrifices fall into two main classes; 'olah, EV 'burnt offering,' in which the victim was all consumed by fire; and zébah, EV ordinarily 'sacrifice,' in which, after the *ota* had been burnt upon the altar, the flesh was eaten. These species are often enumerated together, as in Jer. 17:39: 'they shall come . . . bringing burnt offerings

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and sacrifices and oblations and frankincense . . . unto the house of Yahwé.'

The Heb. *zēbah*, זָבַח, is ordinarily rendered in G by θυσία, the corresponding verb by θύω, less frequently θυσιασάω. The verb means properly 'slaughter,' and may be used of the killing of domestic animals for food without religious rites (e.g., Dt. 12:15 21); but since in earlier times animals were seldom if ever killed thus, it ordinarily imports sacrificial slaying. The place to which animals are brought to be killed is the *mi-zēbah*, literally 'slaughter place'; in Canaan this was generally the stone or pile of stones on which the fat was burned, whence *mi-zēbah* comes to be equivalent to altar (see ALTAR, MASSIF, § 5).

The occasions of sacrifice were of different kinds (see above, § 2, and below, § 15), and distinctive names for some of them were probably early in use; peculiarities of ritual, too, no doubt belonged to certain varieties of sacrifice, as to the Passover or the covenant sacrifice (cp Gen. 15:9 ff. Jer. 34:18 f.). but, however ancient the custom itself may be, our knowledge of the details of the sacrificial ritual comes chiefly through later sources. For this reason, as well as to avoid repetition, the species of sacrifice and their characteristic rites will be considered below in their place in the completed system (§ 23 ff.).

One term is, however, so certainly old and so frequent that it cannot be passed over here; viz. *šēlem*, שָׁלַם (Am. 5:22), generally pl. *šēlāmim* (EV 'peace offerings'). In many passages *šēlāmim* are coupled with 'olah (burnt offerings) in descriptions of greater sacrificial occasions, precisely as 'olah and *zēbahim* elsewhere; see, e.g., Ex. 20:24 32:28 6:17 f. 24:25 1 K. 3:15 9:25 Ezek. 45:15 48:27 46:2 12 etc. In other instances we have the phrases שְׁלָמִים וְזָבַח, שְׁלָמִים וְעֹלָה, 'sacrifices of peace offerings'—e.g., 1 S. 10:8 Jos. 22:23 Prov. 7:14. The *šēlāmim* appear to have been by far the most common kind of sacrifices, so that when the word *zēbahim* was used without qualification it would be understood to refer to *šēlāmim*; on the other hand, the name *šēlāmim* is probably shortened from *zēbah šēlāmim*.

The original significance of the word is not certain. G translates, σωτηρία, (θυσία) τοῦ σωτηρίου, so also Philo, *De virtutibus*, § 4, 224 Maugey; G in Samuel and Kings (θυσία) εἰρηναία or τῶν εἰρηναίων, so Ag. Symm. Theodot.; Vg. *victima pacifica*, *pacificum* (sc. *sacrificium*); hence EV, 'peace offerings.' These interpreters connect the Heb. word with the simple stem of the verb שָׁלַם, 'be whole, sound, safe,' or the noun *šēlām*, שָׁלָם, 'peace.'¹ Josephus, who renders θυσία χριστήριος (*Ant.* iii. 9:2), apparently associates it with the meaning of the intensive stem, *šillam*, 'requite, repay, pay'; so that these sacrifices would be a return to God for benefits received from him, or the payment of an obligation to him; cp Prov. 7:14: 'I had *šēlāmim*-sacrifices to make; to-day I have paid (*šillamti*) my vows.' The word occurs also, as the name of a species of sacrifice (שְׁלָמִים זָבַח) on an inscription from a Phœnician temple at Marseille (*CLN* 1953 ff.). It is perhaps a Canaanite term adopted by the Israelites. [On Ass. *šulmu* see RITUAL, § 11, ia.]

The blood of the victims was poured or smeared upon the sacrificial stone as had been done by their nomadic forefathers. Besides this, portions of the animal, especially of the internal fat (1 S. 2:15 f.),² were now burned upon a raised altar—monolith or heap of stones or earth—as upon a hearth; and this part of the performance was so essential that the verb 'burn,' with or without an object ('the fat'), becomes equivalent to 'offer sacrifice.'

In older times the intensive stem *hifit*, חִפֵּף, 'make smoke, burn'—rarely with the object (חִפֵּף, 1 S. 2:15 f.)—is used; so frequently in the prophets, of the heathenish sacrifices of their contemporaries. In later texts the causative *hifit*, חִפִּיף, prevails. See We. *Prod.* 64 f., n. 1. The burning of the offering is probably to be regarded as a means of conveying it to God; the fragrant smoke was, at least in later times, thought of as containing the ethereal substance of the sacrifice. (WRS, *Rel. Sem.* 2, 236; see also below, § 41.)

The flesh of the victim was boiled (2 S. 2:15 f. 1 K. 19:21), and furnished a feast for the offerer with his family, friends, and guests (1 S. 14 ff. 9:12 22 ff., etc.). In Canaan, bread, wine, and oil, the products of agriculture, took their place in the feast beside the flesh of animals from the flock or herd (see e.g., 1 S. 124); these again were in part obligatory offerings—first-fruits,

¹ See also the etymological explanations in *Siphra* on Lev. 3:1 (fol. 11a, ed. Weiss).

² From Judc. 6:19 ff. it has sometimes been inferred that in early times boiled flesh was offered (cp also Nu. 6:19); but the evidence is insufficient to sustain the conclusion.

¹ WRS, *Rel. Sem.* 2, 362. Nowack (*H.A.* 2205) includes in the same class the killing of Zebah and Zalmunna, Judg. 8:21.

² *ASm. Hist. Geog.* 523 f.; cp Nu. 32:14 2 K. 3:4, etc. See also CATTLE, § 3.

³ On changes in the rites of sacrifice see below, § 11.

⁴ In the technical language of the later ritual the comprehensive term is *zōbah*; see below, § 24.

⁵ On the more restricted technical use of the word in the later ritual see below, § 24.

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titles, etc.—in part occasional and voluntary. Of them also a part was given to God, probably upon the altar by fire (see Am. 45). The bread offered was that which the participants in the feast themselves ate; that is, in ordinary cases leavened bread; unleavened cakes when, for religious reasons (as in the *matzoth* feast) or at a meal hastily prepared for an unexpected guest, they ate their own bread unleavened. The bread offered was probably moistened with oil or dipped in it, as was the bread eaten by the worshippers (cp the later rituals, § 30). Of the wine a libation was made to God (Hos. 94). See below, §§ 14, 31a.

The peculiarity of the *šlāh* (שֶׁלֶח) is that no part of the victim was used for food; the flesh as well as the fat was burned.

12. Burnt offering, 'šlāh.

The term is derived from the common verb *šlāh* (שָׁלַח), 'go up, ascend,' and signifies, according to the prevailing interpretation, the sacrifice which (all) 'comes up' upon the altar (Knob., Wellh., Nowack, etc.), or that which 'goes up' in smoke to the sky (Bähr, Del., Dillmann, etc.). In \mathcal{E} generally $\delta\lambda\alpha\kappa\rho\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$, Vg. *holocaustum*.

Another term for the sacrifice given as a 'whole offering' to God is *hālil* חָלִיל (Dt. 33:10 1 S. 7:9 Ps. 51:21; cp Dt. 13:17 Judg. 20:45), which appears as a technical term in Phœnician also; see the sacrificial tariffs of Marseilles and Carthage, *CIS I*. 165:35, etc., 167:5.

The whole burnt offering was naturally much less frequent than the sacrifices which furnished a feast for the worshippers; it is seldom mentioned alone, and then in peculiar circumstances.¹ Ordinarily a burnt offering occurs in conjunction with other sacrifices (*šlāhim* or *šlāhimim*); e.g., 2 S. 6:17 f. 24:25 1 K. 9:25 2 K. 10:24, etc. It was probably originally an extraordinary offering made by great persons or on great occasions (We. *Proh.*, 70). The daily burnt offering in the temple at Jerusalem (2 K. 16:15)—and doubtless at other royal sanctuaries—was the king's daily sacrifice, and was followed by many *šlāhim* for the court and by private persons.

The ritual of the burnt offering is not described in any ancient account; it may be assumed that the blood was treated in the same way as that of the other sacrifices; it is supposed by both the narratives in JE and by the laws that the flesh and fat of the holocaust were consumed upon the altar.² The horns, according to Lev. 7:8, fell to the priest, and this is not improbably an ancient rule; it was, in fact, the only toll he could take for his services.³

It is possible that at an earlier time the burnt offering was burned on the ground or in a pit, rather than in a raised altar; this is said to have been done for a special reason at the dedication of Solomon's temple (1 K. 8:64).⁴ The analogy of the human sacrifices at the Tophet (see MOLECH, TOPHET; cp, however, Gen. 22:1), and the burning of the carcass of certain sin offerings without the sanctuary, may also be noted. It is probable, however, that the burning of the holocaust upon the altar was the Canaanite custom, adopted by the Israelites.⁵

Whether the burnt offering was accompanied by an oblation of bread or by a libation is uncertain.⁷ When

¹ 1 S. 10:1 Am. 45; leavened bread in certain *šlāhimim* even in 1 S. 7:13, cp 23:17.
² 1 Ch. 8:29 22:13 Nu. 23:1 ff. Judg. 6:25 (13:25) 1 S. 6:14 1 K. 3:4 18:36.
³ The carcass was previously cut up; 1 K. 18:23:37.
⁴ So in the sacrificial tariff of Carthage (*CIS I* 177); in that of Marseilles the priest has a fee in money, and a part of the flesh, whilst the hide belongs to the offerer.
⁵ So also at Hierapolis; Lucian, *Dea Syria*; WRS, *Rel. Sem.*, 2, 374.
⁶ An argument may perhaps be drawn from the size of the Canaanite rock-altars that have been discovered.
⁷ In 1 K. 8:64 the words 'and the *minhah*' are a gloss.

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it was part of a great sacrificial occasion these probably went with the other sacrifices (*šlāhimim*). The regular daily burnt offering in the temple may have had such an accompaniment; but the earlier custom seems to have been to offer the *minhah* daily as an evening oblation corresponding to the morning *šlāh* (see below, §§ 19, 32). In the passages which speak of the burnt offering alone (cited above, col. 410:1, n. 2), there is no mention of a *minhah*. Judg. 6:25 f. 13:19 ff. cannot be alleged; in these places a meal prepared for a guest is miraculously consumed by fire; this may be called an *šlāh*, but obviously no inference can be drawn as to the ordinary ritual of burnt offerings.

The animals sacrificed were neat cattle, sheep, and goats; also, at least in certain rites, turtle doves and pigeons, clean birds easily procured by dwellers in towns and cities.

13. Victims.

The choice of victims for particular sacrifices or occasions was doubtless to some extent regulated by custom; in ordinary cases it was left to the worshipper to determine what his offering should be, in accordance with his means, his disposition, and his motive, or his previous intention or vow. It is very likely an ancient rule that the burnt offering should be a male; though 1 S. 6:14 shows that it was not always so. Sometimes very young animals were offered even as a burnt offering (1 S. 7:9, sucking lamb); but ordinarily, no doubt, a mature animal was chosen for this sacrifice.¹

That the offering of a human victim as a holocaust was not unknown in old Israel we learn from the story of Jephthah, Judg. 11:30 f. 34-49. The narrator represents this sacrifice as extraordinary, but does not condemn it as abhorrent to the religion of Yahwé.² The statement in 1 K. 16:14 to the effect that Hiel, who in the days of Ahab rebuilt Jericho, 'laid its foundations with Abiram his firstborn, and set up its gates with Segub his youngest son,' hardly admits any other interpretation than that he offered them as foundation sacrifices, in accordance with a widespread and persistent custom.³

It does not appear, however, that human sacrifices were frequent in the early centuries of the Israelite occupation of Canaan. The offering by parents of their own sons and daughters, especially the firstborn, about which there is so much in the prophets and laws of the seventh century,⁴ was not the recrudescence of ancient custom, but a new and foreign cult (see MOLECH, § 4 ff.). The lesson of Gen. 22 is that though Yahwé might claim even an only son, he does not require such sacrifice but accepts instead a victim from the flock; cp Ab. 97.

The expiation of Saul's massacre of the Gibeonites by the execution of seven of his sons and grandsons 'before Yahwé' at the famous sanctuary of Gibeon (2 S. 21:9), important as the story is for the idea of expiation and thus for sacrificial conceptions, is not itself to be considered as a sacrifice. Nor is the devotion of the inhabitants of a conquered city—or an Israelite city that has fallen into the worship of other gods (Dt. 13:12 ff.)—to the deity by slaughter and burning (*šrēm*, see BAN) properly regarded as a form of human sacrifice.

The offerings of bread, oil, and wine which formed part of the sacrificial feast have been spoken of above

14. Oblations.

in that connection (§ 11). There were also independent offerings of the products of agriculture. The deity which gave the increase to man's labour received from him portions of all; only when these had been duly rendered could the rest be used by the owner (see Frazer, *Golden Bough*², 2, 1 ff. 459 ff.).

These offerings, which fall under the general head of first-fruits, were called by various names: first-fruits (*bikkurim*, Ex. 31:26 23:10), tithes (*ma'āšerith*), prime portions (*šrith*), portions set apart (*šrāmāh*), and others. The original distinctions are not always clear;

¹ Mi 6:6 speaks of burnt offerings of yearling calves; the daily burnt offering in P is a yearling lamb.
² JEPHTHAH, § 6. Compare Meshah's sacrifice of his son, 2 K. 3:27.
³ See HIRI. On these sacrifices cp Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, 3, 1104 ff.; Liebrecht, *Zur Völkerkunde*, 284 ff.; especially Sarsori, 'Das Raupfer,' *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, 30 (1868).
⁴ See Jer. 7:31 Ezech. 20:2, 23:30 ff. Lev. 18:21 20:2 ff. Dt. 18:10 etc.

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the definitions of P and the Mishna may sometimes be suspected of making systematic discrimination between terms once loosely equivalent. The tendency of the ritual development was to reduce to rule and measure what was once more free, and to convert into a tax, for the support of the clergy, what formerly, as a gift to the deity, had actually fallen in whole or in part to his ministers. *Aparchæ* were offered not only of things that were eaten, but also of flax and wool (Hos. 2:9 Dt. 18:4). Inasmuch as these offerings have a history of their own it has seemed best to treat them separately; see **TAXATION, TITHES**. Religious dedications of a different character are the *'orlah* of fruit-trees in the first three years of bearing, followed in the fourth by the consecration of the crop as *hillulim* (Lev. 19:23-25), which corresponds to the sacrifice of the firstlings of animals; the *pe'ah*, or un-reaped corner of the grain-field; the gleanings of the harvest-field, orchard, and vineyard (Lev. 19:9 f.); and the spontaneous crops of the fallow year (Ex. 23:10 f.). (See **NATURE WORSHIP, § 3**.)

The form of presentation of first-fruits is described only in part. In Lev. 23:10 f. 14 (old laws in H) the first sheaf of barley (originally from each field, or from each village) is brought and 'waved' (*hinniph*, 777, a gesture of throwing) before Yahwé at the local sanctuary; until this is done the new crop must not be used in any form (7:14); unleavened cakes (*marisith*) of the new barley meal are eaten for seven days (see **FEASTS, PASSOVER**). At the end of wheat harvest a corresponding ceremony is the presentation in a similar way of two loaves of leavened bread (originally from each household, Lev. 23:15-17 202). Cp Frazer, *Golden Bough*², 239. Dt. 26:1 ff. prescribes that specimens of the choicest of the fruits of the land shall be brought by each landowner in a basket and set down before the altar with a solemn liturgy of thanksgiving; the presentation is followed by a feast (see below, § 22).

Another kind of oblation, which, though of much less primitive character than the kinds just mentioned, can be traced back to an early period in the history of Israel in Canaan, is the setting before the deity of a table spread with food and drink (see, further, below, § 34 a). Such was the custom at Nob (1 S. 21:4-6 [5-7]) as well as at Jerusalem (1 K. 7:48), and probably wherever God had a house or temple. On this table stood bread, which at certain intervals was exchanged for fresh loaves hot from the oven; the loaves that were removed were eaten as 'holy bread' by the priests, and—under exceptional circumstances—by laymen who had 'hallowed' themselves (1 S. 21:6). It is natural to suppose that, as among other peoples, wine too, in cups or chalices, was placed upon the table; but there is no mention of it in the OT. (On P see below, § 34 a.) In the *lectisternia* of other religions flesh also was thus set before the deity; it is not probable, however, that such was ever Israelite custom. Like the flesh or fat of animal sacrifices and the oblation of bread, wine, and oil with them, the loaves of 'shew bread' were 'the food of God' (לֶחֶם אֱלֹהִים).

Offerings of wine in the form of libations were made at the sacrificial feasts (above, § 11); a libation of *Wine*, properly any fermented drink other than wine, is spoken of in a late law (Nu. 28:7; see below, § 35), but in no ancient source; there seems to be no reason why such libations should not have been made. Honey was excluded from the preparation of sacrificial cakes (Lev. 2:11), in which it was much used in other cults; it was brought with the other choicest products of the land in the ceremony described in Dt. 26:1 ff., but did not come upon the altar. Milk, often offered by other peoples in libations,² was not so used by the Hebrews.

¹ Libations of honey in antiquity. Theophrastus in Porphyry, *De abstr. 2:20 f.*; reasons for the prohibition in Jewish law, Philo, *De spec. legum*, § 6, 225; Mangey.

² In Arabia, We, *Heid.*, III, f. Milk in Abel's offering (Jos. Ant. i. 2) is a mistranslation of the ambiguous מִלְכָּה.

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That independent libations of oil were made is intrinsically not improbable, though not conclusively established by reference to Gen. 28:13 Judg. 9:9 Mic. 6:7. (See Now, *J. J. 2:3*; cp below, § 31 a.)

Sacrifices were generally offered at home; every village had its altar (*mizbêah*, slaughter place), where the victims were slain and feasts held;

15. Seasons and occasions.

High PLACE, § 4). There were more famous holy places to which men resorted in numbers, especially at the autumn festival (see **FEASTS, § 4**). The times of sacrifice were in part fixed by custom, in part dependent on the occasion or on the will of the worshipper. To the former class belong the Passover at the vernal full moon (see above, §§ 4 ff.), and the agricultural season feasts at the beginning and end of the grain harvest, and at the close of the vintage (see **FEASTS**).¹ At the last three custom required every man to 'see the face of Yahwé,' with an offering (Ex. 23:17). The new moon was a favourite time for feasts: Saul expects all his court to be present on such an occasion (1 S. 20:4 f., cp 18:24 ff.); the annual sacrifice of David's clan at Bethlehem is held on a new moon (1 S. 20:5 f. 29). See **NEW MOON**. The Sabbath, apparently in a lesser degree, enjoyed the same preference. When a regular cultus became established at the greater sanctuaries, more numerous victims were offered on these days (see below, § 33). The specific occasions of sacrifice were manifold—the circumcision or weaning of a son, marriage, the coming of a traveller, the making of a compact, consultation of an oracle, the mustering of a clan for war or the return from a campaign, the accession of a king, the dedication of a temple, the staying of a plague. Many sacrifices were offered in fulfilment of vows for the obtaining of the most varied objects of human desire. Men sacrificed alike when they rejoiced in the evidence of Yahwé's favour, when they besought his bounty or his help, and when they had need to propitiate the offended God. Many kinds of uncleanness required purification by sacrifice.

The companies of worshippers for whom and by whom sacrifices were brought originally corresponded to the natural groupings of the people, the family or clan for itself (e.g., 1 S. 20:6), the village community at its own high place (e.g., 1 S. 9:12). Even at the greater holy places, which were frequented at the festival seasons by multitudes from different tribes, these groups preserved their identity. Deuteronomy assumes that this will be the case at Jerusalem when all bring their sacrifices thither; and in the Passover the 'household,' even when casually constituted, continued to the last, and, indeed, still continues, to be a distinct sacrificial group; the great mass of worshippers did not become one worshipping community, but remained many companies. The only body of worshippers in ancient times in which the natural groups are sunk is the army in time of war. How far the persistence of the family as a society of worship in the national religion is to be attributed to the survival of proper family cults, the worship of ancestors, it does not fall within the province of this article to discuss.²

The worshippers prepared themselves for participation in the sacrifice as 'holy' by 'hallowing themselves' (*hithkaddêh*, 1 S. 16:5 Nu. 11:8, cp Ex. 19:10-14). An obligatory part of this 'hallowing' on solemn occasions was abstinence for a time previous to the appearance at the sacred place from sexual intercourse (cp 1 S. 21:5 f. Ex. 19:15);³ other preparatory ceremonies were purifications, ablutions, the washing of garments. Men put on festal attire, garments and ornaments not of

¹ Sheep-shearing was also a time for feasting, 1 S. 25:7.

² See **FAMILY, § 2**; Sta. *GT* 1:390 ff.

³ See **WRS Rel. Sem.**, 454 ff.

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everyday wear (Ex. 322 112 f. 1235 f. Hos. 213 [15] Ezek. 1612 f.).¹

For the ordinary sacrifice (*zebach*) the assistance of a priest was unnecessary; the rites were simple and known to all. The older historical books

17. Priests.² abound in instances of sacrifices by laymen of all ranks; the father offered sacrifice for his household, the 'elders' for the clan or the village community, the commander for the army, the king for the people. The offerer slew and flayed his own victim—as, indeed, continued to be the rule to the latest period; doubtless he also in early times poured the blood upon the sacred stone or altar, afterwards a specifically priestly act. At the holy places which had a resident priesthood—often proprietary—the priests burnt the fat upon the altar; for this service they took toll (1 S. 213 f.). The customary right of the priests may have differed at different places, as it certainly changed in course of time (cp 1 S. 213 f. Dt. 183 Lev. 734).³ The priests participated also by guest-right in the sacrificial feasts. The most important functions of the priesthood were not, however, direction or assistance at sacrifices, but the custody of the sanctuary, the consultation of the oracle, and instruction concerning purifications, piacuar rites, and the like.

The sacrificial worship of ancient Israel had a prevailing joyous character; to eat and drink and rejoice before Yahwé (Dt. 12) is a description of it which holds good to the end of the kingdom. The stated feasts in harvest-time and vintage, the new moon and sabbath, were all seasons of rejoicing; and the occasions of public and private sacrifice at other times (see above, § 15) were, in general, of a joyful nature. The banquet was accompanied by music and song (Am. 523, cp 65), not always of what we should call a religious kind; dances also, were customary (Ex. 3219 1 S. 186 Ex. 1525 Judg. 1134 2119 f.). The excesses to which such festivities are exposed did not fail to occur (1 S. 113 f. 222 Is. 287 f. Am. 27 f. Hos. 414).

18. Character of worship.⁴ But while joyfulness was thus the predominant note of worship, it must not be imagined that ancient religion had no other note. In times of private distress or public calamity men set themselves to expiate the offence, known or unknown, that had provoked God's anger, to propitiate him by gifts and recover his favour (see 2 S. 211 f. 2413 f. Dt. 211 f. etc.). Such scenes as are described in 1 K. 1826 f. (the priests of Baal on Carmel) were probably not without parallel among the Israelites on like occasions. Fasting before Yahwé, wearing the garb of mourning, was an ancient and common means of appealing to his mercy (see FASTING). In ordinary cases propitiatory sacrifices differed from common sacrifices, not in rite, but in the spirit and mood of the worshippers. When God was manifestly perilously incensed men would hardly venture to approach him with sacrifice till they had reason to hope that his wrath was somewhat appeased (see, e.g., 2 S. 24).

Like other ancient monarchs, the kings of Judah and Israel built temples at old holy places, such as Bethel, and in their capitals, as at Jerusalem and Samaria. Worship at these royal sanctuaries was under the direction of the sovereign; on great occasions the king in person offered sacrifice in them (1 K. 8564; especially 925 2 K. 1612 f.); the priests were appointed by him. It was probably in these temples that the custom of offering a daily holocaust grew up. This sacrifice was made early in the morning; in the late afternoon the oblation of

19. Effect of monarchy.

bread or dough, oil, wine (the *minhah*) was presented (see 1 K. 1829 30, cp Dan. 921 Ezra 94 f.).¹ The animals required for food by the king's great household were, no doubt, slaughtered at the temples with a sacrificial dedication; the name *tabbithim*, lit. 'butchers,' applied to the palace guard, has been thought to bear witness to this custom (WRS *Rel. Sem.*¹⁰, 396). At the festivals and on special occasions greater numbers of sacrifices were offered by the king and his court, as well as by the people who came together to celebrate the feast. Foreign luxuries, such as incense, came into use at these sanctuaries. The support of the regular cultus came from the king's treasury, either from imposts levied *in natura* (2 K. 1615 Ezek. 459 f.), or by the assignment to the temple of the revenues of a district. (See TAXATION.)

A considerable number of priests must have been attached to the greater temples, and the necessity of order and authority was doubtless early felt. In Jerusalem we read of a chief priest and a second priest. The better organisation probably in part recognised, in part created, a differentiation of functions. The same conditions were favorable to the growth of the ritual in elaborateness and splendour, and to a concomitant estimate of its importance. In a word, the ritualistic and sacerdotal tendencies in the religion of Israel had their seats at the royal temples, especially at Jerusalem. By degrees the worship at Jerusalem came to be a very different thing from that at the country high places, and thus things were preparing both for the deuteronomic reforms and for the ritual law.

The greatest change, however, which followed the establishment of the kingdom was the institution of a regular public cultus maintained by the king for himself and his people. Thus a national religion was created. When Israel took its place among the nations, political and commercial intercourse opened the way for religious influence. Solomon's new temple was built by a Phœnician architect after Phœnician models; Ahaz exchanged the altar for a copy of one he had seen in Damascus. The more complete apparatus of worship—the bronze reservoir and portable lavers, the many utensils provided for the service of the altar, for example—suppose corresponding elaboration in the ritual. The vestments and ceremonial ornaments of the priests also were probably patterned after those in use in Phœnician temples. The influence of foreign religions was much deeper in the seventh century, during the long reign of Manasseh. Not only were many new cults, especially of Assyrian origin, introduced (see QUEEN OF HEAVEN, NATURE WORSHIP, § 5 f.), but the worship of Yahwé was enriched by new rites and offerings; the burning of costly gums and spices, for example, is first heard of in this period.² The sacrifice of children as burnt offerings, with peculiar rites, to Yahwé under the title 'king' (*ham-melek*), which also became prevalent in this age, is probably a foreign—Phœnician or Syrian—cult adopted by worshippers of Yahwé (see MOTECH).

The reforms of Josiah not only suppressed for a time these foreign rites, but also made a radical change in the whole sacrificial system by destroying the high places, carrying away their priesthoods, and forbidding the offering of sacrifice at any place in the kingdom except the temple in Jerusalem.³ A necessary corollary of this restriction of sacrifice to one altar was the slaughter of animals for food at home without sacrificial rites (Dt. 1215 f. 20-25), contrary to the ancient rule (see Lev. 173 f.).⁴

A large part of the occasional private and family

20. Foreign influence.

20a. Reform and reaction.

21. Seventh century law.

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20a. Reform and reaction.

21. Seventh century law.

human sacrifice perfect, 17, 3, cp burning of fat, ritual, 161 f., 17, 3, cp Ezek. 89 f. See

1 On the later custom, see below, § 72.

2 See INCENSE, § 3. It is worthy of note that Ezekiel lives it no place, in his reformed cultus.

3 See DEUTERONOMY, ISRAELI, § 37 f.; JOSIAH, § 1.

4 Disregarding reductional changes; see LEVITICS, § 1.

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sacrifices thus drop out. The change is even greater on the other side; the season feasts must now all be kept at Jerusalem; thither firstlings and tithes, first-fruits—in a word, all obligatory offerings—must be brought, there all vows must be paid, and free-will offerings made. Various modifications of the ancient custom became necessary; the lustration of houses with blood at the Passover must have ceased (see above, § 7); the age at which firstlings should be offered (eight days, Ex. 22:30 [29]) is now a minimum limit—they may be brought at any time after they are a week old (Lev. 22:27). The removal to Jerusalem of the feasts in which the tithes were consumed, besides other changes (Dt. 14:21 ff.), deprived the poor of the village of the participation in these feasts which they enjoyed by ancient right of hospitality; compensation is made by the conversion of the tithes of one year in three to charity (Dt. 14:23 ff.; see TAXATION, § 10, TITHES). The country priests who were transported to Jerusalem were not allowed to offer sacrifice in the temple, though they had their living from its revenues; an inferior order of ministry was thus, in fact, established.

By the centralisation of worship its natural connection with the common life of men was much loosened. The Israelite could visit the holy place to offer his sacrifices at most but thrice a year, more commonly, perhaps, but once or twice. At other times he knows that stated sacrifices are offered in the temple daily, and with greater pomp at all the festivals. The possibility of a cultus carried on for the benefit of those who are not present, of a sacerdotal religion done for the people by the priests, and operative, if correctly performed, is thus prepared. These consequences were not perceived, much less realised, in the few remaining years of Josiah's reign, nor, in their full effect, for many generations afterwards.

The spirit of the sacrificial laws in Deuteronomy is that of the older time, 'rejoice before Yahwé' is still the common expression for worship. The increased emphasis on the olden hospitality of the sacrificial feast is in accord with the prominence of motives of charity and humanity in the deuteronomic legislation, but is doubtless due in part, as has been already suggested, to the consciousness that the transfer of these feasts to a distant sanctuary imperilled this feature of them.

In the disastrous times that followed the defeat at Megiddo and death of Josiah, in the reaction from the deuteronomic reforms which not unnaturally ensued upon the disappointment of the high hopes based upon them, every trace of these reforms was swept away. Not only were the old altars at the high places rebuilt and the foreign worship restored, but men sought more efficacious means of expiating guilt and securing divine protection in private cults—in part, perhaps, revivals of old Israelite practices, in part of foreign origin, such as are described in Ezek. 8. These strange rites were celebrated as mysteries by societies of initiates. Their sacramental sacrifices were 'unclean' beasts, such as swine, dogs, mice.¹ The strong taboo of the flesh of these animals made them peculiarly potent *piacula*, the highest grade of 'uncleanness' being convertible with exceptional 'holiness.'

The laws in Dt. relative to sacrifice and offering represent older custom adapted to the plan of reform which made Jerusalem the sole place of worship (see above § 20).

Species of offerings: Dt. 12:6, cp 11:17, see also 27:6 ff. 33:10; prescribed offerings (firstlings, tithes, etc.) are *hōshāmim*, 'sacred' (belonging to God by right), in distinction from votive and free-will offerings, and from animals slaughtered for food, 12:26; victims from the flock and herd (*hōkāmim*; *šōn*; *šōr*, *šē*); human sacrifice prohibited, 12:31, cp 18:10; victims must be perfect, 17:1, cp 15:21; ritual of holocaust and sacrifice, 12:27; burning of fat, libations, cp 32:38; offerings at the feasts and ritual, 16:1 ff., cp 26:1 ff.; priests' dues, 18:1 ff.; tithes, 12:17

¹ 14:27, ff. 6: 117 (late post-exilic rite, of the same kind); cp Ezek. 8:9 f. See WRN, *Rel. Sem.*, 290 ff. 343.

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14:23, cp 12:6 11; in the third year, 11:28 f.; liturgy, 26:12 ff.; firstlings, 15:19 ff.

The sacrificial laws in II are of the same age.

Species: *šāh* Lev. 22:18, etc., *šāh* and *šāh* 17:8, *šāh* *šāh* *šāh* 17:5 19:5, *šāh* 22:29 f., *šāh* and *šāh* 22:18 21:2 tithes and firstlings are not named in the remains of II (not in Ezek. 40-48); sacrifices as *hōshāmim* 22:25 f., cp 19:8; offerings are 'the food of God' (*lāhem l'elohim*), 21:6-17 21:22-25, cp Ezek. 44:7; animals sacrificed, *hōkāmim* and *šōn*, *šōr*, *hōkāmim*; human sacrifice forbidden, 18:21 20:1 f.; victims must be perfect, 22:19 ff.; less strict rules for free-will offerings, 22:21; must be brought to the holy place, not slaughtered elsewhere, 17:3 f., cp 17:3; blood not to be eaten, 17:10, cp 17:13 ff. 19:20; the ritual is not described (17:6 probably secondary); the flesh of *šāhāmim* must be eaten on the day they are offered or on the following day, 19:5 ff.; of the *šāh* on the day of sacrifice itself, 22:29 f.; feasts, offerings, and ritual, 23 (the parts of the chapter derived from II).⁴

Contemporary with the laws in II, and from the same or cognate sources, is a large part of Lev. 11-15, on uncleanness and purification (see LEVITICS, § 24 f.); cases requiring sacrifice are enumerated, 12:6 f. 15:14 f. 29 f. 14:1-7 (49-53).

In Lev. 1-7, also, the older sacrificial *šāh*, not only in 1 and 3, but also in parts of 5 ff., represent pre-exilic usage and formulation in later redaction.⁵

Another source from which knowledge of the worship in the temple at Jerusalem may be gained, is Ezekiel's programme for a restored and purified cultus in 40-48.

The prophet's purpose was not to create a new system of sacrifices and rites, but to introduce such safeguards as should prevent those invasions of Yahwé's holiness which had provoked him in anger to destroy his desecrated house and make an end of the polluted worship. Knowing as we do the characteristic motives of Ezekiel's reformatory zeal, and having from other sources reasonably good information about the temple worship in the last half-century before the fall of Judah, we should not find it difficult to distinguish the old from the new in Ezekiel's sketch, and thus to use 40-48 for the history of the cultus.⁶ This testimony is the more valuable because Ezekiel had a priest's intimate acquaintance with the ritual and affection for it.

In comparing Ezek. 40-48 with the sources hitherto examined, it is important to observe that Ezek. deals almost exclusively with *sancta publica*,⁷ the others with private sacrifices. As the public ceremonies had, doubtless, in all ages, a more solemn example, with Dt., signify much less than has sometimes been made of them. Besides the species of sacrifice with which we have already become acquainted (*šāh*, *šāh*, *šāhāmim*), Ezek. repeatedly names two others, *hōshāmim* (E.V. sin offering and trespass offering—RV guilt offering), 40:39 42:13 43:10 ff. 44:27 29 45:17 ff. 46:25 (see below, §§ 27 f.). The *minhāk* is an offering of flour and oil in specified quantities (46:5 7 11, etc.); a libation (*netek*) is also provided for (45:17). The animals sacrificed are the same as in the other sources (birds are not named).

The public sacrifices are provided by the prince from the proceeds of a tax levied in kind (*šōrāmim* 45:13-17). A lamb is offered every morning, the regular holocaust (*šāh lāmid*), with an accompanying oblation (*minhāk* 46:13-15);⁸ the sabbath burnt offering is six lambs and a ram, with their oblations (46:4 f.);⁹ on the new moon, the victims are the same, with the addition of a bullock (46:6 f.). At the passover a bullock is offered on the first day as a sin offering for the prince and people; during the seven days of the feast, each day seven bullocks and seven rams as burnt offerings, and a he goat as a sin offering (45:23 f.); the feast of the seventh month has the same sacrifices (45:25); there is no summer festival (Pentecost). At the great festivals, new moons and sabbaths, the prince also provides *šāhāmim* (45:17), doubtless as a feast for the people.

¹ Setting aside the double redaction. See LEVITICS, §§ 14 ff.

² The *šāhāmim* in 19:21 is from R.

³ The principle, no slaughter without sacrificial rites, is reaffirmed; see LEVITICS, §§ 15, 28.

⁴ Passover is not named.

⁵ See LEVITICS §§ 5 f. and, on *šāhāmim* and *hōshāmim*, below, §§ 27 f.

⁶ The custom of the temple after the restoration, which frequently followed the older usage rather than Ezekiel's innovations, furnishes an additional criterion.

⁷ Even the *šāhāmim* at the feasts, new moons, and sabbaths, are to be provided by the state, 45:17.

⁸ No evening *šāhāmim*; see below, § 22.

⁹ The general rule for the oblation to be offered with each kind of victim, 46:11, cp 5:7; the quantity of wine for the libation is nowhere fixed.

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The number of these victims is necessarily left undetermined. A table (or altar) for the shewbread stands in the temple (41 22); but no rules are given for the presentation of offerings upon it—probably the old custom is to be followed without change.¹ An elaborate ritual is provided for the consecration of the altar (43 8-27), and for the semi-annual *pacula* on the first of the first and seventh months by which the temple and altar are purified (43 13-20).² The rites of sacrifice are given in some detail: the slaying and dressing of the victims (40 28-43), the description of the court and altar, 40 28 ff., 43 13 ff.; the dashing of the blood upon the altar (43 18), and of the sin offering in consecration and purification ceremonies—the application to the altar and other parts of the temple and court (43 40-45 13). The fat and blood of sacrifices are the food of God (44 7). The flesh of public sin offerings is burned (43 21); that of private sin offerings and of trespass offerings belongs to the priests (44 29); there are kitchens in the inner court where they boil their meat and bake their *minhah* bread (40 13 f.), and chambers in which they eat this 'very holy' food (42 13).

Of private sacrifices the freewill offerings of the prince (*zōlah* or *zōlamim*) are sacrificed by the priests (46 2); the private sacrifices of the people are slain for them by the Levites (degraded priests of the old high places), who wait upon the offerers and serve them (44 11); the flesh is boiled in kitchens in the four corners of the outer court by temple servants (46 21-24). The priests are supported by offerings: the flesh of the (private) sin offerings and of trespass offerings, the oblations of flour and oil, and everything that is devoted to Yahwē fall to them; besides this they have a right to all kinds of first-fruits and dedications (44 28 ff.).

Ezekiel supposes that his readers are familiar with the terms he uses and their significance; he does not deem it necessary, for example, to define the nature or occasion of the trespass offering (see below, § 27). The *sacra publica*, which before the fall of Judah had been maintained at the king's charges, are to be provided for by the prince from the taxes.³ The rules prescribing the kinds and numbers of victims to be offered at the feasts, and the proportion of flour and oil with each, may perhaps make new requirements; but it may safely be assumed that there had been similar rules fixed by the custom of the temple under the kings. The periodical expiation of inadvertences or mistakes by which the holiness of the temple might have been sullied, appears to be an innovation;⁴ but the rite is simple and old, and had probably been practised in earlier times when occasion required. In general, the ritual of public sacrifice does not seem to be much changed in Ezekiel's new model of temple worship.

The consequences of Ezekiel's system would doubtless have made greater changes in the sphere of private sacrifices. The tax to be paid to the prince and the assignment of all first-fruits to the priests apparently are to take the place of all the offerings (firstlings, first-fruits, tithes, sacrifice for appearance at the holy place, and the like) which in former times the Israelite had been bound to bring to God. Even the sacrificial feasts (*šēlamim*) at the great festivals were provided from the public treasury. There would remain vows and freewill offerings, and the sin and trespass offerings, in which, as it appears, no change was intended. In the ritual of private sacrifice Ezekiel proposed a very radical departure from immemorial custom: the owner was henceforth not to offer his own victim, but to look on while one of the inferior ministry of the temple (Levites) slaughtered it for him. This innovation, however, did not prevail; in the ritual law and in the practice of the Herodian temple, the worshipper retained his old right (see below, § 26).

The destruction of the temple in Jerusalem did not cause a long interruption in sacrificial worship in Judæa.

Not only were there other holy places in the land (see HIGH PLACES, § 9; MIZPĀH, 1), but there can be no doubt that the altar in Jerusalem was soon rebuilt and worship re-

¹ There is no mention of incense or an altar of incense, of a candelabrum, or of anointing oil.

² Observe the use of the terms *kipper* and *hitāh*, see below, § 45.

³ On the question how far this is a change of system, see TAXATION, § 15 f.

⁴ It did not establish itself in the restored temple, where in later times a corresponding, but much more elaborate, rite was celebrated annually. See ATONEMENT, DAY OF.

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established (ISRAEL, § 45), with survivors of the old priesthood for its ministry. Probably, however, the public sacrifices—the daily holocaust and the offerings on Sabbaths and feast days—which had been supported by the king, ceased, and only private sacrifices were offered, as at other high places. With the appointment of a native governor and the rebuilding of the temple, the public services were doubtless resumed on such a scale as the poverty of the community permitted. The ritual, also, no doubt, conformed to the ancient custom and tradition of the sanctuary as far as possible under these conditions; and as the prosperity of the Jews increased, and Persian kings and governors from time to time made contributions to the support of the temple, it recovered 'something of its ancient splendour.' The opinion that the cultus was first restored by priests returning from the exile, and afterwards thoroughly reformed by Ezra in accordance with the prescriptions of a liturgical work ('Priest's Code') which he brought with him from Babylonia, rests in both parts on the same late testimony, and greatly exaggerates the share that the Babylonian Jews bore in the development of Palestinian Judaism in the Persian period. Babylonian influence upon the terminology of the later ritual, if not upon the rites themselves, is indeed manifest; but, in view of the evidences of the same influence in other Syrian religions in the Persian and Greek period, it is not clear that we must look to the exiled priests in Babylonia for the explanation.

An important landmark in the history of the ritual is the description of a typical series of sacrifices—sin offering, burnt offering, peace offerings—at the inauguration of Aaron in Lev. 9, a chapter which is universally assigned to the original History of the Sacred Institutions, and was written probably in the fifth century B.C. (see HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 9). The rites agree closely with the older sacrificial *torōth*; many refinements of the later laws are still unknown to the author, in particular such as are connected with the inner altar, the *sprinkling* of blood in consecrations and expiations, and the like.

It can hardly be questioned that the philhellenic priests of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid times introduced

22 a. Later. various ceremonies in imitation of the cults of Syrian-Greek temples, some of which were preserved till the destruction of Jerusalem. The procession at the offering of first-fruits, headed by an ox with gilded horns and crowned with an olive garland, the flute player making music before them, etc., is an example in point.¹ But such innovations were probably in matters of vestments, processions, and the like, rather than in the ancient rites of sacrifice themselves.

The two features in which the sacrificial cultus of later times differs most from the worship of old Israel are the enhanced importance of the *sacra publica* and the greater prominence of expiatory rites, both are natural consequences of the conditions of the age.

The Jews were a widely scattered people; most of them could visit Jerusalem only at long intervals—perhaps but once or twice in a lifetime. But sacrifices were regularly offered for them—the daily holocausts the burnt offerings and sin offerings on the sabbaths and new moons and at the feasts. These sacrifices were now maintained, not from the revenues of the king or prince, but by a tax collected from Jews in all parts of the world, who thus became participants in all their benefits. The cessation of the daily sacrifice was a calamity that deeply affected the whole race (Dan. 8 11 ff., 11 31; 12 11, cp. Jos. 17 vi. 22).

Pacula of various kinds were doubtless common in old Israel, as in other religions (see, e.g., Dt. 21 13); many of the purifications—which fall under the same head—are unquestionably ancient customs (e.g., Lev.

¹ *M. Rikkūrīm*, 33; Philo, *De Festo cophini*. See Spencer, *Legg. ritual*, lib. 4, cap. 10.

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11:7. cp Dt. 24 Nu 19). Solemn public *piacula*, however, seen in earlier times to have been performed only on occasions when some calamity warned the people that they had offended God (e.g., 2 S. 21:18 ff.; above, §§ 18, 20). In the Persian period, they became an established institution. We have seen that Ezekiel provides for such ceremonies at the beginning of each year (above, § 21); the oldest stratum of P in Lev. 16 seems to have had in mind a yearly expiation; the Day of Atonement was in later times the most solemn of the year. All rites of consecration and inauguration are begun by *piacular* sacrifices. Not infrequently, as in Ezekiel, the whole cultus is regarded as expiatory. The prevalence of such a conception of God's holiness as we find in Ezekiel, inevitably led to the multiplication of expiatory rites; the depressed and unhappy state of the Jews in Palestine during a large part of these centuries may be regarded as a contributory cause.

The differences between the sacrificial worship of old Israel and that, say, of NT times must not, however, be exaggerated. The public cultus did not supersede private sacrifices. The Jews, even from the remoter parts of Palestine, frequented Jerusalem at the feasts in great numbers, bringing the prescribed offerings and paying their vows; the population of the city itself and of neighbouring Judaea alone was sufficient with their sacrifices to give employment and support at ordinary times to a great number of priests. Nor must it be thought that the worshippers were habitually oppressed by a sense of sin, or that the expiatory side of the cultus so dominated their conception of sacrifice as to exclude all others. The contrast sometimes drawn between Dt., with its rejoicing before Yahwé, and P, with all its sin offerings and trespass offerings, even if it fairly represented the spirit of two legislations, cannot legitimately be taken as evidence of a corresponding difference in the spirit of religion in two ages.² From our other sources it is easy to show that no such radical difference exists.

II. DEVELOPED JEWISH SYSTEM

It is proposed in the following paragraphs briefly to describe the Jewish sacrificial system in its final form, as it was in practice in the last

23. Introductory. century before the destruction of Jerusalem. In this system the rules and rites of sacrifice in the Pentateuch, of whatever age and origin, were combined, and their often conflicting requirements in some fashion harmonised. There was also a traditional usage, not wholly dependent upon the written law, and at all events much more detailed, without a knowledge of which we should often be hopelessly at a loss in our effort to reconstruct the ritual.³ Our sources, therefore, include, besides the Pentateuch, the descriptions of the cultus in Jewish authors—Sirach, the Epistle of Aristean, Philo, the NT, Josephus, etc.—and the school tradition embodied in the legal midrash (*Abkhillā*, *Siphra*, *Siphre*), the Mishna, and the Tosephta.⁴

The comprehensive name for offerings of all kinds, including donations to the sanctuary, is *korban* (קָרְבָּן), 'present, gift' (Nu. 7:12-17, etc.; cp also Neh. 10:35 13:31).

24. Offering in general; species. This term, which is found only in technical use, first appears in the sixth century (Ezek. 20:28 40:43, sacrificial laws in Lev. 1:3), and is probably a borrowed word, as is suggested also by the unusual form of the noun; cp Assy. *karban* (RITUAL, §§ 1, 11a). Aram.-Syr. *karban*. The technical use of the verb *karban* (קָרְבָּן), 'present' an offering to God, is of the same age. It renders the noun by *κόποι*, Vg. variously and often freely Trj. and Pesh. *karbin*.

¹ See APPENDIX, DAY OF § 21; LEVITICUS, § 12.
² Many critics appear to be misled by the word 'sin offering.' See below, § 29.

³ It would be quite impossible, e.g., to understand the ceremonies of the Day of Atonement from Lev. 16.

⁴ This tradition—carefully to be distinguished from the scholastic exegesis and casuistry in the same writings—goes back to priests who had served in the temple.

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The old Hebrew *minhah*, 'gift,' which in earlier times was used more broadly (see above, § 11), is in the ritual laws specifically the oblation of flour and oil or of cakes baked therefrom.

The species of sacrifice are the same as in Ezek.: burnt offering (*ôlah*), trespass offering (*âšam*), sin offering (*hattath*), and peace offerings (*shālîmim*); some of these embrace several varieties.

The public sacrifices are either stated or occasional. The stated public sacrifices are:

1. The regular daily burnt offerings, every morning and evening (Ex. 29:42 Nu. 28:3-5).
2. The additional burnt offerings on the sabbaths (Nu. 28:9 f.) and the new moons (11-14), and at the annual festivals, viz., Passover (ib. 16-25), Pentecost (27-31), New Year (29:1-5), Day of Atonement (7-11), Tabernacles (12-35).

3. The sin offerings at the new moon and feasts Nu. 28:15 22 30 29:11 16 19 22 25 28 31 34 35.
4. The goat of the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:15, etc.).

Occasional *piacula* are:

1. The sin offering of the congregation (Nu. 15:22 ff. Lev. 4:13 ff.).
2. The sin offering of the 'anointed priest,' because his sin brings guilt upon the people (Lev. 4:3 ff.; cp Lev. 10:11 14).

In this class may be included also sacrifices of consecration for the temple and altar (Lev. 8:14 f.; cp Ex. 40:1 ff.); and the sacrifices for the installation of priests, especially the high priest (Ex. 29:1-6).

Public sacrifices as a rule are either burnt offerings or sin offerings; the trespass offering is always a private sacrifice, and the only public peace offerings are the two lambs at Pentecost (Lev. 23:19, see below, § 40); the consecration ceremonies also include *shālîmim*.

Private sacrifices may be of any of the four chief species, and frequently comprise more than one kind. They are either prescribed or voluntary. The prescribed sacrifices are:

1. Sin offerings, trespass offerings, and purifications of various kinds according to the occasion.
2. The sacrifices obligatory upon those who appeared at the temple at a festival season; with which may be included the Passover.

Voluntary private sacrifices were brought either in fulfilment of a vow, as freewill offerings, or as expressions of gratitude (*nôder*, *nôdabâh*, *tôbiâh*).

It will be most convenient to begin with private sacrifices, since these are more fully described in the Pentateuch, and afterwards to treat of the public cultus in the temple, for the details of which we are mainly dependent upon Jewish tradition.

The victim might be from the flock or the herd (Lev. 1:2); a turtle-dove or a pigeon was also accepted.³

25. Burnt offering. If a quadruped, it must be a male without blemish, a bullock, ram, or he goat. A list of twelve defects which rendered an animal unfit for sacrifice is given in Lev. 22:22-25; much more minute rules are found in the Talmud.⁵ If the dissection of the victim disclosed abnormal or diseased organs, this also caused its rejection. The age of the victim is sometimes prescribed; in general, animals that had attained their full growth were preferred for burnt offerings. The offerer brought the victim to the court of the temple, rested both hands heavily upon its head, slaughtered and flayed it, and cut up the carcass. The priest received the blood and carried it to the altar, and afterwards burnt the flesh and fat.

That the offerer slew his own victim is the rule in Lev. 1:5 11, and is universally assumed in Palestinian tradition (see, e.g., *M. Zebâhim*, 3:1; *Siphra*, Par. 4; cp *M. Kôlan* 1, etc.; so also *Jos. Ant.* iii. 9:1). It, indeed, in Lev. 1:6 has indefinite plurals

¹ Publica sacra, quæ pro singulis hominibus, familiis, gentibus fiunt. . . privata, quæ pro singulis hominibus, familiis, gentibus fiunt. Festus; the distinction is made by Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 9:1), Philo (e.g., *De victimis offer.* § 3), and in the Mishna.

² The installation sacrifices might from another point of view be regarded as private sacrifices, and are in fact so regarded by Jewish tradition.

³ The offering of birds as burnt offerings is permitted as the only kind of sacrifice possible to the poor in cities.

⁴ On the name see above, § 12.

⁵ See *M. Bekôrôth* 6, *Tos. Bekôrôth* 4, *Bekôrôth* 37a ff.

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(σφαγή), and is naturally followed by Philo, *De victimis*, 224; Mangey; but their interpretation is not to be accepted. Ezekiel would have the sacrifices of laymen slain by Levites (see above, § 21); but there is no evidence that this ever became the actual practice.² The place for the slaughter of the burnt offering was in the Court of the Priests (see *LEVI*), on the N. side of the great altar (Lev. 11), where also the sin offering and the trespass offering were slain (peace offerings might be slain in any part of the court; *M. Zabibim* 51 ff.). Here were rings in the pavement for tying the victims, posts supporting beams with hooks to hang them up on, and low marble tables for dressing the large cattle (*M. Middoth* 3 5 2 *M. Tamid* 3 5 *M. Sheb'otim* 4, et c.). The blood was caught by a priest in a basin, and thrown from the vessel against the altar in such a way that some of the blood struck each of the four faces of the altar. The carcase was then cut up according to a certain order; the inwards and shanks (with the feet) were washed; and all the parts of the animal, except the hide and the contents of the intestines, were borne by priests to the sloping ascent of the altar, where they were salted; finally they were carried up to the top of the altar, hung on the great fire,⁴ and buried. In later times, at least, an oblation was offered with private holocausts (*Nu. 15 1 ff.*).

The offering of a bird had necessarily a different ritual (Lev. 14 17; *M. Zabibim* 05). The dove or pigeon, which might be of either sex, was taken by the priest to the altar; ascending the ramp and standing at one corner, he pinched off the bird's head with his thumb-nail, squeezed out the blood so that it flowed down the side of the altar, drew out the crop with the entrails through an opening in the breast, and threw these, with the feathers, on the ash heap E. of the altar. Then with his hands he rent the fowl by its wings without actually pulling it in two, rubbed it with salt, and threw it upon the fire.

In the Pentateuch, especially in Lev. 5, there is some confusion between trespass offerings and sin offerings

(see *LEVITICUS*, § 51); the original distinction both in occasion and ritual is, however, sufficiently clear, and is in general justly observed by the Jewish tradition. In the *šim* the victim is regularly a ram (*špil*, *šp*; Lev. 5 15 f. 13 66 [525], *Nu. 5 8 Lev. 19 21 f.*, cp *Ezra* 10 19; in two late laws *kébr*, *šp*; Lev. 14 12 21 *Nu. 6 12*).⁶ The animal, according to the Jewish interpretation of Lev. 5 15, must be worth at least two shekels. The ritual in Lev. 7 1 ff. prescribes that the trespass offering shall be slain like the burnt offering, on the N. side of the great altar; the blood is thrown against the altar precisely as in the burnt offering (§ 26); when the animal is cut up certain parts are taken to be burned upon the altar, viz., the fat tail, the fat that covers the entrails (omentum), the two kidneys with the fat upon them, and the excrescence on the liver.⁸ No oblation or libation accompanies them. The flesh of the animal falls to the priests (according to Lev. 7 7, to the officiating priest); it is 'very holy,' and may be eaten only by males in a state of ceremonial purity and in a holy place.

In the ceremonies for the purification of the leper prescribed in Lev. 14 9 ff., which have a striking—and surely not accidental—resemblance to the consecration of priests (Lev. 8) the lamb with whose blood the leper's right ear, thumb, and great toe were anointed is called an *šim*; but the ritual—note the 'waving' of the lamb, the accompaniment of oil, the anointing with blood and oil, sprinkling of oil, etc.—has nothing in common with that of Lev. 7 (see below, § 286).

In the oldest laws about the *šim* this species of sacrifice seems to have been required only in expiation of the unlawful appropriation of the property of another (conversion), or of the tribute due to Yahwé (see Lev.

¹ A man might have his sacrifice offered by another; but the other was not necessarily a priest.

² The slaying of the paschal lambs by the priests had a particular reason in the urgent need of expiation.

³ The hide fell to the priest who conducted the sacrifice (Lev. 7 8); a different rule seems to have prevailed in the Herodian temple; see Schürer, *GH* 2 248.

⁴ *Ep. Arist.*, ed. Thackeray, 535 f., admits the strength as well as the skill with which this was done.

⁵ Heb. *šim* (שִׁם), ὁ τὸ περὶ τῆς ἀπλημελείας, ἡ ἀπλημελία, Vg. *hostia pro delicto*. On the technical meaning of the term see col. 4204, begin.

⁶ The female victim in Lev. 5 6 is a sin offering. So are also the doves and the offering of flour allowed to be substituted by the poor, Lev. 5 7-13; see *LEVITICUS*, § 8.

⁷ There is no mention of the imposition of hands.

⁸ The same parts of the sheep are burned when it is a sin offering or a peace offering, or an inauguration sacrifice.

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61-7 [520 f.], 514-16; cp Lev. 22 14-16 and *Nu. 5 5-11*. In such cases restitution of the property with the addition of one-fifth its value must be made, and a ram offered as a 'trespass offering.' The term *šim* probably originally signified the mulct by which such an offence was punished; the application to the sacrifice is secondary. An *šim* in silver is named in 2 K. 12 9 as one of the sources of the priests' income; as a species of sacrifice *šim* is mentioned first in Ezekiel, but in a way which implies that it was well known.

In the redaction of the laws the distinctive character of the *šim* is lost, and a 'trespass offering' is prescribed in many cases in which the offence is of a different nature and restitution is impossible (see, e.g., Lev. 5 1 ff. 17 ff. 19 20 ff.); the confusion with the sin offering remarked above thus arises.

The victims required by the laws differ in different cases—a bullock, he goat, she goat, ewe lamb or kid, or a dove (see below). The animal is

286. Sin offering. brought to the temple court, and after the imposition of hands, as in the burnt offering,

is slain by the offerer (Lev. 4 20) on the N. side of the altar. The distinctive feature of the ritual is that the priest, instead of dashing (שָׁטַף) the blood against the sides of the altar from the ground, ascends the altar, and, dipping his finger into the basin, sneers (שָׁטַף) 'put' blood upon each of the four horns of the altar in order; the rest of the blood is poured out at the base of the altar. The parts offered upon the altar are the same which are thus consumed in the peace offerings (§ 29) and the trespass offering (§ 27). The flesh belongs to the priests; it is, like that of the *šim*, 'very holy,' and must be eaten under the same restrictions.

The holiness of the *šim* is in other respects more intense than that of the *šim*; every thing which comes in contact with the flesh becomes 'sacred' (cp *Hag. 2 12*), that is, becomes the property of God—in effect, of the temple; an earthen pot in which the flesh is boiled must be broken, a metal one scoured and rinsed; a garment upon which the blood has accidentally spilt must be washed in a 'holy' place (Lev. 6 27-29 [282-4]). The peculiar character of the sacrifice accounts for this higher degree of holiness.

In offering a dove as a sin offering the priest kills it with his thumb-nail (as in the burnt offering), but does not completely sever the head from the body; sprinkles some of the blood upon the side of the altar (not on the horns), and squeezes out the rest of the blood at the base; there are no altar portions to burn; the flesh goes to the priest (Lev. 5 7-9 26 [19]).

In cases of extreme poverty a sin offering consisting only of a tenth of an ephah of fine flour, without oil or frankincense, was accepted; the priest burned a handful of it upon the altar and took the rest for himself as in other oblations (Lev. 5 11-13).

A late law (Lev. 4; see *LEVITICUS*, § 5) establishes a sliding scale of sin offerings according to the station of the offerer: the common man has to bring a female goat or sheep (4 23 32), as was doubtless the older rule (cp Lev. 5 6 *Nu. 15 27*).⁴ If too poor for such a sacrifice, he is allowed to substitute two doves or pigeons, one as a sin offering and one as a burnt offering; or, in extremity, an oblation of flour (see above);⁵ a prince (שָׂרֵף) in a similar case must offer a he goat (Lev. 12 f., cp *Nu. 7 16*, etc.); the 'pointed priest' a bullock (see below, § 370).

The name 'sin offering' suggests to the modern reader of the Bible that the offering is intended to expiate a crime. Affinity to H has been noted in the primary stratum of these *šim*.

¹ Heb. *šim* (שִׁם), ὁ τὸ περὶ τῆς ἀμαρτίας, Vg. *hostia pro peccato*.

² For this reason a second bird is ordered as a burnt offering.

³ Female victims in *picula*, see, e.g., Schoemann, *Zeits.* p. 21 0 *Nu. 19 21*, 21 3.

⁴ These mitigations are not understood to apply to those sin offerings in which a certain victim is prescribed for all.

reader of the sacrificial law for its cases to be understood—includes the law of the religious partition childbearing (see below) rule in the of which requires avertence these trespass offerings imitating does not In the woman suffered menorrhoea, defiled by all these leper (Lev. pigeon); ewe lamb of an unshorn goat, In common to e

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292. Peace offerings. female, and without blood in the free composition of offering; but killed on the skin in any certain season for space on not suffice of the blood from the cor

¹ The later below, § 286, 1. ² See *CLEAN* 119 7) see also ³ On the term

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reader a sacrifice for the expiation of sin in our sense of the word, and it is often imagined that the Jewish sacrificial system provides and requires such expiation for every sin. Both these notions are erroneous. The cases in which a *hattith* is prescribed fall for our apprehension into two classes: first, the ignorant or inadvertent transgression of certain prohibitions ('taboos'—including some in which we see a moral character), or unintentional failure to observe the prescriptions of the law (Nu. 15.22 ff.; from the context it is clear that religious observances are primarily meant); second, in purifications of various kinds, as of a woman after childbirth, a leper, etc., or of things, such as an altar (see below, § 45). For the former class the general rule in the Mishna is that any transgression the penalty of which, if wilful, would be that the offender be cut off, requires, if committed in ignorance or through inadvertence, a *hattith* (M. *Aboth* 12); the catalogue of these transgressions (ib. 11) ranges from incest and idolatry to eating the (internal) fat of animals and imitating the composition of the sacred incense, but does not include the commonest offences against morals. In the second class (purifications) fall the *hattith* of a woman after childbirth (Lev. 126); of a man who has suffered from gonorrhœa (15.14 f.), or a woman from menorrhagia (15.20 f.); of a Nazirite accidentally denied by the proximity of a dead body (Nu. 6.10 f.)—in all these cases the victim is a dove or pigeon; of a leper (Lev. 14.10 f.); a ewe lamb, for the poor a dove or pigeon; of a Nazirite at the end of his term (Nu. 6.14; ewe lamb); a man defiled by contact with the carcass of an unclean animal, etc. (Lev. 5.2 f., ewe lamb or she goat, 7. 6).

In connection with the *hattith* brief reference may be made to certain peculiar ceremonies of similar intent and effect. The most characteristic of these is the old rite for the purification of the leper (Lev. 14.1-8); a clean bird is killed over an earthen vessel containing fresh water in such a manner that its blood mingles with the water; the priest dips cedar wood, wool dyed crimson, and 'hyssop,' together with the living bird, into the vessel, sprinkles the water upon the leper, and lets the living bird fly away.¹ The expiation of the term of the Nazirite's vow (Nu. 6.13-21) is celebrated by a complete series of sacrifices, beginning with a ewe lamb as a sin offering, a he lamb as a burnt offering, and a ram for a peace offering; the oblation consists of a basket of different kinds of cakes. The boiled shoulder (only half) of the ram with a specimen of each kind of cake is 'waved' before Yahweh (see § 29a), and then belongs to the priest.

The Ordeal of Jealousy has been described elsewhere (see JEALOUSY, ORDEAL OF).

The best description of the peace offering ritual is in Lev. 3, corresponding to that of the burnt offering in 1;

see also 7.11 ff. 28 ff. 22.21 ff. Nu. 15.1 ff. 29a. Peace offerings.² The victim may, as the owner pleases, be from the flock or the herd, either male or female, and of any age; it is required only that it be without blemish (see above, § 26), a rule that is relaxed in the freewill offering alone. The presentation and imposition of hands occur precisely as in the burnt offering; but whereas *shih*, *hattith*, and *shim* must be killed on the N. side of the altar, the *shimim* may be slain in any part of the court—obviously because at certain seasons they were brought in such numbers that the space on the N. of the altar, with its apparatus, did not suffice. The slaughter of the victim and the dashing of the blood upon the altar, again, differ in no respect from the corresponding acts in the burnt offering or

the trespass offering; the sin offering alone requires a peculiar application of the blood. The portions consumed upon the altar are the fat that covers the entrails (great omentum) and all the fat upon the entrails, the two kidneys with the mass of fat upon them, and the excrescence on the liver, which is to be separated with the kidneys; if the victim was a sheep there was added to these the whole fat tail, removed close to the os sacrum.

The precise meaning of the phrase *שֵׁן הַכֹּבֶד*, or *שֵׁן הַכֹּבֶד* (Lev. 16.21) is disputed. *ὁ σάκος ἢ ἡνὸς τοῦ ἡπατος, ὁ σάκος τοῦ ἡπατος*, Vg. *reticulum hepatis*, etc. 'LV the caul upon the liver.'¹ According to Jewish tradition it was not fat (For. *Hullin* 91a); in the Mishna it is called *שֵׁן הַכֹּבֶד* 'liver' (M. *Tamid* 41); Soad. translates, *epiploic at kabad*, an Arabic anatomical term which etymologically corresponds to Heb. *קֶבֶד*. The question cannot be discussed here; the view of the present writer is that the *lobus caudatus* is meant, which lies close against the right kidney.

Another phrase which has been variously rendered is *שֵׁן הַכֹּבֶד*, Lev. 39. The *שֵׁן* is not the 'coccyx,' as many modern writers absurdly say, nor the vertebral column, but the os sacrum.

These parts having been removed, the carcass was cut up, and the owner proceeded to present his offering to God by taking upon his two hands the altar portions and the breast and 'waving' them before Yahweh (Lev. 7.20 f.). In conformity with the example in Ex. 29.24, the priest, in later times, put his hands beneath those of the offerer and moved them backward and forward, up and down; the right leg was also added to the breast (cp Lev. 9.21 Ex. 29.27). After this ceremony the priest salted the altar portions and burned them; the breast and leg went to the priests; the rest of the flesh made a feast for the maker of the sacrifice; women as well as men might partake of it, if only they were in a state of ceremonial purity (Lev. 7.19-21). (See CLEAN AND UNCLEAN.) It might be eaten anywhere in Jerusalem on the day on which it was offered or the following day before sunset; whatever remained after that time must be burned (Lev. 7.16-18 19.8). One species of *shimim*, however, the *shih*, had to be eaten on the day of sacrifice (see § 29b; also § 39a).

The increase of the tariff in 7.32 appears in the very construction of the sentence. In Dt. the priest receives a foreleg, the jaw, and the stomach (tripe); the older stratum of priestly laws gives him the breast (*שֵׁן הַכֹּבֶד*, *pectusculum*) instead (see Ex. 29.26 Lev. 7.31); this is presented to God ('the wave breast') and ceded by him to his priest. Lev. 7.32 adds the right leg as a tax (*שֵׁן הַכֹּבֶד*) paid by the Israelites to the priest (cp Nu. 6.20). The rules of Dt. and P are harmonised in the Mishna by applying the former to *shimim*, the latter to *shihim* (M. *Hullin* 101, *shihim* on Lev. 16).

The priests' portions of the *shimim* were not subject to the severe restrictions of the *hattith* and the *shim*; the flesh might be eaten by the priests and their families, including slaves, anywhere in Jerusalem. The same rule of time applies to the priests' part of the flesh as to the offerers.

The ordinary *shimim* described in the last section were offered either in fulfilment of a specific vow to sacrifice such and such victims as peace offerings (*nedter*),² or as a 'freewill offering' (*nedihah*)—that is to say, a sacrifice not made obligatory by the law or by the owner's engagement (vow). These two kinds only are named in Dt. 12.17 Lev. 22.17 ff. Nu. 15.1 ff. Lev. 7.11 ff. (see also 22.29 f.) joins with these a third species of *shimim*, the *shih* (AV 'sacrifice of thanksgiving,' 'thank offering'; on the name, see below, begin. of next col.), to which in some respects different rules apply.

The *shih* was accompanied by a prescribed oblation of a peculiar kind, in which, besides various kinds of sacrificial cakes, leavened bread is included (see § 30). The flesh of the victim must be eaten on the day of the sacrifice, 'none of it must be left until morning' (7.15,

¹ On the history of interpretation, see Dillmann-Ryssel on Lev. 34.

² The votive offering might also be an *shih*, § 26.

¹ The later law; cp the old purification, Lev. 14.1-8; see below, § 28A. LEVITICUS, § 15.

² See CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 16. On the later ritual (Lev. 14.10 ff.) see also above, § 27.

³ On the term *shimim* and its meaning see above, § 11.

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22:11]). The cakes and bread were naturally subjected to the same restriction (*Leviticus*, 36a). The limit of time is the same which is fixed in Ex. 23:18 31:25 for the sacrifices of Yahwe's feast (28),¹ and in Lev. 12:1 (1) for the Passover. It is therefore evidently an old rule for at least some sacrifices.

According to the Talmud (*Leviticus*, 36a) the limit applied also to the *terum* and *halliṭh* the flesh of which was eaten by the priests, and to the peace offerings of the congregation (Lev. 23:17) and the peace offering of the Nazirite (Nu. 6:17).

The offering of leavened bread, also, is doubtless an old custom (see above, § 11); the cakes of unleavened bread seem to be an accommodation to the ordinary rule, Lev. 23:17. There seems, therefore, to be no sufficient reason for regarding the *halliṭh* as a late development.

The name *ḥalalim* signifies 'praise, thanksgiving' (cp *ḥalalim* *allevare*, Lev. 7:3, *ḥalalim* 22:20. Vg. *hostia pro gratiarum actione*); its use in connection with sacrifice is old (Am. 4:5 *ḥalalim* *ḥalalim* [from the conjunction with *halliṭh*], cp J. r. 17:33 11), and the law in Lev. 22:23 was apparently contained in H. It was perhaps, as Jewish scholars explain, a sacrifice of gratitude for some signal manifestation of God's goodness, such as deliverance from a great peril. The apparent conflict in the laws may be explained by the fact that the *halliṭh* was regarded by some compilers as a distinct species of sacrifice, by others as a variety of *halliṭh*.

To the class of the *ḥalalim* belongs also the *halliṭh* to which a book of the Mishna is devoted—i. e., the sacrifices made by pilgrims at the feasts, especially in the spring. The animals thus offered furnished the flesh for the sacrificial feasts which are so often commended in H. (e. g. 120 f., 31 f., etc.); they might be purchased with the proceeds of the sale of the ('second') tithes (Dt. 14:24 ff.), or be taken from the cattle tithes (Lev. 27:32). Besides the *halliṭh ḥalalim*, which were obligatory, the Rabbin distinguish *halliṭh ḥalalim*, 'joyous sacrifices,' at the feasts, which might be either votive or freewill offerings; the cattle tithes might be used for these also.

The oblation (*minḥah*) consists of flour and oil either merely kneaded in a mass or baked or fried in cakes of

30. Oblations.² various kinds. Salt is required in all, and a portion of frankincense accompanies many of these oblations; leaven, and honey, which in other countries was commonly used in sacrificial cakes, are prohibited (Lev. 23:1). The *minḥah* is either an independent offering—voluntary or prescribed—or the obligatory concomitant of certain species of sacrifices.

The rules for the *minḥah* as an offering by itself are found in Lev. 2, which corresponds to 1 (burnt offering), and 3 (peace offering). The following varieties are recognised:

(a) The oblation of fine wheat flour (1. 2. *σμιδαλες*),³ Lev. 2:1-5, as a votive or freewill offering. The quantity is for the giver to determine; tradition fixes the minimum at one tenth of an ephah. For each tenth of an ephah one log of oil is required.⁴ The offerer put the flour and part of the oil into a vessel and mixed them by stirring, transferred the mass to a liturgical vessel, poured the rest of the oil over it, and put frankincense on top of it.⁵ The priest carries it to the altar, takes a handful of the mass and puts it in another vessel with all the frankincense, ascends the altar, puts salt upon the oblation, and places it upon the fire. The portion thus consumed is called the *achārith* (Lev. 2:2, 'reminder,' EN 'memorial'); the rest of the dough goes to the priests. It is 'very holy,' like the sin offering and the trespass offering, being rededicated to the priesthood from the 'offerings of Yahwe made by fire'; it may not be leavened (Lev. 6:16 f. [9 f.]), but is baked,

¹ The words 'the Passover' in the second passage are regarded by many as a gloss.

² See above, § 14.

³ On the preparation of the wheat, see *M. Menḥoth* 65; cp *Friedl.*, § 11.

⁴ Preparation of the oil, *M. Menḥoth* 8, ff.; see *Onl.*

⁵ This, it is observed, corresponds to the slaying and dressing of a victim by the owner.

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and eaten by the males of priestly families within the temple precinct.

(b) The oblation of cakes baked in the oven (22:2, 23; see BAKEMEATS, above). Of these the law describes two species—unleavened cakes (*halliṭh*) mixed with oil, and unleavened wafers (*halliṭh*) smeared with oil. Both were made of fine flour; the *halliṭh* were thicker cakes shortened with oil, the *halliṭh* were bread mixed with water only and after baking smeared with oil (as we should butter it). These cakes were baked in the temple; the offerer broke them into pieces, put them into a liturgical vessel with the quantity of frankincense, and brought it to the priest, who proceeded as in the former case.

(c) Baked on a griddle or fried in a pan (Lev. 23:17-20). Heb. *ḥalalim* by *ḥalalim*, *ḥalalim* *ḥalalim* respectively. The utensils are described in *Siphra*, *al Lev.*, and in *M. Menḥoth*; the *makḥalith* is a griddle; the *makḥalith* a round shallow pan with a cover, in which the dough fried in its own fat. *Cooking*, § 7.

The flour and part of the oil were put in a vessel and mixed by stirring, the mass was kneaded with lukewarm water, baked on the griddle or fried in the pan as the offerer chose (or as he had vowed to do); the cakes were then broken into pieces, the rest of the oil poured over them (Lev. 26), and frankincense placed upon them. The priest proceeded as in the previous case.

An independent oblation is prescribed by the law as the sin offering of the very poor (Lev. 5:11-13); it consisted of one tenth of an ephah of fine flour (*ḥalalim*), without oil or frankincense. The priest burned a handful of it on the altar as an *achārith*, and took the rest for himself.

A similar offering of coarse, leavened meal, without oil or frankincense, is required in the peculiar ritual of the ordeal of jealousy, Nu. 5:17-22 (see JEALOUSY, ORDEAL, etc.). The oblation at the installation of priests and the daily oblation of the high priest will be treated below under *sacra publica* (§ 39).

The general rule for the oblation accompanying private sacrifices is laid down in Nu. 15:1-16. Every victim from the flock or the herd,¹ offered as *halliṭh* or *zeḥab*, whether in fulfilment of a vow, as a freewill offering, or at the feasts, must be accompanied by an oblation proportioned to the value of the animal,² with a lamb or kid, one tenth of an ephah of fine flour mixed with one fourth of a hin of oil; with a ram, two tenths of flour, one third of a hin of oil; with a bull or cattle, three tenths of flour and one half a hin of oil for each animal. The preparation and offering of the oblation are the same as in the independent oblation of fine flour (above, a).

The following oblations are prescribed as the accompaniment of certain sacrifices of purification:

(a) In the (secondary) ritual for the purification of the lepers (Lev. 14:10 ff. 21 ff.), with the animals to be offered, are required three tenths of an ephah of fine flour mixed with oil and one log of oil (7: 101); in case of poverty the flour may be reduced to one tenth, but the quantity of oil remains the same (7: 21). (b) The Nazirite, on the completion of his vow (Nu. 6:15), must bring, with his three victims, a basket of unleavened bread of both kinds which are baked in the oven (two cakes mixed with oil and wafers smeared with oil; above, b); according to the Mishna, ten of each variety, and their [the victims'] oblation and libation (12) as understood by Jewish tradition, in addition to the cakes, the oblation of fine flour and oil that according to law should accompany every burnt offering and peace offering.³

The purification of a woman after childbirth required a lamb as a burnt offering (Lev. 12:5); an oblation is not named in the law, but the case was brought under the general rule of Nu. 15:1-5.

¹ Birds are not offered on the occasions specified, and therefore are not mentioned in the rule.

² Sin offerings and trespass offerings have no oblations. The Mishna makes an exception of the sin offering and trespass offering of the leper, Lev. 14:10 (*M. Menḥoth* 9).

³ This is perhaps only an exegetical oblation.

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Nu. 15:1-16 prescribes with the oblation, and in the same cases, a libation of wine as the obligatory accompaniment of private burnt offerings and sacrifices; with a lamb or kid one fourth of a hin; with a ram, one third, with a victim from the herd, one half. No libation is made with any oblation offered by itself without the sacrifice of an animal (see Lev. 2:1-16 [12-16] Nu. 5:15), nor with sin offerings or trespass offerings, for the same reason that these sacrifices have no oblation, nor with birds. A libation accompanies the peace offering at the release of the Nazirite's vow (Nu. 6:13-17); it is not named with the burnt offering and oblation of the cleansed leper (Lev. 14:2-20), nor with that of the proselyte (Lev. 22:27). In these cases a Jewish authority apply the rule in Nu. 15:1. No ritual directions for the libation are found in the OT; see below, § 35.

Nothing is said in the Pentateuch about an independent libation, but the Mishna recognizes a votive offering or freewill offering of wine (M. Menahoth 12, cp 13), and there is other evidence that such libations were made (cp Jubilees 73); the quantity is fixed at three logs, all of which was thrown upon the fire (Zoharim 101, cp Jubilees, l.c.). A votive offering or freewill offering of oil (without flour) is also recognized by the Rabbin, though R. Akiba does not allow it (M. Zoharim 103); the quantity should be not less than one log; if handful was thrown upon the fire, the rest went to the priests for food.

Frankincense (see INCENSE, § 1 f) is a necessary accompaniment of every private oblation (Lev. 2:1 f, 14 f [7 f]), except of the priest's sin offering of fine flour and in the ritual of jealousy; the offering of first-fruits of grain—roast ears, crushed corn—also requires it (Lev. 2:14 f.). The quantity was fixed: one handful for every animal, whether great or small. The frankincense was put on the slough of fine flour mixed with oil, or the broken pieces of the sacrificial cakes, in a liturgical vessel, and, with a handful of the dough or the cakes, was thrown upon the fire on the great altar and consumed. Frankincense might also be given by itself as a votive or freewill offering. Salt was used with all sacrifices and oblations (Lev. 2:11, cp Ezek. 43:14, Jos. Ant. in 9, Menahoth 20). See below, § 30.

31b. Frankincense; salt.

32. Sacra publica; daily holocausts.

The custom of offering a daily burnt offering and oblation probably originated in the royal temples of Judah and Israel. In the ninth century the burnt offering seems to have been in the morning and the oblation in the evening (above, § 10). Ezekiel (46:13-15) provides for both holocaust and oblation in the morning only. The rule in Nu. 28:3-8 Ex. 29:38-42 requires holocaust and oblation both morning and evening, and such was the practice of later times (Dan. 8:11-12). Similar sacrifices once or twice daily were frequent in antiquity; Nebuchadnezzar, e.g., is said to have offered six lambs daily; at Hierapolis there were regular sacrifices morning and evening, etc.

The technical name in Hebrew is קָרְבָּן (קָרְבָּן, עֹלָה), ὁλοκαυστιαία ἑπίθεσις, Vg. holocaustum sempiternum, holocaustum.

The victims were yearling lambs, perfect males; the accompanying oblation for each consisted of one tenth of an ephah of fine flour mixed with one fourth of a hin of fine oil; the libation was one fourth of a hin of wine. The morning sacrifice was offered between dawn and sunrise (M. Tamid 32); the evening sacrifice, 'between the two evenings' (Ex. 29:39; see DAY, § 2) i.e., perhaps originally between sunset and dark;

1 Heb. קָרְבָּן, ὁλοκαυστιαία. 2 They are not meant to be publica.

in the Herodian temple, however, the offering was, on ordinary days, between three and four o'clock in the afternoon (M. Talmud 51) and on the fourteenth of Nisan even earlier, in order to give time for the slaughter of the paschal lambs after the Tamid. The lambs for the daily holocaust, after having been duly examined, were kept (never less than six at a time) in a room in the temple, set apart for this purpose, in the NW. corner of the priests' court (M. Middoth 16); they had to be in readiness four days before they were offered, a second inspection preceded the slaughter. No peculiarities in the ritual of these sacrifices are indicated in the laws; in the Mishna the chief difference between them and private burnt offerings (above, § 20) is the participation of a greater number of priests. In addition to the proper oblation for the holocaust, there was offered at the same time the high priest's daily oblation of cakes (Lev. 6:10-11 [12-15]), made of one tenth of an ephah of fine flour baked on a griddle, broken in pieces, and soaked in oil. These were made fresh every morning in a special chamber in the temple; one half was offered in the morning, half in the evening.

In the Herodian temple the daily burnt offering formed part of a complex and minutely regulated service of which only a brief outline can be given here.

The regular duties of the temple service were distributed daily among the members of the course of priests on duty by a method of counting out. Four such drawings were held in succession in the early morning; the first designated the priest who should have charge of the removal of the ashes from the great altar and the rebuilding of two fires upon it—the third fire was kept burning night and day. By the second drawing thirteen priests were chosen for different specified parts in the sacrifice of the lamb and the offering of the oblations, and for the cleansing of the altar of incense and the lamps; the third, to which only those were admitted who had not previously enjoyed the honour, determined who should burn the incense in the temple; the fourth, who should put the parts of the victim upon the fire. As soon as dawn lighted up the East a lamb was taken from the pen, inspected by torchlight, given a drink of water, and led to the place of slaughter on the N. side of the altar. The two priests whose duty called on the N. side of the altar, opened the great door of the temple, gathered into a vessel the ashes from the altar of incense, and trimmed and refilled the lamps, removing the old wicks and oil. The lamb was laid on the pavement with its head toward the S., its face to the W. (i.e., toward the temple), and at the sound of the opening door the sacrificing priest slew it; a second caught the blood in a vessel, carried it to the NE. corner of the great altar, and standing on the ground threw some of the blood against the angle so that it spread on both faces, repeated the ceremony at the SW. corner, and poured out the rest of the blood at the base of the altar on the S. side, where it was carried off by a drain. The carcass was then hung up, skinned, and dissected by the sacrificing priest in a particular manner and order, and the inward parts cleansed and washed. Six priests, standing in order before him, received the several parts of the victim as they were separated; three others held respectively the oblation of the burnt offering, the high priest's oblation of cakes, and the wine for the libation. They now carried all these to the ramp of the altar, laid them down in order less than half way up the slope, salted them, and descended to the marble hall (מִזְבֵּחַ הַיָּמִין) for the morning prayers. The offering of incense on the inner altar followed, as described under INCENSE, § 7. After this the priests took their stand on the steps of the porch, those who were for the day the ministers of the temple at the S. end with the vessels in their hands. The priest to whose lot this service had fallen carried the parts of the victim one by one up to the top of the altar and threw them upon the great fire; the priests upon the steps of the temple intoned the benediction; the altar priest offered the oblation, the high priest's sacrificial cakes, and last of all the wine. At the moment of the libation, upon a signal from the master of ceremonies, the cymbals clashed, two priests gave a blast upon their trumpets, and the chorus of Levites set up the song of the day; when they paused, the trumpeters blew another blast, and all who were in the court prostrated themselves—nine times in all.

The same ceremonies were repeated in the evening by the same priests—no fresh drawings were held—except the removal of the ashes from the great altar and the renewing of the fires, which took place only in the morning.

As the daily burnt offering was made for the people, the people was represented at it each morning and evening by a deputation appointed for the purpose (the אנשׁי האֲמִי'אמִד, called also אנשׁי קול־יִשְׂרָאֵל). There

1 On theblemishes which made them unfit, see above, § 26. 2 M. Ta'anith 42, Tos. Ta'anith 42 f. A similar delegation of twelve laymen appears at the Samaritan Passover as related in our own time; see Petermann, Reisen, 1236.

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was such a delegation of the laity for each of the twenty-four weekly courses of priests. Any members of a deputation who were not present with their fellows in the temple held a special synagogue service at home. The age of this institution is not known; it long outlived the destruction of the temple.

In addition to the daily burnt offerings more numerous sacrifices were made on the sabbaths and new moons, the first of the seventh month (civil new year), the three season feasts, and the Day of Atonement. Nu. 28 f., which fixes the kind and number of the victims for these occasions, is late (see NUMBERS, § 10); but the multiplication of public as well as private sacrifices at festivals is common, and doubtless ancient among the Israelites as well as other peoples.

On the Sabbath the additional (musaph) sacrifice was a burnt offering of two yearling he lambs, with their oblation and libation according to rule (two tenths of an ephah of fine flour with one half a hin of oil, and half a hin of wine; cp Ex. 29:40 Nu. 15:4 f. etc.). The sacrifice like all the additional sacrifices was made immediately after the morning holocaust, by the same priests, and with the same rites. The priests of the outgoing course pronounced at the proper place an additional benediction on those of the incoming course (M. Tamid 51). For the new moon are prescribed (Nu. 28 11-15) two bullocks, a ram, and seven yearling he lambs as burnt offerings, with the oblation and libation demanded for each by the rule in Nu. 15:12, with the regular ritual; further, a he goat as a sin offering for the people (below, § 37). At the Passover, from the first (fifteenth of Nisan) to the seventh day (sixteenth of Nisan), were offered daily the same additional victims as on the new moon (Nu. 28 19-24); on the second day (sixteenth of Nisan), besides these, one he lamb as a burnt offering in connection with the wave sheaf (Lev. 23 10-11; see below, § 34 f.). At Pentecost, the same additional offerings as on the first of the month, the oblation from the new flour ('the two loaves,' Lev. 23 15-21; see § 34 f.) and with this bread, one bullock, two rams, and seven he lambs as burnt offerings and a he goat as a sin offering; finally, two he lambs as peace offerings of the people (see below, § 40).

The first of the seventh month, the civil new year, was celebrated by the so-called Feast of Trumpets. Its sacrifices are, first, the daily holocaust; second, the offerings for the new moon; and third, the sacrifices proper to the season—viz, one bullock, one ram, and seven yearling he lambs as burnt offerings, with their oblations, and a he goat for a sin offering (Nu. 29 1-6). If the day was also a sabbath, the additional victims for the sabbath were offered directly after the daily sacrifice. The order of victims in each is—bullocks, rams, lambs, goats; which is to be noted, because by general rule the sin offering should precede burnt offerings. The additional offerings of the Day of Atonement (ninth of the seventh month) are the same as those of the New Year's day (Nu. 29 7-11); the peculiar sacrifices of Lev. 16 are distinct (see below, § 37). At Tabernacles, the greatest feast of the year, the additional sacrifices are multiplied prodigiously (Nu. 29 12 f.). They begin on the first day (first) with thirteen bullocks, two rams, and fourteen lambs as burnt offerings, with their respective oblations and libations severally, and a he goat as a sin offering. On the succeeding days the number of bullocks diminishes by one each day, so that on the seventh day there are seven bullocks, the other victims remaining throughout the same. On the eighth day the sacrifice consists of one bullock, one ram, and seven he lambs as a burnt offering with their oblations and libations, and a he goat as a sin offering (Nu. 29 15-17). At this feast all the twenty-four courses of priests took part, in a fixed order (M. Sukkah 106). A ceremony peculiar to Tabernacles was the libation of water; see below, § 35.

Ex. 25:30 merely prescribes that bread shall always stand on the table before Yahwe; more particular directions are given in Lev. 24:5-9. **34a. Shewbread.** (see LEVITICUS, § 21.) The bread was made of fine flour, two tenths of an ephah of which was required for each loaf. Twelve such loaves were

1 See Hamburger, *RF* 2:277 f.
2 See above, § 21 (Ezekiel).
3 See, etc., for the Egyptians, Erman, *Aegypten*, 375 f.; for the Greeks, Stengel, *Kultusaltertümer* 29, 97.
4 See Now, *HL* 12 170 f.; *PASSOVER*, § 15.
5 This duplication results from taking the laws in Nu. 28 and Lev. 23 as independent of each other; see R. Akiba in *M. Ma'asrot* 45 b. It is possible that the practice was not so lavish as this excess; cp R. Tarphon, *loc.*
6 See above, § 14. Heb. עֲרֵבֶיךָ עֵצֶיךָ (1 S. 21:6) [1] Ex. 25:30 35:13 49:3), cp Babylonian *akal pini*; also עֲרֵבֶיךָ עֵצֶיךָ, from its arrangement on the table (1 Ch. 9:32 23:29 Neh. 10:34); עֲרֵבֶיךָ עֵצֶיךָ Nu. 4:7. Usually ἀπό τῆς ἠποθέσεως (so in NT), Vg. *panes propositionis*.

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baked and set upon the table in two piles of six each; frankincense in golden urns stood beside them. The bread was changed every sabbath; the loaves that were removed were eaten by the priests within the precincts ('a holy place').

Additional details are derived from Josephus and the Mishnah. The loaves were unleavened; the dough was mixed with water only—not, like other quantities, with oil. They were, as we should infer from the quantity of flour, of considerable size; according to the Mishnah, shaped like a brick, ten handbreadths long, five wide, and seven fingers thick. In the Chronicle of the same time the loaves were made by a family of Kohathite Levites (1 Ch. 9:32); in the first century of our era by a family of priests named Gamro, with whom the art was a secret.¹ They were moulded in forms, and baked in a chamber on the N. side of the temple court. The loaves were piled on two salvers, six on each. On the sabbath four priests of the outgoing course entered the temple to remove the old loaves and frankincense, followed by four of the new course, two bearing the salvers with the new bread, and two the urns of fresh frankincense. The change was so effected that there was no moment when there was not bread upon the table. The last week's oblation was carried out, the frankincense burned on the great altar (at the close of the additional sacrifices of the sabbath), and the loaves equally divided between the incoming and the outgoing course of priests; each course gave some of its loaves to the high priest. Ex. 25:29 provides vessels for wine to stand upon the table, as well as for the bread and the frankincense; according to Chab. 1:22, Antiochus Epiphanes carried off with the table its flagons and chalices.² It is not likely that empty cups were set before Yahwe; but there is no reference in the OT to the presentation of wine with the shewbread, and neither Josephus nor the Mishnah mentions it.³ See § 35.

Two interesting survivals of ancient agricultural rites are the presentation of the sheaf of barley at the Passover and of the two loaves at Pentecost (1 Ev. 23:6-14 15:20; see LEVITICUS, § 20). The old *birah* (incorporated in 11) required in the case of the Passover that at the beginning of harvest a first-fruit sheaf of barley should be brought to the priest (at the local holy place), who should wave it before Yahwe; until this has been done the new crop may not be used in any way—in bread, parched corn, or grits (see above, § 14). When this rite was made part of the public cultus of the temple in Jerusalem its character was greatly changed. The reaping of the barley (on the night preceding the sixteenth of Nisan) became a liturgical act; the sheaf itself was not waved, but the grain was threshed, winnowed, cleaned, roasted, ground, sifted, etc., in the temple precincts, mixed with oil, like the ordinary *minhah*, 'waved,' and burnt. The accompanying sacrifice was a yearling lamb as a burnt offering (Lev. 23 12 f.).

The two leavened loaves of new wheat flour at Pentecost (§ 14) were also originally a local offering, in later times they were presented in the temple for the whole people. The preparation of the fine flour, and the leavening and baking of the loaves, are minutely regulated. Two yearling lambs are presented with the loaves, waved before Yahwe, and offered as peace offerings (§ 40). The bread does not come upon the altar, but is eaten by the priests. The additional burnt offerings on this day have been enumerated above (§ 33).

A libation of wine and an oblation accompany every public burnt offering; the daily holocaust (Nu. 28:7)

35. Libations. (see LEVITICUS, § 21.) The additional burnt offerings on sabbaths, new moons, and festivals (Lev. 23 17 Nu. 28:9-14 29:13 etc.) and the lamb offered with the first sheaf (Lev. 23 11), and the bullock of burnt offering sacrificed with the sin offering of the congregation (Nu. 15:24). The manner of offering wine is referred to only in Nu. 28:7; 'in the holy place (עֲרֵבֶיךָ עֵצֶיךָ) offer a libation of strong drink (יַיִן, σικερα) to Yahwe.

1 *Ant.* iii. 10, 107. See esp. M. *Minhah* 11 f.
2 M. *Yoma* 311; M. *Sukkotim* 51; *Jer. Sh.* iii. 14 d.
3 On the special art of baking sacrificial cakes see Athenaeus, 311 ff.
4 See also *Ep. Arist.*, ed. Thackeray, 532 f.
5 Ex. 30:9 prohibits a libation on the inner altar.
6 See above, §§ 14 and 101.

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The passage is difficult; *shkar* is not elsewhere prescribed for libations; it 'old wine' (Tg.) or 'unmixed wine' is meant it is hard to see why the unusual term should be used (cp WISE); equally strange is a libation in the temple itself, yet the words admit no other natural explanation.

The oblation, of which the libation is a standing necessary, was offered on the great altar, and there, undoubtedly, the libation accompanying the burnt offerings also was made. Evidence that this was the custom is given by Sirach (50:15 [19.]); the high priest 'stretched forth his hand to the chalice and made a libation of the blood of the grape; he poured it out at the base of the altar, a fragrance well pleasing to the Most High the universal king'; so also Jos. *Ant.* iii:94. In the same way the rite is described by Maimonides.¹ *M. Men.* *hoth* 86 names some places where the best wine for a temple service was produced, and forbids wine grown or prepared under certain conditions. It must be pure natural wine, not sweetened, smoked, or boiled.

One of the most striking ceremonies of the Feast of Tabernacles was the libation of water which was made every morning during the seven days of the feast at the same time as the libation of wine accompanying the morning hoboanot.² The water was carried up from Sibam through the water-gate, and poured into a basin on the top of the altar at the SW. corner, the wine being poured into another. The bringing of the water into the precincts was accompanied by trumpet-blasts and loud jubilation.³

The oblation in the *sacra publica* was not accompanied, as was that of individuals (§ 31 *b*), by a portion of frankincense burned on the great altar.

36. Incense; salt. In place of this, a costly compound incense was burned on the small altar in the temple at the morning and the evening sacrifice (see INCENSE, § 6 *f*). Urns of frankincense stood on the table of shewbread; the contents were removed every sabbath and burned on the outer altar (above, § 34 *d*). Salt was required with all public as well as all private offerings; even the compound incense contained salt. Large quantities of salt were consumed in the temple; Josephus (*Ant.* xii:34) records that Antiochus the Great ordered 375 medimni (annually) to be delivered to the Jews for the maintenance of the worship.⁴ Rock salt ('sodom salt') is specified in the formula for the compounding of incense, and was doubtless used for other purposes (see SALT, § 2).

(a) Stated sin offerings at new moons and feasts.

With the additional burnt offerings (Nu. 28 *f*; above, § 33) it is ordered that one he goat (עֵז) shall be sacrificed as a sin offering on the new moon, on each of the seven days of Unleavened Bread, at Pentecost,⁵ on the first of the seventh month, on the tenth of the same month, on the seven days of Tabernacles, and on the closing (eighth) day of that festival. No special rules for these sin offerings are given in the Pentateuch; the ritual is doubtless the same as that described in Lev. 9:15, cp 14:1; that is, identical with that of the private sin offering (§ 28 *a*), except that there is no imposition of hands (*M. Men.* *hoth* 97), the flesh was eaten by the priests under the same restrictions as that of the private sin offering.⁶

(b) The sin offerings of the Day of Atonement. Nu.

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29:11 demands, with the additional burnt offerings, a he goat as a sin offering, 'beside the goat of atonement'—that is, the goat chosen by lot in the special rites of the day as a *hattath* (Lev. 16:5, 16:15). It was offered after the peculiar expiatory ceremonies of the day, with the ordinary ritual; its flesh was eaten.

The *pyripa* of the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:1) begun with the sacrifice by the high priest of a bull as a sin offering for himself and the priesthood in general;⁷ its blood was carried by him into the 'most holy place' and sprinkled there in a minutely prescribed manner. The sin offering of the congregation, a he goat, was next offered, and its blood in like manner sprinkled in the adytum. The blood of both was then applied to the horns of the altar and sprinkled with the finger seven times upon the altar—that is, according to the later practice if not to the original intention of the law, the altar of incense (Ex. 30:10); cp Lev. 4:7, 18; the rest of the blood was poured out at the base of the great altar. The usual parts of both victims were burned on the altar of burnt offerings; the rest of the flesh (cut up as for an *olah*), with the head, legs, inward, and hide, were carried out to the place where the ashes from the altar were emptied, and there consumed by fire. The general rule is that the flesh of sin offerings whose blood is brought into the temple must not be eaten (Lev. 6:30 [24], cp 4:7, etc., 16:27). The attendant who thus comes in contact with the holy flesh is unclean, and must bathe before again coming into the city (Lev. 16:28, cp Nu. 19:5, 10).

(c) Occasional sin offerings. The sin offering of the anointed priest (Lev. 4:1-12) must be regarded as public, because the premiss is that his inadvertent transgression has brought evil consequences upon the people (12 *f*). The victim is a bull; the blood is taken into the holy place, sprinkled seven times before the veil, and applied to the horns of the altar of incense; the subsequent procedure is the same as in the case of the high priest's bull on the Day of Atonement. The sin offering of the whole congregation (Lev. 4:13-21) for an unknown transgression, the consequences of which they suffer, is a bull; the imposition of hands is by the elders; the minister is the high priest; the ritual is the same as in his own sin offering above. An older parallel to Lev. 4:13-21 is Nu. 15:22-26.⁸ The sacrifices here required are a bull as a burnt offering, with the regular oblation and libation, and a he goat as a sin offering. It is assumed that the ordinary ritual is followed; the flesh is eaten by the priests.

(d) Sin offerings in ceremony of consecration.⁴ In the consecration of priests, Ex. 29:1 *f*. (cp Lev. 8:1 *f*), a bull is offered as a sin offering, with the usual ritual; the flesh, hide, and offal are destroyed by fire. Similarly in the inaugural sacrifices of Aaron, Lev. 9, he sacrifices for himself a bull-calf as a sin offering with the same rites. The disposition of the flesh is not mentioned; from v. 15 it may be inferred that it was burned; but a late passage (J19:2-20) maintains that it should have been eaten, since it did not fall under the rule of 6:30. At the dedication of the Levites (Nu. 8:8) a bull is sacrificed as a sin offering without specification of the ritual.

In addition to the several sin offerings of the Day of Atonement, a goat, on whose head the sins of the people had been solemnly atoned by the high priest, was sent away into the wilderness 'to Azazel' (see ATONEMENT, DAY OF; AZAZEL). This was the great expiation for the sins of the year (see below, § 51). Another

38. Scape-goat; red heifer. priest, was sent away into the wilderness 'to Azazel' (see ATONEMENT, DAY OF; AZAZEL). This was the great expiation for the sins of the year (see below, § 51). Another

¹ See ATONEMENT, DAY OF.
² Inasmuch as the purification of the priest is an indispensable preliminary to the grand *hattath* of the day, this sin offering is here classed with the *at* *sa* *publi* *a*.
³ Rabbinical excesses harmonised them by interpreting Nu. 15:22 of the sin of bilatry as the violation of all the commandments. *Seder* *h-*, *H'rat* *179* *55*.
⁴ The consecration sin offerings are not without significance for the theory of such *piacula*.

¹ *M. Men.* *hoth* *korbanoth*, 21. R. Abraham b. David, on the contrary, holds that the wine—as at the water libation at Tabernacles—was poured into a basin on the top of the altar, whence it was carried off by a drain. This difference need not much concern us.

² *M. Sukkoth* 30, 51; *Sukkoth* 51 *a*, cp 45b, 46, 48 *a*; *ho*, *ukh* *1* *57*; *Ta* *with* *sa*; *ho* *ha* *Shin* *19*, etc.

³ For an explanation of the title see SALT WORKING, § 4.

⁴ Cp Ezra 6:9, 10; Jos. *Ant.* xiii:23.

⁵ The sin offering of Lev. 23:13 is thought by most critics to be an interpolation from Nu. 28:2 *f*; the Jews, however, declare that it was distinct from that. See *M. Men.* *hoth* 42; Jos. *Ant.* iii:10.

⁶ See Jos. *Ant.* iii:10, 5. This is the rule for all sin offerings whose flesh is not brought into the holy place.

peculiar rite which, though widely differing from ordinary sacrifice, must be mentioned here, is the burning of the red heifer, with whose ashes is prepared a holy water that purges the uncleanness arising from contact with a dead body (Nu. 19). The rites, as described in the Mishna (*Parah*), are plainly assimilated to those of a burnt offering (see CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 17; NUMBERS, § 20). Another noteworthy *placulum* is the slaying of a heifer to atone for a murder the perpetrator of which cannot be detected (Dt. 21:1-9).

In the directions for the consecration of Aaron and his sons (Ex. 29, cp Lev. 8), after the sacrifice of a bull as a sin offering (above, § 37) and a ram as a burnt offering, another ram, called the 'installation ram' (עֵזְרָא לֵוִי, v. 22) is offered. Its blood is rubbed on the tip of the candidate's right ear, on his right thumb, and his right great toe;¹ the blood is then dashed against the altar as in other sacrifices. To the parts usually burned upon the altar in the sacrifice of a sheep as a peace offering, is added in this case the right leg, which in a layman's sacrifice would fall to the priest. From a basket containing loaves of bread, cakes made with oil, and wafers smeared with oil—all of fine flour (cp Lev. 7:11 ff., § 30)—one of each kind is taken and placed, with the altar portions and the leg, on Aaron's hands, and 'waved' by Moses before Yahwe. They are then burned upon the altar. The breast of the ram, which Moses waves before Yahwe, is his portion; the rest of the flesh of the ram is boiled in a holy place and, with the remainder of the contents of the basket, eaten by the newly consecrated priests. Any that is left till morning must be burned; it may not be eaten after that time. It is implied in Ex. 29:29 ff. (secondary) that the same ceremony is to be performed whenever a high priest is to be inducted; cp Lev. 8:33 ff.

In Ex. 29:16 ff., the blood of the bull offered as the sin offering of the priests also purifies the altar ('removes its sin,' 'expiates for it'; see below, § 45); cp Ezek. 43:18 ff. Thus the altar becomes 'very holy'; whatsoever touches it is thereby made sacred (*i.e.*, belongs to God). In a still later supplement, Ex. 30:26 ff., the holy anointing oil is applied to the tent and all its furniture, as well as to the priests.

Peace offerings were ordinarily private sacrifices; the feast of the worshippers was their characteristic feature. It is, indeed, not improbable that at the high festivals the kings furnished animals in great numbers (as their free-will offerings) for the assembled people, and Ezekiel plainly contemplates the continuance of this custom (45:17); but in P there is no recognition of offerings of this kind. In the completed sacrificial system there are, however, certain public or quasi-public sacrifices which fall under this head. The installation ram of the priests (Ex. 29) is plainly a peace offering with certain peculiar rites. The inaugural sacrifices of Aaron in Lev. 9 include an animal from the herd (59) and a ram as peace offerings for the people; whether the author means it to be understood that their flesh was eaten by representatives of the people or by the priests is not clear. The annual sacrifice of the two lambs offered with the two loaves of new wheat bread at Pentecost (Lev. 23:17) are public peace offerings;² the flesh fell to the priests and was very holy. With this exception the rule holds that all public sacrifices are either burnt offerings or sin offerings.

¹ The aspersions of blood and anointing oil on the vestments of the priest is a later addition.
² This results from transferring a local rite in which the lambs were real *solamin* to the central sanctuary; see §§ 14 and 346.

III. BELIEFS AND IDEAS

The prevailing conception of sacrifice and offering in the OT is that of a gift or present to God. The two generic terms *minhah* and *korban* both express this idea.¹ *Minhah* applies equally to Cain's gift of the fruits of the earth and to Abel's of animals from his flock (Gen. 4:3-5, J). The same word is used of a gift to a fellow-man as a token of friendship (Is. 39:1), an act of homage (1 S. 10:27; 1 K. 10:25), tribute to a sovereign (Judg. 3:15; 17 f., 2 S. 8:2-6), to propitiate a powerful person who has been wronged or offended (Gen. 32:1-5; 33:10 f.), or to procure favour and assistance (Gen. 43:10 ff.; Hos. 10:6), etc. In the later technical language of the ritual *korban*, 'present,' is the comprehensive name for sacrifice and offering of every kind. The general rule that no man should come into the presence of God without a gift holds in all ages; see Ex. 23:15; 34:20-24; 16:16, Eccles. 35:4, *M. Hagigah* I. Gifts to God were made with the same variety of motive as to man. Theophrastus names three: homage, gratitude, and need (ἢ γὰρ διὰ τιμὴν ἢ διὰ χάριν ἢ διὰ χρεία, *De ἀγαθῶν*, ap. Porphyry, *De abstin.* 224). Philo distinguishes sacrifices in which men pay to God the honour due to him with no self-regarding motive from those brought for the benefit of the offerer, either that he may obtain good things or be delivered from evils.²

The commonest gift to God is something to eat and drink, the flesh of the domestic animals used for food by the Israelites, grain, fruit, oil and wine.³ The phrase 'food of God' (מַאֲכָלֵי אֱלֹהִים), which occurs repeatedly even in comparatively late contexts (see Lev. 21:6-8; 22:25 [1], Ezek. 44:7 cp 16:10; also Lev. 31:16 Nu. 28:24), shows to what end such offerings were made; cp Dt. 32:38: the gods whom the Israelites worshipped 'eat the fat of their sacrifices and drink the wine of their libations'; see also the protest of Ps. 50:9. Doubtless those who first used the phrase 'food of God' meant it quite literally (see the end of the third tablet of the Babylonian Cosmogonic Epic), though observation and reflection may have early led men to draw the distinction which modern peoples in low planes of culture often make between the visible things offered and their subtle essence or 'soul' which the deity extracts for his enjoyment—a conception as literal, though not so crass, as the other. The mode of presentation varies. The shewbread (originally accompanied, doubtless, by wine; see above, § 34) was kept standing continually on a table in the house of Yahwe (1 S. 21:6 Ex. 25:30 Lev. 24:5-9); in annual sacrifices certain parts—in the holocaust all the flesh—of the victim were consumed by fire upon the altar, as were also sacrificial cakes of various kinds and unloaked dough; other offerings, as the firstfruits, were set down before the altar with a dedicatory formula (Dt. 26:14), or 'waved'; that is, with one of those fictions so common in ritual, in make-believe thrown upon the fire.

The custom of burning the offerings to God upon a sacrificial fire seems to have been adopted by the Israelites after their settlement in Canaan, from the older inhabitants (see above, § 12), probably without much inquiry or reflection about the significance of the new mode or the reason for it. The verb which is commonly used, however (*kipper*, see above, § 11), implies that the object was not so much to consume by fire as to make a savoury smoke (see INCENSE, § 1 and n. 11). In this fragrant smoke, as it arises, the finer essence of the gift, etherealised, is conveyed to the deity.⁴ This is

¹ See above, §§ 11, 24. Cp also in NT, Mt. 5:23; 8:4; 23:2 (δῶρον).

² *De vict. offer.* § 4, 2240 Mangey. On the relation of Philo's analysis to Theophrastus, see Bernays, *op. cit.* 107.

³ Potations and votive offerings to temples which do not fall under the definition of sacrifice are not considered in this article. See VOTIVE OFFERINGS.

⁴ Cp *ibid.* 1317, etc. Porphyry explains the burning as an ἀναβαρυσίαν (*De abstin.* 25).

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manifestly an advance upon the setting before God of food and drink just as the worshippers use them.

The offering by fire (*zōbah*, זָבַח) produces a 'soothing—that is, an agreeable—odour' (*reah* אֲרֵיבָה, Gen. 8:21, J; often in the ritual laws). Yāhwē 'smells' this odour, and is appeased or gratified by it (Gen. 8:21 f., 8:20-21); when he is angry he will not enjoy the smell of it, that is, he rejects the sacrifice (Lev. 26:31, Am. 5:21). The burning of aromatic gums and spices is a later refinement (see INCENSE, § 3); the ideas which prompt it are the same.¹

All common private sacrifices (*zōbah*, זָבַח, *šōlamim*, שְׁלָמִים), whether obligatory or voluntary, were accompanied by a feast, in which the offerer participated with his family, neighbours, and guests.²

42. Sacrificial feasts.

Since these feasts were held 'before Yāhwē,' at the holy place, after God had received his portion, it is a natural surmise that a meal in which God and men join is an essential feature of ordinary sacrifice, and that the hospitality of table communion is a pledge and bond of friendship between God and his worshippers as it is among men, a bond closer than that which is established by the acceptance of a gift. It must be admitted, however, that this conception of the nature and efficacy of sacrifice is nowhere distinctly expressed in the OT, and it is difficult to say how clearly it was present in the consciousness of Israelite worshippers.³ Much less do our sources throw any light upon the origin of such a conception. The scholars who contend that the sacrificial meal was primitively not a mere hospitable fellowship but sacramental communion in the divine life of a totem animal, do not maintain that the Israelites in OT times regarded their sacrifices in any such way; the most that would be claimed is that certain survivals in the cultus and superstitions without it point to this as the original character and significance of the sacrificial feast.

It is clear, however, that whether the feast at the sanctuary was conceived of as a table-companionship of God and men or not, it must actually have strengthened the bond of religion by the sense of God's presence and friendliness.

Our investigation in the first part of this article of the history of Israelite sacrifices and of the ritual has shown

43. Blood of victim.

that from first to last the utmost importance attaches to the disposition of the victim's blood. Indeed, it may be said that this is the one universal and indispensable constituent of sacrifice. When Saul's victorious followers rushed upon the spoil of the Philistines and began to slay cattle and eat them, the king had a great stone rolled up, and commanded that they should slaughter there, and not sin against Yāhwē by eating 'with the blood,' that is the flesh of animals whose blood had not been poured out at a sacrificial stone or altar (1 S. 14:2-34); cp Lev. 17:3 ff. (see LEVITICS, § 15). We have seen that in Arab sacrifice also the pouring of the blood upon the sacred stone or anointing of it with blood was the essential rite. This use of sacrificial blood is older than the offering of part of the victim by fire and is the necessary antecedent of the feast, its religious consecration. The offering or application of the blood cannot very well be regarded as a gift to God, or as a mere incident in the preparation for a communion meal. It is, indeed, plain in the OT itself that the ideas and beliefs that are connected with the use of sacrificial blood belong to a different and a more primitive circle of ideas.

In the application of blood to the doorposts and thresholds of a house to prevent 'the DESTROYER' (7:21) from entering to slay the inmates (see above, § 7) we have an instance of the belief that the blood of a victim serves as a protection against disease and death; that is, in

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primitive apprehension, against the spirits which cause these evils. To the same end the modern Arab rubs the blood of a sacrifice upon his tent-ropes, or smears it upon his camels (Doughty, *Tr. Des.* 1499). It is said that in an outbreak of cholera at Hamath in 1875 Christians procured blood from the slaughter-house and made with it a cross on the door of every room in their houses (Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*, 197 f., cp 181, 189 f.). With the same motive sacrificial blood is applied to sick persons or animals—the same power which averts evil can expel it. The use of blood in 'purifications' is similar. The leper whom the priest's inspection proves to be free from the disease is sprinkled with water mingled with the blood of a bird,¹ while another bird after being dipped in the bloody water is allowed to fly away.² In the later rite blood is applied to the man's ear, hand, and foot. It is not improbable that in other purifications the blood was primitively applied to the person to be cleansed, rather than to the altar only, as in the actual ritual of the 'sin offering.' The efficacy of blood in removing uncleanness is exemplified also in ceremonies of dedication for the temple or altar, and for their periodical purification from accidental and unknown defilement, as well as in the consecration of priests;³ the removal of 'uncleanness' and the establishment or restoration of 'holiness' are effected by the same means.

Different from these uses of blood as a means of averting or removing disease and defilement is the disposition made of it in ordinary sacrifice, where it is poured, splashed, or smeared upon the sacrificial stone (*zōbah*, altar).⁴ The significance of this rite seems to be that by it the sacrifice is not only brought immediately to the attention of the deity to whom it is offered, but—at least in earlier conception—physically conveyed to him; in Arab sacrifice nothing else is made his. Covenant ceremonies like that in Ex. 24:8, in which the blood is applied both to the altar and to the people—that is, to the two contracting parties, as in blood covenants between men—also to be noted. The profane use of blood is stringently prohibited; to taste blood, or flesh with blood in it, is one of the worst and most dangerous things a man can do. Domestic animals were in old times slaughtered at the sacrificial stone and the blood poured out there; after the abolition of the high places it must be allowed to drain into the ground, as that of beasts killed in hunting had previously been. The blood of some species of sacrifice made taboo everything it touched.

The common root of these diverse uses and restrictions is the almost universal belief that blood is a fluid in which inheres mysterious potency, no less dangerous when misused than efficacious when properly employed. In the outpouring of the blood at the sacrificial stone we may perhaps recognise the feeling that this is the safest disposition of it, as well as the belief of a somewhat more developed theology that it belongs to the deity of right. What makes the blood so powerful for good or ill is that the life is in it; the theory of Lev. 17:11 is based on a fact of the simplest observation.

Many of the practices that have been noted above manifestly originated in an animistic nature religion, in which alone they have meaning. In the national religion of Israel they become part of the worship of Yāhwē or of the custom of the people under his sanction. This connection logically involves a change of apprehension: the rites are not efficacious by the inherent potency of the blood or the virtue of the

¹ Cp the 'water of uncleanness' containing the ashes of the red heifer in purification from contact with death.

² Cp the Arab custom of release from widowhood, *Tāj*, v. 70 ff.; Weill, *Heid.*, 171. WRS *Rel. Scms.*, 3, 422.

³ That this ceremony was felt to be a purification is shown by the imitation of it in the later rite for the cleansing of the leper, Lev. 14:14 ff.

⁴ Curtiss, *op. cit.*, ch. 18, has collected many modern instances in which the blood of a victim is smeared on the portal of a shrine, which takes the place of the old sacred stone.

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operation, but as the means which God has appointed.¹ The more positive the conception of religion becomes, the less motive there is to seek any other explanation of such practices than that God has commanded them. If, finally, the irrationality of such ceremonies comes to be felt, and their incongruity with spiritual religion, allegory and symbolism will find some profound significance in them. Yet the ignorant multitude will doubtless continue to have faith in the virtue of the ceremony itself, and to understand better than their teachers its true import, because the old animism is still a reality to them.

A corresponding change is wrought in the conception of 'uncleanness.' Whereas originally it was a physical thing whose evil was in itself, it becomes in the national religion a pollution offensive to Yahwé; it is incompatible with his holiness and the holiness which he demands of all that approach him; its consequences are not only natural but penal; it requires to be not merely purged but expiated. Uncleanness is in this light a moral wrong, and involves guilt. On the other hand, a not inconsiderable class of what we regard as moral offences were included in the category of taboos requiring purifications. We have difficulty in realising that guilt was believed to have the same physically contagious quality as uncleanness—one man who had touched *hērem* (עֲרֵמָה) could infect and bring defeat upon a whole army (Josh. 7). Almost equally strange to us is the notion that guilt, like uncleanness, can be contracted without knowledge and intention; and that the first intimation a man may have that he has offended God is that he suffers the consequences (*āvam*), with its converse, that misfortune is the evidence that he has offended without knowing how. These are things, however, which must be kept in mind if we are to understand the peculiar aspects of Israelite sacrifices.

A man who has offended God may seek to propitiate him by a gift, as he might an earthly ruler; so David in the time of plague offers burnt offerings in the threshing floor of Araunah (2 S. 24:18-25). More frequently, perhaps, he made a vow that if God's anger under which he was suffering were withdrawn, he would make him a specified sacrifice, either holocaust or peace offering,² or both together, with *shāl* and such victims. This was probably in all periods the most numerous class of votive offerings. The same means by which man in prosperity sought the continuance and increase of God's favour were employed to recover it when in any way it had been lost.

The special *piscula* called sin offerings have a very limited range of employment (see above, § 28a). They are prescribed chiefly for unintentional ceremonial faults or as purifications; the trespass offering is even more narrowly restricted (above, § 27). The great expiation for the whole people, in later times at least, was the scape-goat; not any form of sacrifice.

Sacrifices offered to propitiate the offended deity require no peculiar rites; the outpouring of the blood, the burning of the fat or of the holocaust, are precisely the same as when these species of sacrifice are made, say, in gratitude for the signal goodness of God. The blood of the sin offering is smeared upon the horns of the altar instead of being splashed against its corners; but whatever the origin of this difference may be,³ we may, in view of the whole character of the *hattāth*, confidently affirm that it is not a purposed heightening of the application.

In the discussion of Hebrew ideas concerning the

¹ The constant tendency is to assimilate ceremonies of propitiation or purification to the ritual of sacrifice to God.

² Neither sin offering nor trespass offering could be vowed.

³ If a conjecture may be allowed, we may surmise that the presence of the polluted man requires a purification of the altar; or that the blood which in the primitive rite was applied to the person of the man to be cleansed has in the end been transferred to the altar.

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effect and operation of sacrifice the meaning of the verb *kipper* with its cognate words and synonyms has filled a large place; and, by a fault of method which has been fruitful of error in the study of the OT, the investigation has frequently set out from etymological assumptions instead of from the plain facts of usage.

Kipper, a word of jurat associations, is the means—payment, gift, bribe—by which a man buys himself off from the consequences of his deed; see Ex. 21:30 (= a ransom for his life), Nu. 35:31-33, Prov. 6:35, 13:8, Job 33:24, Am. 5:12, 1 S. 12:3 (bribe); cp 1 S. 47:11; Ex. 30:12 (head money). The verb *kipper* (denominative use of the intensive stem) means to make satisfaction by such means; see especially 2 S. 21:3, Gen. 32:20 (21). Since the object is to avert the consequences of misdoing, the verb often signifies to seek or procure remission, without regard to a material satisfaction, to propitiate; thus Ex. 32:30 (Moses' intercession with God for forgiveness of the people's sin), cp 2 S. 30:18. The passives regularly mean 'be forgiven,' e.g., 1 S. 22:14, 1 S. 24:14, Dt. 21:8; and conversely the active, frequently, 'forgive,' e.g., Ezek. 16:63, Jer. 18:23. With these senses and uses in common life and religion the uses which we should call specifically ritual connect themselves. Offences against God are not confined to moral wrongdoing; the infringement—even unwitting—of ceremonial rules or of the many laws concerning 'uncleanness' may have dire consequences unless expiated. The defilement may be contracted by things as well as by persons, and these also require to be purged in a similar way; in the consecration of a new altar it is necessary to 'remove its sin,' to 'expiate' (*kipper*) the altar (Ezek. 43:20, 20); the semi-annual purification of the temple is a removal of the sin of the sanctuary, an expiation of the house (Ezek. 45:20); cp Ex. 29:39, Lev. 8:15, 16:16, 24. The sacrifices or rites, of whatever nature, by which the consequences of unwitting or inadvertent invasion of the sphere of 'holiness' are nullified are expiatory, and the verb *kipper* is the technical term for their effect. Other verbs are frequently joined with it, especially *hiffā*, קָפַף (privative), 'remove sin' (of things), *shār*, שָׁרָה, 'make pure or clean' (of things and persons), *hiddāš*, חִדְּשׁ, 'make holy,' which is the positive counterpart of the preceding terms.

The word *kipper* is not so common in old *Arithas* might be expected. It occurs with especial frequency in the old laws for the trespass offering in Lev. 5 and the supplements to them, the usual formula, standing after the directions for the sacrifice, being, 'and the priest shall make propitiation (*qpr*) in his behalf (*sp*), and he shall be forgiven' (see Lev. 5:6, 10:13, 16:18, 17:10, 17:19, 22: Nu. 5:8); also in the purification of the leper (Lev. 14:18-20, cp 29:31, 53), the Nazirite defiled by death (Nu. 6:11), purification after childbirth, gonorrhoea, menorrhagia (Lev. 12:7, 15:15, 30); further, in the sin offering of the congregation or an individual for an inadvertent omission (Nu. 15:22-29, cp Lev. 4:20, 26:31, 35), and in the several strata of the ritual of the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16). In most of these passages, where the priest is subject, *kipper* (ἐξλάσσωσαι), 'make propitiation,' might equally well be translated, 'make intercession,' as in *Vg.* (*orare, rogare, deprecari*, etc.), by Saadia (*istaghfara*, 'beseech forgiveness'), and others.

The propitiatory or expiatory effect of sacrifice is not restricted to any particular species or class, though specific offences have prescribed *piscula*, not only trespass offerings and sin offerings, but also the private burnt offering (Lev. 14), and even peace offerings and oblations 'atone'; the whole public cultus is a means of propitiating God and obtaining remission for sin and uncleanness (Ezek. 45:17). Nor is the operation of propitiatory sacrifice centred exclusively, as has often been contended, in one part of the ritual, the shedding and application of the victim's blood; it is only in certain peculiar purifications that this is really the case; elsewhere the very formulation of the laws shows that the whole ceremony has atoning value (see, e.g., Lev. 4:26, 31, 35, 5:10, 13, etc.). The sin offering of the pauper, which is only a little meal, is as effectual as the bloody sacrifices of his more prosperous fellows.

The term *kipper* is used in relation to other than sacrificial expiations; thus when a plague broke out Aaron went among the people with a censor of burning incense, and made expiation for the people (עָפַר עֲוֹנוֹתֵיכֶם), and the plague was stayed (Nu. 16:46, [17:11]). The slaughter of a guilty man by Phinehas made expiation for the Israelites (Nu. 25:13); murder profanes the land, no blood-wine (*kishron*) shall be taken for it, 'the blood which has been shed shall not be expiated save by the blood of him that shed it' (Nu. 35:32, f.); an offering of

¹ Cp *expiationum forum Romanum*, Cic. Phil. 1:12.

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Jewelry from the spoils of war serves 'to make expiation for our lives' (Nu. 31 50); cp also Nu. 8 19 Lev. 10 16 ff. 14 13 ff. 16 10.

Whether the primary meaning of the root קָטַף in Hebrew was 'cover up,' as in Arabic, or 'wipe, wipe off,' as in Syriac, we need not here inquire, inasmuch as it is not used in the OT in a physical sense at all, or with any reminiscent consciousness of such a sense. It is of more moment that the same verb is used in Assyrian of ritual purifications or expiations for persons and things, performed by the *asipu*-priest.¹ Cp RITUAL, § 8.

On *kappireth*, see MERCY SEAT.

One passage only seems to contain a more explicit theory of expiation by blood. Lev. 17 11 (Rp) gives as

46. Theory of blood atonement.

a motive for the oft-repeated prohibition of eating blood: For the life of the body is in the blood, and I have given it to you to use upon the altar to make expiation for yourselves; for the blood makes expiation by virtue of the life [in it];² cp 7, 14. That the life or soul of the animal is in the blood, or, shortly said, the blood is the soul (cp Gen. 9 4 Dt. 12 23 Lev. 17 14), gives it the mysterious potency which is the ground both of the prohibition and of the peculiar efficacy of blood (see above, § 43). The author of Lev. 17 11 merely says explicitly what is implied in the use of blood in rites of purification; and expiation; it is not as a fluid like water or oil or wine that it is efficacious, but by virtue of its inherent life.³ This beginning of reflection on the operation of sacrifice is interesting because it is reflection; it also truly expresses the conception which underlies the rites. We should err, however, if we sought in it the profounder idea of the substitution of the victim's life for the sinner's which is suggested by the Greek translation, $\tau\omicron\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \alpha\lambda\upsilon\alpha\ \alpha\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta\ \delta\epsilon\rho\iota\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \psi\upsilon\chi\eta\varsigma\ \xi\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota$, or perhaps even that the offering of a life to God is the essential thing in sacrifice.⁴

There is no doubt that the Israelites in all ages firmly believed in the efficaciousness of sacrifice to preserve and restore the favour of Yahwé.

47. Efficacy of sacrifice: popular belief.

In times of prosperity they acknowledged his goodness and besought its continuance by sacrifice; in times of distress they multiplied sacrifices to appease him and make him again propitious. The worship of God by sacrifice and offering was, indeed, the central thing in their religion, we might almost say *was* their religion. Its rites, as they had been received from their forefathers, they believed—long before the age of the written law books—to have been ordained and sanctified by Yahwé himself; the experience of generations had shown that he honoured the faithful observance of them; how should they not have confidence in them? That this confidence was often the sincere and earnest faith of godfearing men is beyond question; but had men also confided in sacrifice as an effective means of placating God, and persuading him to wink at their unrighteous deeds, just as a gift might serve to turn aside the anger of a king, or to corrupt a judge. *This* confidence in the efficacy of sacrifice involved an immoral idea of God and of religion; it was, indeed, the very stronghold of these false conceptions. Against it, therefore, the prophets direct their attack.

The prophets of the eighth century not only denounce the abuses and corruptions of the worship at the temples and high places—the drunken revelry, the consecrated prostitution, the greed of the priests and their perversion of the *tôrâh*; they deny the efficacy of sacrifice altogether. What

¹ See Zimmer, *Reitr.* 2202; Hampl, *JBL*, 19 61 80 (1900).

² So קָטַף is probably to be taken, not 'instead of' (Eg. etc.).

³ See above, § 43. It may be recalled that in the temple pains were taken, by stirring it, to keep the blood from coagulating before it was brought to the altar.

⁴ No such theory appears in later Jewish thought.

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God requires of men is not gifts and offerings but faithfulness and obedience, not cult but conduct. This was the necessary consequence of their idea of God and of religion. Yahwé is a righteous God; that is to say, his character is perfectly moral; being such, by his very nature he demands righteousness of his people, and can accept nothing in lieu of it. The sphere of righteousness is not ritual and ceremonial but social and political; it means truth, integrity, justice, goodness to fellow-men, in all the relations of life. The demand of righteousness is not something aside from religion, is not a minor part of religion: it is its fundamental law, its sum and substance. The sacrifices of unrighteous men are an insult to God, because they imply that he is like themselves. They deceive themselves fatally when they think that they can buy his favour or his forgiveness. And where there is the character in which he delights, there is the pure religion and undefiled which has no need of sacrifice. The utterances of the prophets are too familiar to need more than the briefest reference here; see Am. 4 5 21 ff. Hos. 4 8 13 5 6 8 11 ff. 14 3 ff. Is. 1 11 ff. 22 12 ff. 28 7 ff. Jer. 6 20 7 21 ff., etc.

The substance of the prophetic conception of religion is summed up for all time in Mic. 6 8: Wherewith shall I approach Yahwé; bow to the exalted God? Shall I approach him with burnt offerings and yearling calves? Will Yahwé accept thousands of rams, myriad streams of oil? Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the child of my body for my own sin? He has told thee, O man; what is good, and what doth Yahwé seek of thee: to practise justice and to love charity and to walk in humility with thy God?

It is not probable that the prophets distinctly entertained the idea of a religion without a cultus—a purely spiritual worship; sacrifice may well have seemed to them the natural expression of homage and gratitude. But they denied with all possible emphasis that it had any value to God or any efficacy with him; he had not appointed it; his law was concerned with quite different things (Jer. 7 22 ff.).

The deuteronomic reform attempted to cut off the abuses of the worship at the high places against which the prophets had inveighed by suppressing the high places themselves; and made by consequence considerable changes in the old customs, the most serious of which was that which permitted domestic animals to be slaughtered for food without any sacrificial rites; but, so far from detracting from the religious importance of sacrifice, Dt. greatly enhanced it by incorporating its ordinances in a law book of professedly Mosaic origin, divine sanction, and national authority. Ezekiel lays out a detailed plan for the sacrificial cultus of the restoration; Haggai and Zechariah zealously urge the rebuilding of the temple, in the conviction that the prosperity of the community depends upon it. The collections of *tôrâh* made or edited in the sixth and following centuries are largely occupied with ritual prescriptions.

It is manifest that in the Persian and Greek periods sacrifice held both in the actual worship and in the estimation of the people the same place in religion that it had had under the kings; see, e.g., Mal. 1 7 ff. 3 3 ff. Joel 1 9 13 2 14 Dan. 8 11 ff. cp 11 31 12 11 Ecclus. 50 11 ff. 1 Mace. 4 42 ff., etc.

In the Psalms the religious spirit of sacrifice finds frequent and pious expression; e.g., 26 6 ff. 27 6 66 13 15 107 22. The teaching of the prophets was, however, not forgotten; God has no delight in sacrifice and offering; what he requires is to do his will with delight and have his law in the heart, etc. (Ps. 40 6 ff.); the fault God finds with Israel is not about their sacrifices and continual burnt offerings; how absurd to imagine that he to whom belongs the world and all that is therein needs their beasts, or that he eats the flesh of bulls and drinks the blood of goats! (Ps. 50 7 ff.); he desires not sacrifice, nor is he pleased with burnt offering; the sacrifices of God are a broken spirit, a broken and

contrite heart God does not spurn—repentance, not expiation (Ps. 51.16 f., cp 7 f.). The Proverbs teach that to practise righteousness and justice is preferred by God to sacrifice (13; cp 15.15-22); the sacrifice of wicked men are the abomination of Yahwë, but the prayer of the upright is well-pleasing to him (Prov. 15.3, cp 21.27; see also 16.6).

The teachings of the wise concerning sacrifice in the second century B.C. are well illustrated by Jesus son of Sirach. He describes with enthusiasm the splendour of the temple service when the high priest Simon offers sacrifice (50.11 ff.), and evidently has much interest in priesthood and cultus (cp 7.31-45.14 f.). But his religious estimate of sacrifice is thoroughly ethical.

The long passage, 34.18-35 [31.21-32], is of high importance throughout. The sacrifices of the wicked are a mockery of God; he will not accept them, nor forgive men's sins for the multitude of their sacrifices (34.19); it is vain to try to bribe God by offerings (cp *Jubilees* 5.16), for he will not accept them, or to rely on an unrighteous sacrifice, for the Lord is an impartial judge (35.12 ff.); offerings made of goods wrung by extortion from the poor are like murder (34.20-22, cp 1). A man who fasts for his sins and then repeats them is as one who, after performing his ablution to cleanse him from contact with a dead body, goes and touches it again; who will hear his prayer, or what profit is there in his humiliation? (34.25 f.). Obedience to God and love to men take the place of sacrifice; he who observes the law makes many offerings; he who gives heed to the commandments sacrifices a peace offering. He who shows kindness offers fine flour; and he that practises charity sacrifices a thank-offering. The acceptance of God is secured by avoiding wickedness, and forgiveness by abstaining from unrighteousness (35.1 ff.). Literal sacrifices are to be brought when men visit the temple, because they have a moral or religious value in themselves. But the character and disposition of the worshipper is still the essential thing (3.3 ff.). The same lessons are emphasised elsewhere in the book; see, e.g., 7.8 ff.

For a representative of Hellenistic Judaism we turn to Philo. It must suffice to quote a single passage.

There are those who think that slaughtering bulls is righteousness, and who set apart for sacrifice—inepiable sinners that they are!—a portion of what they have got by theft or breach of trust or robbery, in order to escape punishment for their misdeeds. To such I would say: The tribunal of God is incorruptible; those who have a guilty conscience he turns away from, even if they offer a hundred bulls every day; but the blameless, even if they bring no sacrifice at all, he receives. For God delights in fireless altars surrounded by the chorus of virtues, not in altars blazing with a great fire that the impious sacrifices of unhalloved men (*ἀρετῶν ἀβύροις θυσιῶν*) have set aflame, which do but remind him of the ignorance and deep guilt of each who so offers (*De plantac.*, Noe. II. § 25, 1.345 Mingey). See also *Vit. Mor.* III. § 10, 2.151; and on the character of the worshipper, especially *De vit.* § 5, 2.231; *De sacrificiis* II, § 1 ff.; *De merc. metetr.* § 1, 2.264 f., Frag. 34, etc.

The superiority of uprightness and goodness to sacrifice is not infrequently emphasised by Palestinian rabbis; Hos. 6.6 ('I desire mercy and not sacrifice,' cp Mt. 9.13, 12.7) 10.12 Mic. 6.8 Prov. 21.3 are quoted in proof. That God has regard, not to the magnitude and costliness of the offering but to the spirit of the worshipper, is authoritatively declared.

Without dwelling longer on this aspect of their teaching, we pass directly to the inquiry, What was taught in Palestinian schools of the first and second Christian centuries, or defined by their authority concerning— *a*, the efficacy of sacrifice or of particular sacrifices; *b*, the religious and moral conditions of their efficacy (§ 52); and *c*, the mode of their operation (§ 53)?

(a) The effect of sacrifice is expressed as in the Pentateuch, by the verb *kipper* (see above, § 45), 'make propitiation, expiation'; in translating passages in which it occurs we shall render as consistently as possible 'atone.' The general principle is that all private sacrifices atone, except peace offerings (including thank offerings), with which no confession of sin is made.² Sin offerings and prescribed trespass offerings atone in the specific cases for which they are appointed

¹ Cp the saying of Simon the Just, *Sederot*, 1.2.
² In the 'world to come' the thank offering (*Hakoda*) will be the only species of sacrifice; *Tanchuma*, Emor, 14.

in the law; for what kinds of offence the burnt offering atones (Lev. 14) is discussed in *Tos. Menahoth* 10.12. In the OT all *sacra publica* are sometimes regarded as atoning (propitiatory); so Ezek. 45.17 (above, § 43). Particular value attached, however, especially to the sin offerings—goats at the new moons and feasts, and on the Day of Atonement (see above, § 37). In *M. Shabbath* 12-5 the things for which these sacrifices respectively atoned are classified. It would be profitless to enumerate them here; it must suffice to say that they are without exception cases of ignorant or unwitting intrusion of the 'unclean' into the sphere of 'holiness,' as when a man ceremonially unclean, in ignorance of the fact, enters the precincts of the temple, or eats 'holy' food without knowing that he was unclean; or that the food was holy, and the like (*בטאת מקדש עמי וקדש מן שבת קודש*, *M. Shabb.* 14 end, cp 15 end). Even the special sin offering of the Day of Atonement, whose blood is brought into the adytum of the temple, atones for the same kind of offences, but for such as were committed presumptuously; cp Lev. 16.16 with 7. ca. For the rest of the transgressions defined in the law, venial or heinous, presumptuous or inadvertent, conscious or unconscious, of omission or commission, including sins the penalty of which is excision from the people [by God] or death by the sentence of a court, the scapegoat atones' (*ib.* 16 end). This is the authoritative statement, based upon Lev. 16.21 f. Another authoritative formulation of the doctrine of sacrifice is found in *M. Yoma* 88 f.: Sin offering and prescribed trespass offering atone;² death and the Day of Atonement atone if accompanied by repentance; repentance (by itself) atones for venial sins whether of omission or of commission, and in the case of heinous sins it suspends the punishment till the Day of Atonement comes around and atones. (6) If a man says, 'I will sin and repent over and over again,' no opportunity of effectual repentance is given him; if he says, 'I will sin and the Day of Atonement will atone,' the Day of Atonement does not atone for him. Transgressions which are between a man and God, the Day of Atonement atones; transgressions that are between a man and his fellows, the Day of Atonement does not atone until he has propitiated the injured party (cp *Jer. Yoma*, 39 b, ed. Sotomir).

Somewhat fuller, and fortified by biblical proof texts, is the teaching of R. Ishmael concerning four kinds of sins and their atonement, which, in slightly varying forms, is repeated in many places, and may be regarded as containing the generally accepted doctrine; see *Tos. Yom Kippurim* 50.14; *Yoma* 86a; *Jer. Yoma* 45b; *Jer. Shabbath* 33b; *Jer. Sabbath* 27c; *Mekilta*, Yithro, § 7(6a), Weiss, etc. Ishmael recognises the chastisements of God as expiating sin in whole or in part; see below, § 52.

(b) The Mishna and R. Ishmael include repentance among the things which obtain the remission of sins, and bring us naturally to the question whether, in general, repentance is requisite to the efficacy of particular sacrifices, or whether they expiate *saure opere operato*, without regard to the penitence of the subject.

The latter theory was held by some eminent authorities, among them, if he be rightly understood, by R. Huldah the patriarch, who maintained that the great expiation of the Day of Atonement (the scapegoat) atoned for the sins of all Israelites who had not deliberated put themselves outside its effects by breaking with the religion of their people,³ independently of anything in the conduct or disposition of man himself, a view which might find support in a literal interpretation of Lev. 16.22. In *Jer. Yoma* 8.7, where this utterance of Rabbi is recorded, it is asked with surprise whether he can have meant that repentance is not essential, and it is

¹ See also *Jer. Tere.* on Lev. 6.9.
² They expiate certain specified offences.
³ By atheism, the efflawing of circumcision, irreverent liberties in the interpretation of the law.

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explained that he held that in this respect the Day of Atonement was like death, of which also he taught—contrary to the general opinion—that it expiates sin even without repentance.¹ The prevailing view, however, was that repentance is the *conditio sine qua non* of expiation and the forgiveness of sins, as is laid down in the Mishna quoted above (*M. Yômā* 88), and even more sweepingly in *Tos. Yôm Kippurim* 59 [49]: Sin offering and trespass offering and death and the Day of Atonement none of them atone unless accompanied by repentance; for it is said, 'Only' (78. Lev. 23:27); if a man repent, atonement is made for him (19. *שְׁמַרְתָּ—i.e.*, he is forgiven), but if not no atonement is made for him. R. Eleazar quoted, 'And clearing' (77. Ex. 34:7); he clears those who repent, but not those who do not repent. R. Judah (ben 'Ilai) taught: Death and the Day of Atonement atone, with repentance; repentance atones with death, and the day of death is like repentance (another reading is, 'by means of repentance'). See also *Yômā* 85*b*, and esp. 86*a*. In accordance with this doctrine the importance of repentance and its effects are much dwelt upon: see especially *Yômā* 80*a* *b*, a collection of eulogiums on repentance from the lips of various teachers.

A fine saying may be quoted from *Jer. Makkōth* 26 (also *Pesikṭā*, Shūbāh, 15*b*); Men asked philosophy (שְׂפָתַי) What is the consequence of sin? It answered: Evil pursue sinners (Prov. 13:2). They asked prophecy. It answered: The soul that sinneth it shall die (Ezek. 18:4). They asked the law. It answered: Let him bring a trespass offering and it shall be forgiven him (19. *שְׁמַרְתָּ*). They asked God, and he answered: Let him repent (19. *שְׁמַרְתָּ*), and it shall be forgiven him.

The nature of repentance is well defined. Who is a truly repentant man? it is asked. One, the reply is, who, having sinned and repented, does not yield to the same temptation again (*Yômā* 86*b*). Genuine repentance is a resolute turning from sin; a man who commits a sin, and confesses it, but does not turn from it, is like a man who holds some crawling vermin (שָׂרָף) in his hand; though he were to bathe in all the waters in the world it would avail him nothing; but if he throw it away, a bath of forty seas suffices to make him clean, for it is said, He who confesses and forsakes his transgressions shall obtain mercy (Prov. 28:13, *Tānith* 16*a*; ep Philo, *De vict.* § 11, 2247 Mangey). The ethical distinction is clearly made between the repentance that springs from love to God and the counterfeit of it which is only the expression of fear inspired by chastisement (*Yômā* 86*a* *b*).

For a wrong done to a fellow man, we have seen that neither repentance nor the great expiation of the Day of Atonement avail to obtain of God remission, until the offender has propitiated the injured party (*M. Yômā* 8*a*, above). This propitiation includes the reparation of the material injury, the confession of wrongdoing and sorrow, and the obtaining of forgiveness (ep Mt. 5:23*f*). If forgiveness be not granted at the first seeking, the penitent must return with other members of the community, and in their presence confess his fault and beseech pardon (*Jer. Yômā* 88).

An expiatory character is attributed to suffering, regarded as the chastisement of God; whence R. 'Akīlā taught that a man should praise God not merely in chastisement but for it, since through it his sins are atoned for (ep 1 Cor. 11:32); and R. Eleazar ben Jacob quoted: 'Whom the Lord loveth he correcteth, even as a father the son in whom he delighteth' (Prov. 3:12, cp Heb 12:6). Death in a state of penitence also expiates sin (*M. Yômā* 88); or, in the more detailed exposition of R. Ishmael, death finally wipes out (שָׂרָף) the remainder of guilt which, in certain great sins, neither repentance nor the *piccola* of the Day of Atonement nor the chastisements of this life suffice wholly to atone for. Hence, for example, a criminal sentenced to

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death was exhorted to make a penitent's confession; only then will his death be an expiation for all his crimes.

The sufferings, and especially the death, of righteous men atone for the sins of others. Is. 53:12 is interpreted of Moses, who 'poured out his soul unto death' (Ex. 32:32) and was numbered with the transgressors (the generation that died in the wilderness) and bare the sin of many' that he might atone for the sin of the golden calf (*Sōtāh* 14*a*). Ezekiel suffered 'that he might wipe out the transgressions of Israel' (*Sanhedrin* 39*a*). The general formulation of the doctrine is, 'the death of the righteous makes atonement' (*Alv'ed katin* 28*a*, etc.); ep 4 Macc. 6:27-29 17:22.

(c) The only explicit answer to the question how sacrifice expiates in the Jewish authorities of our period is that of Lev. 17:11 (see above, § 46); what atones in sacrifice is the blood (*Siphra* on Lev. *l.c.*, ep *Yômā* 5*a*, *Zebāhim* 6*a*). The question, How has the blood this efficacy? is not raised; and the speculations to which Lev. 17:11 seems to invite by its association of the blood with the life, and in which Christian theology has been prolific, appear not to have been started.¹ The theory that the victim's life is put in place of the owner's is nowhere hinted at, perhaps because the Jewish doctors understood better than our theologians what sin offerings and trespass offerings were, and what they were for. Nor is there any discussion of the mode in which the blood of sacrifice operates expiation. The verb *kipper* and its derivatives are used, precisely as in the OT, in the sense, 'make propitiation, expiation, procure remission,' without recourse to etymology and imagined 'primary meanings.' Hence we hear nothing about the 'covering' of the sin or the sinner, or the 'wiping off'—or 'out'—of guilt.² The ancient etymological midrash attaches itself not to the verb *kipper* but to the noun 'lamb.' The daily morning and evening holocaust was a lamb (*kibbes*); the school of Shammai said: It 'tramples down' (*kabāi*) the sins of Israel (ep Mic. 6:9); the school of Hillel replied: What is trampled down comes up again; sacrifice 'washes' (שָׁטַף, *kibbes*) Israel free from sin (*Pesikṭā*, ed. Bulker, 61*b*).

Outside the ritual sphere—in the ethical sphere of religion, that is—it is repentance that atones; it is the condition of God's forgiveness; and the ultimate ground of forgiveness is God's love; love covereth all transgressions (Prov. 10:12), for God loves Israel (*Ha-yikrā R. e. 7* begin.). As a motive, the merits of the forefathers are often referred to. See also, on the nature of repentance and its relation to God's forgiveness, the fine passage in Philo, *De exsecrationibus*, § 2*f*.

It does not fall within the scope of the present article to describe or discuss later theories of the nature and effect of sacrifice, such as the *poena vicaria*, or the sacramental theory, further than to say, as the result of the whole preceding investigation, that they are not derived from the OT but imported into it.

IV. SACRIFICE IN NT

It is assumed in the Gospels that Jesus throughout his life observed in the matter of sacrifice, as in other respects, the Jewish law as it was commonly practised in his time. I. k. relates that his mother offered in due time the sacrifice of purification after childbirth prescribed for the poor (Lk. 2:22*f.*, cp 39. Lev. 12:46*b*); at the age of twelve he first went with his parents to Jerusalem to the Passover (Lk. 2:41*f.*). He kept the Passover with his disciples the night before

¹ Philo, indeed, calls the blood *δύχνη σπουδή*, but; argues the subject no farther.

² These senses—unknown to the ancient translators or interpreters—were discovered in the Middle Ages. If either etymology had suggested itself to the Jewish scholars in the Talmudic period it would doubtless have been the latter ('wiping off').

¹ An attempt to harmonise the opinion of Rabbi with the Mishna is made in *Yômā* 85*b*.

² Cp a corresponding procedure, *Mt.* 18:15*f.*

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his death (Mk. 14:12 ff. and s.). The Fourth Gospel tells of several other visits to Jerusalem at the annual feasts (2:13 ff. 5:1 ff. 7:2 ff.). Jesus bids the leper whom he has healed offer the sacrifices appointed in the law for his purification (Mk. 14:4 and s., Lev. 14). The injunction to effect the reconciliation of an injured fellow-Israelite before offering sacrifice (Mt. 5:23 f.).¹ supposes the continuance of sacrifice among those who should be his disciples; cp also 23:18 ff. 23. There is in the Gospels no such denunciation of the sacrificial worship of Jesus' contemporaries as we find in the prophets (see above, § 48); the forms of Pharisaic piety which Jesus assails are of a different kind—the ostentatious fasts, almsgiving, and prayers. He quotes Hos. 6:6, 'I desire mercy and not sacrifice' (Mt. 9:13 12:7), as proof that goodness to our fellow-men is of much higher value in the sight of God than offerings to himself; the scribe who recognises that love to God and man is worth more than all burnt offerings and sacrifices is not far from the kingdom of God (Mk. 12:32-34). Such utterances are, however, not infrequent in the words of the scribes themselves. It cannot be said that the teaching of Jesus in this respect differs from that of the Jewish masters of his time,² though it may be inferred from his whole attitude that he set far less value on observances of any kind than they did. Mt., indeed, represents him as declaring emphatically that not the minutest particle of the law should cease to be observed 'till all things be accomplished'—i.e., so long as the present order of things lasts (5:17); and as bidding his disciples do and observe all the things that the scribes and Pharisees, as the custodians of the law and successors of the legislator, enjoined (23:1-3); but this is rather the evangelist's attitude than the master's; cp Mk. 7:5 ff. (= Mt. 15:1 ff.).

In the accounts of the last supper Jesus calls the wine 'my covenant blood' (τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης),³ in obvious allusion to the blood by which the covenant at Sinai was ratified (Ex. 24:8). The various additions, 'which is poured out in behalf of many' (Mk.), 'unto remission of sins' (Mt.), bring out the accessory idea of atonement through his blood; cp Mk. 10:45 Mt. 20:28 (see below, § 60). Scholars have often found in the 'new covenant' an implicit abrogation of the old, with all its institutions; it is certain, however, that the early Christians in Palestine saw nothing of the kind in it; they continued to worship in the temple like their fellow-countrymen. The inference is first explicitly drawn by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (chap. 10).

According to Acts Paul more than once plans a journey so as to bring him to Jerusalem in season for a feast (18:21 20:16; in the former passage the words are lacking in *8*, *AB*, etc.); he declares in his defence before Felix that he came thither to worship (24:14), to bring charitable gifts to his countrymen and make offerings (προσφοράς, 24:17), and was arrested in the temple in the midst of this pious occupation (21:13). To give the lie to reports that he persuaded Jews in the provinces to abandon the observance of the law, he consented to assume the cost of sacrifices for the release of four Jewish Christians from the Nazirite's vow (Nu. 6:13 ff.), and, after the usual purifications, accompanied them into the temple (21:26-28), where offering was made for each of them, thus proving that he himself lived in observance of the law (21:24). That Paul really made a profession so contrary to his own precept and example it is difficult to believe (cp Gal. 2:11 ff.; also Acts, § 7).

¹ Without this the sacrifice would be of no avail, as the Rabbis taught. See above, § 52.

² See above, §§ 50 ff., and *Sukkiḥ* 49b. To infer from Mk. 12:28-34 that Jesus himself probably offered no sacrifices is unwarranted.

³ Mk. 14:24 Mt. 26:28, cp Lk. 22:20 1 Cor. 11:25, 'the new covenant in my blood'; cp Jer. 31:31 H. 4:15 ff. etc. On the original form of the saying, see EUCHARIST, § 1.

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We have already referred (above, § 42) to the important passage, 1 Cor. 10:18 ff., in which Paul, in warning his readers against heathen sacrificial feasts, argues, as from something that would be understood and conceded by all, that, as among Jews (cp also Heb. 13:16) so also among Gentiles, those who eat the flesh of the sacrifices, sharing it with the altar, become commensals of the God whose altar it is—the sacrificial meal is a communion, just as the Christian eucharist is, in which men partake of the table of the Lord.

Figures drawn from sacrifice—some of them more ingenious than natural—are not infrequent in the Pauline epistles. In Rom. 15:16 Paul describes himself as a priest (λειτουργός) of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles; the ministry of the Gospel is a sacerdotal function (λειτουργήματα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ), which he performs in order that the offering (προσφορά) of (consisting of) the Gentiles, may be made acceptable to God, being consecrated by the Holy Spirit. In anticipation of his approaching death he speaks of his blood as a libation poured out upon the sacrifice and priestly ministry of his converts (Phil. 2:17, cp 2 Tim. 4:6); Christians are exhorted to furnish their bodies as a sacrifice, living, holy, well-pleasing to God, the rational worship (Rom. 12:1, cp 1 Pet. 2:5); the contributions of the Philippians to the apostle are 'a gratifying odour,' an acceptable sacrifice, well-pleasing to God (Phil. 4:18). The references to the death of Christ as a sacrifice will be discussed below (§ 57). It is to be noted here only that Paul does not, like the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, explicitly declare that the sacrifices of the law came to an end with the death of Christ. To draw from his silence the inference that his Jewish-Christian opponents themselves no longer regarded sacrifice as binding is most unsafe.

The argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews is developed in a running comparison between the sacrifices and priestly ministrations of the old covenant and the work of Christ, to which we shall return in a later paragraph (see § 58). Here we shall touch only upon the author's view of the intent and effect of the sacrifices of the law. Sacrifices and offerings are made for sins (5:1, cp 8:3 9:9).

In the phrase 'gifts and sacrifices' (δῶρα τε καὶ θυσίαι) the words, according to prevailing OT use, correspond to Heb. *korban* and *minḥah* respectively, and, thus compiled, the *δῶρα* are by pre-eminence 'sacrifices,' the *θυσίαι*, 'oblations,' not vice versa; as NT commentators frequently take them (cp *EV*, 'gifts and sacrifices').

They do not, however, really take away sin or purge the conscience of the sinner; the blood of bulls and goats cannot possibly do that (10:41); they serve rather, in their stated recurrence—the author is thinking of the solemn *piacula* of the Day of Atonement—to bring to mind the sin which they cannot expiate (10:4). The system, indeed, contemplates only what we should call ceremonial faults. The sin offering of the Day of Atonement, whose blood is taken by the high priest into the adytum of the temple, is offered for the unwitting offences of the people (ἀγνοήματα, 9:7; cp IGNORANCE). Sacrifices and offerings cannot restore the worshipper to his integrity in the forum of conscience; they have to do only with such matters as foods and drinks and diverse ablutions¹—prescriptions of bodily purity imposed till the time comes for making things right (9:9 f.). The blood of goats and bulls and the ashes of a heifer sprinkling those that have contracted defilement, make them (ceremonially) 'holy,' so that their body is clean; in contrast to the purging of conscience (9:13). The application of blood is a rite of lustration or purification; at the ratification of the covenant Moses sprinkled the law book and the people with the blood of young bulls and goats, 'with water

¹ That is, inadvertent transgression of the rules of clean and unclean. This is, at least, the more probable interpretation of the obscure connection.

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and scarlet wool and hyssop' (9:19);¹ in like manner he sprinkled with blood the tent and all the utensils of worship (cp 2:23); according to the law nearly every-thing is purified with blood, and without outpouring of blood, remission (*ἀφεσις*) is effected (9:21 f.).²

The writer's conception of the expiatory rites of the law thus agrees entirely with the teaching of the Jewish authorities (see *atq.* 9:11). For him, however, the system was typical and prophetic of the one real and all-sufficient sacrifice of Christ. When this had been made there was no longer reason or room for the sacrifices of the law (10:18). Henceforth the only sacrifices are praise to God and goodness to men (13:15 f., alluding to Ps. 107:22 116:17 Hos. 14:2 etc.).³

That 'Christ died for (ὑπὲρ) our sins according to the scriptures' is an article of the common tradition of the Christian faith which Paul delivered to his converts as he had received it from those who were before him (1 Cor. 15:3). By his death men are redeemed, justified, forgiven, reconciled to God; see Rom. 4:25 5:8 f. 8:12 2 Cor. 5:15 Gal. 1:4 1 Thess. 5:10 Col. 1:11 f. Eph. 1:7 Tit. 2:14 etc. The death of Christ, that is, was expiatory; he suffered on the cross, not for his own sins but for those of others, and by the expiation which he thus made they were delivered from the consequences of their transgressions (see further, below, § 60).

The idea of expiation is, however, as we have seen, closely associated with sacrifice; one great class of sacrifices, among both Jews and Gentiles, was peculiar in motive and intention; and in a looser sense the whole sacrificial worship was often thought of as atoning (see above, § 45). It was natural, therefore, that the death of Christ should be conceived as a sacrifice, or spoken of in sacrificial figures. In Paul, however, this conception is not developed as it is in some of the other NT writings.

In the much-quoted passage, Rom. 3:25, 'whom God set forth as a *hilasterion* through faith in his blood' (*ὃν προσέθετο ὁ θεὸς ἵλαστήριον διὰ πίστεως ἐν τῷ αἵματι*), the interpretation 'atoning sacrifice' (after the analogy of *συντήριον*, *χαριστήριον*, *ἱλαστήριον*, etc.) is not entirely certain, though highly probable; the more general 'means of expiation' satisfies the context, and the addition of the words 'in his blood' does not necessarily imply that this means is thought of as sacrificial. Cp *Hebr.* SEAT, § 5.

Even if we translate Rom. 3:25 outright 'an expiatory sacrifice' the expression would still be only a passing metaphor in a context of a different tenor—Christ's death the demonstration of the righteousness of God. Christian theologians, indeed, have been so long accustomed to regard the OT sacrifices from the juristic and governmental point of view—that is, in the light of their construction of the atoning work of Christ⁴—that they hardly feel the reference to an expiatory sacrifice here as even a change of figure; but Paul was not a modern theologian.

No greater emphasis is laid on the idea of sacrifice in 1 Cor. 5:7 f., where, in an exhortation to put away evil, its leaven-like working suggests the scrupulous care with which a Jewish house was purged of leaven on the eve of the Passover, and that, again, leads to the thought 'for indeed our Passover is sacrificed, Christ; so let us keep the feast not with the old leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.'

Evidence of a more pervasive association of Christ's

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death with sacrifice has been sought in the references to his blood as the ground of the benefits conferred by his death (Rom. 3:25 5:9); the thought of sacrifice is so constantly associated with his death, it is said, that the one word suffices to suggest it. But in view of the infrequency, to say the least, of sacrificial metaphors in the greater epistles, it is doubtful whether *αἷμα* is not used merely in allusion to Jesus' violent death. Nor is the case clearer in Col. 1:20 Eph. 1:7 2:13; the really noteworthy thing is that the context contains no suggestion of sacrifice either in thought or phrase. The words 'for sin' (*πρὸς ἁμαρτίαν*) in Rom. 8:3, are often mechanically translated 'sin offering,' because in Leviticus this phrase is the common rendering of *ḥattāth*; even *ἁμαρτίαν*, 2 Cor. 5:21, has been understood in the same way—the death of Christ specifically a sin offering. The misconception of the nature of the sin offering which underlies this strained interpretation has been commented on above (§ 28 a).¹

In conclusion, it may be noted as an indication that the idea of expiatory sacrifice was not prominent in Paul's thought of Christ's death, that he nowhere uses the characteristic terms inseparably associated in the OT with these sacrifices, *ἱλάσκειν*, *ἐξιλάσκειν*, and their derivatives; *ἱλαστήριον*, Rom. 3:25, is the only word of the family in all the Pauline literature. This group of words is, however, rare in all the NT; even in Hebrews *ἱλασθεῖσθαι* occurs but once; *ἱλαστήριον* but twice in the NT (1 Jn. 2:2 4:10).

For the author of Hebrews the priesthood and sacrificial institutions of the old dispensation are but

58. In Hebrews. types and shadows of the heavenly reality that was to come (8:5 10:1, cp 9:9). The main thesis of the book is that the Son, the mediator of the new and better covenant (8:6-13 9:15 etc.), is the true high priest. Now every high priest must have something to offer; this is his constitutive function (8:3); Christ, therefore, brings his sacrifice. The nature and effect of this sacrifice is developed in chaps. 8-10:18, in contrast to the sacrifices of the law,² particularly to the sacrifice (Ex. 24:8) by which the old covenant was ratified (9:15 ff. 10:29, cp 12:24 13:20),³ and to the specific *piacula* of the Day of Atonement, in which the Jewish system culminated.

The Jewish high priest, having human weaknesses (7:28), had first of all to offer a sacrifice for his own sins (7:27 9:7); Christ, the perfect priest, had no such need (7:26-28). In the Mosaic sacrifices was offered the blood of bulls and goats, which could not possibly take away sin (10:4-11), but effected only a purification of the body (9:9 f. 12 f.); Christ entered the holy place of the greater and more perfect sanctuary, that is, heaven itself (9:24), through his own blood, having found an eternal redemption (7:27 9:12 15 10:10). Sacrifices could not relieve men's conscience, but served rather to call sin to mind (9:9 10:1-3); the blood of Christ purges the conscience from dead works to serve the living God (9:14, cp 10:22). They had, therefore, to be perpetually repeated, just because they had no real efficacy either objective or subjective (9:6 10:3 f.); his sacrifice is made once for all, forever perfecting them that are sanctified (7:27 9:12 25 f. 28 10:12 14). The sacrifices of the law, finally, did not open to men a way of access to the holy presence of God (9:8); by the blood of Jesus a new way is made by which they may confidently approach him (10:19 ff.).

The sacrifice of Christ thus not only expiates the sins of the people (*ἱλασθεῖσθαι*, 2:17), but also establishes the new covenant foretold by Jeremiah (31:31 ff.), under which God lays his laws upon men's hearts and inscribes them

¹ There are less excusable errors in the books. In Sanday-Headlam, *Hebrews*, 193, we are told that 'the ritual of the sin-offering is fully set forth in Lev. iv. The most characteristic feature in it is the sprinkling with blood of the horns of the altar of incense.'

² On the author's view of the latter, see above, § 46.

³ This parallel is suggested in the Gospel accounts of the institution of the Lord's Supper.

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on their minds, and no longer remembers their sins and iniquities (10:16 ff., cp 83 ff.) — a real remission which makes all other sacrifice useless. Two things are especially noteworthy in the author's treatment of the subject; first, the importance attached to the subjective effect of Christ's blood in purging the conscience of man; and, second, the ultimate end, the creation of a new way of access to God by which men may confidently draw near to him. In these conceptions we see a positive ethical and religious interpretation and valuation of the death of Christ going far beyond the mere sacrificial expiation of sins or forensic justification of the sinner. How the blood of Christ has these effects the writer does not reflect, any more than he or his contemporaries reflected on the mode of operation of the blood of the OT sacrifices.

By the side of sacrificial ideas and terms, such as θυσίαιν 9:11, 21, 10:22, καθάρσιον 1:9, 11:22, ἀγιάσειν 0:10, 14:29, words of different association sometimes occur: ἀσπασίς 9:12, ἀπολυτρωσίς 9:13, ἀπαλάσσειν 2:15; but the characteristic Pauline 'justify' (δικαιοσύνη) and cognate words and phrases are absent.

The references to the death of Christ in 1 Pet. are in the nature of allusions rather than of doctrinal statement or argument; their phraseology often suggests reminiscences of earlier NT writings. Christ died once for sins, a righteous man for unrighteous men, that he might bring us to God (3:18); he suffered for his followers, leaving them an example (2:21, cp 4:1); persecuted Christians are partakers of Christ's sufferings (4:13, cp 4:1, etc.); he carried their sins in his body on to the cross (2:24) — the whole passage, 7:7, 21-25, is an application of Is. 53 to Christ; they are redeemed (ἀγοράσθητε) from the foolish way of life they learned from their fathers by costly blood as of an unblemished unspotted Lamb, Christ (1:18 ff.); one of the ends of Christ's election is sprinkling with the blood of Christ (1:2). The latter phrase suggests a passage in Heb. (12:24, cp 10:22 9:11, 19:21), in which epistle alone the expression occurs. In 1:18 ff. it is not improbable that the blameless lamb of Is. 53:7 (cp 9) is in the mind of the writer, who makes such large use of that chapter in 2:21 ff.; for the rest cp Eph. 1:7 ('redemption ἀπολυτρώσις) through his blood, the remission of our trespasses') Rom. 3:24 ff. Heb. 9:12. A direct allusion to the paschal lamb (Ex. 12:5) would probably have been more distinct.

The references to the sacrificial aspect of the death of Christ in the Fourth Gospel are few and of the slightest kind. The Baptist hails Jesus as the Lamb of God which takes away the sin of the world (1:29), with evident allusion to Is. 53:7, cp 4:7, 11; in 17:19 'in their behalf I hallow myself,' ἀγιάσω is a word of sacrificial associations, whether we refer it to the consecration of the victim or (with greater probability) to the preparation of the priest for his functions. In 1 Jn. the allusions are more frequent; we read not only that Christ laid down his life for us — wherefore we ought to lay down our life for the brethren (3:16) — and that our sins are remitted for his name's sake (2:12), but also that he was manifested that he might take away sin (3:5), that he is a propitiation (ἱλαστήριον) for our sins and for those of the whole world (2:2, 4:10), and that the blood of Jesus cleanses us from every sin (1:7). But everywhere such expressions appear as familiar Christian phrases, rather than as part of the distinctive Johannine conception of the salvation in Christ.

The Lamb in the Apocalypse is probably, as in Jn. 1:29, derived from Is. 53; as in 1 Pet., the idea of purchase (ἀγοράσειν, 1 Cor. 6:20, 7:23) by the blood of Christ has been combined with the older conception of the expiatory suffering of the Servant of Yahwe; see 5:6 ff. 13:5, 14:3 ff. The other representation of purification by his blood appears in 7:14; cp 22:14, and note the variant in 15: λίσσασθε . . . ἐκ Ἀχθασθη . . . ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν. It does not fall within the scope of the present article

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to discuss the various theories which theologians have from time to time set up concerning the sacrificial death of Christ, nor even the constructions of biblical theology. Many of these, even among the most recent, rest upon profound misunderstandings of the nature of the OT sacrifices, and entirely ignore Jewish conceptions of the effect and operation of sacrifice. The task which remains to us is only to explain briefly the facts that have been set in array in the foregoing paragraphs.

To begin with, it is necessary to say that in describing the death of Christ as a sacrifice the NT writers are using figurative language. Some modern theologians, indeed, still affirm that 'the apostles held it to be a sacrifice in the most literal sense of the word' (Patenon, In Hastings, DB 4:343 f.); but such writers do not expect us to take their 'literal' literally. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, for example, regarded the death of Christ as the true sacrifice, because he felt that it was really effected what the OT sacrifices only suggested; but he was too good an Alexandrian to identify 'true' with 'literal.'

In the second place, it is essential to note what the problem was which confronted these early Christian thinkers, in the effort to solve which they came to conceive of the death of Christ as a sacrifice. They did not set out, as has frequently been supposed, to answer the question how God, without detriment to his justice or to his moral government, could remit sin, and had the solution in the sin offerings of the law, by whose blood the sinner was 'covered' (so the common etymological metaphor) and protected from the righteous wrath of God; they had a far more urgent task, namely, to account for the death of Jesus.

The death of Jesus was a severe shock to the faith of his disciples; and though the resurrection speedily re-established this faith, they had need both for its confirmation and for its defence before their unbelieving countrymen, to whom a crucified Messiah was an insuperable stumbling block, of proof from the scriptures that his sufferings were the fulfilment of prophecy. That there were predictions they could not doubt; and as now with a new insight they searched the scriptures, it was as if the Master himself opened their mind to understand them (1 k. 24:45 ff.), and interpreted to them the prophecies concerning himself (77: 25-27).¹

Thus the cross, instead of being the retort of his claims, became their most conclusive demonstration. Among the scriptures which they thus for the first time understood, Is. 53 was, with good reason, the most important. Not only did the picture of the suffering Servant of Yahwe seem to foreshadow even in minute details the experience of Jesus, but in fact the author of the chapter had undertaken to solve the same problem, viz., Why did the Servant (Israel), for no fault of his own, suffer what seemed the extremities of God's displeasure? His answer was, The sufferings of the Servant of Yahwe are an expiation for others' sins, 'the Lord laid on him the iniquity of us all and by his stripes we are healed.'²

The idea that sins could thus be expiated by the suffering of one who had not deserved it was not repugnant to ancient minds, in which the sense of social solidarity was stronger than that of individual rights; it seemed, in fact, most natural. The sufferings of the righteous were frequently represented as an atonement for their people. Thus, of the Maccabean martyr it is said, 'Having become as it were a vicarious expiation (ἀντιπύριον) for the sins of the nation, and through the blood of those godly men and their atoning death (ἱαστήριον θανάτου), divine providence saved Israel which had before been evil entreated' (4 Macc. 17:22, cp 6:27-29); cp also Rom. 5:7 Col. 1:24.³

1 See Holtzmann, NT Theol. 1:267 ff.
2 1 Ipsi in Scheibel, RL 2:493; Holtzmann, NT Theol. 1:267.
3 See above, § 52, end.

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The great influence of Is. 53 upon the early conception of the death of Christ is manifest not only in Acts 8:32-35 (Philip and the Ethiopian eunuch), cp. also 9:13-16, 4:27, 9:30-31, 'servant,' Is. 52:13, a standing title of Jewish and the epistles (Heb. 9:20, 1 Pet. 2:21-25, 1 Jn. 3:5, etc.), but also in the fact that it was worked back into the gospel tradition (Lk. 22:37, Jn. 1:29, 36).

The first point established was, therefore, that the death of Christ was not for his own sins, it was not a triumph of the wicked over the good, an inexplicable tragedy; it was an expiation for the sins of others. This is the tradition which Paul had received (above, § 57). This expiation was originally thought of in relation to the punishment of sin; by virtue of the sins whose penalty would otherwise have been visited upon the offender are remitted and he is cleared. From this side Paul works out his theory of atonement. The association of expiation with sacrifice in the law and in the common ideas of the time leads to the employment of sacrificial figures and terms in speaking of the work of Christ; but even in Hebrews, where the idea of the death of Christ as a sacrifice is most elaborately developed, it is plain that the premise of the whole is that Christ by his death made a real expiation for the sins of men, by which they are released. It was not, therefore, the conception of the death of Christ as a sacrifice which brought in the idea of expiation and propitiation, but the opposite. Hence the freedom and variety in comparing his death to the different species of OT sacrifices, a theory suggest different aspects of his work—the covenant sacrifice, the Passover, the expiations of the Day of Atonement. Hence also the fact that there is no doctrine of the sacrifice of Christ in the NT as there may be said to be doctrines of redemption or of justification.

On the OT sacrifices see the commentaries on the Pentateuch (see Exodus, § 7; Leviticus, § 33; Numbers, § 23; Deuteronomy, § 33), among which those of Knobel-Tillmann may be specially mentioned; also, for their Jewish learning, Kaish on Exodus and Leviticus. Spencer, *De legibus*

ritualibus, 1675 (bk. 3); J. D. Michaels, *Mosaisches Recht*, 1855; Naabshutz, *Mosaisches Recht*, 1840; Trich, *d. Heb.*, 1855; Wachter, *Ant. Bib. eorum*, etc., 1743; Ew. *Alt. Test.*, 1866, ET 1870; Nowack, *H. A.*, 1894; Benz, *H. A.*, 1894. On sacrifices in particular: Chiriac, *Des sacrifices*, 1877; Kurtz, *Der Alttestamentliche Opferkultus*, 1892, ET 1865; Bahr, *Symbolik des mosaischen Kultus*, 1837; also articles 'Opfer,' 'Sacrifice,' etc., in the Bible dictionaries of Scheibel, Riehm, Smith, Hastings, and in P.E.E. On particular species of sacrifice: Thalhoffer, *Die unblutigen Opfer des mosaischen Kultus*, 1848; Riehm, 'Über das Schuldopfer,' *Studien und Kritiken*, 1854, p. 93 ff.; Riehm, 'Utas Schuldopfer,' *ib.*, 1856, p. 399 ff.; Schmoller, 'Wesen der Salbe in der Na-test,' *Opferkultus*, *St. Kr.*, 1891, 205 ff.; Vatke, *Religion der Alten Testaments*, 1835; Wellhausen, *Proleg.*, (1-75), 1890, ET 1885; H. Schultz, *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, 1836; Smeil, *Alt. Kultgesch.*, 1897; Billmann, *Alt. Theol.*, 1895; Marti, *Gesch. der Israelitischen Religion*, 1897. Signification of sacrifice: Schulm., *Begriff der Sühne im Alten Testament*, 1877; H. Schultz, 'Significance of Sacrifice in the OT,' *Am. Journ. of Theol.*, 4:27 ff. (1890). Systematic works: Riehm, *Rechtliche Begriffe und Verhältnisse*, 1830; Cave, *Sacramental Doctrine of Sacrifice*, 1830. See also Hubert and Massis, 'Nature et fonction du sacrifice,' *L'année Sociologique*, 1897-1898, 20-138 (based on comparative study of Jewish and Hindu sacrifices).

On the Jewish sacrificial system: Maimonides, *Yad ha-yadikah*, in which the material from the Mishna and similar sources is collected and methodically arranged, is indispensable, not only as an exposition of the system but also as a key to the scattered sources. Modern works are: Dushak, *Gesch. u. Darstellung des jüdischen Kultus*; Edersheim, *The Temple and its Ministry*, 1874. For Jewish ideas concerning sacrifice Christian scholars generally turn to Weber's *Lehren des Talmuds*, a work not only mentioned but dominated by a false theory; Bauber, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, 2 vols., (critical sifting of the material); see also Kohler, 'Atonement,' *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 2:275 ff.

Sacrifice in the NT; in addition to the commentaries on the NT and the comprehensive works named above: Pfeiderer, *Christentum*, 1887, 20-1902; Der Paulinismus, 1890; Weissker, *Das apostolische Zeitalter*, 1892; H. Holtzmann, *NT Theol.*, 1897; Sanday, *Trinity and Sacrifice*, 1890; W. H. Warr, 'The NT doctrine of the relation of Christ's death to the OT sacrificial system,' *Bibl. Sac.*, 3:24 ff. (1894).

G. F. M.

1. Is. 53 to (*isim*) the connection seems to be preferred; but 2 translates otherwise.

2. Of the immense literature on the various aspects of the subject only a selection can be given here. The list is intended to include works which either are of value to the modern student or hold an important place in the history of discussion.

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SACRILEGE. In Rom. 2:22 the question: 'Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou rob temples?' (AV 'commit sacrilege'; ὁ βδελύσσωνος τὰ εἰδωλά ἱερῶν) is to be interpreted in the light of Dt. 7:25 where not only is it commanded to burn the graven images of the gods of the nations with fire, but it is also forbidden to covet the silver or gold that is on them or to 'take it unto thee, for it is an abomination (עֲבֻרָה) to Yahwe thy God, and thou shalt not bring an abomination into thy house so as to become an anathema like it; thou shalt utterly detest and abominate it, for it is anathema' (see ATONEMENT, 4; Levit., § 2 d). In Rom. 1:23, § 207, this law is rendered 'Let no one blaspheme those gods which other cities esteem such; nor may any one steal the sacred things of strange temples (μηδὲ σὺν ἄλλοις ἱερῶν ἔσθωσι) nor take any treasure that may be dedicated to any god.' In accordance with this, in Acts 19:37 we find the town clerk of Ephesus urging in the case of Paul and his Jewish companions that their offense has at least not been of the most aggravated kind, they being 'neither robbers of temples (ἱεροπολοῦν) nor blasphemers of our goddess.'

As regards sacrilege against the temple in Jerusalem, 2 Macc. 1:30-42 records the sacrileges (εἱεροσυλίαι) committed in the city by Tryphachus with the consent of Menelaus, the riot it led to, and the death of the sacrilegious person (εἱεροσύλος) beside the sanctuary. The alleged attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to rob a temple (εἱεροσυλία) in Persopolis is alluded to in 2 Macc. 9:2, and in 2 Macc. 13:30 the death of Menelaus by precipitation from the tower for the punishment of 'him that is guilty of sacrilege (εἱεροσυλία) or has attained any pre-eminence in any other evil deeds' is related. In Ant. vii. 162 Josephus records a decree of Augustus in the course of which it is enacted that the sacred things of the Jews are not to be touched (τὰ τε ἱερὰ εἶναι τε ἀσύντηκτα) and that 'if any one be caught stealing their holy books or their sacred money, whether from the synagogue (σαββαταίου) or from the public school (γυμνασίον), he shall be deemed a sacrilegious person (εἱεροσύλος), and his goods shall be brought into the public treasury of the Romans.' In xviii. 83 ff. the expulsion of the Jews from Rome in Tiberius's time is said to have been due to the wickedness of four Jews who embezzled Fulvia's gift of purple and gold for the temple at Jerusalem.

SADAMIAS (סַדַּמְיָא), 4 Esd. 1: AV = SHALUM, 6.

SADAS (אַסְתָּא [A]), 1 Esd. 5:13 AV, RV ASAD; see ASAD. The AV is derived from the Geneva version.

SADDEUS, RV LODDEUS (Λοδδαῖος [B]), 1 Esd. 8:45. See LODDAN.

SADDLE. The word סַדְרָה, *merkāh*, is in Lev. 15:9 rendered 'saddle' in L.V., but AV¹⁹⁰⁸ has 'carriage' (cp 1 K. 1:26 [56]). The word literally means 'place of riding'—i.e., riding seat (cp CHARIOT, § 1, begin.), and in Cam. 3 it clearly means the seat of Solomon's palanquin (see RV and LETTER). Not less evidently this sense will not suit in Lev. (*ib.*). A suggested emendation is סַדְרָה, 'rug' (see TAPUSKRY).

It is to be remarked that though riding was the most common mode of travelling in Bible days, saddles in the modern sense of the word were not used but only 'horse-cloths,' or, failing that, a garment (Mt. 21:7). Furrer (*Bl.* 5:101) compares Ezek. 27:20 as showing that costly horse-cloths were brought to market at Tyre by the Tydianites. But the text is corrupt (cp AV and RV). For the most probable reading see Cam. ii. 1; young steeds, not cloths, are referred to. On the camels' 'furniture,' see CAMEL, § 2, end. The word for 'to saddle' (סַדַּר, *shadār*), Nu. 22:21 etc., literally means 'to bind.'

SADDUC. RV Sadduk (σαδδουγκογ [A], σαδδουγκογκογ [B], σαδδουγκ [I, 1, 1 Esd. 8:2. See ZADOK.

SADDUCEES. The origin of the name Saddukay (סַדְרָהִים), so probably, rather than סַדְרָהִים has been explained in two ways:

- As if from *saddik* (סַדִּיק), the specially righteous—a most unsatisfactory derivation, although favoured by Jerome and other of the Fathers. The change from *saddik* (סַדִּיק) to *sadduk* (סַדְרָה) is warranted by no analogy, nor is the name as explained at all appropriate. There is no evidence that the Sadducees ever made any special claim to 'righteousness,' as under-

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stood by the Jews, and certainly they were not credited with it by their opponents. Such a claim was far more likely to be made by the Pharisees.

2. From the personal name Zadok (צדוק). This is not much more satisfactory than the other, for it does not account for the well-attested double *d* in *saddūqīm* (סַדּוּקִים), and besides there is no direct proof of a connection with Zadok. Three persons of that name have been suggested: (a) a certain Zadok, otherwise unknown, who is said to have been with a certain Boethos, a disciple of Antigonos of Socho; (b) an unknown founder of the aristocratic party; (c) Zadok the priest in the time of David and Solomon.

a. For the first (disciple of Antigonos) we have only the authority of the Abot de R. Nathan, a late compilation, probably of the ninth century, which carries no weight with regard to historical events earlier by 1000 years. It is likely that this represents a Talmudic tradition, since the Boethusians are sometimes confused with, and (even in the *Tosefta*) put for the Sadducees. The story is, in the common Rabbinic manner, due solely to a desire to account for the supposed origin of Sadduceism from the well-known dictum of Antigonos (*Pirke Abot*, 13) that we should serve God without expectation of reward, which is then said to have been perverted by his disciples to mean that there will be no retribution after death. Apart from the unhistorical nature of the story, however, the saying refers quite as much to rewards in this life as to the future, and, in any case, accounts only for one side of Sadduceism.

b. The second Zadok (a person assumed to account for the name), although supported by Kuenen, may be dismissed as purely hypothetical.

c. The least unlikely is the third (Zadok the priest, temp. David and Solomon). Ezekiel certainly insists strongly on the 'sons of Zadok' (צדוקים) as the only legitimate holders of the priestly office; but his prophecies were uttered in circumstances wholly different from those in which the Sadducee and Pharisaic parties became distinguished. In Ezekiel's time Israel appears to have been sunk in idolatry, and he depicts an ideal state of things which for the most part was never realised. A great gulf is fixed between his time and that of Ezra. Modern Judaism, a system quite distinct from anything pre-exilic, may be said to have begun with Ezra, and the people never again fell into idolatry. The breach of continuity is so definite that what might be true or desirable in the sixth century B.C. forms no argument for what was the fact in the third century. It must be remembered too that Ezekiel was himself a priest. A much stronger argument might be derived from the Hebrew text of Ecclesi. 5112[a] (ed. Schechter), 'Give thanks to him who chose the sons of Zadok for priest,' if the passage is genuine, as it probably is. However, there is evidence that this view did not prevail exclusively, for in 1 Ch. 24 the sons of Ithamar share in the priesthood, and in later times the priests are designated by the wider term, 'sons of Aaron.' The form of the name is not the only difficulty; it does not appear that the Sadducees ever claimed to be, or were regarded as, sons of Zadok. Whilst they chiefly belonged to the priestly or aristocratic caste, that party was in its essence political, and the name, which denotes a certain set of doctrines, or rather the negation of them, seems to have been applied to them as a term of reproach by their opponents. That is to say, it was used as a theological, not a political term, referring not to the origin of a particular family, party, or caste, but to the special form of supposed heterodoxy which happened to be characteristic of that party, so that a man *might* have been described as a Sadducee on account of his views, although not necessarily being a member of the party—a case which, however, was unlikely to occur.

3. A third explanation of the name may perhaps be

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hazarded, though of great difference. In modern

2. Another explanation

than the word *saddik* is used in the sense of Manichean, or, in a general sense, for infidel, one who does not believe in the resurrection or in the omnipotence of God. It has been adopted in Arabic (*saddikān*, plur. *saddikūn*) and *saddikān* with the meaning of infidel, and also in Armenian (cp. Eznik [5th cent.] against heresies, chap. 2 on the errors of Zoroastrianism). Mas'ūdi (10th cent.) says that the name arose in the time of Manes to denote his teaching, and explains that it is derived from the Zend, or explanation, of the Avesta. The original Avesta was the truly sacred book, and a person who followed only the commentary was called a Zindik, as one who rejected the word of God to follow worldly tradition, irreligious. But the term cannot have originated in the time of Manes (3rd cent. A.D.), for the Zend 'commentary,' whatever view be taken of its date, was by then already becoming unintelligible. It must be much earlier and have acquired the general sense of infidel very soon. Mas'ūdi, indeed, himself implies that زندي was used long before in this sense,

and makes Zoroaster the author not only of the Avesta, but of the Zend and Pāzand (super-commentary), parts of which he says were destroyed by Alexander the Great.¹ Makrizi (15th cent.), who borrows largely from Mas'ūdi, confuses the Zandikah with the Samaritans and Sadducees, and says that they deny the existence of angels, the resurrection, and the prophets after Moses, whence it has been suggested that Zandikah is a corruption of Zaddūqīm. The reverse may, however, be the case. It is quite possible that the Persian word was used about 200 B.C. in the sense of 'Zoroastrian,'² and if so, it might well be applied by opponents to a party in Judaea who sympathised with foreign ideas, and rejected beliefs which were beginning to be regarded as distinctively Jewish. It would thus have been used at first in a contemptuous sense, and later, when the original meaning was forgotten, was, in the well-known Jewish manner, transformed in such a way as to bear the interpretation of 'sons of Zadok' (צדוקים) with a suggestion of 'righteous' (צדיקים). This would explain the daghesh (for suppressed *z*) with pathah, and the *y* for *z*. It may be mentioned, though perhaps as a mere coincidence, that *saddikān* is used for Sadducees in Arabic translations of the NT. That they did not hold Zoroastrian views is no objection to this explanation. In later Jewish literature Epikurus (עפיקורוס) is used for a freethinker, without any idea of his holding the views of Epikurus (see EPIKUREANS), and is connected, by a popular etymology, with the root עקב. In fact, after the real meaning of the name has been forgotten, Epikurus becomes in the Talmud doctrinally almost the exact representative of the earlier term Sadducee, the errors chiefly condemned in the 'sect' being their denial of the resurrection and the rejection of the oral law. It is very probable that Sadducee never had any more definite sense than this.

The beginning of the party naturally can not be traced. In its political aspect it must have existed

3. History of Sadducees.

was a Jewish state, if the view taken below is correct. Doctrinally too, if it is in essence the opposite of the Pharisaic development, its origin goes back to the first beginnings of a law which had to be interpreted. The uncertainty of the evidence and its paucity prevent our assigning any definite date for the first (Pharisaic) amplification of the Torah. We may, however, feel sure that the Law book of Ezra enlarged the existing documents sufficiently to meet all the requirements of the time. It must have

¹ The question of the origin of the Zoroastrian writings is extremely difficult, and very little is certain except that the Gāthas are the earliest stratum. See ZOROASTRIANISM.

² The meaning of 'infidel' would then be due to the later influence of Christianity and Islam.

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been later that the progressive school began to develop tradition. In the Mishna tractate *Aboth*, after the canonical authorities, the first link in the chain of tradition (שׂוֹרֵק מִשְׂוֹרֵק) is the 'Great Synagogue,'¹ and the first personal name is that of Simon the Just (probably early in the 3rd cent. B.C.). No doubt the first steps had been taken before his time, but it seems that historical record did not go farther back. We shall perhaps not be far wrong in placing the actual beginnings of the new teaching about 300 B.C., and this agrees very well with the conclusion which has been drawn from other evidence, that after the time of Alexander the Great Judaism became powerfully affected by that Persian influence to which may be traced the increasing popularity of the doctrine of a future life with rewards and punishments. The rise of the liberal party, or school of theological development, implies the formation of a conservative opposition. It is not to be supposed that the two parties were from the first sharply divided, still less that they acquired distinctive names. It is historically more probable that the divergence increased gradually, and was intensified, and at last definitely realised in the religious revival of Maccabean times. As to the first use of the name to indicate differences consciously felt, it does not occur in the OT or in Ecclesi., and, in fact, the earliest documents which mention Sadducees are the Gospels (but not in Jn.). There is, however, no reason to reject the testimony of Josephus that the name was used in the Maccabean period, and if it was then well-established, we may assume that it was used, if not generally, at least sporadically, at an earlier time to denote opposition to doctrines which are afterwards known as Pharisaic. In Josephus they always appear as a definite political party, an exact, though convenient, view which is due to the colouring of the historian. Under the earlier Maccabees, as would be expected, they are not much in evidence; but with the Hasmonaean they again come into prominence. John Hyrcanus definitely allied himself with them. Alexander Jannaeus, as being himself high priest, was supported by them (cp *Sukkah*, 48b), and his war may be regarded as a contest between the Pharisaic and the Sadducean parties. In their political relations they show a sympathy with foreign influences which was strongly reprobated by the nationalistic Pharisees. Thus we find them accused, perhaps justly, of tolerating Greek religious practices, and even of adopting them. This is the less surprising if it be considered that the Judaism which they professed can have had to use a modern phrase no religious hold on them. It was rather the machinery by which a certain political system was worked, and when circumstances changed, it could be adapted to the new conditions. In the Roman period their influence diminished again. The party, always in a minority, was not likely to be largely recruited. They apparently had no existence outside Jerusalem with the temple and its ritual, the centre of religious and political life. With the fall of Jerusalem they disappear from history, and a century later the Mishna knows of them only by tradition. (See, further, PHARISEES, §§ 17-20).

It would seem that Sadduceism is to be rightly regarded as negative. Wherever reference is made to it, the suggestion is that certain views are rejected. This naturally follows from what has been said above. Phariseism represents the tendency which ultimately resulted in modern Judaism. It was at once exclusive in that it strenuously opposed all dealings with the foreigner, and popular in that it provided for the spiritual needs of the people. The doctrines which we find the Sadducees rejecting are precisely those which had been deduced

¹ The biblical accounts of the great synagogue are irreconcilable with the received chronology. If Ezra's date is still kept a century later, as has been suggested, many difficulties would be removed.

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from the law and the prophets to suit the requirements of the time. If Judaism was to continue as a living system, it became necessary to adapt it to altered conditions not contemplated by the law of Moses, and hence arose the whole body of oral tradition (שׂוֹרֵק מִשְׂוֹרֵק). At a time, too, when theological speculation was widely cultivated, it was equally natural that Judaism should be affected by the striving after those spiritual hopes which in all times have been, rightly or wrongly, the most cherished source of comfort in human suffering. Hence arose the doctrines of a future life with rewards and punishments compensating for the apparent incompatibility between virtue and happiness in this life. How keenly this problem appealed to the Jewish mind is evident from the Psalm (e.g., Ps. 73). Perhaps to no people has it appealed for various reasons, more poignantly. Naturally, however, it was to the poor, the weak, and their sympathisers, that the need for a future retribution in the cause of justice was most apparent. It is, therefore, only what would be expected when we find that those who reject such comfortable words are a relatively small party of the well-to-do (τοῖς εὐπόροις μόνον ἐχούτων). Whilst, however, it appears to have been generally the case that Sadducean views were held by the aristocratic (i.e., primarily, the priestly) party, we must beware, as suggested above, of regarding aristocrat, priest, and Sadducee as convertible terms. Many of the priests were Pharisees, as we see, e.g., from the names of doctors quoted in the Mishna with the title 'priest' (קָהֵן), etc., and, moreover, the separation between the higher and the lower classes of priests was as great as between the aristocratic party and the common people. Nor again was the difference between Pharisees and Sadducees politically insuperable. They could sit together on the Sanhedrim (Acts 23:6), and priests and Pharisees could combine in a common cause (Jn. 7:32-45). That the Sadducees were, however, in an oligarchical minority is evident from the fact that they seem to have found it advisable to conform at times to the more popular Pharisaic practice—e.g., *Tôma* 1cB, 'although we are Sadducees we are afraid of the Pharisees' (לֹא יִרְאוּנוּ מִן הַפְּרִישִׁים אֲנִי שַׂדְדֻּצְיִים וְיָרְאוּנוּ מִן הַפְּרִישִׁים), where the whole passage shows a strong anti-Sadducean feeling. (Cp also Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 14).

Taking then the view that Sadducean opinions were held mainly by members of the dominant aristocratic class, we have now to consider those opinions in detail. The data furnished by the NT, though clear, are meagre. The account in Josephus is fuller (see especially *Ant.* xviii. 12-4, *BJ* ii. 814). His statements are, however, coloured partly by his own strong Pharisaic prejudice, and still more by a desire to express himself in terms of Greek philosophy. It must be remembered that philosophical notions which appealed to the Greek mind were entirely foreign to the methods of thought underlying Sadducean belief or disbelief. In this respect Jew and Greek start from different premises, representing a racial distinction. Roughly speaking, the one founds his faith on the will of God and the revelation bound up with it, the other deduces his scheme of the universe from a metaphysical conception of the necessary conditions of being.

The distinctive Sadducean views may be classed (as by Schurer) under three heads: (1) they denied the resurrection, personal immortality, and retribution in a future life; (2) they denied angels, spirits, and demons; (3) they denied fate (*heimarmene*), and postulated freedom of action for every man to choose good or evil, and work out his own happiness or the reverse.

1. With regard to the first point, Sadduceism undoubtedly represents the old Jewish standpoint. Whatever doctrines may be inferred from the Torah, it is

¹ This seems possibly true to the circumstances, though Talmudic references are not to be implicitly accepted. The *Tôma* is not to be trusted for distant historical facts, but may represent a true traditional attitude.

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evident that the theory of a future life and future retribution is not mentioned in it.

6. Resurrection.

The object of, at any rate, the earlier parts of the Torah was not spiritual teaching, apart from the edification to be derived from the historical narrative, but to set forth the practical details of the ritual of Yahwism. Such words as 'holiness' and 'purity' had a technical religious meaning quite distinct from the moral content which has been put into them by later theology. From a law-book the poetical, the spiritual, the emotional were fittingly excluded. Into the causes of the development which we find in the other canonical books, in Phariseism, and in later Jewish thought, we need not enter here (see PHARISEES). That development was necessary. Sadduceism only emphasised the earlier point of view by rejecting the new doctrines with unvarying conservatism. When we consider that the Sadducees had a certain sympathy with Greek and foreign influences generally, this attitude may be thought remarkable. It is not so if we rightly understand the nature of the original Torah and the Semitic mind which is deeply interested in the problems of the present, but shows only a slight capacity or inclination for dealing with the questions of modern theology. The Jewish mind can indeed insist on the oneness of God; but how misplaced in a Midrash, nay, how impossible, would be for instance a discussion of the doctrine of homoousia, even if it could arise. Such questions have, or had, an attraction for the western mind. They have none for the Jew. Moreover, we may well suppose that in the aristocratic party a certain materialistic tendency would show itself, that practical politics would absorb attention to the exclusion of more contemplative pursuits. Whilst thus holding to primitive, formal Judaism, the Sadducees would, so far as they were disposed to be controversial, look with suspicion on Pharisaic developments, as tending, by a sort of self-contradiction, to vitiate the observance of the Law. The Pharisee was, indeed, exact in paying tithes of the mint and the annum; but a later teacher could say, 'Whoever gives a poor man a coin attains six blessings; but he who addresses to him soothing words attains eleven blessings' (כל המון פיוסו יגיע כבודו בשישה, כל המון פיוסו יגיע כבודו בשישה). Besides the danger of such teaching in undermining the foundations on which the Sadducean position rested, there may also have been a conscientious desire to arrest the breaking up of that system by which alone the nation could rightly serve God. They accordingly rejected entirely the oral tradition (אגדה) by which the Pharisees supplemented the written Law. According to Pharisaic doctrine this was of equal authority with the written Law, and in a sense even more binding, since it provided for what was not to be found in the Law. Later teachers claimed that the whole of tradition was revealed to Moses, who transmitted it orally to Joshua and the seventy elders. The difficulty of preserving it intact through so many centuries was evaded by the theory of a sort of apostolic succession (אגדה) a series of authoritative teachers. The whole of this superstructure, and therewith the doctrines deduced by it, chief among which was that of the future life, were ignored by the Sadducees.

2. With regard to the second specific point—the disbelief in angels, spirits, and demons—the Sadducean position was probably in advance of the Torah, where we still find traces of the belief, common to all primitive peoples, in the existence and power of demons. How they could abandon this, still more how they could explain it (e.g. the rite connected with Azazel) we do not know. It is, however, a natural consequence of the materialistic tendency and of the attitude described above. No doubt it was also emphasised by opposition to the Pharisaic development of angelology and demonology. Already in the Book of Daniel angels have names; in the Midrashim and

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the Talmud the system is further extended, and later, in the 'practical Kabbalah,' it passes all bounds.

3. For the third point—the freedom of will and the denial of fate—we have only the authority of Josephus.

8. Free-will. Schürer points out that this way of stating the case is entirely un-Jewish, although the question of God's providence was undoubtedly discussed. In spite of its not being contained by other evidence, it is very probable that Josephus' account is substantially correct. The doctrine is in agreement with the worldly, materialistic character of Sadduceism, noted above, and with their tendency to keep to the simplest elements of faith, rejecting all admixture of the supernatural. It also probably represents the point of view of the Pentateuch (e.g., Dt. 4 and 6). The Sadducees would not have denied that good and bad actions brought their respective consequences in this world, for a moral sanction is necessary; but they would reject any theory of predestination as well as that of future retribution. Possibly Persian influence may be traced here.

There remains yet a fourth point to be considered. According to the church fathers (Origen, Jerome) the

9. Torah. Sadducees accepted only the Torah, rejecting all the other canonical books. This seems to be a misconception based on Mt 22:34. Why should Jesus have chosen an argument from the Pentateuch, when others more obvious were to be found in the other books, unless the Sadducees acknowledged only the authority of the Pentateuch in such matters? We have, however, no evidence for such a view, which could hardly fail to be laid to their charge if there were the least ground for it. The argument from silence is not conclusive; but it is very strong here, for nothing could have been better calculated to damage an opponent than to show that he rejected any of the canonical books. The truth is, however, that the Jews have always regarded the Torah as or a wholly different level of holiness and authority from the other books. In the time of Ezra, which may be regarded as the starting-point of Judaism, as we understand it, the Torah must have been the only sacred writing. Other documents won their way only gradually to a canonical position. The conservative Sadducees would, no doubt, hold more rigidly than others to the supreme position of the Torah, and would view with a certain suspicion any enlargement of the canon as showing a Pharisaic tendency. (Up the attitude of the Protestant churches towards the Apocrypha.) It must be admitted too that the prophets and hagiographa generally lend more countenance to Pharisaic views than the Torah, and were, in fact, a result of the same development. Though we need not suppose, therefore, that they rejected them, the Sadducees may well have used them only for example of life and instruction of manners; and the argument in Mt 22:34 is probably chosen from the Torah in order to be above criticism. The statement of the fathers is no doubt partly due to a very common confusion with the SAMARITANS (12:7), who did accept only the Torah (for the same reasons which caused the Sadducees to regard it with special veneration), and, curiously enough, use the very passage quoted in Mt. as an argument for the future life.

For the literature see SCRIBES AND PHARISEES, § 21.

SADOC. 1. (Σαδοκ) 4 Esd. 11. See ZADOK. 2. (סדוק) [Fl. WH], Mt. 1:14. See GENESARUS.

SAFFRON (ספרא, *saffron*; κροκός, Cant 1:13). The Hebrew word is probably identical with סוף (suf), Ar. *karbūm*, both of which denote the crocus or saffron. The same word is found in Persian and Armenian; the latter probably borrowed from Heb., Lag. 1:108, *Ann. St.* 1611, and the common origin seems to be Sans. *śankuma*. The source of saffron is *crocus sativus*, L., a plant of doubtful origin, which, though found in

1 See the discussion in Flock, and Haub., 664 f.

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2. Meaning of *hāšid*.

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SAIL

Palestine (EFP 422), is not apparently indigenous there. D. H. Muller, on the other hand, separating karkom from the other words mentioned above, connects it with Ar. karkam (Sabb. 222) and Gk. κάραμον, and so takes it to be the resin of the dirre or mastic tree—i.e. pūr, 73 (Sabb. Denkm. 82). But Muller's identification of κάραμον with the resin of the mastic tree is a mistake: κάραμον is, according to Fraas (Syn. Pl. Fl. class. 87), derived from Amyris [Balsamodendron] Kotsch., and is in all probability therefore the fragrant gum much esteemed in the east as 'Bissa hūd'—in fact, an inferior kind of myrrh. Mordtmann does not believe in the connection of קרם with karkam and κάραμον; and it seems best to follow ancient tradition in identifying the Heb. word with saffron.

SAIL. 1. מִפְרָטִי, miphraṭi; ΕΥΓΩΜΝΗ, Ezek. 27 7. N. M. -W. r. 1. -11.

'Thy sail to serve as ensign' (21; 28). 2. 22, nēs; σμηναίον or ῥάστρα (9; 18, 33 23). 'The many-colored sails served in ancient times as distinguishing marks.' See SMR.

SAINT. We have to deal, in this article, not with the subject of Christian, or rather biblical, 'perfection,' but with the use of 'saint' and 'holy' in the EV. The former word, as a rendering, either of ἅγιος or of ἁγίος, has had the unfortunate effect of obscuring characteristic biblical ideas. Readers of the EV must therefore supply for themselves the necessary mental correction or interpretation. AV applies the term in OT:

1. To the angels (ἁγίοι, אֱלֹהִים). Job 5: 15-15 Ps. 90: 6-6 Zech 1: 13. RV, however, calls the angels 'holy ones.' Whether even this phrase conveys the right idea to a modern reader may be doubted (see 6), and we may well be grateful to Budge (note on Job 5) for his suggestion 'heavenly ones.'

2. To persons who are 'holy'—i.e., consecrated (ἅγιος, ἁγίος, ἁγίος)—e.g., Ps. 106: 16 (Aaron), 34: 9 (Dan. 7: 18 21 f. 25 27 (faithful worshippers of Yahwe), 80, too, RV.

3. To Israelites who fulfil the duties of piety (ἅγιος, ἁγίος, sanctus, see LOVINGKINDNESS), 1 S. 29: 1 (David) or om. Ps. 16: 10 30: 4 [5] 50: 5 52: 9 [11] 79: 1 Prov. 2: 9 (εὐλαβισμένον), etc.; so RV, except in 1 S. 20, where it gives (not happily) 'holy ones,' and in mg. 'godly ones.' 'Loyal ones' would give one side of the meaning (cp Ps. 50: 5). In NT (see above) the EV uses 'saints' often of Christians. It may be a convenient term; but if ideas are to be translated, 'God's people' would perhaps be a better rendering, with a marg. 'holy ones'—i.e., consecrated ones.

Two passages in Rev. deserve attention. In 17: 3, AV's 'thou king of saints' (ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἁγίων, TR, L, WH, G, B, 7, 20) has become in RV 'thou king of the ages' (ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων, RV, WH); and in 18: 20 AV's 'ye holy apostles and prophets' has become 'ye saints, and ye apostles, and ye prophets.' Textual criticism certainly has had its rights; but the rendering 'saints' seems an unnecessary concession to a usage more honored in the breach than in the observance. 'Ye holy ones' would surely have been adequate.

There are also great difficulties connected with EV's use of the rendering 'holy,' especially when it is used for ἅγιος (on which cp Dr. Parr, Ps. 44: 3).

1. Meaning of ἅγιος. Kirkpatrick, Psalms, 544 f.; BDB, s. v. 1. Ps. 86: 2. 'Preserve thou my soul, O Lord, I am holy' (ἅγιος); so AV, cp Vg. and Jer.; but 'I am godly.' AV is here even more misleading than in 18: 20, where other my saints [ἁγίων] together into me'. Who can be the speaker of these words but the Sinless One? asks Augustine. This of course is theology, not exegesis (cp OP, 260), and even if we take Ps. 86 to be psalm of the pious community (Smend, Ba., etc.) yet, as the community, while maintaining its consciousness of righteousness, would abstain from calling itself

1. On this see Thoms, 121; Phil., H. V. 12 14. 2. See also (Hist. of Heb., 172) calls this Amyris Kapa, which is possibly the same thing.

SAINT

subjectively 'holy' or 'sinless.' It is not to the state of holiness that the Psalmist lays claim, but to the overwhelming affection of moral love, the same in kind as that of which he is conscious towards his brother Israelites, and in some degree towards his brother men. To a good Israelite there is no boastfulness implied in such a claim as the Psalmist's. Whom should he love but Yahwe, who has granted Israel a "covenant ordered in all things and sure," a covenant based on the presupposition that those who desire its benefits are bound by practical love to each other, and, both as individuals and as a community, by worshipping and obedient love to Jehovah' (A. L., 345 f. 12). Kirkpatrick (op. cit.), however, following Hupfeld, thinks the passive sense, 'be-loved'—i.e., the object of thy lovingkindness, 'far more suitable.' See LOVINGKINDNESS.

2. Ps. 16: 5. 'Neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One' (ἅγιος), etc. RV removes the capital letters; RVmg. 'Or godly; or beloved.' Any rendering would be better than 'holy one' or 'Holy One.' Perhaps 'thy loyal one' gives the most important part of the sense best. The phrase implies an argument; 'thou wilt preserve me because of the covenant bond of lovingkindness.'

In Ps. 25: 10, too, the same idea underlies the text, if ἅγιος is right in entering the very beautiful ἁγίος (25: 10) into ἅγιος (25: 10), 'have mercy upon me, for I am loyal (to the covenant).' In all such passages piety is the speaker, not an individual (though a Christian application can be reasonably defended). In Ps. 16 the reading of the text (Kt.) is 'thy holy ones.' EV, however, in following the Hebrew margin (Kt.) has the authority of the versions, and the best MSS and editions. The case with Ps. 89: 20 is somewhat similar.

3. Ps. 89: 20. ἁγίων, AV 'Thou spakest in vision to thy Holy One' (ἅγιος); RV 'to thy saints,' because 'Holy One' (ἅγιος) precedes in 2 and because the text (Kt.) and the versions have plural, though the singular is supported by the H. e. marg. (Kt.) and by some MSS and early editions. Certainly the 'vision' of 2 S. 7 was to an individual (Nathan); though ultimately it belonged to all the ἁγίους. 'Godly ones (one),' as Driver, or 'to thy loyal ones (one),' would be an improvement on AV's rendering.

4. 1 S. 26. 'He will keep the feet of his holy ones,' RVmg. 'of his godly ones' (ἁγίων, Kt.; but ἁγίων, Kt.). EV is unfortunate.

5. and 6. 1 Tim. 2: 8. EV 'holy hands'; Tit. 1: 8, 'just, holy, temperate.' ἁγιος is never ἁγιος; it comes nearer to ἁγιος, and denotes the righteousness of him who regards not chiefly the law, but the lawgiver; in short, piety. So Philo, δεωότης μὲν πρὸς Θεοῦ, δικαιοσύνη δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων θεωρεῖται (Op. Maugey, 2 v.).

But there are difficulties of another order—difficulties inherent in the prevalent system of translation. Are

3. A designation of God.

only words to be translated, or ideas also? Must not, in certain cases, a concession be made to a wider theory of translation than that which is possible in a mere revision of an old version? The names of God, at any rate, it would seem, need to be retranslated, at least in the margin. 'The Holy One of Israel' is a phrase which, taken simply as it stands, scarcely conveys any idea. ἁγιος and ἁγιος being so nearly synonymous terms, we might give as an alternative rendering 'the Majestic One whom Israel worships.' 'The Devoted One of Israel'—i.e., 'He who is devoted to Israel' (Huff, OT Theology, 109)—can scarcely be the meaning; ἁγιος implies one who dwells in unapproachable light, and has no contact, save by acts of judgment or by covenant favour, with earthly things; Ezekiel once has the phrase 'the Holy One in Israel' (Ezek. 39: 7; see Davidson, ad l. c.). Israel is 'holy' (i.e., devoted, dedicated) to Yahwe, no doubt; but this phrase implies a secondary sense of the word 'holy.' The rendering 'Majestic One' (majesty and dazzling purity are connected ideas) will suit also in Hos. 11: 9 of which Huff also gives an unusual exposition, OT Theology, 109, which contains the words, 'I am God, and not man,

SALA

the Majestic One in the midst of thee.' Hosea announces the destruction of Ephraim or Israel (see Nowack), because God is not, like an impressionable human being, to be cajoled into forgiveness; he is in the midst of Israel in all his awful majesty, and must sweep out of existence those who persistently reject his gracious condescension. 'Holiness,' as early as the age of Hosea, tends to become ethical. On the holiness of Israel and of Israelites, cp Weber, *Jud. Theol.* 52 ff.; Lazarus, *Die Ethik des Judenthums*, 311 ff. (1898). T. K. C.

SALA (σαλα [Ti. VII]), Lk. 3:35; and **SALAH** (סָלַח, Gen. 10:24); RV SHELAH.

SALAMIEL (σαλαμιηλ [BA]), Judith 8:1 RV. See SHELMUEL.

SALAMIS (σαλαμικ, Acts 13:5). Salamis (represented by the modern town of *Famagusta*) was situated on the eastern side of Cyprus, near the river Podos which traverses the fertile plain which runs inland to *Nicosia*, the present capital of the island. It had the advantage of a good harbour, which in history is famous for the double victory of the Athenians over the Phoenicians in 449 B.C., and the great sea-fight in which Demetrius Poliorcetes defeated Ptolemy I. in 306 B.C. From prehistoric times Cyprus was famous for its copper mines (copper in fact deriving its name from that of the island; see **CYPRUS**), and its valuable timber supplies. From the ninth century B.C. iron also was worked (cp Plin. *HN* 342). The forests, though much reduced by the continual export of timber, had not wholly disappeared even in imperial times (Strabo, 684). Corn, wine, and oil were also exported, and salt was prepared at Salamis and at Kitron (Plin. *HN* 3184). In all these natural advantages Salamis largely shared, and in fact became by far the largest and most prosperous town in the island, to a great extent owing to its favourable situation with respect to the Syrian coast and also to that of Cilicia. Even distant Lebanon is visible from the mountain *Σαλαμιναί* (2260 ft. high) above *Larnaka* (anc. Kitron) on the S.E. coast (cp Is. 23:1, 'from the land of Chittim it is revealed to them'—i.e., 'the smoke of burning Tyre').¹ Much more readily than is the opposite coast in the neighbourhood of Seleucia and Antioch visible from Salamis.

The natural result was that Cyprus displayed a long-continued struggle between Phœnician and Hellenic civilisations. Greek tradition, however, consistently claims Salamis as a very early Hellenic colony, along with Curium; and we now know that both were centres of the civilisation called 'Mycenean,' which is certainly not Semitic. Nevertheless, in Salamis as elsewhere, Phœnicians and Greeks were settled side by side, and although Hellenic influences had a firm hold upon the town, this affected little the general condition of the island, where upon the whole the original basic population was in affinity with the Phœnician element. After the withdrawal of the Greeks from interference in Cyprus upon the conclusion of the Peace of Cimon, there took place a reaction against Hellenism, until about 410 B.C., when Evagoras won back his ancestral throne of Salamis. Salamis was thus once more open to Hellenic influences and was connected by close bonds with Athens (Isocr. *Evag.* 47 f., *CI* 2:307). Subsequently it was to Egypt that Cyprus succumbed; for in 215 B.C. Ptolemy reconquered the island, and under the Ptolemaic regime large numbers of Jews settled in it (cp 1 Mace. 15:21). Their numbers would be increased under the early Empire owing to the fact that Herod

¹ [One form of the ordinary view is thus expressed by Hellitzsch (*Lebanon*, F.T. 14 c), 'Cyprus, the principal Phœnician empire, is the last place of call.' As soon as they put in here, what they had heard as a rumour on the high sea is disclosed to these crews (882)—i.e., it becomes clear, undoubted certainty.' But this does not exhaust the possibilities of meaning. See, further, *Crit. Bib.*]

SALEM, THE VALLEY OF

the Great farmed the Cyprian copper mines (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 45). Hence we find apparently more than one synagogue at Salamis, whither of course the majority of the Jews would congregate (Acts 13:5).

Various reasons account for the fact that Salamis was the starting-point of the missionary work of Paul and Barnabas. Not only was Barnabas himself a Cypriote (Acts 4:36, *Κίπριος τῷ γενεῖ*), possibly, for aught we know to the contrary, a native of Salamis; but many natives of the island were Christians and had set the example of missionary enterprise (Acts 11:19 f.); and lastly, the number of the Jews established there and in other parts of the island was a guarantee of the existence of a proportionate number of proselytes. If Cyprus was to be visited at all, entry would be most naturally made from Syria at Salamis, which besides was connected with Paphos by two good roads—one by way of Soli, the other along the S. coast by way of Curium and Citium (vid. *Tab. Pent.*).

As regards the later history of Salamis, mention should be made of the great insurrection of the Jews in the time of Trajan (117 A.D.), in which a large part of the city was destroyed. Hadrian in consequence expelled all Jews from the island and closed it to them under penalty of death (Müller, *Hist. of the Jews*, 311 f.). In Constantine's time, having been ruined by earthquakes, Salamis was rebuilt, and renamed Constantia (cp Jer. *Philos.*). In the fourth century A.D., consequent upon the discovery of the relics of Barnabas, with a copy of the First Gospel, at Salamis, Cyprus was made autonomous and the patriarch has ever since enjoyed the right of signing his name in red ink. W. J. W.

SALASADAI (σαλασαδαι [A]), Judith 8:1. See ZURISHADDAI.

SALATHIEL (סָלַחְיָהוּ, 1 Ch. 3:17; σαλαθιηλ [Ti. VII]), Lk. 3:27; RV SHEALTIEL.

SALCAH, RV **Salechah** (סָלְחָה; [c]ελαχα [BAFL]), an ancient city on the E. border of Bashan (Jos. 13:11, *Δαχ* [B]), possibly also the name of a district (cp 12:5, *σεκχαι* [B], *αεελαχ* [A]), which belonged to the line of Manasseh (De. 3:15, AV **Salechah**) and later to Gad (1 Ch. 5:11). Salech, the mod. Salhat or Sahad, is situated four or five hours E. of Bosra, on an eminence (probably once a crater) in a very strong position on the S. extremity of the Jebel Haurân. It seems to have been holy, contended for by the Arameans and the Israelites respectively, and may have played a prominent part in the legends, legendary genealogies, and history of the Israelites, though Cheyne thinks a geographical confusion may well be suspected, see GILEAD, RAMOTH-GILEAD, cp also ZELOPHHAD. It was well known to early Arabian geographers. The Nabataeans called it *سَلْحَا*, and an inscription found there (of 66 A.D.) refers to the fact that the goddess al-Lât (سَلْحَا) was especially honoured by its inhabitants (*CIS* 2:182). For descriptions of the modern place see Burckhardt, *Reisen*, 180; de Vogüé, *Syr. Centr.* 107-9; cp also Buhl, *Pal.* 252.

SALEM, or rather **SHALEM** (שָׁלֵם, Gen. 14:18 [ADL]); *σαλαμ*, Ps. 76:2 [3], *εν ειρηνη* [B&RT]. See JERUSALEM, SHILOH, MELCHIZEDEK, SODOM.

SALEM, THE VALLEY OF (τον αγλωνα σαλημ

[B&A], *Syr.* *سَلْحَا* *سَلْحَا*), one of the localities where the Jewish inhabitants took defensive measures against Holofernes (Judith 4). Some well-known place must be meant—not, therefore, the Salumias of OS 119:8, 8 R. m. from Scythopolis (Reland), or the Salim near Nâblus (Wolff). Probably the whole verse should run thus, '... Samaria and CYAMON [2:7], and BETHAM (see BETHEN), and Jericho, and the circle of Jordan (Syr.; see CITOBA), and to Esdraelon.' The words *και αισωρα και τον αγλωνα σαλημ* seem to be made up of three fragments of *εσδρηλων εσδρηλων*. (C) *αλωσι* for *αλω* in Dt. 11:39, *οι αλωσι* in Hex.) T. K. C.

¹ Owing to the fact that in nearly every case the Gk. name follows *עוֹר*, the initial of the name has been often dropped, and it appears under the form *ελαχα*.

SALEMAS

SALEMAS (SALAMH), 4 Esd. 1: RV. See SHAL- LUM, 6.

SALIM (CΑΛΕΙΜ [Ti.WH], v.l. CΑΛΛΕΙΜ [V], CΑΛΗΜ [V, Eus. Cyr. Theophylact]), a place, on the W. of the Jordan, near which was Enon, where John baptized, Jn. 3:23f. The reason given for the choice of Enon (= a place of fountains) is, 'because there were many springs (ιδατα) there,' so that a multitude could spread themselves out, and John could pass from one spring to another baptizing them. Eus. and Jer. (OS 2459c 13425) place Enon 8 R. m. S. of Seythopolis, 'juxta Salim et Jordanem,' and it is true that about seven miles from Beisan there is a large Christian ruin called 'Umm el-'Andan, near which are several springs. But no name like Salem or Enon has been found there. Conder himself, who points this out, identifies Enon with the springs between the well-known Salim (near Nablus) and a place called 'Amiin, in the Wady Fari'a. The place is accessible from all quarters, especially from Jerusalem and Galilee (see the attractive description in Tent Work, 257f.). But the distance of the springs from Salim (about seven miles) is rather against this identification. It should be noticed, too (1) that Jesus, as we are told, was at this time baptizing in the country districts of Judaea (v. 22), and was apparently not very far from John, and (2) that 'near Salim' is really mentioned to explain the ready access of the Jews to John (δτι ιδατα πολλά ην εκει has the appearance of being a gloss). Considering the frequent errors of the text connected with 'Salem,' it is very plausible to correct τοι σαλημ (see above) into ερουσαλημ, in which case it becomes natural to identify Enon with 'Ain Kirim, which boasts of its beautiful St. Mary's Well, and to the W. of which is the 'Ain el-Hahs (the Hermit's Fountain), connected by a very late Christian tradition with John the Baptist. The legendary connection should not prejudice us against the view here proposed, which rests solely on exegetical and geographical considerations. Cp BEFIT-HACCEREM, and, for an analogous emendation, NAIN.

On the tradition connecting 'Ain Kirim with John the Baptist, see Schick, ZDPV 22[199] 81 Z. T. K. C.

SALIMOTH (CΑΛΕΙΜΩΘ [B]), 1 Esd. 8:36 RV = Ezra 8:16, SUELOMITHU, 4.

SALLAI (שָׁלַי), 1. Neh. 12:20; in 127 SALLU (q. v. II). 2. See GABBAI SALLAI.

SALLAMUS (CΑΛΛΟΥΜΟΣ [B*A]), 1 Esd. 9:25 = Ezra 10:24, SHALLUM, II.

SALLU (שָׁלּוּ [Neh.], שָׁלֻף [Ch.]), a Judean Benjamite (BENJAMIN, § 9, iii.), temp. Nehemiah (Neh. 11:7, חָלָו [B*A], חָלָוּמ [B*A], CΑΛΛΑ [L]; 1 Ch. 9:7; CΑΛΩΜ [B], CΑΛΩ [A]). Cp SALU.

SALLU (שָׁלּוּ), a priest enumerated in one of the post-exilic lists (Neh. 12 CΑΛΟΥΔΑ [B*A sup.], CΑΛΟΥΔΑ [L], om. B*A). In Neh. 12:20 the name is SALLAI (שָׁלַי; σαλλαι [B*A sup.], σαλοαι [L], om. B*A); and the head of Sallai's 'father's house' in the time of Joiakim, Joshua's successor, is said to have been KALLAI (שָׁלַי).

SALMA (שָׁלְמָה), the name of the clan which was reckoned as the 'father' of Bethlehem, 1 Ch. 2:51 54, and introduced into the genealogy of Jesus, 7:11. According to Wellhausen (II 358, cp De gent. 29), Salma is the father of Bethlehem after the exile. But to the present writer there is good reason to suppose that the Bethlehem intended is not the Bethlehem in Judah, but another Bethlehem—i.e., Beth-jerahmeel, in the Negeb (RUTH, § 4). It will be noticed that the

It is true that the Fourth Evangelist, according to the RV, invariably uses ερουσαλημ. But he may now and then have used ερουσαλημ, like other evangelists.

SALMONE

'sons' of Salma include Netophah and Atroth-beth-Joab. Now Netophah is most probably a modification of Nephthoah or Naphtoah (cp NAPHTCUM, SALMAH, 2), and Atroth of Ephrath. See JABEZ, SHORAL, and, on the Arabian affinities of this clan, SALMAH (77: 51 54; σαλωμων [BA], σαμα, -aa [L]; v. 11, σαλωμ [BL], -ap [A]). T. K. C.

SALMAH (שָׁלְמָה; CΑΛΜΩΝ [AL], 'AN [B]), 1. Ruth 4:20 RV¹⁸⁸⁸, according to MT's reading. See SALMA, SALMON.

2. The name of an Arabian people mentioned in several OT passages—Cant. 1:5 1 K. 4:11 Nu. 24:23 Ezra 2:55 58 (and passages), Neh. 11:3. (1) In Cant. 1:5 the poet couples the 'tent-curtains of Salmah' (read שָׁלְמָה, not שָׁלֵם) with the 'tents of Kedar' (see CANTICLES, § 6, col. 687). Now the tribes of KEDAR (q. v.) tenanted the region afterwards appropriated by the Salmarians (שָׁלְמָה), and the Salmarians were followed by the Nabataeans. The two latter peoples are mentioned together in a Nabataean inscription (CS ii. 1079). Pliny mentions the 'Salmani et Masei Arabes' (NH 6:30), and Steph. Byz., quoted by Euting, refers to the Σαλμαιοι as an Arab population in alliance with the Nabataeans. The emendation in Cant. 1:5 is due to Wellh. (Proz. 218, n. 1); cp Wi. AOF 1:196 292. (2) Most probably in 1 K. 4:11 שָׁלְמָה should be pointed שָׁלְמָה. This suggestion assumes that two of Solomon's prefects, supposed to have had daughters of Solomon as wives, really married Salmarian or Salmarian women. One of these is called Basemath (שָׁבַשׁ), a corruption of 'Ishma'elith; the other TARHATH, perhaps a corruption of Naphtulith (cp 1 Ch. 2:54, reading Naphtulith). (3) The impossible words שָׁלְמָה in Nu. 1:20 should be emended into שָׁלְמָה or שָׁלְמָה. The context relates to the Kenites. Observe that in the Targumim שָׁבַשׁ is the equivalent of the Heb. שָׁבַשׁ. See, however, BALAAM, § 6; Wi. AOF 2:423. (4) On the passages relating to the שָׁלְמָה in Ezra-Neh., see SOLOMON'S SERVANTS, SONS OF.

Winkler (AOF 2:437) proposes to substitute the 'Salmarians' for 'Shalman' in Hos. 10:14, as the barbarous captors of Beth-arbel. In this he shows much acumen; but it is more probable that 'Shalman' is the name of one of the N. Arabian kings who invaded the Negeb. He was apparently a king of the N. Arabian Cushim or Cush (see Crit. Bib. on Hos. 10:14 Am. 1:3). This article illustrates the names SALMA, SALLAI, SALMON, SALLAI, SUELOMIEL. T. K. C.

SALMAI (שָׁלְמָי [ord. text]), Neh. 7:43 RV, AV SHALMAI.

SALMANASAR (Salmanassar), 4 Esd. 13:40; in Kings, SUALMANEZER.

SALMON (שָׁלְמוֹן), Ps. 68:14 [15]† RV, AVZALMON, 2.

SALMON (שָׁלְמוֹן; CΑΛΜΑΝ [B]; 'ΜΩΝ [AL]), father of Boaz, Ruth 4:20 f. (a variant to MT's SALMAH in 7:20, cp Vg.). Mt. 14 Lk. 3:32 (EV CΑΛΜΩΝ [B*AD]; but CΑΛΑ [B]). See RUTH, § 4. Mt. (14) makes him the husband of RAHAB, whom, however, Talmudic tradition makes, as a proselyte, the wife of Joshua. Cp Nestle, Exp. T 1091, and see GENEALOGIES II., § 2.

SALMONE (CΑΛΜΩΝΗ Ti.WH), a cape at the eastern extremity of Crete, as appears from the passage in Acts 27:7, when it is spoken of as the first land sighted after leaving Cnidus.

The ship on which Paul sailed beat up with difficulty (μόλις, 7:7) to the latitude of Cnidus from Myra. A true course W. by S. from Cnidus would have taken her by the N. side of Crete. As she was unable to hold that course, but was yet able to fetch the eastern cape of the island, which bears SW. by S. from Cnidus, we may infer that the wind blew from between NNW. and WNW. (assuming that the ship could make good a course about seven points from the wind). The wind, therefore, in common language would have been termed NW. (See Smith,

This explanation of Basemath accounts for the double name of Esau's wife—Basemath and Mahalath—i.e., 'Ishmaelith' and 'Jerahmeelith'. The initial B (of Mt. see 2) is secondary.

SALOAS

Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul, 74 f. Such winds prevail in the eastern Mediterranean in the summer, and are the Etesian winds of the ancients (Aristotle, *De Mundo*, 115; Phoy, *II*, 24).

As regards the identification of Salomone some doubt is possible. The name appears in various forms.

Σαλωμων, Acts 27:7; Σαλωμωνος ἀγρα, Apoll. Rhod. *Argon.* 4193; Σαλωμωνος, Str. 650² the most frequently recurring form; Σαλωμων (Str. 472, etc.); *Strabonius, mem.*, 11 315 and 355, Plol. 317; *the RV* 120 (Sammoum).

The extreme NE. cape, now called *Cape Sidhoro* (the 'Iron Cape') or *C. Salomon*, is generally supposed to be the ancient Cape Salomone; but it is perhaps more probable that Cape Salomone should be identified with the promontory called *Plaka*, some 7 m. to the southward (so it is in the map in vol. i. of Spratt's *Travels and Researches in Crete*; see discussion of the point, *ib. l. 100 f.*). It is very possible also that the usage of the name may have varied in ancient times in the case of two conspicuous promontories lying so close together.

W. J. W.

SALOAS (σαλαθας [B]). 1 Esd. 9:22 RV = Ezra 10:22, ELAS 10, 1.

SALOM (σαλωωω [ANV]). 1 Macc. 2:26 AV, RV SAU.

SALOME (σαλωωω, see NAMES, § 50, cp 'Shelmin', 'Shelminel'; or, perhaps, 'Salima,' see ISRAEL, 2:9, *ad fin.* and cp SOTOMON, § 1), one of the women who witnessed the crucifixion and afterwards visited the sepulchre of Jesus, Mk. 15:41 f. She is almost certainly to be identified with the wife of Zebedee, the mother of James and John; see Mt. 27:56, and cp CLOPAS, § 2.

The name Salome was borne also (1) by the daughter of Herodias; see HEROD, § 13; (2) by the wife of Alexander Jannaeus; see ISRAEL, § 80.

SALT (ἡ θάλασσα, also ἄλας, ἄλας).³ Indispensable as the use of salt appears to us, it must have been quite unobtainable to primitive man in many parts of the world.

1. Domestic uses of salt. Indeed where men live mainly on milk and flesh, consuming the latter raw or roasted, so that its salts are not lost, it is not necessary to add sodium chloride, and thus we understand how the Numidian nomads in the time of Sallust and the Bedouins of Hadramaut at the present day never eat salt with their food. On the other hand, cereal or vegetable diet calls for a supplement of salt, and so does boiled meat. The important part played by the mineral in the history of commerce and religion depends on this fact. At a very early stage of progress salt became a necessary of life to most nations, and in many cases they could procure it only from abroad, from the sea-coast, or from districts like that of Palmyra, where salty incrustations are found on the surface of the soil. The Hebrews had ready access to an unlimited supply of this necessity of life in the waters of the Dead Sea, and in the range of rock-salt at its south-western extremity.

When the waters of the 'Salt Sea' (see DEAD SEA) subside after the spring floods have caused them to rise several feet beyond their normal level, the heavily impregnated water, left in the marshes on its borders, rapidly evaporates, leaving a deposit of salt. The Dead Sea is said to yield by evaporation 24.57 lbs. of salt in 100 lbs. of water, as compared with 6 lbs. from the same quantity of water taken from the Atlantic Ocean (Hull).

It has been adduced as evidence of the 'practical turn of the prophet's mind' (Dr. *Intr.*⁶ 294) that the marshes found on the western shore of the Dead Sea in Ezekiel's day are expressly exempted from the sweetening and purifying influence of the river of the prophetic vision (*Ezek.* 47:11). The second source of supply, above referred to, was the famous ridge of Jebel

¹ Σαλωμωνος και Σαλωμωνος, ακρωτηριον Κρητης, *Schol. in loc.* Cp *Hom.*, *Perieg.*, 100 f.

² Cp Ἀβαρια Σαλωμων in *CG* 2555, l. 13.

³ Certain parts of this article which it has not been deemed necessary to indicate specially are taken from Professor Robertson Smith's contribution to the article 'Salt' in *Ency. Biblic.*

SALT

Usdum, whence probably came the *mlah sedomita* (מלח סדום) or 'salt of Sodom' of the Talmud. This ridge, which geologists tell us must once have formed the bottom of a larger lake, consists mainly of rock-salt, the friable nature of which, under climatic influences, causes portions of the range to assume fantastic shapes. One of these, a pillar resembling in outline a gigantic female form, gave rise in the prehistoric period to the familiar legend of Gen. 19:26 (cp *Wisd.* 10:7 where the pillar of salt is characterised as 'a monument of an unbelieving soul'—*Jos. Ant.* 1.114 [§ 293], and the illustration in *Stade, GIV* 119). To one or other of these sources of supply reference is made in the obscure *mikrah mlah* (מִכְרַח מֶלַח) of *Lev.* 29 (EV 'saltpats'; Ἡ θυμαρία ἄλατος), it being uncertain whether the expression signifies salt-pans for evaporation (πας τοῦ ἁλατος of 1 Macc. 11:35), or salt-pits for the excavation of salt.

As among ourselves, salt entered in countless ways into the domestic and social economy of the Hebrews. A morsel of bread and salt and 'water by measure' (1:14, 4:1) are given by a late Jewish thinker as the irreducible minimum of human sustenance (*Pirke Aboth* 6:4).

Similarly, among the principal things for the whole use of man's life, the son of Sirach assigns a prominent place to salt (*Ecclesi.* 39:26, cp *Job* 6:6).

Bread (מִן הַלֶּחֶם, *Abth* 1:2) and olives (*Ma'at* v. 4:3) *l'hamot* in salt were the poor man's fare; or the salt might be dissolved in water for this purpose (*Shab.* 142; cp *Ezek.* 31). The stronger form as brine (מִן הַלֶּחֶם—*ל.ע.*, ἄλας), salt water (מִן הַלֶּחֶם) was used for pickling vegetables and meat (*Bar.* 1:9 [H. p. of *Jerem.* 25] and in the preparations of olives for the table (*FRUIT*, § 9).

The practice of rubbing the flesh of newly killed animals with salt for the purpose of depleting it of any particle of blood required a large supply of salt. So, too, the process of pickling (ἡ παρασκευα) and preserving fish, which formed so important an article of commerce (for methods adopted see *FRUIT*, § 7). Salt was also employed for preserving hides (*Middoth*, 5:3). In the Messianic age, even the domestic animals are to share in the material joys of the period by having their provender seasoned by the addition of saline herbs (*Is.* 30:4 *מִן הַלֶּחֶם*, RV *me* 'salted'). Besides the natural sea and rock-salt, the Jews of later times were familiar with the *sals conditum* or spiced salt of the Romans (מִן הַלֶּחֶם *ל.ע.* *Zer.* 26—for other readings and explanations see *Jastrow, Dict. of Targ.*, etc., 1:7). Salt was also used medicinally. A grain of salt in a decayed tooth was reckoned a cure for toothache (*Shab.* 6:5). Here, too, may perhaps be classed the rubbing of new born babies with salt, attested by Ezekiel (16:4, see *FAMILY*, § 4), varied by washing in salted water (*Van Lempe, Lande Lande*, 560), although it probably had its origin in a quite different circle of ideas as a safeguard against demonic influence (cp *Bekhoroth* 40a, where salt at meals is alleged to have this effect). For the medicinal properties of the water of the 'Salt Sea' see *DEAD SEA* (col. 1045). Many other illustrations of the curative properties of salt itself, as employed among semi-civilised races, are given by Trumbull in his exhaustive treatise *The Covenant of Salt*, 1899. The economic importance of salt is further indicated by the almost universal prevalence in ancient and mediæval times, and indeed in most countries down to the present day, of salt taxes, or of Government monopolies.

An interesting and exhaustive study of the working of the salt monopoly in Egypt under the Ptolemies is given by V. Wessely in his recent work *Griechische Ostraka aus Ägypten*, 1901 (114 ff. ἡ ἄλας, salt-tax). In Palestine under the Seleucids the salt-pans on the shore of the Dead Sea were also a government property, as we learn from the remission of the duty upon salt (ἡ τιμη τοῦ ἁλατος) decreed by Demetrius in 162 B.C. (cp *1 Macc.* 10:24, 25). We

1 The identical expression ἀπὸ τῆς θάλασσης is found upon an Egyptian ostrakon (Wilcken, *op. cit.* 1:222).

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SALT

have no further information, unfortunately, as to the details of the operation of this tax.

That a religious significance was attached to a substance so highly prized, which was often obtained with difficulty, is no more than natural.

2. Salt in the sacrificial ritual.

But it must also be remembered that the habitual use of salt is intimately connected with the advance from nomadic to agricultural life, i.e.—with precisely that step in civilisation which had most influence on the cults of almost all ancient nations. The gods were worshipped as the givers of the kindly fruits of the earth, and, as all over the world 'bread and salt' go together in common use and common phrase, salt was habitually connected with offerings, at least with all offerings which consisted, in whole or in part, of cereal elements. This practice is found alike among the Greeks and Romans, and among the Semitic peoples (Lev. 2:13); Homer calls salt 'divine,' and Plato names it 'a substance dear to the gods' (*Timæus*, 60; cp Plutarch, *Sympos.* 503).

Bread and salt were the chief and inseparable constituents of the Hebrews' daily food. It was, therefore, to be expected that every offering—was it not the 'bread of God' (לֶחֶם אֱלֹהִים Lev. 2:12)—land upon the altar should also have the accompaniment of salt. It is immaterial whether we regard the actual provision of Lev. 2:13: 'With all thine oblations thou shalt offer salt, as younger than the more special provision of 1:34 'every oblation of thy meal offering (minhah) shalt thou season with salt (RV)'; as Dillmann and some others are inclined to do (but see Ezek. 43:24), since both the fundamental conception of primitive sacrifice and the extant testimony to the actual practice in historical times point to the constant practice of adding salt to every species of offering, animal and vegetable alike.

Hence the statement of Mk. 9:46, 'every sacrifice shall be salted with salt,' though absent from the oldest authorities, is a statement of fact (cp for the NT times Jos. *Ant.* iii. 9. 1, Mishna, *Zabab.* ii. 5 f.). Even incense was not excepted (see Isc. 1:13, 46), and the Greek text of Lev. 2:13 is doubtless right in adding salt to the SHEW-BREAD (which see, and cp Philo, *Vit. Mos.* 3 to Ied. Mangey, 2:51) 'loaves and salt'. Grants of salt for the services of the restored worship of the returning exiles were thus entirely in place (Ezra 6:9, 22; cp for a later period the decree of Antiochus '345 medimni of salt,' Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3:3 [§ 140]).

Whilst, however, the origin of the presence of salt in the cultus is to be traced to a primitive conception of sacrifice, it must be borne in mind that at the stage of religious thought reflected in the priestly legislation, the use of salt has already become symbolical (see § 3).

In the cults of Greece and Rome we find the same appreciation of salt, as is shown by the frequent references in classical writers (see Di. Rysell, *Kurzgef. excrcit. Handb.*, on Lev. 2:13; also Hein. *Das Salz*, 6 ff., Schleiden, *Das Salz*, 73 ff. [1875]). It also appears in the lists of offerings in the older cultus system of Babylonia (Zim. *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Babyl. Religion* 1901, 95). Cp RITUAL, § 110, col. 4123.

The absolute barrenness of the region bordering on the Dead Sea, owing to the saline incrustations with which the ground is covered, naturally suggested the employment, by various Hebrew writers of salt as a figure for barrenness and desolation (Dt. 29:23 [22]; cp Job 39:6 Jer. 17:6). Such a barren waste, innocent of every form of vegetation, formed a fitting contrast to 'the fruitful land' (Ps. 107:34 render with RV 'a salt desert [שָׂדֵה מֶלַח] for 'barrenness' of AV). This figurative use of 'salt' and 'saltiness' is not confined to Hebrew, being found in several of the other Semitic dialects (Toy, 'Ezekiel,' *SBOT*, 74 ET). The same idea has usually been regarded as underlying the expressive symbolical act, once referred to in the OT, of sowing a city that had been put under the ban (*hērem*, see BAN) with salt (Judg. 9:45). It is more probable, however, that this practice is to be brought into connection with the use of salt in sacrifice (*Ael. Sem.* (2) 454 n.), the idea of the complete dedication of the city to Yahwe, as symbolised by the sowing of it with salt, being more in harmony

3. Salt in symbol and metaphor.

with the fundamental conception of the 'ban.'¹ This practice is also attested for Cyprus (*Ael. Sem.* (2) *loc. cit.*, Schleiden, *Das Salz*, 95, who adduces as historical parallels the tradition that Attila so treated Paphos and Friedrich Barbarossa, Milano. [Cp also Zimmern's correction (in Gunkel, 'Gen.' in *HK*, 193) of the translations of Assyrian inscriptions (Tiglath-pileser and Ashur-bani-pal) in *ABR* 37 207, where 'salt' should be read for 'stones' and 'dry sand'.]

SALT

As covenants were ordinarily made over a sacrificial meal, in which salt was a necessary element, the expression 'a covenant of salt' (Nu. 18:19) is easily understood; it is probable, however, that the preservative qualities of salt were held to make it a peculiarly fitting symbol of an enduring compact, and influenced the choice of this particular element of the covenant meal as that which was regarded as sealing an obligation to fidelity. Among the ancients, as among orientals down to the present day, every meal that included salt had a certain sacred character, and created a bond of piety and guest-friendship between the participants. Hence the Greek phrase ἄλας καὶ τράπεζαν παραλαβεῖν, the Arab phrase 'there is salt between us,' the expression 'to eat the salt of the palace' (Ezra 4:14 RV; not in *SV*), the modern Persian phrase *namak harām*, 'untrue to salt'—i.e., disloyal or ungrateful—and many others. The OT expression 'covenant of salt' (Lev. 2:13 Nu. 18:19) is therefore a significant figure of speech, denoting the perpetual obligation under which the participants in the covenant of God with Israel (having in the sacrifice and sacrificial meal partaken of salt together) lay to observe its conditions.² So also in 2 Ch. 13:5 the expression may legitimately be rendered with a figure by 'a perpetual irrevocable covenant.'

Although salt, from one aspect of its effects in nature, might be used, as we have seen, by Hebrew writers as a figure of desolation and death, on the other hand, in virtue of its giving piquancy and, so to say, life to otherwise insipid articles of diet (cp Plutarch, *Sympos.*, cited by Trumbull, *Covenant of Salt*, 53), or it may be, as Trumbull suggests (*loc. cit.*), from its being associated with blood in the primitive mind, 'salt seems to stand for life in many a form of primitive speech and in the world's symbolism.' It is as a symbol of life that salt is employed by Elisha in healing the death-dealing spring at Jericho (2 K. 2:19 ff.).

Here, too, may be classed the familiar description of the true followers of Jesus as 'the salt of the earth' (Mt. 5:13), the living embodiment of the highest ideals of life, a permanent and pervasive influence in the world making for righteousness. Paul's exhortation to the Colossians (4:6) to have their 'speech seasoned with salt' is not to be understood of 'wit,' the 'Attic salt' of the ancients, but rather of sober, good sense, as contrasted with 'profane and vain babblings' (1 Tim. 6:20 2 Tim. 2:16).

For the many interpretations of the *crux interpretum*, Mk. 9:49 a ('salted with fire'), reference must be made to the commentaries (cp also Trumbull, *op. cit.* 65 f.). Finally the much discussed reference to the impossibility of restoring to salt its lost savor (Mt. 5:13, and parallels) is ingeniously connected by Robertson Smith with the oppressive taxation of salt, referred to above, one result of this being that the article is apt to reach the consumer in a very impure state largely mixed with earth. 'The salt which has lost its savor' is 'simply the earthly residuum of such an impure salt after the sodium chloride has been washed out.'

The use of salt in various rites of the Christian church, as in the baptism of catechumens, in holy water, etc., falls without the scope of this article (see Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*, s.v., Trumbull, *op. cit.*).

W. R. S.—A. R. S. K.

¹ This view is also preferable to that suggested recently by Schwally, *Semitische Kriegsaltsbrenner* (1901) 20, that the 'sowing with salt' denotes dedication to the demons of solitary and barren places.

² For a slightly different explanation of the origin of the expression see Kraetzschmar, *Die Bundesverstellung im 17. u. 20. Jh.* Cp *Ael. Sem.* 2:470 (the Arab oath taken over salt strewn upon a fire). For other examples of salt in covenants and oaths see Weilin, *Heid.* (2) 124, 189, Lundberg, *Arabica*, 5:134 157 (Leiden 1898).

SALT, THE CITY OF

SALT, THE CITY OF (חָלֶבֶת הַיָּם; ΔΙ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΚΑΔΩΜ [B], ΔΙ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΔΑΩΝ [A], ΔΙ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΔΑΩΝ [L]), one of the six cities 'in the wilderness,' grouped with NUBSIAN and EN-GEDI [y. r.] in Josh. 15:62. If the VALLEY OF SALT [y. r.] or rather 'Valley of ham melah,' is the *Wady el-Milh*, the 'Ir ham-melah may be placed on the site now known as *el-Milh*, a little to the SE of *Ak. Sa'we* (the ancient SHEMA or JESITA?) on the great route from Hebron to the Red Sea through the 'Arabah' (cp MOLADAIT).

In this case, it is plain that, as, e.g., in 1 S. 23:20-24, En-gedi must have come from En-gadīš, En-kadesh (Kadesh-barnea), and the wilderness be that of Arad (Judg 1:17, if we may read קָדְשֵׁי בְרָנָה; see KENITES), the term 'Ir ham-melah' is a corruption of 'Ir Jerahmeel,' 'city of Jerahmeel.' A 'city of Jerahmeel' is referred to in 1 S. 15:5; also probably in Judg. 1:10 (crit. emend., see KENITES). See JERAHMEEL, § 4.

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SALT, THE VALLEY OF (חָלֶבֶת הַיָּם, in Chronicles and Psalms [H] ΚΟΙΛΑΣ [or ΦΑΡΑΓΣ] ΤΩΝ ΔΑΩΝ; in Samuel and Kings REBELEM, REMELE [B], ΓΗΜΑΛΑ, ΓΑΙΜΕΛΑ [A], ΓΑΙΜΕΛΑΧ, 'עַי [L]), the scene of encounters between the Israelites and the Edomites (or rather, perhaps, Aramites—i.e., Jerahmeelites), first under David (2 S. 8:13 [עַי], 1 Ch. 18:2 [עַי]), Ps. 60 heading [both עַי and עַיִן]),¹ and then under Amaziah (2 K. 14:7 [עַי]). 2 Ch. 25:11 [see closing sentence]. The 'Valley of ham-melah' has been identified with the great marshy plain (es-Sekkhah) at the S. end of the Dead Sea (see DEAD SEA, § 3), which is strongly impregnated with salt. It is true, it is described as at the present day 'too spongy to walk upon,' nor can we easily understand how it can ever in the historical period have been otherwise than marshy. An examination of the text of the passages referred to, however, makes it seem in the highest degree superfluous to choose this site for the famous battlefield. It is plausible (Buhl, *Pal.* 88)² to identify the 'valley of ham-melah' with the *Wady el-Milh*, one of the two wadis into which the *W. es-Sebi'* parts at Beersheba. This wady and the *W. es-Sebi'* may be regarded as forming a first frontier between Canaan and the steppe-country.

It is important to notice that *ham-melah* (in the Hebrew name) is an easy corruption of JERAHMEEL (y. r., § 4), and that the *Wady el-Milh* would naturally enter into the Negerb of the Jerahmeelites. Most probably we should read עַיִן ('Aram,' a popular corruption of Jerahmeel) instead of עַי in all the passages quoted above, except the last (2 Ch. 25:11), where עַיִן עַיִן should be emended into עַיִן עַיִן—i.e., the Misyrites. Cp JOKHEIEL; SALT, CITY OF; SALT SEA.

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SALT SEA (חָלֶבֶת הַיָּם; see DEAD SEA, § 1), a name of the Dead Sea. Gen. 14:1 Nu. 34:11 Dt. 3:17 Josh. 3:6 12:15 25:18 19:7. It is an expressive name, no doubt (cp Hull, *Mount Seir*, 108), but need not on that account be original. If the *gē-hammelah* (see SALT, VALLEY OF) has arisen, by a popular corruption from *gē-wrahmeel* (valley of Jerahmeel), the presumption surely is that *yām ham-melah* (EV 'salt sea') has arisen in the same way out of *yām wrahmeel* ('sea of Jerahmeel'), which is most naturally viewed as the original Hebrew name of the Dead Sea. Winckler, however (GZ 2), thinks that the identification of the 'Salt Sea' with the 'vale of Siddim' [y. r.] is due to a mistake on the part of the second editor or reviser of the original narrative. His theory is that the first editor or reviser meant Lake Hüleh (cp MEKOM), called by William of Tyre Meleha, on the NW. side of which is a fountain still called 'Ain el-Mellāha. The water of Lake Hüleh, however, is not salt. The same editor, it is added, interpreted the phrase 'the vale of Siddim(?)' as

¹ The latter part of the heading is evidently a later addition, which was made after the probable original text of the heading had assumed its present form. That text may have been חָלֶבֶת הַיָּם וְהַיָּם הַיָּם (PSALMS, BOOK OF, § 43; cp § 28, iv.).

² In *Gesch. der Edomiter*, 20 (1893), Buhl had accepted the ordinary identification (es-Sekkhah). Cp also EDOM, § 6.

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referring to a wady running towards Lake Hüleh, the same in which the 'Ain el-Mellāha' is situated. Winckler (*GZ* 292 f. 108) also offers a new explanation, of 'salt sea.' He connects the phrase with the widespread Oriental myth of sweet and bitter waters (cp MARAH). It may be remarked, however, that place names compounded with *milh*, *malik*, and the like, are at the present day of not infrequent occurrence in Palestine. See SODOM AND GOMORRAH. T. K. C.

SALT-WORT (חָלֶבֶת), Job 30:4 RV, AV MALLOWES.

SALU (חָלֶבֶת, cp SALLU), a family of SIMEON (y. r.), Nu. 25:14 (CΑΛΛΩΝ [B], CΑΛΩ [A], -M [FL]), 1 Mac. 2:26 (CΑΛΩΜ [ANV], AV SALOM). Jer. Targ. identifies the name with Shaul of Gen. 46:10.

SALUM, 1. (CΑΛΟΥΜ [A]), 1 Esd. 5:28 = Ezra 2:44 Neh. 7:45, SHALLUM, 2. 2. RV SALEM, σαλαμου [BA], 1 Esd. 8:1 = 1 Ch. 6:12 15:30 2 L, Ezra 7:2, SHALLUM, 6.

SALUTATIONS. To 'salute' is EV's equivalent for Heb. בְּדוֹשָׁה לְשָׂאֵל, lit. 'to ask after the welfare of some one' (2 S. 11:7 and elsewhere), and שָׂאֵל לְשָׂאֵל, 'to ask some one as to welfare' (1 S. 10:4 and elsewhere), and for Gk. ἀσπάζομαι (Mt. 5:47 Rom. 16:3 ff. and often) whence ἀσπασμός, 'salutation' (Mt. 23:7 and elsewhere).

The Hebrew phrase, however (cp Lat. *salutatio*, 'wishing health') means 'to greet,' whereas the Greek includes both greetings and embraces. In Rom. 16:20 1 Cor. 16:20 2 Cor. 13:12 1 Thess. 5:26 1 Pet. 5:14 we have the phrase ἀσπασθῆναι ἐν φιλομαρί (ἀγάπη or [1 Pet.] ἀγάπη; see § 3).

We take salutation here in the widest sense, and begin, not with formulae of greeting, but with those conventional gestures which are even more significant.

Of prostration as a sign of deep humility and respect, not much need be said.¹ David bowed himself three

1. Prostration. times before his friend Jonathan (1 S. 20:41); Jacob, seven times before his offended brother Esau (Gen. 33:3). The lowly prostrations exacted by sovereigns are too familiar to require examples from the OT or illustrations from other nations. The prostrations of women before men (or, at least, men of rank) are more startling (Gen. 24:64 1 S. 25:23); K. Niebuhr found the same custom in Arabia. Kneeling will be referred to later (see § 5).

The custom of embracing and kissing calls for fuller treatment. When Esau ran to meet Jacob, he

2. Kissing. 'embraced him, and fell on his neck, and kissed him' (Gen. 33:4); and Joseph's recognition of his brethren, and especially of Benjamin (Gen. 45:14 ff.), and the meeting between 'the prodigal son' and his father (l. k. 15:20), are described in exactly similar terms.² In the last two biblical passages *καταφιλέω* is the word used in the Greek; but in Gen. 33:4 *φιλέω*. There is no strongly marked distinction between them, nor is there more than a theoretical difference between Heb. *nāṣaḥ* and *nāṣeḥ* (Piel indicating a formal kiss).

Parting friends quite as naturally used these conventional acts. Thus, after his father's death Joseph 'fell on Jacob's face, wept upon him, and kissed him' (ἐφιέθησεν Gen. 50:1), and the disciples from Ephesus 'wept sore, and fell on Paul's neck and kissed him' (κατεφιλόνην, Acts 20:37), when he continued his journey to Jerusalem.

Such is still the mode of exchanging salutations between relatives and intimate friends practised in Palestine. Each in turn places his head, face downwards, upon the other's left shoulder and afterwards kisses him upon the right cheek, and then reverses the action, by placing his head similarly upon the other's

¹ On Mordecai's refusal to prostrate himself before Haman, see ESTHER, § 4.

² Compare the recognition scene in Hom. *Od.* 21:223.

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right shoulder, and kissing him upon the left cheek';¹ or, again, a man will place his right hand on his friend's left shoulder, and kiss his right cheek, and then by his left hand on his right shoulder, and kiss his left cheek.² A third mode of salutation may be mentioned. The person who gives the kiss lays the right hand under the head of his friend and supports it while it receives the kiss. This custom is referred to in the account of Job's assassination of Amasa (2 S. 20⁹). One or the other of the two former customs may explain the account of the entertainment of Jesus by Simon the Pharisee, in which none of the usual courtesies were granted to the wandering teacher—'thou gavest me no kiss' (Lk. 7:45). Absalom's self-seeking geniality to the common people (2 S. 15:5) may best be brought into connection with the second form (the hand on the shoulder).

The cheek, the forehead, the beard, the hands, the feet may be kissed, but not (in Palestine) the lips.

Two passages of AV seem to contradict this. In the MT of Gen. 41:40 (literally rendered) the Pharaoh is made to say to his Hebrew vizier, 'Upon thy mouth shall all my people kiss.' Dilmann and Delitzsch render 'According to thy mouth (= command) shall all my people order themselves' (so too RVmg.). This is, at any rate, not against the social customs of the East; but the Hebrew writer would have expressed his meaning thus. It is better to read 'shall obey thee' (עֲבֹדוּ אֶתְּךָ; see *Crit. Bib.*). The other passage is Prov. 24:26 ('Every man shall kiss his lips that giveth a right answer.' RVmg. gives a less objectionable rendering, 'He kisseth with the lips that giveth a right answer.' But *yissak* should be *yaklilān*, and the passage (see *Crit. Bib.*) should be rendered—

26 Even the simple will listen.

To him who gives a right sentence,
25 And those that rebuke will they trust,
And upon such a blessing will come.

Kissing the hands or even the feet, or the hem of the garment, is at present the respectful salutation given to a superior. Kissing the feet of Jesus was the grateful tribute of the sinful but reclaimed woman at Simon's feast (Lk. 7:45, *καταφλοῶσα*). A kiss on the hand is nowhere expressly mentioned in OT or NT. Still, such a kiss may be meant in the narrative of the betrayal of Jesus (Mt. 26:49 Mk. 14:45). If Delitzsch is right in supposing the kiss of 1 S. 10:1 to be the kiss of homage, we may further conjecture that Samuel raised the hand of Saul respectfully to his lips. More probably, the narrator means that Samuel greeted the new king as a friend, on the cheek. In the Assyrian inscriptions the vassals of the great king are said to signify their submission by kissing his feet (see BAVYLONIA, § 69). No Hebrew phrase of this sort occurs, though the phrase 'to lick the dust' in Is. 49:23 Ps. 72:9 may be suggested by the custom of kissing the ground on which a superior has trodden ('to smell the dust' is a parallel Egyptian phrase). The Assyrian kiss of vassalage may also perhaps have been less humiliating than it seems; primitive usages early began to lose their original crudeness. In modern Syria, when a man seeks to propitiate one placed over him, he will just touch the feet of his superior with his right hand, and then kiss the hand and place it on his forehead.³ This, or some other modification of the complete ceremony, may be meant by Ziba's 'I do obeisance' in 2 S. 16:4 (see OBEISANCE).

There is only one OT passage in which, if the text is correct, the kiss of homage (whether given to hands or feet) must be referred to.—viz., 'kiss the Son' (כִּי־יִשָּׁקֶנּוּ) in Ps. 2:12. Acting on the principle that a text which contradicts the social usages of Palestine cannot be correct, we are bound to try all available means of emending the text.⁴ Such a cautious critic as Baethgen admits 'kiss the Son' into his version only with a parenthetic note of interrogation.

¹ Neil, *Kissing: its curious Bible mentions*, 37 (1885).
² Neil, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
³ *Q* renders *δρασαθε καδίας*; Tg. *אֲשֵׁרֵי יְבִיבֵי*, perhaps reading *אֲשֵׁרֵי*. See Lag. and Baethgen, *ad loc.*, and, for a new solution [since proposed independently by Mari and J. D. Prince], *Ch. Jew. Rel. Life*, 112. Hupfeld's suggestion *יְבִיבֵי*, though often referred to, is inadmissible, because unidiomatic.

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It hardly needs to be remarked that freedom of intercourse between the sexes was unknown to the Jews in the period of the rise of Christianity.

3. The Holy Kiss. Eccl. 42:12 (cp Jn 4:27) is proof enough that the exchange of a kiss between men and women, as a sign of their common membership in a religious society, must have shocked Jewish sentiment. It appears to be the received view that such a shock to Jewish sentiment was really given in early Christian worship, and whenever recognition of a common Christian standing was called for. In the article 'Kiss' in Wake and Cheetham's *Dial. of Christian Antiquities*, it is stated that 'the primitive usage was for the "holy kiss" to be given promiscuously, without any restriction as to sexes or ranks, among those who were "all one in Christ Jesus," and that only when this indiscriminate use had given rise to scandals was it restricted by the church authorities. The evidence, however, is not so distinct and certain as to justify so positive a statement.' Paul (reff. above) does not expressly direct this startling mode of applying the truth that 'ye all are one man in Christ Jesus.' We know, however, that he does enjoin that women should have their heads veiled in the Christian assemblies (1 Cor. 11:6), which implies that he was on his guard against the occurrence of scandals. We also know that the *Apostolical Constitutions* (2:57 8:11) direct that the men of the laity should salute the men, and the women the women separately, and that the *Didascalia* (early in 3rd cent.), on which Book II. of the *Constitutions* is based, distinctly refers to the separate places of men and women, though the 'kiss of peace' is not referred to at all.

It seems very possible that the *Constitutions* do, in fact, represent the mind of the original founders of the churches on this subject, and that we are not compelled by a somewhat obscure passage in Tertullian (*Ad Corin.*, ii. 4), who can only speak for Africa, to suppose a violation of Jewish sentiment in any of the earliest Christian assemblies. There may, however, of course, have been a deviation in some places from the earliest church practice.

We have still to refer briefly to the kiss of adoration. 'It was dim night,' writes Doughty, 'and the drooping clouds broke over us with lightning and rain. I said to Thaufallah, "God sends his blessing again upon the earth." "Ay, verily," he answered devoutly, and kissed his pious hand toward the flashing tempest' (*Ar. Des.*, 267). But there was a time when this religious hand-kiss was a sign of idolatry. Job demes having practised it, for it would have proved him a worshipper of sun and moon, and not of him who created both (Job 31:26-28). In Farther Asia as well as in Greece the rising sun was greeted by his worshippers with a hand-kiss (Lucian, *De Saltat.*, 17). This was, in fact, a substitute for the kiss which would be offered to an idol—such a kiss as is referred to in Hos. 13:2, 'The men that sacrifice kiss calves' (see CALVES, GOLDEN), and in 1 K. 19:18, 'Every mouth which has not kissed (Baal).'

The ordinary salutations of worship were two—prostration, and spreading forth the hands (see the P'ss., and 1 K. 8:22 38 Is. 1:15 for the former, and 1 K. 8:54 2 Ch. 6:13 Is. 45:23 Dan. 6:10 Lk. 22:41 Acts 7:60 and elsewhere), though from Mk. 1:40 10:17 15:19 Mt. 17:14 27:29 we may infer that, when haste was required, kneeling might take the place of prostration as a sign of respect to a man of rank.

Formulae of greeting are either inquiries as to the

¹ Cp Neil, *op. cit.*, 27 ff. 78 ff. On the 'holy kiss,' etc. Conybeare (*Expos.*, 1803 d. 461) points out two passages in Philo's *Questions in Ex.*, preserved in Armenian, which seem to imply that the 'kiss of peace' or 'of concord' was a formal institution of the synagogue.
² There is some difficulty in this passage. But at any rate the phrase 'kiss calves' is possible. Cp *Crit. Bib.*

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welfare of the friend, or prayers for his continued prosperity. The treacherous Joah addresses

6. Greetings. Amasa, 'Art thou in peace, my brother?' (Ὁ εἰ ἰσαμειν [σὸ] ἀδελφῆ; 2 S. 20). Jesus bids his disciples say, on entering a house, 'Peace be to this house' (Lk. 10). Boaz, when he meets his reapers, says, 'Yahweh be with you,' and the friendly answer is, 'Yahweh bless thee' (Ruth 2; cp Ps 129). Saml proudly addresses Samuel with the words, 'Blessed be thou of Yahweh' (1 S. 15). To a king the loyal salutation was, 'Let the king live' (1 S. 10; 2 S. 16; 1 K. 1; 2 K. 11), or 'Let the king live for ever' (1 K. 1; cp Dan. 2; 3; 5; 6; Neh. 2), possibly with an allusion to legendary tales of highly favoured mortals who had escaped Shēol. In the NT we find the Greek expression *χαίρε*, as a substitute for 'Peace be to thee' (Mt. 24; Mk. 15; Lk. 12, and elsewhere). For epistolary greetings, see Ezra 4; 7; Acts 23; 26, and the close of Pauline Epistles.

'Peace be on you' is still the commonest form of salutation among Moslems. The conventional reply is, 'And on you be the peace (of God), to which it is usual to add, 'and the mercy of God, and his blessings.' This salutation may not be used by or to an 'infidel'; a Moslem who finds that he has addressed it by mistake to a wrong person generally revokes his salutation. He may also do so if a Moslem refuses to return his greeting, saying, 'Peace be on *us* and on (all) the right worshippers of God!' This seems to Kitto (*Lib. Cyclopedia*, v. 'Salutation') a striking illustration of Lk. 10; cf. 2 Jn. 11. The *salim*, however, is only the beginning of a string of conventional formulae which take up much time, and are evaded by persons in haste. Specimens of these are given by Lane (*Isl. Egyptians*, 125). No doubt Jewish politeness had also its optional formulae, which would be evaded in circumstances such as are described in 2 K. 4; 9; Lk. 10. T. K. C.

SAMAEI (σαλαμειν [BA]). Judith 8; AV, RV SAMAEI; the same as SHEEL MUL.

SAMAIAS (σαμαιας). 1. 1 Esd. 1; 2 Ch. 35; 2 Esd. 8; 12 = Ezra 8; 13, SHEMAIAH, 16. 3. 1 Esd. 8; 14 = Ezra 8; 17, SHEMAIAH, 17. 4. Tobit 5; 13, see SHEMAIAH, 23.

SAMANASSAR (σαναμασσαρω [B]). 1 Esd. 2; RV¹⁸⁸¹); see SHEMIDAZAR.

SAMARIA (שָׁמְרֹן; the Aram. שִׁמְרֹן, whence the Gk. *σαμαρ[ε]ία*, has become assimilated to names like Mahanaim, Kamathani [cp SAMUS, § 107]).
1. Name. Ass. Samerina.¹ The city so called is said in 1 K. 16; 24 (cp Jos. *Ant.* viii. 125) to derive its name from שִׁמְרֵן (SHEMER), the owner of the hill on which it was built.² Shemer may in fact quite well be an ancient clan-name, though it is plausible enough to derive the name of such a lofty-placed city from שִׁמְרֵן in the sense of 'omlook' (so H. ASH., *Heb.* 346). Shōm'rōn may denote (1) the hill, (2) the city built on it, (3) the whole district of which the city came to be the capital. In the last sense Shōm'rōn, EV 'Samaria,' is equivalent to the Northern or Israelitish kingdom (Hos. 7; 86, etc. [Wellh.]), and hence שִׁמְרֵן שָׁמְרֹן means Israelitish cities (2 K. 17; 24; 26; 23; 19).³

The city is situated close to the borders of Ephraim

¹ On the question whether Samerina always means Samaria, see MENAHEM.

² According to Stade (*Z. f. d. N. F.*, 5; 171), the punctuation with Hölzel implies an erroneous explanation of the Aramaic form with a. The lateness of this pronunciation may be inferred from שִׁמְרֵן's representation of שִׁמְרֵן in 1 K. 16; 24, which is (1) שִׁמְרֵן [B], שִׁמְרֵן [A], שִׁמְרֵן [I], (2) שִׁמְרֵן [B], שִׁמְרֵן [A], שִׁמְרֵן [I]. Cp, however, Kinkel's note in *SBOT* on 2 Ch. 13; 4, and note in *HA* on 1 K. 16; 24.

³ [On the possibility of frequent confusion between שִׁמְרֵן, Samaria, and שִׁמְרֵן, Shimon in the Negeb, see PROPHET, § 8, 35, SHIMON.]

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and Manasseh, in Mt. Ephraim, about 6 m. NW. of

2. History. The earlier capital Shechem. Of its foundation we have a definite account in 1 K. 16; 24, where it is stated that Omri purchased the hill from Shemer for two talents, and built on it the city which he called after the name of the former owner. Kinkel confirms the accuracy of this notice by a reference to the case of David in 2 S. 21; 2 ff. From Omri's time (about 925 B.C.) it became the capital of the northern kingdom, although it never attained to the religious prestige of the older Shechem. Ahab adorned it with a temple of Baal, and Baal-worship soon became recognised there as on a level with the original Israelitish calf-worship. The city was in a naturally strong position (cp Jos. *Ant.* viii. 102), standing on an oblong isolated hill which is precipitous on the one side, and easily fortified on the other. In the reign of Ahab it was besieged (901 B.C.) unsuccessfully by the Arameans under Ben-hadad (1 K. 20), and again in the reign of Joram (892 B.C.), when it was relieved by a panic among the Arameans (2 K. 6; 24). It was captured by the Assyrian army in 721 after a siege of three years, many of the inhabitants were deported and the kingdom of Israel was finally brought to an end. For its colonisation and the little that can be gathered as to the history of the district down to the time of Nehemiah, see SAMARITANS. It was again taken by Alexander the Great who deported many of its inhabitants to Shechem, and substituted Syro-Macedonian settlers. The district, *Σαμαρείτης χώρα*, was then given over to the Jews. The city seems to have remained in the occupation of Alexander's settlers until the time of John Hyrcanus, who completely destroyed it (100 B.C.) and seized the whole district (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 103). It was partially restored under Gabinius (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 53), and shortly afterwards (in 25 B.C.) entirely rebuilt on a large scale by Herod the Great (ib. xv. 85), who named it Sebasteia (Σεβαστή or Σεβαστία; Kahlb. שֶׁבַסְטִיָּה or שֶׁבַסְטִיָּה) in honour of the Emperor. After Herod's death in B.C. 4 the kingdom of Samaria together with that of Judaea went to his son Archelaus. In the NT the city is not mentioned; the name Samaria denotes the district. As Samaria lay between Galilee and Judaea, Jesus passed through it on his way S. to Jerusalem (Lk. 17; Jn. 4) although the Jews ordinarily avoided doing so. Later, Christianity was preached there (ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως τῆς Σαμαρείας) by Philip the evangelist (Acts 8; 5 ff.). The subsequent history of the city is obscure, and there is no record of its final destruction. According to Jerome Sebaste was believed in his time to be the burial-place of John the Baptist, as well as of the prophets Elisha and Obadiah. It apparently was a place of some importance in the early centuries of the Christian era, since we find a Bishop of Sebaste at the Council of Nicæa (325) and again at that of Jerusalem (536). It was occupied by the Crusaders, and a bishopric re-established there in 1155. The site is now represented by a village named Sebastiyeh, where is the interesting half-ruined church of John the Baptist, with other Christian remains. Not far off, at about the same level, run the streets of columns with which Herod adorned the city.

A. E. C.

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Origin (§§ 1; 34). Beliefs (§§ 40; c).
 History (§ 36). Instit. (§ 42).
 Literature (§§ 40; 50; c). Language (§ 50).

Bibliography (§ 6).

The Samaritans are called once in the OT (2 K. 17; 29) *Šōmērōnīm* (שִׁמְרֵיִם), a name which becomes

1. Name. שִׁמְרֵיִם. In Rabbinical literature they are called *kuthim* (קוּתִים), a term intended to be contemptuous, referring to the colonists from Kuthah. The Greek *Σαμαρείται* properly means inhabitants of the district of *Σαμαρεία*. They call themselves שֶׁבַסְטִיָּה.

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or specifically צִמְרִי from צִמְרִי, properly keepers, sc. of the Law. On the name of the place, see SAMARIA.

The history of the Samaritans, as such, begins where that of the northern kingdom ceases. We read in

2. Colonisation. 2 K. 17^{1 f.} that Shalmaneser went up to Samaria, and that in the ninth year of Hoshea, the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria and brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Avva, and from Hamath and Sepharvaim and placed them in the cities of Samaria. In Ezra 4 it is 'Esar-haddon, king of Assyria, who brought us up hither.' Lastly in Ezra 4 they are 'the nations whom the great and noble Osnappar brought over.'¹ The importation of foreign colonists is thus attributed apparently to three several kings, the last of whom bears a name not otherwise known. To these names yet a fourth must be added. It is noticeable that in 2 K. 18^{9 f.} it is stated that Shalmaneser besieged Samaria, 'and at the end of three years they (not he) took it.' It is now known that SHALMANESER [17?], who began the siege, died in 723 B.C., and that it was his successor, Sargon II., who actually took the city in 721. Perhaps the death of Shalmaneser may account for the length of the siege. It is natural therefore to infer from the accounts in 2 K. that Sargon introduced the (first) settlement of colonists, and this is definitely stated to be the case in the annals of Sargon.² With regard to the other names, most recent critics rightly identify Osnappar with Asur-lani-pal. The accounts are further simplified if Esar-haddon be taken as a corruption of the same name, due to the similarity of the first element in each (see ASSYRIAN). We shall thus have two colonisations, the first by Sargon, the second by Asur-lani-pal. As to the list of cities from which the colonists were drawn, Sepharvaim should no doubt be the Babylonian Sippar. The cuneiform account expressly states that Babylon, Cuthah, and Sippar opposed Asur-lani-pal, and it would be consistent with Assyrian policy to deport the inhabitants of those cities to the distant province of Samaria. On the other hand, it would be altogether an unusual step to transfer the inhabitants of Hamath or of Avva (in Syria; but cp AVVAH) to a neighbouring district. See HAMATH. Sargon may indeed have brought colonists from Hamath, which he reduced in 720, and the combination of the two sets of malcontents may have led to the necessity of his reducing Samaria for the second time in 720; but there are no grounds for such a conjecture. It is far more consistent with the facts to suppose (with Winckler) that just as the Deuteronomic redactor has combined into one the two Assyrian kings, and inserted a long passage to point the moral of the story, and imparted to the whole a tone hostile to the Samaritans, so he has combined the two colonisations into one, and amplified his account from 2 K. 18¹⁴ which he took to refer to the same events. But this last passage has not necessarily anything to do with the colonisation of Samaria. The Rabshakeh is there citing instances of towns which have fallen before Assyria, so that Hamath, Sepharvaim, and Ivvah (see AVVAH) are quite in place as being comparatively close at hand and therefore the more likely to appeal to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. The redactor's view was doubtless based on a confusion of Sippar (in Babylonia) with Sepharvaim (in Syria); see SEPHARVAIM. From the biblical and the Assyrian accounts together we thus restore the history as follows: Shalmaneser besieged Samaria but died during the siege; Sargon took the city in 721, deported 27,290 of its inhabitants, and introduced in their place (? in 715) colonists from other conquered cities; in 720 the country had to be subdued again; later Asur-lani-pal further colonised the country.

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The resulting population was called by the general name Samaritan. How far must it be considered foreign (אֲמֹרִיִּים, I. k. 17^{1 f.})? The later Samaritans have always claimed very strongly to be אֲמֹרִיִּים, regarding Joseph especially as their ancestor (cp *Bereshith Kabbā*, § 94, on Gen. 48¹³). On the other hand, the Jews deny them any right to the name of Israel, representing them as merely descendants of the Assyrian (Cuthaan) colonists. The truth lies midway. It is now generally admitted that the deportation under Sargon was not complete. A district so important as Samaria would not have been entirely depopulated by losing 27,290 of its inhabitants. (When a similar fate befel Judah, upwards of 200,000 went into captivity.) The number undoubtedly represents the persons of importance including the priests, who alone were likely to be dangerous, whilst the poorer class were left as before and the inhabitants of the outlying towns and villages were probably hardly affected. This seems indeed to be definitely stated by Sargon, though the passage is not very clear. The account in 2 K. 17 is written from the Jewish point of view; but the real state of the case comes out in the later history—e.g., when Josiah, a century afterwards, put down idolatry 'in the cities of Samaria' (2 K. 23^{15 19 f.}) obviously among Israelites (cp 2 Ch. 34^{6 f.}), and collected money for the repair of the temple from 'Manasseh and Ephraim, and of all the remnant of Israel' (ib. v. 9). There can hardly be a doubt that in Nehemiah's time, for example, the population of the district of Samaria consisted of the 'remnant of Israel' with an admixture of foreigners. What was the proportion of the two elements to one another cannot now be determined. Nor have we any means of knowing how far they were intermixed, and how far the colonists really adopted the religion of the 'God of the Land.' So long as the name 'Samaritan' meant only the inhabitant of Samaria and the surrounding country, it no doubt included all the mixed population; but when the name of the city was changed the term acquired a purely religious significance, and then probably denoted the descendants of the 'remnant' together with such of the colonists as had become proselytes and intermarried with Israel. But it was just this (perhaps slight) admixture which gave colour to the Jewish taunt implied by the term Cuthaan.

As to the early history of the Samaritan people, we have little information. We are indeed told in 2 K.

36. History. 17²⁵ that the country was infested by lions (Jos. Ant. ix. 113, § 289, says a pestilence) and that the inhabitants in consequence made request to 'the king of Assyria' for a priest who was accordingly sent to 'teach them the manner of the god of the land.' Josephus says, 'some of the priests,' and it is probable that this was the original reading of 2 K. 17²⁷, since the text still preserves the strange plurals 'let them go and dwell' (לְיָמֵיהֶם יֵשְׁבוּ). The idea is quite in keeping with the common view of a tutelary deity whose protection was necessary in his own land and whose power was connected with and restricted to it. Cp a similar incident in the story of Naaman, 2 K. 5¹⁷. It is generally thought that this request could only have been made by the foreign colonists; but since the 'remnant' consisted of 'the poorer sort,' the people of the land (יִשְׂרָאֵלִים) who in Rabbinical literature are proverbially ignorant of the law, it is only natural that all alike should require a teacher who understood the technicalities of Yahwe-worship. So 'they feared Yahwe, and served their own gods' (2 K. 17³¹). However, the high-places which Josiah suppressed need not have been idolatrous; they may have been merely unauthorised Yahwe-shrines. That 'the remnant' joined with Judah in the use of the temple at Jerusalem at this period, may be inferred from 2 Ch. 34⁹ and also from Jer. 41⁵ where it is mentioned

¹ Cp Winckler, *Alttest. Unt.* 97 B; also EZRA-NEHEMIAH.

² Winckler, *Keilschrift-lexikon Sargons*, 137 21.

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that eighty men came 'from Shechem, from Shiloh, and from Samaria' to make their offerings there (cp *SHECH. TEM.*, § 2, *SITT. OUT.*, § 2). It is unlikely that these were apostate Jews: they can only have been Samaritans.

After another period of nearly a century, during which we have no information about the Samaritans, they are mentioned in the account of a return of Jews from Babylonia under Cyrus, when they ask to be allowed a share in the building of the new temple—a request which was refused (*Ezra* 4:3). It is usually considered that this refusal was the cause of a mutual estrangement and an implacable hatred between the two peoples. There can be little doubt, however, that the real cause was something deeper and went back farther than this mere incident. If we admit the presence of a strong Israelitish element in the Samaritan people, we shall not be far wrong in seeing here the old spirit of opposition between Israel and Judah, always ready to break out, which definitely asserted itself under Jeroboam,—the refusal to recognise Judah's claim to a hegemony, the revolt against centralisation. It was based on a difference of race, an incompatibility between N. and S., and was more political than religious. No reason is assigned for the refusal: the Jews do not charge their 'adversaries' with idolatry, nor even with heresy.¹ Indeed it would seem that Israel continued to be willing, and were allowed, even after this, to join in Jewish worship in Jerusalem, if *Ezra* 6:21 is to be so understood.

On the other hand the Jewish policy, while purely patriotic, was rigidly exclusive. It aimed at fixing the worship of Yahweh as the religion of Judah, purifying it from all foreign elements, and making Jerusalem its headquarters. Hence it was out of the question that they should allow the participation of a race whose devotion to Jewish ideals was open to suspicion and whose origin was perhaps mixed. The Jew could not risk contamination by having any dealings with the Samaritan; but, as we see from *Ezra* 6:21 and *Jer.* 41:4, there was no barrier of the kind on the Samaritan side. Only when Judah, by refusing their help, proclaimed an exclusive policy, did a political separation become inevitable, and it then became necessary for the Samaritans to pursue something of the same policy. No doubt, in their condition of social and religious disorganisation, the restoration of a Jewish state at Jerusalem appeared an imminent danger, and accordingly we find them endeavouring by truly Oriental intrigues to prevent first the building of the temple and afterwards the erection of the walls (*Ezra* 4:4 ff., *Neh.* 4:7 ff.); cp *Ezra-NEHEMIAH*, § 10. In this they were unsuccessful, and matters must have continued in much the same state of political separation, with a good deal of individual intercourse, until the building of the temple on Mt. Gerizim, which made Shechem the religious centre of Samaria and finally rendered re-union impossible.² A sanctuary once established on their own sacred mountain, it became a point of honour to refuse to recognise the temple at Jerusalem. Of the Samaritan temple we have no mention in the OT, and the occasion and date of its erection are alike difficult to ascertain. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 72, xi. 82) the satrap of Samaria under Darius Codomannus (336-330) was Sanballat, who gave his daughter in marriage to Manasseh, the brother of Jaddus the Jewish high priest. Manasseh was ordered by the elders and Jaddus either to give up his foreign wife or to renounce the priesthood, and thereby the possible succession to the office of high priest. He thereupon complained to Sanballat, who urged him to migrate to Samaria, promising to get him established there as high priest under state protection, and to build a temple. He

¹ In *Ezra* 4:12 'to us' suggests that Samaritans had been accustomed to use Jerusalem as a sacred place before the return.

² [On the constitution of the Samaritan community see further Duhm's commentary on Isaiah (chaps. 56-66); *Chet. Introd.* li. 316 f., 322, 364-374 385; *Jew. Rel. Life*, 25-63.]

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was joined by other Jews who had foreign wives or were discomfited with the reforms at Jerusalem, and the rival temple was ultimately built in 332 under the sanction of Alexander the Great. This account must however be received with caution.

Where Josephus differs from Nehemiah we so often find him to be in the wrong that his narrative is open to suspicion when we have no such check. In this instance, from whatever cause he seems to be confused, and to place his account (which may very likely represent the facts) a century too late. After the enactments mentioned in *Ezra* 10:3 *Neh.* 10:31-32, it is improbable that foreign marriages would still be occurring in Jerusalem in 332.

On the other hand the story fits on very well to the events mentioned in *Neh.* 13:25, so that it would seem that Josephus confounds Darius Nothus with Codomannus and fills out his story accordingly. It is possible that he is following a trustworthy tradition in ascribing the foundation of the temple to the time of Alexander, and that he intentionally connects with it the story of Manasseh in order to cast discredit on the Samaritan religion as being founded by a renegade priest. Cp *SANBALLAT*. We may therefore put the accession of Manasseh soon after 432, and perhaps accept Josephus' account that the temple was built about 332.

The Temple continued to exist till 128 B.C. when it was destroyed by John Hyrcanus, in pursuance of the same exclusive policy noticed above. From the time of Alexander, Samaria shared the varying fortunes of its neighbours, gradually losing any political importance it ever possessed. A few events only need be mentioned. The city of Samaria was embellished by Herod the Great and renamed Sebaste in honour of Augustus. The temple on Mt. Gerizim was rebuilt by the Romans as a reward for Samaritan help in the suppression of Bar Kokhba's revolt. But such favourable treatment was not often received or deserved by them. After the national existence of Judah had been destroyed under Titus and Hadrian the animosity of the Samaritans turned towards the growing power and claims of the Christians. Their excesses were repressed by Justinian with a severity from which they never recovered.

During the middle ages only scattered notices of the Samaritans occur, and the native records are little more than lists of names. Calmies are mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela (died 1173) as living in several cities besides Nablus (Shechem), and Oladiah of Barinoro (c. 1200-1237) speaks of them in Cairo. There certainly was a community in Damascus, and probably also in Cairo, as late as the seventeenth century. In more modern times communications were opened with them by Scaliger and continued by Huntington, Ludloff and others. At the present day the only remnant of them is at Nablus (Shechem). They number about 120 persons, and 'the forty' (families) have become locally proverbial. According to a recent traveller attempts are being now made to save the tribe from extinction by encouraging intermarriages with the neighbouring Jewish families, but hitherto with little success, although no difficulty seems to be felt on religious grounds.

1. *Sacred books.*—The Samaritans are by no means a Jewish sect. Though they started from the same point the development of their respective systems has proceeded on independent, though naturally parallel, lines.

2. *Doctrine:* Their only sacred book is the Pentateuch, of which they possess a recension agreeing essentially with the Jewish (Massoretic) text. (See *TEXT AND VERSIONS*, § 43.)

At what time they first received the Pentateuch cannot now be determined; but it is most natural to suppose that a copy (or copies) of the law would be carried by Manasseh to Samaria at the time of his migration thither. It is not probable that any but the priestly caste would possess, or would be allowed to possess, a copy of it at that time. If then Manasseh took with him a book of the law as part of his priestly equipment about 430, this would explain the fact that the Samaritans accepted it in its final form, which, according to modern criticism, had probably been attained about that date.

The reason why the Pentateuch alone of Jewish books was taken over is obvious. The Torah is of the highest importance, not for its historical contents, but as containing practical rules for the ritual of the God of the land, and the *halakhot* or regulations by which the daily 'walk' of Jew and Samaritan alike must be

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governed. These things alone are of vital importance; matters of faith and theoretical doctrine are secondary. Moreover, even among the Jews, the other books had not yet acquired the authority which they possessed at a later time. Having once accepted the Torah, the Samaritans followed its injunctions with a rigidity recognized even by the Jews. For example, in Jn. 48 the disciples went into a Samaritan city to buy food, apparently as a matter of course, whilst the question in it probably refers to the asking of a favour, and the following comment is a later gloss. At a later time Jewish opinion became more hostile, and various charges were laid against them, mostly, it would seem, without foundation. 'He that eateth bread of a Gentian is as one that eateth swine's flesh.' If you were accused of worshipping a dove and a god Ashimut. For the former there is no evidence, nor is it even probable from what we know of them otherwise; the latter is due to a malicious misunderstanding of the Samaritan pronunciation of *שמ* (*shama*, 'the name') which they everywhere substitute for *שם*, just as the Jews read *שמ* (and earlier *שם*), from motives of reverence. But while holding closely to the Levitical law as the one thing needful, the Samaritans did develop theoretical doctrine, based upon the Torah, if not derived from it. The earliest evidence for anything of the kind is contained in Jn. 4.

3. Eschatology.—The belief in a Messiah is already established, in Jn. 4, and from later Samaritan sources we now know its character.

The Messiah is called *תהב*, the *Tahéb*, a term variously explained to mean 'he who returns' or (more probably) 'he who restores,' and the belief is founded on Dt. 18 45. He will bring to an end the period of *Faunia* (*פניא*), which has lasted since the schism of Eli who removed the tabernacle to Shiloh, and, as the name probably implies, he will restore the period of *rafaia* (*רפאיה*) with the tabernacle and the worship of the Lord on Mt. Gerizim, as well as the temporal prosperity of the nation, after which he will die.

The chief external information on such points is in the writings of the Christian fathers, who assert that the Samaritans did not believe in angels, the resurrection, or a future life. These statements are due partly to a confusion, and partly to a disregard of the development of theological speculation, since we know from native sources that all these doctrines were held at least from the fourth century onward. Nevertheless the patristic account very probably rests on a basis of genuine tradition.

If the Samaritans acquired their law and their priestly system about 400 B.C., they no doubt took over with them the set of beliefs current at the time in Jerusalem. But in the fifth century B.C. Jewish theology was not concerned with eschatological doctrines, or at any rate had never formulated them, and the Samaritans, being essentially conservative, probably developed doctrine more slowly than the progressive Pharisaic party in Judaea. (Cp *ESCHATOLOGY*, § 45.)

The native literature, from which alone we can safely judge of the beliefs of the Samaritans, begins only in the fourth century A.D., and we then find them in full possession of those doctrines which the Christian fathers ascribed to them. It would therefore seem that the patristic account perpetuates a tradition which had once been correct but had ceased to be so. In the liturgical frequent references are made to the *Tahéb*. Closely connected with that belief is the doctrine of the final judgment, which shall be after the death of the *Tahéb*, when the righteous shall go into the garden of Eden, and the wicked be burned with fire.

The full expression is *שמעון בן יוסף* (sometimes *שמעון בן יוסף*) derived from Dt. 32 35, where the Samaritan text reads *שמעון* for the Massoretic *שמעון*. The character of the future life to be enjoyed by the righteous is not further described. It would seem that the condition of the dead in the interval between the present time and the final judgment is capable of alteration, since prayers are offered on their behalf.

With regard to the belief in angels the case is quite

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as clear. It has often been said that angels were considered merely as aspects of the divine energy, *צורות דת*, and this view was supported with much ingenuity by Reiland. It is indeed true that such apparent abstractions as *מלאכים* and *מלאכי* are often mentioned; but there can be no reasonable doubt that these were considered as the names of real persons, nor have we any ground for supposing the Samaritan mind capable of any more abstract conception. In their Targum an angel is regularly introduced instead of the name of God wherever it is possible so to avoid anthropomorphism. Man is formed in the image of the angels, and it is an angel who spoke with Moses from the bush. This is only one instance, out of many, of their spiritual conception of God. He is eternal, without beginning, without a companion. He uttered a word without a mouth and the world was created from nothing. He rested on the seventh day, but not from weariness. Possibly owing to the unapproachable attributes of God we find prayers offered through the mediation of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, of Joseph, the seventy elders, the holy angels, and more especially of Moses. Thus the development of Samaritan theology corresponds in the main with the development of Jewish belief, by which, no doubt, it was in some respects influenced.

ii. Mt. Gerizim.—The essential points of difference were with regard to Moses and Mt. Gerizim. Moses is the only prophet and apostle of God.

3d. Gerizim.—of miraculous birth, destined from the creation to reveal the law to Israel. In Dt. 34 the Samaritans read *שמעון* for *עמרם*, and on this ground admit no later prophets. From the Jewish point of view the most insurmountable difference was the Samaritan reverence for Mt. Gerizim. It is called the 'blessed mountain,' 'the house of God,' and is regarded as the place which Yahweh chose to place his name there.

On Gerizim are still shown the sites of the altars built by Adam and Seth, the altar built by Noah after the flood, and the altar on which Abraham was about to sacrifice Isaac. A few yards off was the thicket in which the ram was caught, and on this spot afterwards stood the Holy of Holies of the Samaritan temple. On Gerizim, too, are the stones brought up from the Jordan whereon Joshua wrote the words of the law (Dt. 27 4, Gerizim being read for Ebal), and there are still celebrated the most sacred rites of the community.

iv. Priesthood and festivals.—The priestly family of the house of Aaron died out in 624 A.D., and the office is now held by Levites of a younger branch, who do not bear the title of

4e. Institutions.—The festivals observed are the same as those of the Jews in so far as they are authorised by the Pentateuch. They do not therefore keep Purim, nor any of the later and more specially Jewish ceremonies, such as Hanukkah or the 9th of Ab. Half-yearly, sixty days before Passover and Tabernacles respectively, they keep the assembly (*מצב*, also an astronomical term, 'conjunction') of those feasts, when every man pays to the priest a half shekel, and a calendar for the ensuing six months is fixed. The Passover is still celebrated by the offering of sacrifice on Mt. Gerizim. The whole congregation assembles before dawn at the door of the synagogue, and then proceeds in pilgrimage (the meaning they attach to the term *מצב*, *hajj*) up the mountain, where specially selected lambs are sacrificed, baked entire for some hours in a hole in the ground, and then, at sunset (*מצב*), eaten in haste. Then follow the seven days of unleavened bread, on the last of which they again make the pilgrimage. The day of Pentecost is kept as the anniversary of the giving of the law. For these, as well as for New Year, the day of Atonement, the feast of Tabernacles, and many minor occasions, there are special services, besides the ordinary prayers for Sabbath. There are also services for circumcision (which must be performed on the eighth day, even though it be a Sabbath), for marriage, and for burial.

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With regard to the sects alleged to have existed among the Samaritans, it is impossible to arrive at any certain facts. The accounts are confused, and there seems to be no mention of them in the native literature.

The native literature naturally centres in the one sacred book, the Pentateuch, which has been preserved, as mentioned above, in a recension agreeing in all essentials with the MT. It first became known in Europe from a copy brought, together with the Targum, from Damascus by the great traveller Pietro della Valle in 1616, and now preserved in the Vatican library. The text was published in the *Paris Polyglott* from which it was afterwards copied by Walton, and its variations from the MT gave rise to the keenest controversy. The question is by no means settled yet, nor can it be so until we have a thoroughly critical edition of the text. The many passages in which the Samaritan agrees with the Septuagint against the Massoretic, show that a study of it is important. The MSS are many, mostly dated, but not of great age.

The copy in the synagogue at Nâblus is regarded with great veneration as having been written by Mosha the great-grandson of Aaron, thirteen years after the entry into Canaan. No scholar has ever had the opportunity of examining it with a view to determining its date; but there are no reasons for supposing that it is much older than the twelfth or thirteenth century, about which time its 'invention' is chronicle by Abulfath.

Several translations of the Pentateuch were made. 1. Perhaps it was translated into Greek. *70 Saama- peritade* is quoted by the early fathers; but we have no certain information about it, and cannot even say whether it was a distinct version or whether the citations of it are only a loose way of citing the Sam.-Hebrew text.

2. It was translated into Samaritan proper, or Aramaic. The most noticeable feature of this Targum is its frequently close resemblance to Onkelos. Until this fact has been thoroughly investigated the most reasonable explanation of it seems to be that both Targums go back to an oral tradition current in Palestine at the time when Aramaic was the common language of the people, and that they were subsequently reduced to writing independently, and with local variations, in Samaria (probably in the 4th cent. A.D.) and in Babylon. It was brought to Europe, as mentioned above, in 1616, and first printed in the *Paris Polyglott*. MSS of it are very scarce, since the language died out before the eleventh century, and copies were no longer multiplied.

For the same reason the text has suffered much corruption and is by no means yet definitely settled even in the best edition. In character the Aramaic translation is very literal; it very carefully avoids anthropomorphisms. It seems to be by several hands, and to have received interpolations at a later period. These and the corruptions of copyists are, according to the latest researches, responsible for most of the enigmatical words formerly supposed to be specially Samaritan.

3. The origin of the translation into Arabic is obscure. It was perhaps made by Muhihsan of Tyre in the eleventh century, and revised early in the thirteenth century by Abu Said. There are many good MSS of it. The translator apparently made use of the Jewish Arabic version by Saadiah Gaon.

The Chronicles which have come down to us are: (1) A Book of Joshua, in Arabic, giving the history of Israel (i.e., the Samaritans) from the time of Joshua to the fourth century A.D. It is a compilation, dating perhaps from the thirteenth century. As history its value is very small, since it consists mostly of fabulous stories of the deeds of Joshua, whilst its later chronology is of the wildest.

(2) El-Fâhleh, in Samaritan-Hebrew with an Arabic translation. It contains the history (or rather annals) from Adam to the present time. The original part of it is ascribed to Eleazar b. Anan in the middle of the twelfth century, and it has been carried on by various writers from time to time. The history, if used

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with caution, is generally trustworthy, especially for the period just preceding the date of each several annal (p. 13). The chronicle of Abulfath written in Arabic, in 1185 A.D., is a compilation from earlier works. By a comparison of these two (El-Fâhleh and Abulfath) it is possible to arrive at a tolerably trustworthy account of the Samaritan families in the Middle Ages. Of commentaries and theological works there is a considerable number in MS; but very little has been published.

One of the most interesting is a fragment in Greek of an unknown author, in Arabic, remarkable as quoting from the books of the OT and from the Mishna. A commentary on Markah on the Pentateuch survives in a late but apparently unique MS in Berlin, and is linguistically important as being composed in the Samaritan dialect of which there are no specimens outside the Targum. Others are a book of legends of Moses in Arabic, and a commentary by Ibrahim of the sons of Jacob, from which extracts have been given by Gœtz.

The liturgies form a very large and important branch of the literature. The earliest pieces which can be dated with any certainty, are those of Markah and Anan, composed in Aramaic in the fourth century A.D.

The instance of Bala Rablat, a sheikh of some eminence in his time, who, according to El-Fâhleh, restored the services of the synagogue. These are called *peritade* the Deter or 'book.' The later portions are in Samaritan-Hebrew mostly of the fourteenth and subsequent centuries down to the present time. MSS of the later liturgies are very numerous.

Finally, there are several letters in existence, written by Samaritans to scholars in Europe. The last of these, in 1580, was an answer to one from Jos. Scaliger; others were addressed to Huntington, Ludolf, De Sacy, Kautzsch (in 1884), and recently to the present writer.

The Samaritan language proper is a dialect of Western Aramaic as commonly spoken in Palestine, and is found in the Targum and in the earlier liturgies. It may best be compared with the Aramaic of the Jerusalem Talmud, and with Palestinian Syriac. The 'enthusiasm' words formerly supposed to be found in it, have been shown by Kuhn to be mostly corruptions of good Aramaic forms. The native dialect probably began to be supplanted by Arabic soon after the Mohammedan conquest of Syria, and was no longer commonly understood in the tenth century, although used for ritual purposes. From that time onward Arabic has been the language used both in ordinary life and for literary purposes. The later liturgies, however (and the letters), are written in a corrupt Hebrew.

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SAMATUS

SAMOS

SAMMUS (CΑΜΜΟΥC [A] -ΟΥ [B]) 1 Est. 9:41 = Neh. 8:4. SUEBIA.

SAMOS (CΑΜΟC. 1 Mac. 15:21 Acts 20:15) The third in size of the four large islands (Iasos, Chios, Samos, and Cos) which lie off the western coast of Asia Minor, all appearing in the narrative of Paul's journey.

1. Geography and history. Samos lies at the mouth of the bay of Ephesus, into which the Cayster flows, and so midway between Ephesus and Miletus by the sea route. It gained its name from the line of 'lofty broken summits' (so described by Tourt, Islands of the Aegean, 1871.) running from L. to W. through the island, for the name Samos means 'height' (Str. 346, σάμος ἰσάλιον γὰρ ἔστιν. Cp. id. 457, and see SAMOTHRAKE). The highest point, Mt. Kerkira (anc. Kerkireus) is 4725 ft. high, a conspicuous feature from all the surrounding islands. Between the eastern extremity of the island (Cape Tolonnia, anc. Poseidonium) and the long well-wooded ridge of Mycale on the mainland (Herod. 1:142) there is a narrow 'maritime pass' about one mile in width; this strait was the scene of the Greek victory over the Persian fleet and army in 479 B.C. (Herod. 8:10-11).

The Samians at an early period were distinguished for their maritime enterprise (cp. Paus. vi. 29); it was a Samian who first ventured through the pillars of Herakles into the western ocean (Herod. 1:132; cp. Thuc. 1:6; Plin. *NA* 7:37). Samian power and splendour reached their highest pitch under the so-called tyrant Polycrates (c. 533-522 B.C.) who made the island for a short time the mistress of the eastern Aegean. At this period Samos had extensive commercial relations with Egypt (Herod. 2:175). She produced oil in abundance; but her wine was not of the best quality (Str. 6:37). Her trade was largely in pottery (cp. Plin. *NA* 35:46, Samia in cunctis laudantur). Many Jews resided in the island (1 Mac. 15:23), and they, and the Samians generally, enjoyed the liberality of Herod the Great, who with Agrippa was in the island in 14 A.D. (Jos. Ant. xvi. 22; *BJ* i. 21:1, τὰς αἰσάλιον ἢ Σαμίων διαπέδης). In Paul's time Samos was a libera civitas (Plin. *IN* 5:17; Dio Cass. 5:19) in the Province of Asia by the favour of Augustus; Vespasian deprived it of this privilege (Suet. *Vesp.* 8).

The island and its chief town bore the same name. The town (now *Tigani*) lay on the S.E. shore, whereas the modern capital, *Tathy*, is on the N. of the island. The question of the meaning

2. NT reference. of the word in the account of Paul's voyage is difficult (cp. the case of Chios, Acts 20:15). In neither case apparently did the ship stop at the town or its harbour itself, nor did Paul land. 'The ship evidently stopped every evening. The reason lies in the wind, which in the Aegean during the summer generally blows from the N., beginning at a very early hour in the morning; in the late afternoon it dies away; at sunset there is a dead calm, and thereafter a gentle S. wind arises and blows during the night' (Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 203). It stopped at a point opposite Chios (κατηγήσαμεν ἀπέναντι Χίου, 'came . . . over against,' *EV*), i.e., probably in the strait between Chios the capital of the island, and Cape Argemnum on the opposite mainland. Next morning they struck across to Samos making a course either E. of S., to the western extremity of that island, by the *Great Boghaz* (so Ramsay, *l.c.*), or more easterly across the Caystrian Bay to the eastern extremity of the island, so as to pass through the *Little Boghaz* or strait of Mycale. In either case, the failure of the breeze from the N. found them at Trogyllium (the reference to which should undoubtedly be retained from *DHL*: see *TROGYLLIUM*), and there is no need to understand Samos to be the *town*, and not rather the island merely; for the Greek word translated 'arrived

1 Cp. Vulg. in Is. 45:9, testa de Samiis terrae.

Geogr., 1888; Wesschert, *Samos Traditionen*, 1888; Cohn, *Die Zarathustra-Religion*, 1899; Morgenstern, *Die Verleumdungen d. Inehi gegen d. Sam.* (Berlin, n.d.); *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1891; *Encyclopaedia Orientalis*, vi. 1:1, 1894, re-edited by Kirchhoff, *op. cit.*; Herdennotus *Erchibabeschreff*, *passim*, and *The Sam. Liturgy*, 1883, etc. (in both the text is often faulty); cp. the criticisms of Geiger in *ZDMG* 16:23; Rappaport, *Die Liturgie Sam.*, 1890. *Historical and General*: Juybail, *Commentaire in 4to. Genes Sam.*, 1849, and *Chiossam Sam.* . . . *lib. Genes*, 1851; Petermann, *Reisen*, 1865; Vilmar, *Abulbath's Samos Sam.*, 1865; Payne Smith, 'The Sam. Chion of Alud Fatah' (with trans.) in Heilenheim's *Lehrbuch der Sem.*, 2:104 ff. and 112 ff. (incomplete). Neuh. 'Christus Sam.' in *Journal asiatique*, 1869. The letters in *Voyage et Esquisses*, vol. xii, 181 (collected by De Saoy). Hanakos, 'Anmerkungen über die Sam. ou hune briefwisseling (extr. from *Archiv für Kunde der Orient*, 3). Kautsch, 'Ein Brief des Hohepriesters . . . Sam.' (*Veröffentl. d. K. Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig*, 1874). Barges, *Les Sam. de Naplouse*, *passim* (extra), 1873; Petermann, *Reisen*, 1865; Vilmar, *Abulbath's Samos Sam.*, 1865; Nili, *A Sketch of Sam. History*, 1873 (an excellent general account). Frobenius, *Hellenistische Studien*, ii. 11, 1873; Brill, *Zur Geschichte u. Literatur d. Sam.*, 1876; Spies, 'Etude sur le peuple Sam.' (from the *Revue Chrétienne*, 1884). *Langue*: Castells, *Lexicon Hebraico-Latino*, 1869; Phœmann, *Infantibus Ling. Sam.*, 1877; Nichols, *A Grammar of the Sam. Language*, n.d. [1882]. Noldeke, *Lehrbuch der Sem.*, 1875 (in *GGV* nos. 17 and 20, 1864; Petermann, 'Versuch einer hebr. Formellehre', 1868 (*Abhandl. d. Königl. d. Morgenländ. S.*), and *Reisen Ling. Sam.*, 1869). *Verfa. Ling.*, *op. cit.*, 1873 (containing a bibliography of earlier works); Kohli, *Sam. Studien*, 1869, and *Zur Sprachg.*, etc.; see above. *Catalogues of Manuscripts*: for the Balleian Library see in the Oriental Catalogue of *Uti*, with the corrections in pt. ii. by Nicol and Posey, and in Neubauer's *Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS.*, 1886. For the British Museum, G. Margoliouth's *Descriptive List of the Hebrew and Samaritan MSS.*, 1891 (the full catalogue is in progress). For Paris (Zotenberg's) *Catalogue des MSS. Heb. et Sam.* [Paris, 1896]. For St. Petersburg, Hanakos, *Episani samaritanae rabbinici*, 1875 (vol. ii. pt. 1, of the *Catalog. d. hebr. u. sam. Handschriften*, dealing with the Pentateuch MSS., text and targum. In Russian).

SAMATUS (CΑΜΑΤΟΥC [BA]) 1 Est. 9:34 = Ezra 10:42 = SAMELAM, 12.

SAMEIUS, RV Sameus (CΑΜΑΙΟΥC [A]) 1 Est. 9:21 = Ezra 10:21. SAMEMAH, 18.

SAMELIUS (CΑΜΕΛΛΙΟΥC [B]) 1 Est. 2:16 RV = Ezra 13:31. SAMISIAL.

SANGAR-NEBO (סגאר נבו) with RE., Gms., not סגור; CΑΜΑΓΩΘ [RS] - ΓΑΘ [A] - Δ [G], cp. [12ms], apparently a Babylonian name (Jer. 39:1). According to the Hebrew the words are Hebrewised from *Samgar nabu*, 'the generous, Nebo' (*K. I*, 179, 416); but Giesebrecht conjectures a corruption of סגור, *Sar-mag*, equivalent to סגור, *rab-mag*, which implies virtual dittography. connects *sa-gar* with the following name (see SARSEC HIM). The truth, however, probably is, that the editor had a corrupt text before him, and tried in vain to make Babylonian names out of the false readings. 121 might come from 274, נובאר (p. 2); 222 from סגור-נב. SARSECIM (p. 2) was therefore written twice over, and once it has taken the place of סגור (before 221). Read therefore 'and the prince of Nodab' (one of the Jerahmeelite princes in the army of king Nebuchadnezzar, at least, if some other name = נב. Babylonian) does not underlie 'Nubad-hadrezzar'. See NERGAH-SHAR-REK. T. K. C.

SANI, RV Sabi (CΑΒΕΙ [A], om. B) 1 Est. 5:28 = Ezra 2:49. SAMMAM.

SAMIS (CΑΜΕΙC [BA]) 1 Est. 9:34 = Ezra 10:48, SAMMEL, 16.

SAMLAR (סלר), in Gen. CΑΔΑΜΑ [A] CΑΜΑΛΑ [B] CΑΔΑΜΑ [L.], CΑΜΑΛΑ [L.], in Ch. CΑΜΑΛΑ [A], B in 1:51, CΑΒΑΔ [L.], the fifth Edomite king, Gen. 36:6 f. 1 Ch. 14:7. See MASREKAM. The evidence offered by Prof. Sayce (*Ibid.* *loc. cit.* 54, n.) for a connection between Samlah and Semele is unsound (cp. *Table*, *Pa. T.*, 1890, p. 96). Beyond reasonable doubt we should read Samlah (see SAMMAM, and SAMOMOS, § 1). Was this king of the Sammaim race? T. K. C.

SAMOTHRACE

at (καρπελάουεν, so AV; 'touched at,' RV) does not necessarily imply stoppage or landing at the harbour of Samos. Probably it was this erroneous idea that was largely responsible for the omission of the reference to Trogyllium; for the distance between the town of Samos and the anchorage of Trogyllium 15 m., according to Strabo (130) is too small to make a distinct stage of the voyage. It ought, however, to be noticed that μίναρες need not be restricted to spending the night at anchor, but might indicate a short stop occurring during the final run between Samos and Miletus; but the order of the words seems to be opposed to that interpretation. W. J. W.

SAMOTHRACE RV, AV Samothracia (ΣΑΜΟΘΡΑΚΗ, Acts 16:11). The two conspicuous features of the Thracian sea are Mt. Athos and the island of Samothrace. The island is described as a 'huge boulder plucked in the sea,' towering above Imbros and conspicuous from the Thracian and the Asiatic shore.

Homer, who calls the island the 'Thracian Samos,' describes the seat of Poseidon on its topmost peak overlooking 'all Iliad, with the city of Pikan and the ships of the Achaeans' (Il. 13:12, ἵππῳ ἐν ἀκρωτήρι κρηίδης Σάμου ἄλυσσας ἠρώων κ. τ. λ. cp. Velg. Rev. 1:28, Ἐθρῆς Ἰστανίμω Σάμου, γῆρ ἄνευ Σαμοθράκης Στραβ., Strabo, 331, fig. 53, ἑκατέρωθεν ἡ Σαμοθράκη Σάμου κρηί).¹

So excellent a sailing-mark, placed also at a convenient distance in the passage from the Asiatic to the Thracian and Macedonian shores was certain to arrest attention. The ship in which Paul sailed from Troas (Acts 16:11) 'ran before the wind' (ἐπιβόρρυσσασμεν, 'came with [RV 'made'] a straight course') to the island, passing probably to the E. of Imbros, in order to avoid the *Alythones* reef which lies off the coast of Lemnos. Although the island possesses several good anchorages, it has no good harbour (ὅτι ἄμφοτεροσὶν ἀμνηνῶν, is its description by Plin. *HN* 4:21). The safest landing-place is near the promontory *Acrotiri* at the western end of the island, and there was probably the ancient anchorage Demetrium, in which Paul's vessel may have spent the night at anchor. The old capital (now *Pithecolpiti*) is on the northern side. The voyage to Macedonia thus occupied two days (v. 11), whereas the reverse journey on a subsequent occasion took five days (Acts 20:6).

In history Samothrace is chiefly famous as the main seat of the worship of the Cabiri and the religious mysteries connected therewith. The Cabiri were known to the Greeks as 'the Great Gods,' and were probably pre-Hellenic, and in the main of Semitic origin. Their worship was of great celebrity and lasted to a very late time. Both Philip of Macedonia and his wife Olympias were initiated into the Cabiri mysteries (Plut. *Dei* 21). After Delos, Samothrace numbered more votaries than any other spot in the Aegean (see Herod. 2:51; Aristoph. *Par.* 277; Tac. *Ann.* 2:51). The cult was in full vigour in Paul's time. It was owing to its celebrity that Samothrace, which belonged to the Thracian kingdom, became a free state when Thrace was reduced to a province in 46 A.D. by Claudius (cp. Tac. *Hist.* 1:11).

Literature. Conze, Hansen, and Niemann, *Archäologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrace* (Vienna, 1875 ff.); *Visser, Reise auf den Inseln des Thrakien von Myra* (1863). Popular account in *Voys, Islands of the Aegean*, 310 ff. W. J. W.

SAMPANES (ΣΑΜΠΑΝΗ [A], ΣΑΜΠΑΝΗ [RV], *Sampas* [whence RV¹⁹⁰⁸ ΣΑΜΠΣΑΜΟΣ], *Sampsame* [Vg]) a locality mentioned first in a list of peoples and countries in 1 Mac 15:21. According to Gamm, identical with Samsim, which is described by Abulfeda as lying on the Black Sea between Trebizond and Sinope.

¹ Samos is bright; cp. Strabo, 136, Σαμωθεῖς ἄρα οὐκ ἐστὶν ἰσθμὸς. The word is of Semitic origin. The Samothracians are all subsequent to the time of Alexander. On an imperial coin of Hadrian occurs the remarkable inscription Σαμοθρακίαι καὶ Σαμπίαι. On some of the late part of a coin, on a coin's head, occurs a symbol of the cult of lower-world divinities of a pre-Hellenic type. See Head, *Hist. Numism.* 126.

SAMSON

But some better known people or place is surely meant. The reading *σαμψάαγ* (cp. Vet. Lat. t) is almost certainly an intentional corruption arising from the difficulty felt in identifying Sampsame (so, rather than Sampsame).

SAMSON (סִמְסוֹן, *Simson*, i.e., 'solar'; the AV pronunciation is not so old as that of S. ΣΑΜΨΑΝ [BAV.]; cp. *Sambian* [Hilprecht]).

1. Story of Samson.

The great enemy of the Philistines is reckoned as one of the judges of Israel in two editorial notes which belong to the chronological scheme of the book of Judges (15:20 [see Bidde's note], 16:31) but this view is not that of the story of Samson itself. The story of Samson is a self-contained narrative by a single hand (Judg 13:1-16:31; see, however, § 3) and represents Samson not as a judge but as a popular hero of vast strength and sarcastic humour, who has indeed been consecrated from his birth as the deliverer of Israel, and is not unaware of his vocation, but still is inspired by no serious religious or patriotic purpose, and becomes the enemy of the Philistines only from personal motives of revenge, the one passion which is stronger in him than the love of women. In his life, and still more in his death, he inflicts great injury on the oppressors of Israel; but he is never the head of a national uprising against them, nor do the Israelites receive any real deliverance at his hands. The story of his exploits is plainly taken from the mouths of the people, and one is tempted to conjecture that originally his Nazirite vow was conceived simply as a vow of revenge, which is the meaning it would have in an Arab story. Our narrator, however, conceives Samson's life as a sort of prelude to the work of Saul (13:5), and brings out its religious and national significance in this respect in the opening scene (chap. 13), which is closely paralleled to the story of Gideon, and in the tragic close (chap. 16), whilst yet the character of Samson, who generally is quite forgetful of his mission, remains much as it had been shaped in rude popular tale in a circle which, like Samson himself, was but dimly conscious of the national and religious vocation of Israel.

Though the name means 'solar,'¹ neither name nor story lends any solid support to Steintal's idea that the hero is nothing but a solar myth (cp. Wellh. *GH* 220 f. [and GASN. *HG* 222 f.; Wellhausen, whilst he rejects Steintal's myth theory, also denies Samson's historical character]). He is a member of an undoubtedly historical family of those Danites who had their standing camp near ZORAH, not far from the Philistine border, before they moved north and south (Judg cp. 13:25 with 18:31 f.). The family of MANOAH (q. v.) had a hereditary sepulchre at Zorah, where Samson was said to lie (16:31), and their name continued to be associated with Zorah even after the exile, when it appears that the MANOAHITES of Zorah were reckoned as Calebites. The name had remained though the race changed (1 Ch. 2:52-54). The narrative of Samson's marriage and riddle is of peculiar interest as a record of manners; specially noteworthy is the custom of the wife remaining with her parents after marriage (cp. Gen. 2:24). See KISSITT, § 8, and DAN, § 3.

After all has been said, the probability of mythic elements remains. When we consider the great susceptibility of the Jews in later times for a folklore containing features of mythic origin, it is intrinsically probable that the beliefs of the early Israelites were also affected by mythology. That this is so in the case of the Samson-story seems likely, if the present text is on the whole correct (cp. § 4). If the hero's name was only Samson, and if in the neighbourhood commonly con-

2. Mythic elements.

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¹ It is worth noting that Samson's tribe or clan bears a name (Deut. 1:2, *pafer*) which belongs specially to the Amorites (cp. 2:14), and that there is Egyptian evidence for the existence of a place called Samtan in the neighbourhood of the southern Delta. See BRUGSCH, *MSB.* 11.

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named with Samson there was really a Canaanitish sanctuary called Beth shelesh (but known perhaps, as Balle conjectures, in earlier times as Ilit-Nunib; see HERS, *MOÏST*), we may venture to infer the existence of a primitive solar myth. In short, we may in this case surmise that there may have been a solar hero ambiguous to *Tilgimesi*,¹ who bore the name or title *Samsûn*, which ultimately attached itself to some real or imagined champion of the Danites, or even of the people of Israel against Philistine oppression. Some of the exploits of the legendary Samson may also have affinities with nature myths; but nature myths had become no more than 'fairy tales' by the time they supplied details to the plastic imagination of the people.

See Steinthal's essay on *Samson* (1862), translated in Goldriner's *Hebrew Mythology* (by R. Martineau), 302-46; also Goldriner's remarks, pp. 23 f.; Stucken, *Ursprungstheorie*, 14-5 (1899), and references in Moore's commentary, and cp Hilde, *Das Buch der Richter*, 109; Van Doornum, *Th. T.*, 186, pp. 16-17, 186 f.; For mythic elements, see also HERS [MOÏST], *JAWWSE*, CATCHINGS OF THE FISH (p. 2), HARK (p. 2), and cp HRS, *ES-HAKKORE*, LEHI, SHAMGAR.

Robertson Smith's view that the Samson-story forms a single narrative would perhaps have been modified if

3. A national champion?

but had been able to take his part in current debates. It is very possible that the narrative is of composite origin, and that in one of its forms it represented the hero as a national champion. It is true, Moore (*Judges*, 313) contrasts the 'solitary hero' Samson who 'in his own quarrel, single-handed, makes havoc among the Philistines with Ehud, Deborah and Barak, Gideon, and Jephthah, who, at the head of their tribesmen, "turned to fight the armies of the aliens," and delivered their countrymen.' But according to Hilde (*Richter*, 92 [187]), each of the two great sources or strata of early tradition had a national champion; the S. Israelitish source (I) Samson the Danite; the N. Israelitish source (E) Samiel the Ephraimite. Samiel in J (1 S. 9 f.) is only Yalwé 'messenger to Saul'; in the war of liberation he plays no part. In a similar case (Judg 4; Iaban and Sisera) the redactor effected a fusion of kindred narratives; in the case of the two Samson stories he preserved the individuality of each. Hilde also thinks that there were two forms of the Yalwistic story of Samson (J₁ and J₂) which a redactor harmonised. See further, JUDGES [BOOK], and Van Doornum, *Th. T.*; also SHAMGAR, SHAMGAR (the legends of Samson present points of contact with the legends of these heroes).

Whilst granting that the Samson-legends as we now have them seem to present 'motives' derived from a solar myth, the present writer cannot any longer admit that there were such mythic elements in the original legend of the Danite deliverer.

4. New hypothesis.

1. That the *source* of the legends has been shifted, and that as a consequence the *name* of the hero has undergone modification, seems for several reasons highly probable. A close examination of the text may convince us that this has occurred in other stories in the Book of Judges; indeed, it is already given in Judg. 3, if the nations by which Israel was to be 'pos-sessed' are catalogued, according to a very probable restoration of the text, as 'the five princes (real 97) of the Zarephathites, and all the Kenizites, and the Misrites, and the Horites that dwell in the mountains of Jerahmeel unto the entrance of Manahath.' The first heroic impulses, we are told in 13:25, came to Samson 'in Manahathlan, between Zorah and Eshtal'. But the original text may have said, 'between Misur and Eshtal', while for *MANAHATHAN* (97 f.), we should read 'Manahathlan'; see 13:25-24, where the Chronicler, like modern critics, is puzzled at the combination of Manahathlan both with Zorah and Eshtal and (see Judg. 18:11 f.) with Kirjath-jearim; the present writer believes that Kirjath-jearim is simply a corruption of Kirjath-jerahmeel, and that all the places referred to lay near together in the Negel. According to his theory the Negel was also a 'zone of contention' between the Zarephathites (Philistines) or Jerahmeelites (Ammonites or Amorites) and the Danites. The Israelite champion known to us as Samson was known to the earliest narrator only as a Cushanite. There was at least another place in the Negel of even more importance

SAMUEL

than either Misur or Eshtal—viz., Cushan. Often its true name is (through a faulty geographical theory) disguised as 'Sukcush' (17 f., 2); but sometimes (e.g., 1 S. 6:9 f.) as 'Beth-lechem' (from Beth-leishan). A similar corruption or distortion has occurred in the personal name Shimshal, which comes from 'Cushan.' See, further, SHIMSHAL.

2. To the question, Did the early legend of the Cushanite deliverer present mythic motives? we reply in the negative for two reasons: (a) The mythic 'motives' discovered by Winkler in the legends of the other judges rest, according to our theory, upon a precarious textual basis; and (b), not only the name Samson but also the story of the foxes, and that of the jawbone, explained by Steinthal and Stucken as mythological, are, we suspect, really based on corruptions of the text of the written story which lay before the narrator.² See *Orig. Bib.*

W. R. S. (p. 11); T. K. V. (pp. 2-4).

SAMUEL (שמואל, §§ 21, 30. SAMWYHA [SAMYARTL]).

1. **Name.** A prophet, or rather seer, who attained distinction in the period of Israel's transition to regal government. Narratives respecting Samuel are contained in 1 S. 1:16-13, 19:18-24, 25:1. He is also mentioned in Jer 15:1 (not S) 1 S. 9:9, 6:1 Ch. 10:13 (S not MT) 6:28 [13] 31 [17] 9:22 [13] 26:28 29:29 2:1 Ch. 35:18.

In the etymology, see SAUL, § 1; SHIMSHAL; SHAM (NAMES WITH). The two etymologies 'asked of God' (1 S. 1:20) and 'lent to God' (1 S. 28) come from the narrators and have only the value of popular etymologies. This is too clear for any trained biblical scholar to deny (see Dr. JBS 1:1 f.).

1 S. 1:16-13 has the appearance of forming a connected account of Samuel. A closer examination, however, shows that this section contains very

2. Oldest traditions.

inconsistent elements. The narratives have been put together from different sources, two of which (the parallel reports fused together in 1 S. 4:1-7:1) make no mention of Samuel, and they have received their present form by a complicated process of redaction. The inconsistencies which they present are to be explained by the transformation which the traditional picture of Samuel experienced in connection with the development of religious ideas in Israel and in the Jewish community. This transformation is no isolated phenomenon. In many another people a variation in the national and religious ideals has produced a corresponding change in the picture of the old national heroes. Since life means continual change, the great men of a people can live on only through a constant modification of the forms which they wear in memory.

The oldest notices of Samuel occur in the section 1 S. 9:10-16, 13:7-16, 18:21, 14:19 (see SAMUEL [BOOK], § 3). Samuel is there represented as a seer (שׂר), who at the same time officiates as a priest on the *kimah* ('high place') of a small country-town in the 'land of Zuph' (צופ), i.e., the district inhabited by the clan so called. [cp PROPHET, § 5.]

The name of the town is not given, from which Hilde (*Z. A. H.* 8:225) infers that it was certainly not Ramah, which is the name given in the later narratives. But what can have induced later writers to place Samuel's dwelling in Ramah, unless this were the view of the older tradition? For we find other places (Dolgal, Mizpah, Bethel) mentioned as the scenes of his official activity.

At any rate Samuel is a much respected seer, whose predictions are thoroughly trustworthy; but his reputation is only local, for Saul, who dwells at Gibeah in Benjamin, is unacquainted with him, and has his attention called to him for the first time by his servant. The story of the meeting of Samuel and Saul is well known. Saul was in quest of the lost sheeps of his father, and his servant wished him to fee the man of God to tell them where to go. Samuel on his side was already expecting the visitor. He knew by revelation that the destined ruler of Israel would descend to him, and after announcing to Saul his high destiny, he spiritual three

¹ Cp Shaalabbin of SHAMGAR (near 'Zorah') from Beth-Ishmael.

² In Judg. 15: $\text{לְעִיִּים שְׂרָפִים שְׂרָפִים}$ should be $\text{לְעִיִּים שְׂרָפִים}$; the continuation is given in v. 20, which should run $\text{לְעִיִּים שְׂרָפִים}$ [שְׂרָפִים שְׂרָפִים]; 'Cush' and 'Jerahmeel' are glosses. On 'Lehi', 'Ramah-lehi', and 'En-hakkore' in vv. 9, 10, see 1:10. Similar corruptions abound; see, e.g., SOLOM, § 6, n. (correction of V. 11:14).

¹ See CAINTLES, and cp JASTROW, *R.H.I.*, 471.

striking experiences which he would have as he returned home. These were to be the sign of the truth of the announcement. Not long after, the first exploit of Saul marked him out to the people as their king (1 S. 11). The narrative contains two mentions of Samuel; but the words 'and after Samuel' in 7: 7 and the whole of 7: 12-14 are later insertions. Saul and the people are the two parties in the great ceremony whereby Saul is made king 'before Yahwe' at Gilgal.

The later strata in the Book of Samuel are distinguished from this old tradition by the increased importance which they attribute to Samuel.

3. Later traditions. They represent him, not as a seer of merely local reputation, but as an authority for the whole of Israel; and, so far as they have not a deuteronomic colouring, they regard him as a prophet (8:22). We turn first to the two narratives in (a) 1 S. 1: 23-2: 26 (1: 23 transposed 2: 20 and 2: 21; see **6**), and (b) chap. 15. The former describes the youth of Samuel, bringing him into connection with the old sanctuary at Shiloh. He was the son of the Ephraimite (or, more precisely, the Zuphite)¹ Elkannah and of his favourite wife Hannah, who had long been childless, and had vowed to give the son who might be born to her to Yahwe (1 S. 1: 11).² He grew up at Shiloh, where he acted as Eli's minister, and became the true heir of Eli's spirit, the two sons of Eli, Hophni and Phinhas, being worldly and degenerate. While still young he learned by revelation the impending fall of the house of Eli, and afterwards he became known as a prophet whose words came true, 'from Dan even to Beersheba.'

The narratives in (b) regard Samuel as a prophet whose home was in Ramah. The command to exterminate the Amalekites was transmitted by him to Saul, who obeyed, but, in violation of the ban (*herem*; see BAX), spared the Amalekite king (see AGAG) and the best of the animals taken. A revelation then came to Samuel to the effect that Yahwe repented that he had made Saul king. The prophet announced this to the disobedient king at the Judean Carmel, and then hewed Agag in pieces before Yahwe's altar (1 S. 15). The chapter presupposes the tradition in 1 S. 9: 10-16, since Samuel expressly refers (7: 1; cp 7: 17) to his having anointed Saul. The author must have lived in the time of the first literary prophets, or at any rate have shared their circle of ideas. Samuel confronts Saul very much as Isaiah confronts Ahaz (Is. 7), and the saying in 1 S. 15: 22 *f.* is entirely in the prophetic manner.³ Much as we sympathise with this fine utterance, the following verses place Samuel in an extremely displeasing light from our modern point of view. Vatke does not miss matters when he says (*Die Religion des A.T.*, 1835, p. 300), 'Samuel appears here as a stern and obstinate zealot'; but his words are true. The passage in question is largely responsible for unfavourable judgments on Samuel's character.

The deuteronomic narratives (1 S. 7: 8-22 10: 17-27 12: 1-25) show a further tendency to glorify Samuel. This hero of tradition now becomes the last of the Judges of all Israel in succession to Eli. Like Eli, he is also a priest of Yahwe, and it is he who brings the Israelites back to the worship of Israel's God. It is Samuel too who delivers Israel from the yoke of the Philistines, gaining a brilliant victory as the reward of a national repentance and reformation⁴ (see EBEN-EZER, BETH-CAR). In his

4. Dt. Narratives. 1 S. 1: 1 should run thus, 'There was a certain man of Ramathaim, a Zuphite of the hill-country of Ephraim.' See Dr. (1871-2), We. K. B. Bu. (but cp RASHEVAIM-ZOHIM, ZUPH). On the genealogy, cp ELKANAH, TER-HAM.
² That is, Samuel was to be a priest (not a Nazirite).
³ Cp Cle., 'A Study of 1 S. 15: 22-23,' *Biblical World*, April 1894, pp. 281-282.
⁴ Kittel is of opinion (*Hist. 2: 19*) that, though 1 S. 7 in its present form is 'decidedly unhistorical,' there is an element of early tradition in it (similarly Budde). He therefore accepts the assembly at Mizpah under the presidency of Samuel issuing in a religious reform as historical. To Stade such a distinction

appears unsafe. See his *GT 1: 206*, and cp his view of Budde's disposition of the text of Samuel in *SBOT*, 1: 200, 201, 202, col. 9.

¹ See Stade, *GT 1: 67* end of note.
² See the proof in Bertheau, *Chronik*², 60 ff.
³ [On the suggestive but unhistorical idyll of Samuel's youth in 1 S. 1-3 see We. *Prod. ET* 270, and cp his *CH* 3: 2-3.]

old age he appoints his sons to be judges. Their misconduct is given as the reason why the chief men of Israel desire a king. It is, however, in foolish and wicked desire, and in obedience to a divine command Samuel warns the Israelites of the hardships to which the subjects of a king are liable. Their request, nevertheless, is granted. At Mizpah a religious assembly of the people is held. The sacred lot falls upon Saul, who receives the admiring homage of the people. Before transferring the reins of power to Saul's hands, however, Samuel makes a solemn 'apologia' to the people, coupling this with a farewell charge. How the words of chap. 12 harmonised his representations with 7: 10, unless whether he himself noticed the inconsistency (Josephus, *Ant.* vi. 13 §, certainly did not) we have not the means of judging.

Subsequently to the time when the historical books underwent the deuteronomic redaction, three narratives arose as the result of reflection on the traditional narrative. Their late origin is shown both by the nature of the contents and by their very loose connection with the surrounding narratives.

5. Post-Deut. embellishments. (a) One is the story of the early anointing of David by Samuel in accordance with a divine command (1 S. 16: 1-3), which is inconsistent with the traditional account in 2 S. 24: 1. To remove this contradiction, or at any rate to justify the statement in 2 S. 24, the Chronicler assumes that the anointing at Hebron was in obedience to the word of Yahwe by Samuel (1 Ch. 11: 3). (b) Another is the account of the very early rejection of Saul (1 S. 11: 7-15), inserted in the account of Saul's war against the Philistines. This passage is merely an anticipation of chap. 15. (c) A third is an anecdote in which Samuel appears like an Elijah or an Elisha, as the head of the prophet community in Ramah, with which David seeks refuge (1 S. 19: 18-24). See DAVID, § 1 (end).

In one of those passages of the Book of Jeremiah which betray the hand of an editor (Jer. 15: 1; not **8A**)¹ we find Samuel placed beside Moses as an intercessor for his people and a lover of prayer. The same view of him, which is clearly due to exaggeration in the Book of Samuel (see, e.g., 1 S. 7: 8-9 8: 6 12: 1), is given in Ps. 105 (post-exilic). The Chronicler even makes Samuel a member of the tribe of Levi because, according to the Book of Samuel, he offers sacrifices; in 1 Ch. 6: 22-28 [2: 13] and 36: 2 [3: 1] he gives us two genealogies which trace Samuel's descent back to Kohath.² Some very singular statements respecting Samuel 'the seer' will be found in 1 Ch. 9: 22 29: 29.

To assign an equal weight to all these documents is of course impossible. The oldest are the most trustworthy.

6. Summing up. worthy, and wherever the later notices are inconsistent with the earlier, the latter can be understood by that inevitable modification of traditional pictures of which we have spoken, they must be rejected. This at once compels us to set aside the narratives which represent Samuel as a leading prophet for all Israel, or as a zealous advocate of the exclusive worship of Yahwe, or as a judge and a deliverer of Israel from the Philistine yoke. They contradict the surest facts of the beginning of the regal period. Take the deuteronomic narratives.³ The transformation of facts is here radical. The presuppositions are those of an age which had no kings, and regarded kingship as opposed to the will of God, and as the means by which Israel was turned away from its true mission. If, when ideals were once, it believed, those of Israel, but, deserving a king Israel fell to the low level of the other peoples. To this we may add that if these narratives were based on an old tradition, the result of another tradition which made Samuel a seer of metropolitan celebrity would be inconceivable, whereas, given the

appears unsafe. See his *GT 1: 206*, and cp his view of Budde's disposition of the text of Samuel in *SBOT*, 1: 200, 201, 202, col. 9.

¹ See Stade, *GT 1: 67* end of note.
² See the proof in Bertheau, *Chronik*², 60 ff.
³ [On the suggestive but unhistorical idyll of Samuel's youth in 1 S. 1-3 see We. *Prod. ET* 270, and cp his *CH* 3: 2-3.]

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priority of the simpler story, the growth of the deuteronomistic account is perfectly natural.

Really trustworthy material for a picture of Samuel we must seek first of all in chaps. 9-10-16. The tragedy in the fate both of peoples and of individuals springs from uncomprehended circumstances and neglected opportunities. The greatness of leading personalities consists in this: that they comprehend the national aspirations and turn to account favouring circumstances. Only thus can impending ruin be averted and the road to progress and prosperity be opened. Others besides Samuel may have conceived the idea that the debarment of Israel from the Philistines was possible only for a king; but it is his inalienable merit to have found in Saul the man who appeared equal to the task, and to have awakened in him the consciousness of his divine mission. The people itself, too, comprehended the situation, and gave this a legal expression by a solemn choice of Saul at Gilgal (1 S. II 15).

This view of the historical significance of Samuel is in perfect harmony with the statement that his course of action was determined by Yahweh, who pointed out to him Saul as the future king of Israel. Ideas which burst upon a man suddenly and seem to have no links with his other thoughts belong to modern as well as ancient experience; to the ancients it was natural to regard them as given by inspiration. When Saul's imposing form came before the seer, revealing doubtless already something of that impetuous energy which marked Saul as king, the idea may have flashed through his mind that here was Israel's king. There is no reason to doubt that Samuel became accidentally acquainted with Saul, and then anointed him king over Israel (cp SAUL, § 1).

On the other hand it is not so certain whether the account of the details of the first meeting of Samuel and Saul in chap. 9 (9-13) is based on an exact knowledge of facts. They spoke together without witnesses, and upon Saul's accession his grown-up son Jonathan was already his best support. It is therefore very improbable that at this important moment he was but like a superior servant who could be sent out to seek for runaway asses, and that such a person should not, not indeed the asses, but a kingdom. Surely this representation is but part of the literary vehicle of the tradition.

Besides the kernel of chap. 9 10-16 we may regard as historical the central facts of chap. 15-21 32-35 [see SAUL, § 3]. The expedition against Amalek would of course not be undertaken without an oracle, and Saul's earlier relations to Samuel make it intelligible that the oracle would come from that seer. The violation of the ban corresponds to the egoistic character of the Israelites of that time, and the slaying of Agag before the altar corresponds with their religious usages. Nor need we doubt that Samuel himself hewed Agag in pieces. Probably enough, too, difficulties may have arisen between Samuel and Saul in consequence of the violation of the ban [cp SAUL, § 3]. The influence of the late period when the narrative was written will be confined to the description of the attitude of Saul on his meeting Samuel, to the statement that Samuel on this occasion made known to Saul his rejection by Yahweh, and to the line prophetic saying ascribed to Samuel.

According to 1 S. 28 1 Samuel died and was buried at Ramah, which 2 S. 21 affirms that his grave was in his own house, which corresponds to the early custom (cp 1 K. 2 4). This of itself means that the late tradition which placed his dwelling-place at Beulah at Nely Samuel is wrong. See MIZRAH. 1 S. 21 said of Samuel's age at the time of his death. The Samuel in 1 S. 12 2 is obtained by artificial means. This is contrary to the statements in Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 135 146) and in the Mishnah. They depend on exegetical inferences which, in the nature of the sources, are destitute of any sure foundation.

B. S.

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Name (§ 1)	Later additions (§ 5)
Literary history (§ 2)	2 S. 9 1 K. 2 (§ 7)
Samuel, Saul (1 S. 1-12) (§ 3)	Summary (§ 2)
David (1 S. 16-2 S. 9) (§ 4)	Literature (§ 8)

That the two books of Samuel, like the two books of

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Kings, originally formed one book, is explained elsewhere (CANON, § 10). The idea of dividing the respective books of Samuel and Kings

1. Name. comes from **2**,¹ where, however, the divided books are reconjoined as the four Books of Kingdoms *ḥarḫoḥa ḥarḫoḥa*. It is true that the greater part of the Book of Samuel refers to the reg. period, and that the gap between 2 S. 24 and 1 K. 1 is less prominent in the **2** arrangement (cp KINGS, § 1). But the older Palestinian-Hebrew arrangement has the advantage of reflecting the fact that Samuel and Kings arose by editorial redaction out of two different older works, the limits of which were only effaced when two chapters which originally belonged to Samuel were attached to the Book of Kings (1 K. 1 7). The Book of Samuel derives its name from the fact that it opens with the story of Samuel's birth (cp the names Genesis, Exodus, etc.), which correspond to the Jewish custom of naming books with reference to their commencement). In reality it describes the origin of the Israelitish kingdom, and the fortunes of Saul, Ishbaal, and David.

A book, in the modern sense, Samuel can no more be said to be than any other of the historical writings of the OT. It is a compilation from older works which has passed through repeated redactions, and the final redaction of all

can have occurred only after the close of the Pentateuch, in connection with the formation of the prophetic canon. Like the Torah, however, and like the other books of the 'former prophets,' the Books of Samuel attained in essentials their present form as a result of the great 'Deuteronomistic' literary movement (see HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 7). In the book which immediately precedes Samuel this movement has left only too many traces of its influence. In Samuel, however, we are happily in a position to indicate a series of vivid and ancient narratives which is only at certain points interrupted by later insertions and additions. We must infer from this that the deuteronomistic editor or editors found this connection already in existence; in other words, the basis of our Samuel was formed by a predeuteronomistic redaction of older works.

The insertions and additions, however, are to a great extent derived neither from the deuteronomistic nor from the final redaction. Not only do some relate to the time between both redactions, but in certain cases it seems possible that they may have been brought into their present position before the deuteronomistic redaction occurred. The history, therefore, of the origin of the Books of Samuel, in spite of the great predominance of the ancient sources, is very complicated. It is, however, only what might have been expected, when we consider the manner in which the OT writings have come down to us; the processes of copying and of exegetical study were, in the case of Samuel, combined with redactional alteration of various kinds, and, more particularly, with additions of new materials and insertion of explanatory matter.

The Books of Samuel fall into three main divisions, (1) The history of Samuel and of Saul down to the rejection of the latter, 1 S. 1-15 § 31; (2) the history of David during the reigns of Saul and Ishbaal, and his own reign at Hebron, 1 S. 16-2 S. 8 (§ 4 7); (3) the history of David at Jerusalem, 2 S. 9-24 (§ 6).

Part 1, has for its nucleus two sections: (a) 1 S. 1-7 1, a fragment—the original beginning and end are now wanting—recounting the subjugation of Israel by the Philistines and the captivity of the ark of Yahweh; (b) 1 S. 9-10 7

1 S. 1 15 10 16 11 11 14 13 2-7 17 21 11 47, which describes the anointing of Saul by Samuel, Saul's victory over Ammon, his election as king, and his first encounters with the Philistines.

The first mentioned section (a) a torso that it introduces the reader abruptly into the midst of the Philistine wars, and does not complete the account of the fortunes of the sanctuary at Shiloh and of the ark)—gives the necessary premises for the section which follows.

¹ There is a trace of 1, 2 S. and 1, 2 K. having been each one book in **2** where the first words of 2 S. and 2 K. are identical: the last words of 1 S. and 1 K.

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according to which the kingship is Yahwé's way of interposing to save Israel from the Philistines. The two sections, however, are from different pens. The former is made up of two parallel accounts, one Yahwistic the other Elohist.¹ But, first of all, to satisfy the reader's curiosity respecting the central figure of chap 9, i., a description of Samuel's childhood has been inserted (1:1-25 2:1-26 3:1-20), which bears throughout the stamp of a later age than the two parallel narratives, but may quite well be pre-exilic. The substance of the narrative thus produced has undergone much drastic revision at the hands of the deuteronomist.

A specimen of this is met with in 1 S. 2:27-36—where an unnamed man of God foretells the doom of Eli and his house and his suppression by a "faithful priest"—i.e., collectively, Zadok and his house (cp 1 K. 2:26 f., see ZADOK). According to Kuenen, Yahwé's revelation to Samuel in the night (1 S. 3:1-14) was also worked over by D; but it sufficiently meets the case if we regard 3:12 as a redactional back-reference to 2:27 ff. (On the notice of 4:18 f., added by the last deuteronomistic redactor, see below, § 7.)

The second narrative (B) has been much more profoundly modified by inserted deuteronomistic passages (1 S. 7:2-8:22 10:17-12:25). In fact, the account of the rise of the monarchy contained in these sections directly contradicts the original story at every point. Samuel is Israel's last judge. Under his leadership repentant and converted Israel throws off the Philistine yoke (7), and in order to be like other nations requests Samuel to give it a king. This Samuel does at the command of God (8). At Mizpah the sacred lot falls on Saul (10:17 ff.). Samuel then reproaches the people with ingratitude towards Yahwé (12). The links which connect this narrative with the older account are 10:25-27 11:12 f.

Critics are not agreed as to whether we have before us here a narrative written with full knowledge of the older account in it (1:1-16 11), but with the deliberate intention of altering its scope (We., Kue.) in which case the links just mentioned may be derived from the writer himself, or whether we have an independent source which has been brought into connection with the older narrative by means of these same links, which on this hypothesis must be attributed to the hand of a redactor (Co., Bu.). The first of these assumptions is in harmony with the known habits of deuteronomistic writers, and not less so is the wording of 8:20 12:12, which plainly suggests that we have before us a deuteronomistic narrative, dependent on the older account. Cornill and Budde fail to perceive the character and age of these deuteronomistic pieces, holding them to be pre-deuteronomistic and assigning them to an Elohistic source.

The old version of the story of Saul has, however, undergone other expiations. The oldest of these (it is perhaps pre-exilic) occurs in 15:1-21 32-35 (Saul's war against the Amalekites and his rejection by Samuel). Verses 24-31, which describe Saul's self-abasement before Samuel, are a later embellishment to this narrative. To another late writer, however, it seemed that Saul's rejection did not occur early enough, and he has therefore in 1 S. 13:3-15 carried back this occurrence, which is most awkwardly accounted for, to the beginning of Saul's reign, preparing the way for it by means of 10:8. These additions are later than the deuteronomistic portions, for they regard Samuel as an authority superior to Saul. A later interpolation also is 13:9-21, with its incredible statement that the smith's craft was suppressed by the Philistine overlords throughout the land of Israel. The Song of Hannah (1 S. 2:1-10) was interpolated at a still later period² and probably owed its introduction here to a mistaken interpretation of the figure 11, 11 of the barren woman. It is a post-exilic psalm, which gives expression to the belief of the Jewish Church in the compensating Messianic judgment of Yahwé.

In Part II (1 S. 16:1-2 S. 8:15) the pre-exilic sources

¹ Cp. Str., *op. cit.*, 1:2. ² Meyer, *Die Bibel als Text*, 62 ff. (1876).
³ [5] Cleverly, *op. cit.*, also points out that the fortunes of Sarah and Hannah were regarded as types of those of Israel. Budde, however, finds in 2:10 the thanksgiving-song of a victorious king, which must therefore be pre-exilic (*ibid.*, 54 157).

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are present in almost a larger proportion. The passage

4. David: contained in 1 S. 16:1-23 is old. Saul is seized with melancholy; David is brought to the court to cheer him with his harp. The narrative is brought by 11:52 into connection with that of Saul's election and his struggles with the Philistines. The continuation of 1 S. 16:23 is to be sought, not in 17:1 ff. (WRS *OT/C* 433) —for what is there related is irreconcilable with 16:18—but in 18:6-12 (Saul's jealousy of David's growing popularity). Between these two sections is interpolated a narrative, compounded from two independent but both much later sources, describing David's victory over Goliath and his friendship with Jonathan (17:1-18:3). Chaps. 17-18 rank among the most interesting of all the sections in the Book of Samuel, for here we have alongside of MT a shorter text in \mathcal{S}^b where 17:12-31 41:50 (10:1-11) and he draw it out of its sheath') 55:185 66:11 123:27 73 are wanting—a statement that is unaffected by the presence of 18:9 in B. The critics are not at one on the question whether it is the original that has come down to us in the Greek recension, or whether we have to do with an abridgment made in harmonistic interests.¹ The main argument that makes for the abridgment view is that 20:8 seems to take account of the bond of brotherhood between David and Jonathan spoken of in 18:1 (Kuenen). But this, doubtless, was one of the constant themes of the older history, and we can all the more readily imagine 20:8 to have referred to some passage which has not come down to us, inasmuch as between 10:24 and 18:6 it is probable that a piece of ancient narrative has dropped out. But, further, the question as to the character of the text of \mathcal{S}^b does not appropria-ly dispose of the question as to its composition, inasmuch as abridgment with a view to obviating contradictions is an operation that might very well have been performed precisely upon the later portions in chap. 17 ff.

The view that the shorter recension (\mathcal{S}^b), 17:1-10 17:4 17:10 (in part) 42:24, constitutes a narrative, complete in itself, which has been broken up in MT by fragments of a parallel account (rv. 17:1-41 40 f. [in part] 55:28), is supported by the reasons: r. 54 marks the conclusion of a narrative, and that a fragment of a new story. The same phenomena show that r. 17:10-12 and 18:1-5, which form the immediate continuation of the fragmentary narrative, proceed from another source than the main narrative. At the same time it must be allowed that the loss of the fragmentary narrative was perhaps originally 18:1-2 17:35 an addition; for r. 2 separates r. 1 from r. 3.

The connecting link by which the two parallel narratives are held together is constituted by 17:14-16. In the two accounts, the main narrative relates the events in the form of a history of the kingdom, whilst the fragmentary narrative has the character of a biography. If we assume that r. 36 has not been worked over, and that r. 47 is a later addition, both narratives can only be exilic, at the earliest (cp GOTTARD).

The continuation of 18:6 is found in the text where David is removed from the court with honor. His own popularity, and, with it, Saul's fear, go on increasing. The story of Saul and his javelin is viewed by itself, can very well have come from an old source; but it is here out of place.

Verses 17:10 are likewise foreign to the ancient source, as is shown by what comes after: Saul promises his daughter Merab to David, but does not keep his word. The story is worked out of the fragmentary narrative of MT contained in 17:10-12 41:50 56 ff., if indeed it does not actually form part of it. It can very well have come in after 18:2.

Chap. 18:16 has its continuation in 18:27-31. Merab falls in love with David, who marries her, and David's Saul's malignant plot against him (17:30-31) is wanting in \mathcal{S}^b and is a later addition. We are thus left upon old material in chap. 20—one of the oldest in the book—the outbreak of enmity between Saul and David.

¹ On the one side (expansion) are Co., St., WE, and other (abridgment) We., Kue., Bu., and others (cp GOTTARD, see GOTTARD). We. formerly held an opposite view (*ibid.*, 154 f.).

² For the proof see WRS *OT/C* 431.

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Jonathan helps David in ascertaining what Saul's true disposition towards him is; 17: 4-17 and 40-42 are disturbing insertions of a later hand. As it now stands, this account is without its natural premises; if it comes from the same source as 16: 1-23, 18: 6-12, 16: 20-29, something has dropped out from between them. The continuation is given in 1 S. 21: 1-7 (David's flight to Nob), 22: 1-6-23 (David's sojourn in Achish, and Saul's renegeance on the priests of Nob), 23: 1-14 (David takes refuge in Keilah, but in fear of Saul quits it for the wilderness); 25 (David's life in the wilderness, and the Nabal-episode); 27: 1-12 (David takes refuge with Achish and receives Ziklag); 28: 1-7, 29: 1-11 (David takes the field with the Philistines against Saul, but is mistrusted and sent back); 30: 1-17 (David finds Ziklag plundered and burnt by the Amalekites, but pursues them and recovers the spoil); 31: 1-13 (Saul and his sons fall in battle).

In 2 S. the same source is continued. 2 S. 2: 1-32 (David is made king of Judah at Hebron, Ishbaal king of Israel at Mahanaim; there is war between them); 3: 6-39 (Abner's betrayal of Ishbaal; Joab's treachery to Abner); 4: 1-27 (Ishbaal's assassination, where 7: 5 f. on the one hand, and 7: 7 on the other, show that the section contains remnants of a second parallel account of this occurrence); 5: 1-17-25 (David becomes king over all Israel and is victorious over the Philistines); 8 (David's wars against external enemies; his officers); 10 (David's wars against external enemies; his officers). Chap. 8, however, in its present form has been much revised and corrected throughout (see DAVI¹⁰), which opens our eyes to the fact that what comes after is derived from another source. If we have already found in chap. 1 traces of an ancient parallel narrative, we are able to point out other elements also which interrupt the thread of the narrative. 2 S. 11: 6-11 f. (old), an Israelite warrior escaped from the battle brings David the news of Saul's death. That the source here is not the same as before is shown by the phrasing in 7: 12, and by a comparison of 7: 4 with 1 S. 31: 2. Verses 10-11, 16, according to which the messenger is a chance Amalekite who happened to be on the battlefield, are a later interpolation, of the nature of Mithras, based upon 2 S. 11, not rightly understood. 2 S. 16: 1-12 is also old, but from another source than the adjacent portion. David conspires with Achish and enters into relations with Hiram of Tyre; and in chap. 6 David brings the ark to Jerusalem. Both these passages perhaps come from the same source as that which we afterwards come upon again in chap. 11.

Part II. has undergone excessive expansions. Probably we ought to assign to a later date (1) both the parallel accounts of David's adventure in the wilderness of Ziph (1: 1-1 S. 23: 10-17) and 2: 1-22; (2) chap. 26. The Ziphites help David to Saul. He escapes Saul's pursuit, and spares him when chance has brought him into his power. Both passages are brought into connection with one another and with the subsequent interpolation 23: 18-19, describing a visit of Achish to David by means of 23: 16. The expressions in the story, and in the wilderness of Ziph, bring them into relation with the older section, 2: 28-33 (Saul's visit to the witch of Endor).

2 S. 17 and the later portions of chap. 18 have already been mentioned. (1) One of the variants on the out-look of my edition, Saul and David, takes account of these verses. Then a story of David's being Saul's betrothed is told, the assassin, as in his rival, who with Michal's consent, makes his escape. (2) and the work of a later addition, but with doubtful justification, for this passage is not in the whole of 17, which, however, is necessary for the connection.

The following are the sections in this part which are of later origin: (1) 16: 1-13 (Saul, after the rejection of Saul, anoints the youthful David at Bethlehem as king). This was written specially for the place where it now occurs, for it stands in immediate connection with chap. 15 (cp. 1: 1 f.), aims at correcting the narrative of 1 S. 16: 1-3, and in 7: 12 takes account of 17: 42. It is probable that the parenthesis in 7: 19 ('which is with the sheep') comes from the same hand. (2) 18: 1-24 (David flees from the presence of Saul to the school of the prophets at Ramah). This is a probably post-exilic development, in the nature of Mithras, from the proverbial saying 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' (3) Apart from the passage, already referred to, in 1 S. 23: 10-28, the old theme of the friendship of David and Jonathan occurs in another variant in 1 S. 20: 4-42. (4) 21: 1-16 (10-15) (David flees from Nob to Achish of Gath, and, to save his life, feigns madness). Kuenen conjectures this to have been intended to take the place of 1 S. 27, where David's real relations to Achish are set forth. (5) Particulars about David's family: (a) 2 S. 3: 2-5 (his children born in Hebron); (b) 2 S. 5: 13-16 (the wives he married in Jerusalem and the children born to him there). Late interpolations in any case are also the following poems: (1) David's lament (2 S. 1: 17-27) over Saul and Jonathan, the genuineness of which is doubtful. It has come into its present position from the 'Book of Jasher' (see JASHER, BOOK OF, § 2). (2) David's lament over Abner (2 S. 3: 33 f.); 34 in particular, which is rendered superfluous by 7: 36, betrays the interpolation (cp. DAVI¹⁰, § 13, col. 1035).

2 S. 7 is also an instance of deuteronomistic expansion in Pt. II. David desires to build a house for Yahwe, and is encouraged in his purpose by Nathan. Afterwards Nathan is commanded by Yahwe to prohibit David from doing so. David is not to build a house for Yahwe, but Yahwe for David, the stability of his dynasty being meant. Verse 13, which conflicts with 7: 16 and destroys this point (Wellh.), by making the prophet of Nathan refer to the building of Solomon's temple, is a gloss. Chap. 7 is certainly a later addition, for it corrects the accounts of David's building of a house (2 S. 5: 11 f.) and of the removal of the ark to the city of David (2 S. 6: 1 f.), and is occasioned by these. It is rightly held by Wellhausen and Kuenen to be deuteronomistic; cp. the reference to the appointment of judges and the dark days of the period of the judges, also 17: 1 and 11 with 1 S. 12: 1 K. 54 [18] 8-9. It is impossible, however, to agree with Wellhausen in holding the passage to have been written while the kingdom of Judah still subsisted, perhaps under Josiah, or with Kuenen in holding it to be manifestly pre-exilic. The promise of the perpetual kingship of the house of David had also, as Ps. 89 shows, a meaning for the Messianic faith of the post-exilic period, and 7: 1 betrays acquaintance with the exile.

It is no longer possible to determine how this deuteronomistic interpolation is related in point of age to the latest interpolations previously referred to, or how many of these are of later date. So far as the poetical pieces and the Mithras narratives are concerned, it may be assumed with some degree of confidence that they did not find their way into the book until after the deuteronomistic interpolation had occurred. It is in Pt. III. that the greatest amount of old material has been preserved, and here also, accordingly, the impression of literary unity is greatest. The narrative in 9: 20 is continuous, and exhibits the same peculiarities of style throughout, and must therefore be attributed to one and the same writer; it is 10: 1-15 that the original thread is interrupted by glosses and insertions. It describes Merab's success in the marriage of Saul (9: 20) David's Ammonite wars and peace with Baalshela (10: 12) the story of Ammon and Israel (11: 1-5) Absalom's rebellion, and the death of Absalom, the results of Absalom and Sheba (11: 16-21) which belongs to K. 17, containing Ammonite wars, and as king the death of David in Ammon (11: 26-27). The narrator, one of the best of the 10: 1-15, certainly wishes to show how it was precisely that Solomon should

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1 S. 27: 1-17, revised by St. J. J. 202 (after Wellh.) in 1 S. 27: 1-17, and a later addition. But in 1 S. 27: 1-17, cp. Bu. K. 54: 202

SAMUEL (BOOKS)

have come to be David's successor. He dwells by preference on the more intimate affairs of the court, and depicts the different characters with admirable skill. Later insertions, however, are not altogether wanting. Among these are certainly the notes upon the dress of kings' daughters (13:17) and upon Absalom's beauty (14:25 f.), and the reference to the Levites in 15:24. This reference, which is post-exilic, needs no explanation; the other two notes owe their origin to the antiquarian interests of some reader, and are, at the earliest, exilic; cf. 14:26 ('the [Babylonian] king's weight'). The account of David's war against Hadadezer (Hadadazer) in 20:15-19 is also liable to suspicion (see DAVID, § 8 [6] and Schwally (ZATW 12:131 f.) even regards the words of 12:1-13a, including the parable of Nathan, as an addition (see JEREMIAH, NATHAN). Whether we accept the latter view or not, it is beyond doubt that 12:7-8, the first clause of 17:9, and 17:10-12 were inserted at a later date. This is especially clear in the case of 17:10-12, for these verses disagree with the tenor of the denunciation by which they are followed, and are a *callicinium ex eventu*.

This section also, as is shown by 1 K. 1 f., has undergone deuteronomic revision. In 2 S. 14-20, indeed, it is impossible to establish traces of such redaction; but the gradual amplification of the old sources can here be demonstrated with exceptional clearness. The connection between 2 S. 20 and 1 K. 1 is, in the first instance, broken by the interpolation of those old sections, 2 S. 21:1-14 (the vengeance of the Gibeonites on the house of Saul) and 2 S. 24 (the numbering of the people, the pestilence, the establishment of the sanctuary on Ornan's threshing floor). Both are from the same pen and may have been introduced here even by a pre-deuteronomic editor. The connection thus constituted (2 S. 9-20 21:1-14 24 1 K. 1 f.) is again broken up by the introduction of the anecdotes of the encounters of David and his worthies with the Philistines (2 S. 21:15-22), and the list of those worthies (23:8-39). These portions were probably first introduced into the book after it had been deuteronomistically edited. It is also advisable to assume this for 22:1-51 (a psalm expressive of the Messianic faith of the post-exilic community, here introduced as a song of David's), and for 23:1-7 (David's last words, which were not introduced here till after the narrative had been expanded by the addition of 21:15-22 23:8-39, and, in point of fact, themselves interrupt this addition).

Thus four strata are observable in the narrative of Samuel as it now stands. At the foundation lies a series of pre-exilic narratives relating to the origin of the kingship, and its earlier history. It is possible that in its oldest form this series may have contained pieces which disappeared in later revisions. In particular there is some reason to conjecture that after 1 S. 7:1 there at one time stood an account of the downfall of the sanctuary at Shiloh. We have no means of determining the date at which the narratives embodied in the succeeding record became incorporated with the pre-exilic part of the book. Equally in the dark are we as to whether the process of redaction involved in this led to excisions of old material. This was certainly the case when the deuteronomic revision was made, as what has been said above on 1 S. 4:1-7 c. By means of this last revision Samuel was brought into line with the series of historical books which, in continuation of the Pentateuch, describe the history of Israel from the conquest of Canaan onwards. It is probable that more than one hand had a share in this deuteronomic redaction. The deuteronomic portions are partly edifying amplifications (1 S. 2:25 ff. 2 S. 7), partly contexts and substituted passages intended to correct the course of the history (1 S. 7:8 10:17 ff. 12). At the same time the narrative was conforming to the chronological system of the deuteronomic recension of the Book of

Judges. The traces of this process are to be found in 1 S. 4:15b 2:7 2 S. 2:100 f. 3:4 f., and its connection with the work of the deuteronomist appears in 1 S. 7:2. If 6:10a (cp 6:1) has preserved the more original form of the narrative in omitting 1 S. 13:1, this kind of work may have continued much later. Regarding the additions made to the text in the further course of its transmission, we cannot always be sure whether they were inserted directly by some redactor or made their way in from the margin. Some of these have been already indicated. To the same class belong 1 S. 6:17 c. 10:24 11:14 30:59b 2 S. 3:30 4:4b 3 11:21a and perhaps other passages.

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It has been already remarked that the exact date of these additions often eludes us. At the same time there is good ground for the belief that the poems (1 S. 2:1 2 S. 1:17-27 3:11 f. 22 23:1-7) and those additions which have the characteristics of Midrash were the latest passages to be inserted. Since 2 S. 21:18-22 is repeated in 1 Ch. 20:4 f. and 2 S. 23:8-39, and 24 in 1 Ch. 11:10-21, the Chronicler (about 300 B.C.) must have used the book in a form agreeing in all important points with the recension that has reached us in the Hebrew text (see CHRONICLES). From the fact that Chronicles does not contain the psalm or the last words of David (2 S. 22 23:1-7) Budde concludes that these were not inserted into Samuel till after the Chronicler's time. That is no doubt possible; but it is not to be proved by such an *argumentum e silentio*. We cannot argue from the presence of the psalm in 1 Ch. 16:8 f. that the Chronicler would not have passed over a Davidic psalm found in his old source, for 1 Ch. 16:8 f. is a later interpolation into the Book of Chronicles. That the Chronicler was acquainted with the present division into Samuel and Kings may be conjectured. Still, the fact that many passages occur with a better text in Chronicles shows that the text of Samuel was not yet in the Chronicler's time quite identical with ours.¹ That the text found now in a Hebrew MSS has not arisen without considerable modification of the manuscript tradition, appears on comparing it with the text of 6; and in many cases it is only when this is done that the Hebrew text becomes intelligible. This undesigned distortion of the text is explained by the fact that the Books of Samuel were never used in the regular service of the synagogue.

Theus, *Die Bücher Sam. u. Kon.*, 1874, 36 ff. 1. 10, 130 ff.; Klosterer, *Die Bücher Sam. u. Kon.*, 1875, 28 ff.; Weyl, *Sam.*, 1871; Driver, *1 S.*, 1890, 230 ff. 1-94; Ewald, *1 S.*, 1842, 26 ff. (1871), 26-322 ff. (1876); Koh, *Lehrb. der bibl. Gesch.*, 11. Aufl., 1876, 12-43; Kiehl in *Kau. HS. B. d. Gen.*, 8 ff.; H. P. Smith, *Sam.*, (1866); Budde, *Krit.* (1902); Nowack, *HK* (1902), 2. Aufl., 109 ff. 191, also Wellhausen in *Bibl. u. 266 ff.* (1875), 100 ff. 109 ff. f., *Bibl.* 1:107 ff., review of Budde, *Sam.*, 1890, edition in *1 S.*, 1895; Cornill, 'Ein eblöhistischer Bericht über die Entstehung des israelit. Königtums' in *ZKH*, 1885, pp. 1-77, continued in *Konigsberger Studien*, 1 (1888) 25 ff. 107 ff. 109 ff., *Bibl.* 1:107 ff.; Budde, *Krit. No.*, 172 ff. (1890); Kittel, review of Budde in *Th. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1890, pp. 41 ff.; *Hist.* 2:22 f.; Driver, *Introduct.*; Konrad, *Outline of the Hist. of the Lit. of the OT* (1868); S. A. Cook in *1 S.*, 1890, pp. 145-177. For the text see Klosterer and Budde (above), Nowack.

¹ That it was worked at even after his time is shown by 2 S. 10, where the Chronicler did not read *וַיִּבֶן אֶת-בְּיָתוֹ* after 7:12 as the MT of 2 S. does.

² H. P. Smith divides most of the contents of Samuel into two main sources, each of which gives an account of the reign of David, one of them including 2 S. 9-20 (the story of the fall of Saul, relating the story of Uriah, Bathsheba, Absalom, Amnon, and Absalom). There are also two accounts of the death of David (1 S. 31 and 2 S. 1), the appointment and rejection of Saul, the death of Eli; David to Saul's court, the negotiations for his marriage with Michal, his generosity to Saul, his flight to Achish, and his flight to Gath. This constant duplication of incidents is the best ground for holding the existence of the second source to be less primitive than the other, and presents indications that it is comparatively late date, perhaps in or after the exile of 587. It should be noticed that, according to H. P. Smith (see 1), some are themselves of a composite origin. The following are for the second main source involves the transfer of some material usually regarded as pre-deuteronomic to the pen of the deuteronomic writers.]

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ZUT (1873), 177 f.; A. Mez, Die R. des Jos., 1893; Méritan, La version grecque des livres de Sam., préface d'intro. introd. sur la critique textuelle (1892, non important); N. Peters, Beitr. zur Text-u. Literaturkritik sowie zur Erklärung der BB. Samuel (1899).

SANAAS (CANAAC [A]), 1 Esd. 5:23 RV = Ezra 2:35, SENAACH.

SANABASSAR (CANABACCAPW [A]), 1 Esd. 2:12, SANABASSARUS, 2d. 11:20 (CANABACCAPOC [A]; and B in 7: 20). See SHESHUZZAR.

SANABIB (CANABEIC [B], ANACEIB [A]), a priestly name, 1 Esd. 5:23, wanting in Ezra 2:36. Neh. 7:39. Possibly a corrupt repetition of Semaiah in the preceding verse.

SANBALLAT (SBNB) - i. e., San'ballat = Sinballat[annit]. 'Sin [the moon-god] caused [me] to live'; cp Nabû-n[is]ballatuni; CANABALLAT

1. Earlier theories. [BNA], ANAB, [twice B, once N], CALAB, [once N], CANABALLAT [L, twice N], one of the chief opponents of Nehemiah (Neh. 2:10-61 f.). He is called a 'Horonite' (Neh. 2:10) - i. e., according to most scholars, a native of Beth-horon or Horon (see BEITHORON, § 4, and cp ISRAEL, § 55); Winckler (AOF 2:238 ff.) pleads very earnestly for the view that Sinballat was a Moabite of Horonaim. 'This view, however, is out of the question if Guthe has rightly emended the text of Neh. 4:2 (3a). 'And he said in the presence of his brethren (= fellow Samaritans), 'Is this (7:18) the might of Samaria that these Jews are building their city?' (following 6:18, cp 6:1). It is also generally held that Sinballat's daughter would not have been taken to wife by a grandson of the Jewish high priest (Neh. 13:23), if he had not been, at any rate, of a N. Israelitish stock. Josephus, certainly, calls him a 'uthaan (cp 2 K. 17:24), and states that he was sent by the last Darius as governor to Samaria, and that he married his daughter Nicaso to Manasseh, brother of Jaddai the high priest (Ant. vi. 7:2).

If the geography of MT is correct these arguments are very strong. It, however, as can be made probable with regard to many other narratives, the received text has been produced by editorial manipulation, and if the opponents of the Jews come from the N. Arabian region where (on the present writer's theory) the Jews had languished in captivity, the question of Sinballat's ethnic connection (and, indeed, that of his name as well) passes into a new phase. 2. New theory. 277 will then naturally be read Harani, 'the Haranite (there being, according to the theory in question, a southern as well as a northern Haran). Certainly the passage cited above in Guthe's text may be more plausibly read thus, 'And he said before the Jerahmeelites in Shimon, 'What do the Jews?' Now, too, there is considerable reason for questioning the name 'Sinballat.' Very possibly it is the coinage of the editor; the original name may have been Nebaiothi (man of Nebaioth). Corresponding emendations of the names of Sinballat's companions must also be made. For 'Sanballat the Horonite, Tobiah the Ammonite, Gessem (or Gashmu) the Arabian, we should possibly read, 'The Nabathite, 'the Haranite, the Tubathite, the Jerahmeelite, the Eusamite, the Arabian.' The true opponents of the Jews were not merely individuals but masses of men representing the N. Arabian world. 2c., the story of Nehemiah has very possibly been written on the basis of a very imperfect text. Josephus's phrase, 'a Uthaan as to race' (Ant. vi. 7:2) is not so far wrong as it may seem, for 'Uth' in 2 K. 17:24 is doubtless an editorial manipulation of 'Cush' (i. e., the N. Arabian Cush). See T. K. C. and cp SHESHUZZAR.

On the chronological questions involved in the earlier theories, see CANAN, § 25; ISRAEL, § 65, and SAMARITANS.

T. K. C.

SANCTIFICATION (AGIACWOC). See SANCT.

SANCTUARY. See, generally, TEMPLE. The words are

שֶׁבֶט, usually rendered 'holy place'; used (a) of the tabernacle or temple generally; (b) of the 'holy place' in the temple; (c) of the 'body of holiness' (Lev. 19:2 f. et.). It has to appear in 11:13, 13:11, 24:24a).

שֶׁבֶט and שֶׁבֶט are not come from שֶׁבֶט (Jerah. 1:1). שֶׁבֶט is the Shimon mentioned in Amos (see Phos. 1:1).

SAPHIR

שֶׁפֶר, mikdāl, often; in Am. 7:13, AV 'chapel'; see BEITH, § 1, with n. 2.

שֶׁפֶר, 1 Mac. 1:17 3:43 etc. - i. e., the roof or roof.

שֶׁפֶר, 2 Mac. 6:2 B to 10:35 13:21 14:23, AV 'temple,' RV 'sanctuary' throughout.

שֶׁפֶר and שֶׁפֶר in Mt. 23:35 27:5, and שֶׁפֶר in Mk. 11:17, where AV has 'temple,' but RV 'sanctuary.' The Holy, and the Holy of Holies are meant, the 'house of God' (Mt. 12:4). 'How vividly does it set forth the despair and defiance of Judas that he presses even into the שֶׁפֶר itself (12:10, AV Ἀγίασμα, 14)! But, as H. Weiss points out, the form of the narrative is suggested by Zech. 11:16, 'in the house of Valwee.'

SANDALS. 1. שֶׁפֶר, n'dal, Cant. 7:1 [2], RV, and 2. σαβάλια, Mk. 6:9 Acts 13:6. See SHARS.

SANDAL WOOD (SBNB), 1 K. 10:11 RV¹⁸⁸¹, EV ALMU.

SAND FLY (SBNB), Ex. 8:16 RV¹⁸⁸¹, EV LICE.

SAND-LIZARD (Lev. 11:16 RV). See LIZARD, 5.

SANHEDEIN (SBNB). See GOVERNMENT, § 31, and SANHEDIM.

SANSANNAH (SBNB; CEΘENNAK [B], CANCANNA [A], CEENNAC [L]) a remote city of Judah (Josh. 15:45), corresponding to HAZAR-SUSAN in Josh. 19:5. The name seems to mean 'palm-branch'; but there are parallels enough for the view that it is really a corruption of שֶׁפֶר שֶׁפֶר (Cusham), cp Hazar-susani = Hazar-cusham, another name of the same place, and see MARATHOTH.

SAPH (SBNB), 2 S. 21:15; in 1 Ch. 20:4 SAPHAT.

SAPHAT (SAPHAT [A]), 1. 1 Esd. 5:9 = Ezra 2:4, SIEPHATHAI, 7.

2. 1 Esd. 5:34 RV, AV SABAT, 1.

SAPHATIAs (SAPHATIY [B]), 1 Esd. 8:34 = Ezra 8:3, SIEPHATHAI, 7.

SAPHETH (SAPHETH [A]), 1 Esd. 5:35 AV = Ezra 2:57, SIEPHATHAI [y v., 8].

SAPHIR, or, rather, as RV, SHAPHIR (RV שֶׁפֶר, 'glittering, beautiful'; KALWOC [BAQ]), a place mentioned in Micah's elegy on towns of Judah (Mic. 1:11). Generally identified with Shamur or Shaphur in the mountains of Judah (Josh. 15:45). See SHAMIR.

Eusebius, however, places שֶׁפֶר between Euberothopolis and Ascalon (OS 293 37 154 27); he says that it is in the mountain district, but this is because he supposes it to be the שֶׁפֶר (cp 6:1) of Josh. 15:45, which is reckoned among the cities of the mountains. The שֶׁפֶר of Eusebius may possibly be one of the three villages called Sawāh in the Philistine plain, SE. of Ashdod. But it is not likely (Guth being - see Crit. Bib. - very probably a misreading in Mic. 1:11) that Micah troubled himself about Philistine cities. There were doubtless several places called Shaphur; es-Samweh, near Bet Dejan (Bet el-Dagon), may be one of them. The latter place is too far from Marshah to be meant, but there is one spot which has a good claim to be called Shaphur, 'the glittering,' and may be the place meant by Micah, even if it be also the Mizpeh (SBNB) of Josh. 15:45, and that is that tall white cliff which commands the entrance to the Wady es-Sant from the Philistine plain, known to the Crusaders as Blanche Garde, and to Arabic speakers of to-day as Tell es-Sheikh, 'the shining hill.' See MIZPEH, 1. The prophet perhaps envisages that the 'brilliance' (SBNB) of the far shining fortress will pass into captivity (SBNB SBNB). At the same time another view (see below) is more probable, if the SBNB summed up in Micah (Book), §§ 3, PROPHET, § 38, be in the main, correct.

On the text see Crit. Bib. July (SBNB, and 1881). N. W. C. adds that what MT gives must be read, 1881, 1881, 1881 together, see G. H. G. 1:17 2:11 1881.

It will be noticed that both Mizpeh and Esd. in and Shaphur in Micah stand near Zenan or Zanan and Esd. It is not improbable, however, that the lists in Josh. 15:45 (1) part (2) and also the elegy Mic. 1:11, 27, refer originally to the Negeb. This affects the situation of Shaphur. See ZANAN.

T. K. C.

SAPHUTHI

SAPHUTHI (σαφύθι [A]). 1. *Esd.* 5:3. *RV* = Ezra 2:37. See PHATHAI, 8.

SAPPHIRA (σαπφειρα = *Syr.* *Sappira*, 'beautiful,' cp the frequent male name **Ἰσάκ** and the *Sm.* **Ἰσάκ** [Dalm. 130, n. 1]. *Acts* 5:1, the wife of ANANIAS, *q. v.* (10).

SAPPHIRE (ἰσάκ, σαπφειρος [HAL.]).¹ mentioned as a much prized stone in *Ex.* 24:10 28:18 39:11 *Job* 28:6 *Cant.* 5:14 *Lam.* 4:7 *Is.* 54:11 *Ezek.* 1:26 10:1 28:11 *Tobit* 13:16; to which we can now add, from the self-evidently correct Hebrew text, *Eccl.* 3:19 [of the hoar-frost], 'he makes it to bloom with flowers like sapphire,' and in *NT Rev.* 21:19, where *RV*¹⁹ has 'lapis lazuli.' The matg. rendering just cited is correct; wherever 'sapphire' occurs in the above passages we should mentally interpret 'lapis lazuli.' That lapis lazuli was the sapphire of the ancients is plain from Theophrastus (*q. v.*) and Pliny (*HN* 37:15 *l.*). Theophrastus states that it is *δωρεά χρυσοῦ* (as it were sprinkled with gold dust), and Pliny says, *finest et (cyano) aliquid et aureus pulvis* (quails in sapphires, in its enim aurum punctis cohaeret (cp *xxiii.* *Ill aurum in saphyro scintillat*). Such a description would be quite inappropriate to any variety of the modern sapphire, but applies very well to the lapis lazuli, which frequently contains disseminated particles of iron pyrites, easily mistaken by their colour and lustre for particles of gold.

Lapis lazuli was so much prized by the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Egyptians (see LAPIS LAZULI) that we should expect to find it sometimes, or even often, referred to in the old Hebrew writings. We must, however, omit from the list of occurrences *Job* 28:6 (see below), *Cant.* 5:14,² and *Lam.* 4:7. The identification of *sapphir* with this stone throws light on the description of the appearance of the Most High in *Ex.* 24:10 (J) and *Ezek.* 1:26. According to J, where the divine form stood, it was 'as the very heaven for clearness, like a paved work of sapphire stone' (see PAVEMENT); according to Ezekiel, the base of the throne of God was something like a firmament (see **Ḳ**), above which was a sapphire-coloured pavement (see Toy, 'Ezekiel,' *SBOT*). In fact, the 'gold dust' on the deep blue of the lapis lazuli made this stone a most appropriate symbol of 'this heaven o'er-hanging firmament, this mystical roof fretted with golden fire.'

This, however, is merely a plausible interpretation; the text does not expressly refer to the star-like, gold-like, particles which add lustre to the deep blue of the lapis lazuli. It has been thought by some (Hitz., Bu., Dn.) that such a reference is to be found in a section where, if anywhere, we should certainly expect to find it, viz., in *Job* 28. This is how Duhm renders *v. 6*—

His stones are the place of the sapphire,
Which has grains of dust of gold.

If this is right, we need not have hesitated elsewhere (see **Ḳ**) to connect 'Ophir' with Ass. *ḳpru* = Heb. **קָפָר**. But the truth is that **קָפָר** properly means, not dust, but a lump of earth; **אָרָבָה** is not the word which a Hebrew poet would have chosen for the 'aureus pulvis' of which Pliny speaks. The passage needs very careful treatment. **ḲḲ**, sapphire, should be **קָפָר**, 'silver.' See *Got.* 11, § 1, col. 1750, foot.

The name by which our modern sapphire was known to the ancients is *sapphir* or *hyacinthus*, the stone which forms the eleventh foundation of the wall of the New Jerusalem (*Rev.* 21:20). See JACINTH. The colourless sapphire may perhaps be intended by the *hthalm* (thalmis) of *Job* 28:6. See LARSHISH (STONE OF), STONES (PRECIOUS), §§ 40, 121, 11. T. K. C.

SARA. *RV* SARAH. 1. On Heb. 11:11 see SARAH, § 1, end.

¹ *RV* 19 in *Is.* 54:11: *RV* 19. See *Put.* in *ZK* 11:125.

² In *Cant.* 5:14 an indolent hypothesis is conveyed by reading *RV* 19, 'red coral'; in *Job* 28:6 we should read 'Thou skin as green like coral, (even) the bright colour of their flesh' (*RV* 19) or *RV* 19, cp *LXX* 19:125:8—125:13.

SARAH

2. *Sarra* [HAL], the daughter of Raguel and the heroine of the book of *Tobi* 1:9, 11 (*Job.* 37:7). Seven of her bridegrooms were killed by the evil spirit ASMODEUS (*q. v.*), and she finally became the wife of Tobit.

SARABIAS (σαραβιας [HAL]). 1. *Esd.* 9:48, in *Ezra* 8:18 SIEREBIAH.

SARAH (סָרָה, § 44; סָרָה: *Sara*), and סָרָה (סָרָה; סָרָה: *Sara*), wife of Abraham.

There is but one reference to Sarah in the OT outside the Pentateuch, viz. in *Is.* 51:2, which is hardly of earlier date than the age of Ezra.

1. Traditions. (There is a play on *Abraham* 'stones' and *Abim* 'sons'; cp *Mt.* 3:9). The three most conspicuous features of her story are: (1) her twofold relation to Abraham as his wife and his sister (*Gen.* 12:10-11), 20:12 (E), on which see § 2; (2) her long barrenness (*Gen.* 16:1 *f.*), a feature paralleled in the story of Rebekah and of Rachel, of Sansone's mother and of Samuel's, and, in Babylonian legend, of the wife of the hero Etana (cp *ETHAN*); and (3) her extraordinary beauty, which is mentioned to account for the danger from which the destined mother of Isaac so narrowly escaped (*Gen.* 12:10-11, 20).

The change of her name from *Sara* to *Sarah* is related by P, together with that of *Abim* to *Abraham*, in connection with the announcement of the birth of Isaac (*Gen.* 17:15 *f.*). The Priestly Writer *xviii.* attributing disbelief to so favoured a woman; but the Yahwist, with perfect simplicity and with true insight into the heart of woman, reports that Sarah 'laughed within herself' (*Gen.* 18:15 *f.*; cp *ISAAC*). According to P she died at Hebron (*Gen.* 23:2), an event which led to the purchase by Abraham of the cave of Machpelah (cp *Gen.* 23, 25:6, 49:31). According to J, if 2467 is correct, Isaac brought his bride Rebekah 'into his mother Sarah's tent,' and 'was comforted after his mother's death.' But the text is plainly incorrect, and must originally have run thus, 'And Isaac brought her into the tent . . . and Isaac was comforted after his father's death.'¹

Reference is made to Sarah in *Heb.* 11:11. In *1 Pet.* 3:6 (cp *Gen.* 18:12), and in *Gal.* 4:21-31, where she becomes a type of the heavenly Jerusalem (cp *HEBER*, § 3), just as in *Is.* 51:2 Sarah appears as the mother of the true Israel. One could almost venture to believe that the writer of the passage to *Gal.* used a book of extracts from the prophets, in which chap. 51 (with its pointed reference to Sarah) and chap. 34 (with its encouraging address to childless Zion, soon to become the antitype of Sarah) were brought into close proximity.

Various opinions have been held as to the meaning of *Sara*, which, according to P (*Gen.* 17:15), was the earlier name of Abraham's wife (see *Dn.* on *Gen.* 16:1). It is plausible to hold that *Sara* is an old form of *Sarah* *q. v.*

as in Arabic; cp Nold. *ZDMG.* 40:183, 424 *f.*, *Lag.* *Ubers.* 92 *f.* and that *Sarah* means 'princess,' or rather (through Assyrian), 'queen.' W. R. Smith, however, thought that *Sarah* and *Israel* had the same origin (*Kuzuship.* 301, and to those who question the mythological origin of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, this view will command itself most. Since some conjecture must be offered, we may venture to suppose that just as *Jacob*'s marriage with *Leah* symbolises the union of the *Jacob* clan and the *Levi* clan (see *LXX.* § 21, so *Abraham*'s marriage with *Sarah* expresses the union of a Jeremiahite clan (עֲרֵמְהָא for עֲרֵמָה, see *JERUSALEM*, § 4 [E]) with a clan calling itself by the name which underlies *Israel*, thus *Sarah* would correspond to *Israhel* as *Leah* (*RV* 19) probably corresponds to *Levi*.

The explanation of *'Sarah'* as 'princess' or 'queen' is usually thought to be paralleled by *Milah* = *Molech* 'queen,' and the mythological interpretation of *Sarah* as 'queen of heaven' by Assyrian and Egyptian titles of goddesses, especially of the consort of the moon-god of Harran, who is called *Ishtar* (Sumerian

¹ See We. *CH.* 216; Kautsch-Socin, *Gen.* 11:1-12:1 *Gen.* 12:1, 16.

² Jensen, *Z.* 1, 134, p. 299.

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1. *Gen.* 12:10,
2. *Is.* 51:2,
3. *Heb.* 11:11,
4. *Gal.* 4:21-31,
5. *1 Pet.* 3:6,
6. *Gen.* 18:12,
7. *Heb.* 11:11,
8. *Gal.* 4:21-31,
9. *1 Pet.* 3:6,
10. *Gen.* 12:10,
11. *Gal.* 4:21-31,
12. *1 Pet.* 3:6

SARAH

nu-gal).¹ The present writer's objection to this otherwise plausible view is that he regards 'Milcah' in Gen. 11:29, etc., as certainly corrupt, and that (if we feel compelled to hold that there is only one Haran—viz. in the north) the correctness of 'Haran' seems to him to be in the stories of the patriarchs also open to suspicion (see HARAN II., MUL AU). It is true, Winckler is of opinion² that the twofold relation of Abraham to Sarah as husband and brother is undoubtedly of mythological origin. Following Stucken, he regards the rôle of Abraham as analogous to that of Tammuz-Adonis in relation to Ishtar (see the legend of the Descent of Ishtar, and cp TAMMUZ); Sarah in fact is the Hebrew Ishtar. Their father is Terah, or, more probably, Jerah, 'the moon'; he comes from one centre of moon-worship, Uru, and dies in another, Haran (see TERAH). But the textual basis of this hypothesis is not less doubtful, or rather, being broader, even more doubtful than that of Jensen already mentioned. Baethgen, without criticising the text, is equally opposed to mythological theories of this sort. He thinks (*Hebr.* 157) that, as applied to the wife of Abraham, the name Sarah is simply an appellative. Both Abram and Sarah or Saraia³ (Sa-ra-a-a) occur as names of individuals on Babylonian tablets. But, plausible as Baethgen's view may at first appear, it is not really probable. To hold that Abraham and Sarah are historical characters, is a perfectly unnecessary concession to apologetic arguments, which, if permitted to have consequences, would destroy historical criticism and carry us back to the unsympathetic attacks and the incomprehending defences of the theologians and rationalists of the pre-critical period (cp ABRAHAM). We are therefore driven back to the theory first mentioned. The marriage of Abraham and Sarah symbolises a union of tribes. Sarah represents the Israel clan which joins a Jerahmeelite clan, whose centre is, according to our text, at Hebron, but, according to a corrected text, at Kibonoth [7:7]. The variation of tradition as to Abraham's relation to Sarah is exactly parallel to the variation as to Nahor's relation to Abraham in Gen. 11:24 and 27.

Von Gall's attempt (*Altisrael. Kultstätten*, 57 f.) to combine two opposite theories, representing Sarah as the *nunna* of Mesopotamia, and Sarah as the consort of the divinity Abram, implies that the arguments for the two theories are equally balanced, which is hardly the case.

T. K. C.

SARAH (סָרָה), pausal form for (סָרָה), Num. 26:46 AV, RV SARAI.

SARAIAS. I. (ΣΑΡΑΪΟΥ [B.M.]), I. Esd. 5:5 = ΣΑΡΑΪΟΥ, 7.

SARAMEL (I. Macc. 14:28), RV ASARAMEL.

SARAPH (שָׂרָפ), a kind of serpent; see SERPENT, § 1 [9]; עֲרִיב [14], ΣΑΡΑΦ [M.], a name in an obscure Judahite genealogy, I. Ch. 4:22.

SARCHEDONUS (ΣΑΙΡΕΔΩΝΙΟΣ [B.M.], ΔΑΝ [M.]), Tob. 1:1 EV, AV⁹⁸ SAR-HADDON; see ACHRACHARUS, I.

SARDEUS, I. Esd. 9:28 = Ezra 10:27, AZIZA.

SARDINE STONE (ΣΑΡΔΙΟΥ), Rev. 4:3 AV, RV SARDUS.

SARDIS (ΣΑΡΔΕΙΣ), Rev. 1:1 3:4. The oldest

SARDIS

form of the name in Greek is Σαρδεις (Ionic), accusat. Σαρδεις; the Attic form is Σαρδεις; hence the Latin *Sardis* or *Sardis*; the later Greek form is Σαρδεις as in Ptol., and on coins, e.g., Σαρδεις Ἀσιας Ἀσιας Ἐλλαδος ὑπερσπουδαι (see Hitt., *Hitt. Numm.*, 323).

1. Geography and history. Sardis lay at the foot of Mt. Tmolus (mod. *Tuz-da-h*), on a spur of which its citadel was placed (Herod. 1:24). It was an old city, perhaps the last western outpost of that early non-Aryan empire (of the Hittites?) which extended to Carthage on the Euphrates. The valley of the Hermus was the centre of a monarchy which for a long time owed allegiance perhaps to the Phrygian kingdom further inland, when that arose through the incoming of the Aryan Phryges from Europe, according to Greek tradition (Herod. 7:73). The Cimmerian invasion which broke the Phrygian power (about 720 B.C.) enabled the Lydian kingdom on the Hermus to play an independent part under the dynasty of the Memnadae, beginning with Gyges (see LYDIA). Sardis was the capital of the Lydian kingdom. Lying as it did on a strong hill about 4 m. S. of the river Hermus, commanding the fertile plain (Strabo, 626), and the commencement of the old Hittite route through northern Asia Minor (later the royal road of the Persian empire), the city was marked out for a great career. In addition to its other advantages, the gold-bearing stream of the Pactolus flowed through its agora past the temple of Cybele on its way to the Hermus, and was for long a source of revenue (Herod. 5:101-103; Strabo, l.c.). Yet the Greek cities on the coast constituted an obstacle to its progress, and held the chief share of the wealth derived from the trade with inner Asia. Hence the first task of the monarchs of Sardis was the subjugation of these cities, and especially the utter destruction of Smyrna, the nearest and most formidable rival of their capital. Under Croesus (about 560 B.C.) Sardis was at the height of her prosperity. From her mint were issued widely executed electrum² staters as early as the reign of Gyges—the first European coinage (Herod. 1:94; Xenoph. *op. Jul. Pol.* 1:2)—and later, in the time of Croesus, pure gold and silver coins bearing figures of the lion and the bull, symbolical perhaps of the worship of the sun and the moon (see Hitt., *Hitt. Numm.*, 545 f.).

The trade of the city must have been largely concerned with the manufacture of woollen goods. The art of dyeing wool is said to have been invented at Sardis, and the city was the centre for the distribution of the woollen goods, the raw material of which was furnished by the vast flocks of Phrygia (Herod. 5:49). We have frequent allusion to the excellence of the dyed stuffs of Sardis (cp Aristoph. *Pl.* 1:274; Sappho, *fr.* 19, Bergk; Athen. 2:30).

After its conquest by Cyrus, Sardis became the residence of the Persian satrap (Paus. m. 10; cp *Anthol. Pal.* 9:421). During the three centuries following the death of Alexander the Great its history is obscure; but under the Romans it became again important. It was the centre of a *conventus iuridicus*, which embraced Philadelphia. Its position made it a natural knot in the Roman road system; from it a road ran NW, through Thyatira (36 R. m.) to Pergamos; another W, to Smyrna (54 R. m.); a third E, through Phrygia; a fourth SE, through Philadelphia (28 R. m.) to the important towns of the Meander valley; a fifth SW, to Ephesus, crossing Mt. Tmolus and the valley of the Cayster (about 63 R. m.)³. We have in this fact the explanation of the position of Sardis as one of the Seven Churches of Asia. (Note that the order of names in Rev. follows the line of the Roman road, N from Ephesus through Smyrna to Pergamos, where it turns and runs down S, along the great road going through Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia to Laodicea, taking the towns in their true geographical order.)

¹ Sardis is an old Lydian word meaning 'year' (Job. 1:21, 39 [Rams. *Hitt. Geogr. of Asia* 123]). The modern name is *Sardis*.

² Cp Soph. *Antig.* 1:107, τὸν Σαρδεις ὑπερσπουδαι. Cp Herod. 1:94.

³ For the Roman roads, see Ramsay, *Hitt. Geogr. of Asia* 127 f.

SARDITE

In 37 A.D. Sardis suffered fearfully from the great earthquake that ravaged Asia Minor in that year (cp. *Antiq. Pal.* 9.42.1). She received a subsidy from the emperor's pious purse, together with remission of taxation for a period of five years (Str. 627; Tac. *Ann.* 2.47). By 25 A.D. the town is again in a flourishing condition (Str. 625, calls it a 'great city'), and vies with Smyrna for the honour of erecting, as representative of the Asiatic cities, a temple to Iphigenia (Tac. *Ann.* 4.55).

As regards the reference to Sardis in the NT, there is little allusion to the special circumstances of the town. The three repeated mention of garments may have been suggested by the staple industry. In 1: 1 the words 'thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead' throw a light upon the decay of spiritual life in Sardis about 100 A.D. (cp. 1: 2)—perhaps as a result of undisturbed mercantile prosperity leading to luxury and apathy (v. 3). In 3: 4 the phrase 'which have not defiled their garments' may well remind us of what we hear from other sources of the voluptuous habits of the Lydians (cp. Herod. 1.55.179; *Esch. Pers.* 41; Athen. 12.57).

W. J. W.

SARDITE (סַרְדִּית), Nu. 26.26 AV, RV SERDITE.

SARDIUS. 1. A precious stone 'Adam' (אָדָם) occurs in P as one of the gems of the high-priestly breastplate (Ex. 28.17.39f.), whence, among others, it is assigned by an interpolator for the adornment of the king of Tyre (or Missur?) in Ezek. 28.17. The RV rendering 'sardius' follows (סַרְדִּיּוֹן); Josephus also, in describing the sacred breastplate, has *sardion* in *H* v. 57, but in *Ant.* iii. 76, *sardonyx*, 'sardonyx.' RV^{ms} gives 'ruby,' but with doubtful justification (see RUV, CANTONCLE). *sardion* also occurs in Rev. 21.20, and (so *Ti. WH* and RV) in Rev. 4.3. The Hebrew gem-name 'Adam' is usually derived from אָדָם, 'to be red'; if so, the carnelian may be plausibly identified with the 'Adam' of the OT. Probably the ancients meant this identification, though the sardius in modern parlance means the brown chalcedony, the red being our carnelian. The meaning of the word carnelian is obvious. The vividness of the red, flesh-like hue² determines the estimation in which it is held. In ancient times, as in our own day, this stone is more frequently engraved than any other. Pliny (*HN* 37.7) speaks of the sardius of Babylon as of greater value than that of Sardis. The Hebrews would naturally obtain the carnelian from Arabia. In Yemen there is found a very fine dark-red kind, which is called *al-akik* (Niebuhr, *Beschreib.* 142). The Arabs wear it on the finger, on the arm above the elbow, and in front of the belt. Cp STONES (PRECIOUS), §§ 4, 6(1), 7.

This, as we have said, is the current identification. When, however, we refer to Ezek. 27.16 where among the articles supplied to Tyre (or Missur?) by Edam (so Cornill, Toy, etc.), read, following (ס) we find, close together אַבְנֵי אָדָם and אַבְנֵי אֶרֶץ (see RUV), the suspicion grows upon us that (as in Job 28.6, according to Talmudic STONES) אָדָם springs from אֶרֶץ, and this from אֶרֶץ, 'Edomite stone,' and אֶרֶץ from אֶרֶץ, i.e., Jerahemelite stone (for a parallel, see RUV), so that we are entirely ignorant of more than the name of the regions from which the people of Palestine derived these stones. If so, all renderings must be purely conventional.

2. אָדָם, *Adam*, is in (ס) of Ex. 25.17) 35.9 *sardion*. See OSVX; STONES (PRECIOUS), §§ 4, 6(1), 7.

3. *sardion* occurs also in (ס) in Prov. 25.17f., where it represents apparently both אֶרֶץ and אָדָם, but really perhaps only אֶרֶץ (see *op. cit.* 4.9, n. 1).

SARDONYX (הַלֵּלִים), Ex. 28.18 RV^{ms}. In modern mineralogy, is a name applied to those varieties of onyx, or stratified chalcedony, which exhibit white layers alternating with others of red or brown colour. The brown chalcedony is known to modern mineralogists as *sard* and the red as *carnelian* (see CHALCEDONY).

¹ This earthquake destroyed twelve cities of Asia, Plin. *HN* 2.4; Tac. *Ann.* *loc. cit.* where see note in Lureau's ed.

² The Gk. *sardion* has long been thought to derive its name from its colour (cp. Pers. *coral*, 'yellowish red'). Although the Greeks themselves supposed the name to be derived from sardis, the place where they first became acquainted with it. See SARDONYX.

SARGON

SARDIUS. The simplest and commonest type of sardonyx contains two strata—a thin layer of white chalcedony resting upon a ground of either carnelian or sard, but the sardonyx of ancient writers generally presented three layers—a superficial stratum of red, an intermediate band of white, and a base of dark brown chalcedony. The sardonyx has always been a favourite stone with the cameo-engraver, and the finest works have usually been executed on stones of five strata. Such, for instance, is the famous Carpegna cameo, in the Vatican, representing the triumph of Bacchus and Ceres, and reputed to be the largest work of its kind ever executed (6 inches by 12). When the component layers of a sardonyx are of fine colour and sharply defined, the stone is known in modern parlance as an 'Oriental sardonyx'—a term which is used without reference to the geographical source whence the stone is obtained. A famous ancient locality for sard was in Babylonia, and the name of the stone may be of Persian origin (see preceding col. n. 2). The sardonyx is frequently stained, or at least its colour brightened, by chemical processes. Imitations are fabricated by cementing two or three layers of chalcedony together, and so bubbling up a sardonyx; baser counterfeits are formed simply of paste. See OSVX.

sardonyx (Rev. 21.20) does not occur in (ס). But RV^{ms} unaccountably has sardonyx for yaldom (שָׁבַד) in Ex. 28.18 (EV 'diamond'), though it passes over Ex. 28.17 and 1.18. 28.13 without remark.

SAREA (סָרְאָה, *SARAH*), 4 Esd. 14.24, a scribe. The name is doubtless the same as SARATH (סָרָת).

SAREPTA (סָרְפְּטָא [Ti. WH]), Lk. 4.28 AV, RV ZAREPHATH.

SARGON

Claim to throne (11)	The North again (11.11)
Policy (12)	The North-west (12.7)
Early troubles (13)	Asshad (13.17)
In the West (14.7)	Babylon (14.12)
In the North (16.6)	Closing years (16.9)
The West again (16.7)	Isaiah (16.20)
	Bibliography (17)

Sargon (סַרְגִּון; אַרְנָא [BRACQT], סַרְגַּוֹן [V. Theod.], סַרְגִּוֹן [Syriac, in RV^{ms}]; Assyrian *Sarrūkin*, 'He [the god] has established the king') was the successor of Shalmaneser IV, as king of Assyria, B.C. 722-705. He is often called *Sarrūkin arku*, 'Sargon the later,' to distinguish him from Sargon of Akkad, one of the earliest and grandest rulers of Babylonia, in the third millennium B.C. Sargon II had apparently with difficulty in seizing the reins of power, for according to the Babylonian Chronicle (*KB* 2.276 ll. 20 ff.) Shalmaneser died in the month of Tishritu B.C. 722, and Sargon sat on the throne in Assyria on the 22nd of the same month. By what claim he succeeded he nowhere tells us, nor does he ever mention his father or ancestry. His son Sennacherib, in a claim to descent from him, but on his entry into Babylon seems to have put forward a claim to descent from Ugaritas and the mythical heroes of the past, through a long line of Assyrian and Babylonian kings. Sargon's grandson Esarhaddon put forward a claim to be the remote descendant of Bel-dan son of Adasi, an ancient king of Assyria not otherwise known to us. The case of Esarhaddon, Assur-bani-pal and Sennacherib has only reject their claim, since it may have come to them through Esarhaddon's mother. On the other hand we are bound to admit his right to be called *mašar mīl mītt*, 'founder of a dynasty.' Further, his excellent partiality for the old capital Assur, which he invariably styles 'my city,' and the epithet *pi'ia Abur*, 'the king of Assur,' so often applied to him by his descendants, point to his having come from that city.

Sargon II. certainly represents the return to power

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in Assyria of the old aristocracy, as the restorer of the

2. His policy. ancient burger rights and privileges in the old capitals Assur and Harrân, and later the consolidation of his empire by the extension of like freedom to the cities of Babylonia. His scrupulous regard for the claims of ancient titles to land, whether temple endowments or ancestral domains, and his careful restoration of rights taken away by fraud or violence, tyranny or conquest, both in Assyria and (later) in Babylonia, were repeatedly set forth by him as justifications for a turn which he wished to give to his own name Sarrukîn, 'the true king.' The fact that the achievements, which later writers ascribe to Sargon at Akkad, bear such close resemblance to the historical events of Sargon II.'s reign, has tempted some to doubt the historical worth of the earlier parallels. It is not unlikely that Sargon II., who may have taken the name Sarrukîn coming to the throne, deliberately set to work to revive the glories of the ancient Sargon.

Sargon II. did not immediately enter into full possession of the empire which Tiglath-pileser III. had conquered and Sardanapalus IV. seems to have retained. The change of dynasty was the signal for a general rebellion of the outlying tributary states. There could not have been much of the year B.C. 722 left when he was acknowledged successor in Assyria; but before the end of his accession year, Merodach-baladan II., a Chaldean king of Bit Yakin, who had submitted and paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser III., had moved his hordes of nomad supporters into Babylonia, and in Nisan (i.e. 721) sat on the throne of Babylon. The army of Humbanngâs, king of Elam, invaded N. Babylonia, and Sargon had to meet both. Fortunately Samaria, after a 'three' years' siege, had just fallen, and so probably released an army. Sargon fought with Humbanngâs at the *bitu* of Durûh, and both sides claimed the victory. Merodach-baladan seems to have arrived too late to engage in battle. Humbanngâs, either incensed at this lack of support, or too shattered to renew the strife even with such reinforcement, returned to Elam. Sargon did not pursue him, or venture to attack Merodach-baladan, but Dania and all N. Babylonia remained in Sargon's hands. Merodach-baladan indeed reigned twelve years in Babylon and the S. of Babylonia, in spite of Sargon, and 'contrary to the will of the gods'; but never did he venture to fall upon Sargon's rear whilst he waged his wars incessantly in every other direction. On the whole the advantage lay with Sargon, who was able to deal with his enemies one by one and crush them in detail, and finally to turn the whole force of his mighty empire on Babylon.

From some of Sargon's own earlier inscriptions there is reason to believe that he did not reckon his own reign from B.C. 722 but from B.C. 720. The historians of Babylon and his own later inscriptions, however, reckoned his reign years from his acknowledgment in Assur itself. Left undisturbed by his most formidable enemies in the S. he turned his attention to the reconquest of the W. In the account of the capture of Samaria, and the deportation of 27,200 men, the tower of the nation Sargon's annals record the settlement there of captives from other lands. In this the scribe surely anticipates what occurred later, for Sargon had won no victories at that time. Certainly Samaria was in a position to join the ones allied with Hu-bi'di in B.C. 720. Doubtless encouraged by the impressive appearance of Sargon's battle at Durûh, relieved evidently of the Assyrian army then withdrawn to the S., and urged on

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by the intrigues of Fir'u, king of the N. Arabian land

6. Hamath and Gasa. of Musri, the whole West seems to have struck for independence. Hu-bi'di (or Hu-bi'ih), an upstart, probably a creature of Fir'u, had made himself king of Hamath. Such old dependencies of Assyria as Arpad and Samarra joined him. Damascus and Samaria, only lately captured, and partly no doubt peopled by exiles from other lands, who had nothing to lose and hoped for revenge, joined the conspiracy. Haman of Gaza, once expelled by Tiglath-pileser III., now supported by Sibe, the Tartan (see Sol of Musur, had got back his kingdom. But though Hu-bi'di was able to collect a vast army at Karkar, Sargon seems to have swept them away with ease. Sargon followed up Haman to Raphia, where he and Sibe were defeated. Haman was captured and taken to Assur, Sibe fled, Raphia was plundered. Syria and the West remained quiet for some ten years, 720-711 B.C.

Sargon's most powerful enemies now lay in the N.



Sargon and his principal officers.

and NE. Already Tiglath-pileser III. had subdued

6. Minni. Minni, an Alan and placed there a vassal king, Iranzi. Beyond that latter state, however, lay Zakirtu (Sagaritu), probably pressed by the already encroaching Chimerians if not themselves an advance guard of that horde of nomad barbarians. Their king Mitatti incited two of Iranzi's subject cities to rebel, and Iranzi appealed to his overlord for assistance. In 719 B.C., accordingly, Sargon captured and destroyed these cities (Samuduhil and Iurdukkun). Three of the cities which had been fortified against

7. Armenia. Armenia, but had gone over to Rusâ, king of Armenia, the instigator of most of the trouble here, were captured and their people deported to Syria.

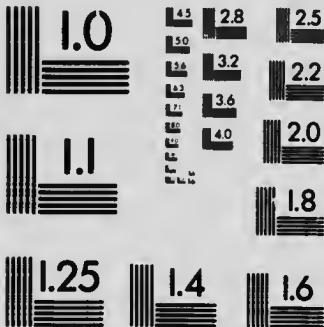
8. Tabal. In the next year Kirî-ki, prince of Sambitu, one of the districts in Tabal, had omitted to send tribute. He was captured and taken with most of his people to Assur. His land was added to that of Matti of Atun (Fun, Tynna), which was subjected to

9. Carchemish. a proportionate increase in tribute. Next year, Carchemish was dealt with. It had retained a shadow of independence, whilst its neighbours had lost theirs, from policy on the part of Assyria. The Assyrian monarch was content with loyalty and a rich tribute, and Bistris of Carchemish



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had been loyal to Tiglath-pileser III. Now, doubtless owing to fear, he had allied himself with Mitā of Muški, and omitted to send tribute. He was deported to Assyria and Carhemish was peopled with Assyrians. In this year, Unna-nigāš, king of Elam, died and was succeeded by Sūruk-nahūta. The death of Iranzū, king of Man, reopened the north-eastern question.

Azā, the son of Iranzū, who succeeded his father, was murdered by Bagdati of Umilliš, Mitatti of Zikirtu and a ruler of Misandā being concerned in the conspiracy, and Rusā of Armenia being a supporter. Sargon promptly marched into the district, captured Bagdati and flayed him alive on the spot where he had murdered Azā. Ullusunu, brother of Azā, succeeded him on the throne of Man with Sargon's consent. But he clearly distrusted the power of Assyria to protect him against Armenia, and gave up twenty-two of his cities to Rusā, as a 'present.' Beyond Man, towards Media, lay Karalla and Allabra, two small buffer states, whose kings Asur-lī and Itti had been subject to Assyria, if they were not actually Assyrians. Ullusunu fled to the hills and left his capital Diritu to be captured and burned. Two other cities, Zibāa and Armaḫ, which resisted were taken. But Sargon had no intention to hold permanently, with Assyrian garrisons, such a remote dependency. He accepted Ullusunu's submission, reinstated him as king, and caused him to resume possession of the cities 'presented,' doubtless in fear, to Rusā. The allies were severely treated. Asur-lī of Karalla was slain, his people deported to Hamath, and his land turned into an Assyrian province. Itti of Allabra, with his family, was deported to Hamath, and a new vassal king set in his place.

Sargon now advanced farther E.

Šurgālia, whose governor Šēpā-Sirri had rebelled, was captured and, with Niksiunna, added to the Assyrian province of Parsia. Bēl-Sar-šar, governor of Kisešim in the W. Media, was captured, his city made an Assyrian colony and called Kār-Nabā. Then a number of Median cities, Bit Saḡbat, Bit Himmāri, Bit Umargi, Kilambāte, Armanqu, were taken and constituted a new province. Harḡar, whose governor Kibāba had been expelled by the inhabitants, was captured, re-peopled with captives from other lands, renamed Kār-Sarrūkin, and made the capital of a new province. While settling the affairs of this new district Sargon received the tribute of twenty-eight Median city governors.

These events are related under 716 B.C.; but the scribe seems to have chosen to finish the story of the Median conquests at once, rather than return to it under 715 B.C., when some of the events clearly occurred.

All this while Rusā of Armenia had continued to instigate rebellions, which he does not seem to have openly supported, and would not take warning by the fate of his allies. As

11. Armenia. Ullusunu had deserted his cause, he fell upon the twenty-two cities which had once been presented him, took them by force from Man, and set up Dāiukku, a subject of Ullusunu, as a rival king. In 715 B.C., Sargon put down this new kingdom, deported Dāiukku to Hamath, took again the twenty-two cities, and put them under Assyrian garrisons. In Hupuska, Sargon now received the homage of Ianzū of Na'iri. Tilusina of Andia, to whom Rusā had given the twenty-two cities, was now captured. So at last Ullusunu was left in undisturbed possession of his land as a vassal of Sargon's. Harḡar, just made into a province, had already rebelled; so it was again reduced, augmented by Assyrianised territory, and strongly fortified as a garrison against the Medes, on whom a yearly tribute in horses was imposed.

In the NW., Mitā of Muški (see **TUBAL AND MESHECH**) had annexed some cities from the land of Kuē (cp **HORSE**, § 3). In 715 B.C., Sargon's troops recaptured them. At this time, probably, Sargon made his influence supreme over Tyre and extended it to the 'Ionian Sea,' perhaps to Cyprus.

12. Muškē; Arabia; Cyprus; Arabia; In Arabia the tribes of Hāipā (cp **EPHAI**, and see **K. I. 7²** 146 f., 613), Iḫādih, Marsimanni, and Tamud had been tributaries of Tiglath-pileser III. They had neglected to send tribute to Sargon; for how long does not appear. He now sent an expedition against them. They were easily reduced to order and many deported to Samaria. Pir'u of Musur, Samsi queen of Arabia, It'amra of Saba, and some of the kings on the sea

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coast and in the desert sent rich tribute of gold, precious stones, ivory, incense, spices, horses, and camels.

In 714 B.C., Sargon went back to Man. Ullusunu received him loyally. Daita of Ellipi sent presents

13. Reduction of Armenia. from the S. border of Media. Zikirtu was then attacked. Three fortresses and twenty-four cities were taken and plundered. The capital Parā was burnt, and then Mitatti with his people disappeared. Whether they migrated to the N. of Armenia and joined the advancing Giurri (see **GOMER**), or were swallowed up by them, or returned to their old home S. of the Black Sea, does not appear. Now Sargon turned on Rusā of Armenia and defeated him with great slaughter and carried off 260 of the royal family. Rusā fled to the hills. Sargon then went through the regions which had owned Rusā's sway, burnt and pillaged cities, to the number of 149, augmented the dominions of Ullusunu with Zihardissu and Umilliš, and reduced Armenia to helplessness. One city deserved special vengeance, Mušāšir (Musbiton), whose prince Urzana had submitted long ago to Sargon's IV., taking an oath of fealty to Asur, but had turned traitor, and gone over to Rusā.

Mušāšir was approached by difficult mountain paths. Urzana fled to the hills, but his city was soon taken. Sargon took much of this capture, representing it on his sculptures at Khorsabad. Urzana's wife and family, 6000 of the inhabitants, and an immense booty of mules, asses, cattle, gold, silver, bronze, precious stones, magnificent garments, were carried away to Assyria. The city was extraordinarily wealthy. Sargon paid large portions of Armenia, probably all the S. and E., and the districts accessible from Lake Van, under his own rule, governing the towns and appointing Assyrian governors. Rusā, in despair at the irremediable ruin of his land, committed suicide, 'like a pig.'

In 713 B.C., Sargon was recalled to Ellipi, Bit Dāiukku, and Karalli. The inhabitants of Karalli had expelled his delegate and set up Antassi,

14. Further Median conquests. brother of Asur-lī, as king. Sargon put down this rebellion and further extended his conquests in Media. The regions named are of the highest importance for the early history of the Medes. The Aribi (named by Ptolemy as later in the S. of Gedrosia), the mighty Mandai, were all subdued, and Sargon received the tribute of Ullusunu of Man, Daitā of Ellipi and Ninib-aplu-iddina of Allabra.

In the time of Tiglath-pileser the land of Tabal had been conquered and its king deposed. Tiglath-pileser had set Hūllē, a man of humble birth, on

15. Cilicia and Tabal. the throne, who seems to have been a faithful vassal till his death. Sargon had added the people of Bit Buratāš to his dominions. When his son Ambaris succeeded, Sargon sent him presents and gave him his daughter to wife and added the city of Hilakku to his territory. But Ambaris was a traitor, and was involved in the plots of Mitā of Muškē and Rusā of Armenia. Sargon now deprived him of his throne, made his country into an Assyrian province, and deported Ambaris to Assyria with his family and chief nobles.

In 712 B.C. Sargon punished the intrigues of Tarḡu-nāzi of Meliddu. He had attacked Gūnzama of

16. Commagene; Togarmah. Kauman, one of Sargon's faithful vassals. City after city was captured, Meliddu the capital fell, Tarḡunazi was besieged in Tulgarinnu, captured, and taken in chains to Assyria. The district was made an Assyrian province, a number of fortresses erected against Armenia, and against Muški, whilst Meliddu was annexed to Kummuḫ. Next year, seemingly, Gurgum had to be pacified. Here Mutallu had slain his own father, Tarḡulara, and set himself on his throne. The parricide was soon put down and carried captive to Assyria, and his land made an Assyrian province.

Once more trouble arose in Philistia. Azuri, king of Ashdod, had planned to refuse his tribute, and had begun to negotiate alliances with the neighbouring

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states of anti-Assyrian tendencies, when Sargon deposed him, and placed his brother Ahimuti on the throne (see ASTUDÖB). The inhabitants, however, rebelled under the leadership of one Yamūni, a common soldier, perhaps an Ionian Greek, or a man from Yemen, and Ahimuti was expelled (see § 20). Then Philistia, Edom, Moab, and Judah, relying on Pir'u of Musri, joined the rebellion.

Sargon swiftly sent his army to the scene, captured Ashdod, Gath, Ashdunūm, and carried off their inhabitants, their gods, the palace treasures, and Yamūni's wife and children. Yamūni escaped to Musri; he was, however, apparently captured by the king of Meluhha, and sent in chains to Asur. The cities were rebuilt and repopled with captives from other quarters. Again, for the time, the W. country was quiet, having received a warning that no help could be had from Asur.

These states which, though hoping for Musri's assistance, had avoided hostile acts, seem to have been unmolested by Sargon. It is true, this king does once call himself *mušaknis mātu lauda ša āsarū rāku*, 'the subjugator of the land of Judah, whose situation is far off' (*A II 2 36 f.*). This has been thought either to arise out of a confusion between Israel and Judah, or to refer to the Syrian land of Yaudi, but may possibly point to an otherwise unrecorded submission of Judah, consequent on the fall of Ashdod, in 720 B.C. (See ASTUDÖB.)

Now came the crowning achievement of Sargon's reign. He had humbled his enemies on every side,

18. The relief of Babylon.

secured his rear, accumulated vast treasure, trained a veteran army, and now had at his command the services of countless slave warriors who had proved their valour against him and were now at his disposal. He turned his restless forces against MERODACH-BALADAN, in Babylon, who had not been able to conciliate the Babylonians. His nomad supporters had been allowed to possess themselves of the lands and property of the old inhabitants, doubtless as a reward for their support. Merodach-baladan was unable, if he wished, to win the affections of his subjects. They looked to Sargon to follow the examples of Tiglath-pileser III. and Sardanapal IV., and so to restore the old privileges and rights. Sargon first attacked the allies, Aramaic peoples on the borders of Elam. Such tribes as the Gambūli, Ru'a, Īlindaru, Iatburu, and Pukudu were subdued and formed into a new Assyrian province with Dūr-Nabūt for its capital. Holding this region, Sargon was safe from any movement on the part of Elam, if Šarukīn-hunta had cared to move. When Merodach-baladan sent to Elam to ask for his help, that astute monarch accepted the presents, but gave no help. Merodach-baladan could not depend upon his small band of Chaldean retainers to free Sargon, and fled when the Assyrians commenced operations in Babylonia by the capture of Bit Dakkuri.

Merodach-baladan seems to have spent the winter in the S., at Ibbi-Bēl, which he fortified with the greatest care. Sargon made no haste to follow him. Sargon's objective was Babylon. The inhabitants of Babylon welcomed him as a deliverer. They went out in a great procession to Dūr-Ladimma, the capital of Bit Dakkuri, and brought Sargon in triumph into the city of Babylon. There he took possession of the palace of Merodach-baladan, offered the regular offerings to the gods, and received the tribute of the subjugated Babylonian states. Then he set himself to restore order. He cleaned out and rebuilt the ruined canal, from Bersippa, which served as the procession street for Nabūt at the Nisan feast. Then in the beginning of the year 709 B.C., he 'took the hands of Bēl' and was legitimate monarch of Babylon.

Next month, Aaru of 709 B.C., Sargon resumed his campaign against Merodach-baladan. The latter had seen all his allies in turn surrender, so he withdrew to his ancestral domain Dūr Iakin on the Euphrates. There he assembled the scattered remnants of his forces.

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He had carried off in chains some of the notables of the S. Babylonian cities. Now he set out his camp under the walls of the city and protected it by a wide moat filled by a canal from the Euphrates, broke down all the bridges, and 'in the midst of the waters like a swamp hawk' awaited Sargon's attack. Sargon made his veterans 'fly over the waters like eagles.' Merodach-baladan's army was again defeated, under the walls of the city; wounded himself, he managed to escape; but his camp with all its treasures fell into Sargon's hands. The city was soon after taken and destroyed. The captive notables were released and reinstated in their old possessions. The old temple endowments were restored, the worship renewed, the deported gods brought back. The captured districts of Bit Iakin on the Elamite frontier were resettled with captives from Kummuh, and their inhabitants transferred there. Fortresses were garrisoned against Elam, and the old kingdom of Bit Yakin became an Assyrian province, attached to the governor of Babalon and Gambūli.

These successes secured Sargon further bloodless triumphs. Upiri, king of Dihauin, in the Persian Gulf,

19. Closing years.

sent presents and an embassy of congratulation. Mitā of Muški, who had been such a trouble in past years, and was now hard pressed by the governor of Kuē, sent in his submission, while Sargon was still engaged in Iatburi. The kings of seven Cyprian cities sent presents. Tyre also seems to have desired friendly relations.

Sargon's absence in the S. affected other states somewhat differently. In 708 B.C., Mutallu of Kummuh, in collusion with Argistis of Armenia, Rusa's son and successor, threw off his allegiance. An army was sent against him; he dared not meet it, and fled. His family and possessions fell into the hands of the conqueror. Kummuh became an Assyrian province. In the same year arose troubles in Ellipi. Daltā had proved a faithful vassal; but on his death his sons Nibē and Išpabara quarrelled over the succession. Nibē obtained assistance from Elam, Išpabara applied to Assyria. An Assyrian army soon besieged Nibē and his Elamite supporters, captured the capital Maruštī, and brought Nibē captive to Assyria. Išpabara was duly set on the throne as an Assyrian vassal.

The inscriptions of Sargon extend no further, and his last three years are somewhat obscure. He died in 705 B.C., some think by the hand of an assassin.

Sargon was a great builder. For the greater part of his reign he lived at Kalah, but he was all the while building the magnificent city of Dūr Šarrūkin, on the site of the old city of Maganiba, in the *ribit* (see RETTONOTT-18) of Nineveh. The vast ruins of Dūr Šarrūkin with its palaces, now the village of Khorsabad, were excavated by the French under Botta, Place, Oppert and others. They form the most perfect type of an Assyrian city yet known. There were found the chief inscriptions which give so full an account of Sargon's reign. For a full description of the wondrous halls with their long series of sculpture and endless detail of battle scenes, we must refer to Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*. Sargon's inscriptions are full of descriptions of the preparations for the building of this city. He ransacked the quarries and forests of Lebanon, Amanus, and the Syrian hills for wood and valuable stones to beautify his palace. He expended the vast treasures which his conquests gave him in its construction, though for the greater part of the time his swarms of captives were employed there in forced labour. As the *iku* or *corée* seems to have ceased in Marhešwān, 709 B.C., the actual building was probably finished then. In 707 B.C. Sargon returned from Babylon; on the 22nd of Tešrit in that year the gods of Dūr-Šarrūkin entered their temples.

Sargon also built and restored largely at Kalah and other cities in his kingdom. Nineveh was then coun-

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The root (*štn*), which belongs to the old Semitic stock (cp Ar. *štn*), signifies 'to oppose another (by putting oneself in his way)'. The noun *šatan* occurs in the early Hebrew literature;

2. Meaning and use. In a passage like Nu. 22²²⁻³², the original sense is still clear—'The angel . . . set himself in the way to be a *šatan* to him (Balaam)'; elsewhere the original sense is less prominent (see 1 S. 29: 28, 19: 23 [23] 1 K. 5: 4 [18] 11: 14 23 25, cp Siphah, Gen. 25: 27). In Ps. 109: 6 the word is used of an opponent at law, an accuser. It is with this last shade of meaning that *šatan* is used in Zech. 3: 1, where for the first time the word becomes the official title of a distinct personality; in Job, where the word is also used with the article, the usage is similar; but in Ch. the article disappears, the word virtually becomes a proper name and the original sense probably loses prominence, although here, as generally elsewhere, *šatan* translates the term by *δίαβολος*; in NT both the translation and the transliteration (*Σατανᾶς*) are common; the transliteration occurs in the LXX (of the person; sometimes as *Σαταν*, see Redpath) only in *Ch* at Job 2: 9, in Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotus in Zech. 3: 1; in Aquila also in Job 1: 6. The word used as a common noun is transliterated in 1 K. 11: 14 23 25 (with variants) and also in two or three places by one or more of the later Greek versions.

It has often been suggested that Persian influences have, if not produced, yet affected the development of the Jewish belief in Satan. That the name

3. Origin of belief. Satan is borrowed, cannot of course be maintained. It is, as we have seen, a pure Semitic word in early use among the Israelites. Nor can it be asserted that the position of the Satan at all closely resembles that of Angromainyu (Ahriman).¹ Angromainyu is an independent power sharply opposed to Ahura Mazda, the good power; and, like him, concerned in the work of creation. The Satan in the earlier Hebrew passages is completely subordinate to Yahweh. Still, if the Book of Job (including the Prologue) is post-exilic, and later than Zech. 1-8, it is not inconceivable that the Persian belief in Angromainyu may have influenced the further development of the belief in Satan as we find it in Job—a view which would be in perfect accordance with historical analogy. The matter, as here stated, needs a more thorough investigation in the light of biblical and Avesta criticism (cp Zoroastrianism, § 8). But at any rate, the ultimate roots of belief in Satan, as well as of the belief in angels, lie in the early popular Israelitish religion, which, however, of course, cannot be dissociated from the religions of the other Semitic peoples. To that religion the 'sons of the Elohim' (ANGELS, § 2)—in post-exilic psalms a term for angels—were apparently native, and it is in the closest connection with these that 'the Satan' quite clearly appears in Job, though it should be added that, unlike the sons of Elohim, and unlike 'the Satan' of Zech. 3, 'the Satan' of Job 1 is a cosmic personage. May it not be that 'the Satan' owes his origin as a distinct character among the 'sons of Elohim' (or angels), partly at any rate, to the growing tendency, manifest in both Zech. and Job, and even as early as Ezekiel (cp e.g., 40: 3 f.), to distinguish Yahweh's attendants by their functions; and may not at any rate the main reason why he gained a more distinct and enduring individuality than, e.g., 'the man with the measuring line' (Zech. 2: [25]), or 'the interpreting angel' (Job 33: 23), be found in the constant presence of evil and the increasing desire to dissociate it from God? The Satan, at least as far as the kernel of the conception is concerned, may thus be one of those figures which had long before been recognised as performed by Yahweh or one of his spirits, into permanent personalities, in an ancient story (Nu. 22: 22 ff.) the *mal'akh Yahweh*

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had on a special occasion become a Satan; now a single personality among Yahweh's attendant spirits permanently appears as the Satan, whose duty it is to test men or to discharge God's hostile purposes against them. If we would fix more exactly on the origin of the Satan, there is much to be said for Marti's suggestion that he is the personification of the self-accusing conscience of Israel (cp Zech. 3: 1-4); see *Theol. St. K.*, 1892, pp. 202-245. With the foregoing discussion cp ANGLS, §§ 3-5.

The development of the doctrine moves along two lines; (a) from being subordinate to, Satan becomes (largely) independent of Yahweh; (b) from being the (not necessarily unjust) accuser he becomes the tempter and enemy of men. In NT both developments are complete, in OT both are in process.

(a) In Zech. the chief marks of Satan's subordination are the rebuke administered to him and the complete disregard of his accusation, though, as the reference to the 'filthy garments' = 'iniquity' shows, it was well founded. In Job this subordination is still clear; throughout the book the angels are strictly subject to Yahweh, and the Satan is virtually one of them; he suggests trying Job by calamities, but has no power to inflict them without Yahweh's permission or in excess of the divinely assigned limits (1: 11-13 2: 7-10). Yet germs of the later independence of the Satan can be discerned; the terms of *Job 2: 1* indicate that, whilst closely associated with the 'sons of the Elohim,' he is in a certain manner distinct from them ('the Satan came also in the midst of them'); cp *1 Enoch 10: 7*; again, in Zech. (1: 10 f. 6: 5-7) the angels are sent by Yahweh to go up and down in the earth, in Job the Satan appears to do so on his own initiative (note the question *1: 7* 2: 2), although the idea is as yet by no means that of 1 Pet. 5: 8; and finally he instigates Yahweh to injure Job (2: 3) — a significant feature when we contrast 1 K. 22: 3, where it is only at Yahweh's request that the spirit becomes a lying spirit to entice Ahab. In 1 Ch. 21 (= 2 S. 24) the independence of Satan has apparently become as complete as it ever became; whereas in Job he moves God against man, in Ch. he moves man against God. In Wisd. 2: 24 Satan's independence of and opposition to God is so well-established that, as in NT, men are classified as adherents of God or the Devil (*οἱ τοῦ ἑλκεῖνον μερίδος ἄνθρωποι*).

(b) The view of Satan as tempter¹ belongs to an advanced stage. Statements attributing temptation to God, which were at first harmless, became impossible in the development of Jewish theology in a more reflective age. Four passages which illustrate the four main stages in the evolution may be quoted in proof of this. Temptation to evil is in 2 S. 21 directly attributed to Yahweh; in Job 1 f. ultimately to God, but through the medium of Satan; in 1 Ch. 21 it is ascribed directly to Satan, and by the Chronicler's alteration of his source, *implicitly* denied of God; and finally in James 1: 13 it is directly denied of God. Except therefore in the very latest OT passages temptation to evil is not inconsistent with the character of God; consequently even in Job, far less in Zech., the Satan is not in any distinct manner morally opposed to God; this, at the earliest, he becomes in Chronicles.

This is the main point; how much anticipation of the later moral distinction can be discerned in Zech. and Job is an open question; in Zech. it certainly seems most natural to see in him simply the spokesman for the sternly just demands of God; but the narrative of Job justifies Davidson's sentence, 'He shows an assiduity slightly too keen in the exercise of his somewhat invidious function' (*Job*, p. 7).

The passage already quoted from Wisdom illustrates another important development; the Satan is identified with the serpent of the narrative of the fall. This

¹ How little temptation is suggested by the term is illustrated by Nu. 22: 22-32. So far is the angel of Yahweh, who becomes for the nonce a Satan, from tempting Balaam that he actually obstructs him in an evil course.

¹ Cf. de Harlez, *Les origines de Zoroastrisme*, 301-307.

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Identification may have been due to foreign influence, either Persian (see Grimm on the passage) or Alexandrian (see Toy, Judaism and Christianity, 159, 167). Compare and contrast Enoch 69b. Another late identification—that of Satan and the depraved will—is altogether exceptional (Baba bath., 16); cp ECCLESIASTICUS.

Before passing on to the NT doctrine two negative points may be noted; in OT no reference is made to angels attendant on Satan; 'angels of evil'—i.e., angels who inflict injury—are still directly subject to God (cp Ps. 78:49 cp 35:5 f. and earlier 1 S. 16:14 ff. Judg. 9:21; see ANGEL, 3), nor to any 'fall' or 'punishment' of Satan.

All uncertainty as to the current conception of Satan ceases when we reach the NT. No theory of dramatic

5. In NT, or poetic personification can here be maintained. The 'enemy' of the OT is now individualised, the 'Satan' of the book of Enoch are now unified. Satan is now the distinctly personal (Jn. 17) originator (2 Cor. 11:3 Jn. 8:44 1 Jn. 3:8 12), instigator (1 Thess. 3:5 Mt. 4:1 ff.) and perpetrator (Eph. 2:2) of sin, and the cause of its penalty, death (Jn. 8:44 Heb. 2:14); the personal head of the realm of evil, with the ministers thereof (Eph. 2:2, ἐξουσία, collective), evil bodily (Mt. 12:24 Lk. 13:16) and spiritual (Eph. 2:2 Jn. 12:31 1 Jn. 3:8); and the antagonist generally of God (Mt. 13:39 Acts 13:10) and of man (1 Pet. 5:3 Eph. 6:16 Lk. 22:31 Rev. 12:12).

Satan appears under nine distinct names.

1. ἄρχων, 'prince' (Synoptists, τῶν δαιμονίων, Mk. 3:2 etc.; Jn., τὸ κόσμον τούτου, 12:31; Paul, τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἵεροῦ, Eph. 2:2; and cp θεῶς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, 2 Cor. 4:4, with the κατά τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου of the Ephesian passage.

6. Names, 4, with the κατά τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου of the Ephesian passage. 2. ὁ πειράζων, 'the tempter', Mt. 4:3 1 Thess. 3:5.

3. διαβολός, 'accuser,' not necessarily 'slanderer,' of those who sin through his temptation (cp κατηγορὸς τῶν ἀδελφῶν, Rev. 12:10), a title confined to Satan, except when used of human slanderers in the Pastoral Epistles. But generally signifying simply (as in 1 Ch. 21:1 and everywhere in LXX), the 'enemy' of God (Mt. 13:39 1 Jn. 3:10) and of man (1 Pet. 5:8); see Hatch, Essays in Biblical Greek, 45-47.

4. Σατανᾶς (Hebrew transliterated, with Grecised form) 'adversary,' NT ἄδισιν, whether as an adversary (1 Thess. 2:18), a tempter (Mk. 1:13), or the prince of the demons or evil angels (Lk. 11:18 2 Cor. 12:7 [there is some authority for the form Σαταν here; see Ti.]).

5. Βελζαβούλ (Βεελζεβούλ [BEP]), of doubtful derivation and significance (see BEELZEBUB), a name for Satan in the Synoptists alone, and solely in regard to demoniacal possession (Lk. 11:19 compared with Mt. 12:28).

6. ὁ ἐχθρὸς, 'the enemy' (Mt. 13:39 Lk. 10:19).

7. ὁ πορνῆρ, 'the evil, injurious one' (Mt. 13:19, cp πνεύματα πορνῆρ, Lk. 7:21) Eph. 6:11, and especially 1 Jn. 3).

8. Βελίαρ, Syriac and Greek form of BELIAL (Bel), only in 2 Cor. 6:15 (Christ and Beliar, light and darkness, God and idols, contrasted).

9. ὁ ὄφις, 'the serpent' (2 Cor. 11:3), and ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος, 'the old serpent,' Rev. 12:9 (ὁ καλοῦμενος διάβολος καὶ Σατανᾶς) ὁ πλάσιος, 'that deceiveth' (see Wisdom 2:24 as referred to above). See ANTICHRIST.

It will be seen that, though various functions are here and there suggested by these names and passages, they all tend to the same issue, the maintenance and propagation of evil;

7. Works. and the NT writers who contribute to the history of Satan and the description of his doings in no wise contradict one another. If we draw an inference from what is said of evil angels in 2 Pet. 2:4 Jude 6, Satan was not originally evil, but had a first estate which he did not keep, leaving, through sin, his own habitation. His sphere of dominion was now the air or firmament (Eph. 6:12 2 Lk. 10:18 Rev. 12:9), whence the Syriac etymology of Beliar (in Bar Babilin), 'lord of the air.' From the beginning he has been a man-killer (Jn. 8:44), seducing Eve (2 Cor. 11:3), and bringing sin and death into the world (cp Wisd. 2:4, not opposed to Rom. 5:12), and, by the power of death, keeping men, through fear of it, in bondage (Heb. 2:14 f.); enticing men to sin (1 Cor. 7:5) and accusing them when they have fallen

1 Not used in any of the commonly called Pauline Epistles except in Ephesians and the Pastorals.

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(Rev. 12:10); trying to entice Jesus himself (Synoptists) but failing, Jn. 14:30, cp Heb. 4:15 2 Cor. 5:21; inflicting upon men misery both bodily and mental, sometimes by 'possessing' them with his 'demons' (Mt. 12:24) other times apparently by direct and ordinary disaster (1 Cor. 5:5 2 Cor. 12:7). He is the prince of this world (Jn. 12:31)—i.e., 'the present age (αἰῶν) with all its evil' (Gal. 1:4)—and as 'god of this age' he blinds the unbelieving (2 Cor. 4:4), and is prince of the spirit that is active in the children of disobedience (Eph. 2:2), the 'children of the devil' (1 Jn. 3:10); and by deceitful wonders and lying prophecy he will lead men astray in the final apostasy (2 Thess. 2:3 f. Rev. 20:8).

But though Satan is opposed to God (Ja. 1:8) and the 'authority of darkness' to the 'kingdom of the Son of God' (Col. 1:13),—as darkness

8. No dualism. to light in the Parsee antithesis—there is no Parsee dualism in any true sense. Satan is not often, as in the OT, a mere agent of destruction used by God (1 Cor. 5:5 2 Cor. 12:7); but on the other hand, he is no more independent of God or co-equal with him than is man, who can, as he chooses, serve the one or the other. All that can be said in this direction is that the Satanic power is superhuman, and therefore equally superhuman is his capacity for seduction and destruction (Eph. 6:12). But, though Satan is 'strong,' Jesus is 'stronger' (Mt. 12:28, and parallels); he can spoil Satan's 'goods' (Mk. 3:27) and destroy his works (1 Jn. 3:8); Christ will finally bring him to naught and rescue his bondsmen (Heb. 2:14), casting him and his angels into the eternal fire prepared for them (Mt. 25:41 Rev. 20:10 Jude 6), along with the last enemy death (1 Cor. 15:26 Rev. 20:13). This deliverance is, in principle, already begun (Lk. 10:18 f. Col. 1:13 1 Jn. 4:4 Jn. 12:31 16:11), but will not be complete till the παρωσία of Christ (Rom. 16:26 1 Cor. 15:26 2 Thess. 2 Rev. 20).

G. B. G., §§ 1-4; J. M., §§ 5-8.

SATCHEL (סַחֲךָל), Is. 3:22 RV, in 2 K. 5:23 BAG (1), 1 Esd. 6:3, EV; AV^{ms}. SHETHAR-BOZAN.

SATHRAPAS (Σατραπῆς, and ἡ, ἀσάτραπῆσιν -in; ΣΑΤΡΑΠΑΙ, but ΣΑΤΡΑΠῆΣΙ in Esth. 3:12 [cp 1:2]; Vg. Satrapae; AV 'princes,' or 'lieutenants,' RV always 'satraps') are mentioned in Ezra 7:1 (Σατραπῆσιν) Esth. 3:12 8:9 (Σατραπῶν οἰκονόμοι) 9:1, Dan. 3:1 27 6:2-5 7:1. It is the O. Pers. khšātrapaian (khšātra, 'realm, empire' + pi, 'to protect'), not to be confounded with the Avest. kithrapān, which has a different meaning. The division of the empire into satrapies is due to Darius I. Hyastaspis. Though really bound to an implicit obedience to the king's orders and controlled by other officials, the satraps grew into a kind of viceroys, who exercised in their provinces an all but sovereign power, and in their household imitated the royal court. See, further, PERSIA, § 18, SATHRAPAS; and cp A. Buehholz, Quaestiones de Persarum satrapis (Leipzig, 1896).

SATYRS is the EV rendering of the Heb. שַׂטְרִיִּם, šəṭrī'im, in Is. 13:21 34:14 (RV^{ms}. 'he-goats'; AVherben RV 'wild goats') and RV^{ms}. satyrs in Lev.

1. Meaning of the term. 17:7 2 Ch. 11:15 (RV 'he-goats'; AV 'devils'). In these four passages it

is quite clear that the reference is not to the natural animal—the he-goat—which the Hebrew word šəṭrī'im abbreviates for the fuller and broader locution šəṭrī'iccim) generally denotes (cp GOAT, §§ 1 [4] 5). It

1 σατραπᾶς does not occur in Dan. 3:2 f. 27 6:7 f. And in 2 K. 23:8 which originally speak of שַׂטְרִיִּים (šəṭrī'im) the bāmōth of the šəṭrī'im (not as MT שַׂטְרִיִּים = the galilee) Hoffmann in ZATW, 1882, p. 175, subsequently others (see Kautzsch). For post-biblical references to שַׂטְרִיִּים, see M. Schwab, 'Vocabulaire d'Angelologie' (Académie des Inscriptions 10 [1897] 370-440 (s. 177), שַׂטְרִיִּים and שַׂטְרִיִּים).

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true that some scholars (e.g., Hengstenberg; similarly Raethgen in Riehm, *ZWZ*²⁹ 'Feldgeister') have retained this meaning by explaining the sacrifices to the *šē'irim* referred to in Lev. and Ch. as belonging to an Egyptian cultus of the goat (cp Herod. 2.46), borrowed by the Hebrews from the Egyptians and practised by them in the wilderness and revived by Jeroboam after his residence in Egypt. But (apart from the consideration that these two references are exilic and post-exilic respectively) this interpretation fails to do justice to the passages in Isaiah.

The ancient tradition (as preserved in the versions) is substantially consistent and substantially also correct. In all four passages the versions agree in not rendering *šē'ir* by the equivalent of 'he-goat'. They render either by a word denoting demon or false god, or by a term probably implying demons though signifying directly only 'hairy'—a meaning which the Hebrew word possessed (cp Gen. 27.11) and out of which the use of the word for he-goat probably sprang. Thus *šē'* renders by *δαίμονια* or *δαίμων* (in 2 Ch. 11.15 there is probably a 'doublet': τοῖς δαίμονι καὶ τοῖς παρτοῖς), Syr. by *šē'ir*, Tg. *שׂיר*, Vg. *demon* or *phant*; cp, further, Field's notes in the Hexapla on Is. 13.21 and 31.14.

The suggestion of the versions (see above) that *šē'ir* was a term for demons or a particular kind of demon is confirmed by the contexts of the five passages (including 2 K. 23.5) already mentioned. Thus in Is. 34.14 *LILITH* (*לילית*) is also mentioned; and although certain natural animals (e.g., wolves, jackals) are mentioned in the same connection both here and in Is. 13.21, they are not domestic animals like the goat; moreover, we have the same combination of actual animals and demonic beings in an Assyrian description of devastation (G. Smith, *Annals of Ashur-bani-pal*; see Che. on Is. 13.21). The association of demons with desert places was a prevalent element in popular belief (cp DEMONS, § 3). Note, further, that the *šē'irim* are described as dancing and calling to one another. In 2 K. 23.5 Lev. 17.7 and 2 Ch. 11.15, where the *šē'irim* and sacrifices offered to them are mentioned, the term may be used in denotation of false and forbidden objects of worship in general—for which abundant parallels could be cited. In Lev. 17.7, however, the association of the *šē'irim* with the 'open field' (v. 5) suggests a connection, direct or indirect, with the custom or rite of sending a goat to Azazel on the day of Atonement (see AZAZEL).

It remains to consider how far the *šē'irim* were a clearly defined class of demons and what were their special characteristics. We have really little more than the etymology to guide us. It is generally assumed, on the ground of the usual significance of *šē'ir*, that they were goat-shaped. This is not improbable, and if correct, the use of the term 'satyr' is sufficiently appropriate; only it must be remembered that we have no reason for attributing to the Hebrew conception the richer details that characterise the Greek. Some (e.g., Duhm; Marti, *Gesch. d. Isr. Rel.* 236) suggest that Azazel (cp above) was chief of the *šē'irim*; we might then compare the relation to the Greek satyr. But this is not very probable (see Cheyne's paper in *ZfW*, 1895; and cp AZAZEL). Wellhausen, on the other hand, seems inclined to limit his inference from the etymology to the hairiness of these beings; see *Heil.* 135 f.; ⁽²⁾ 151 f. where some Arabic parallels will be found. If *šē'ir* (= demon), in spite of being confined to exilic and post-exilic literature (for which there may be sufficient reason; cp DEMONS, § 1), is actually of early origin, probably it merely expressed the 'hairiness' of the demons; but if late, it was most probably chosen on account of its secondary sense (goat) because these beings were regarded as goat-shaped. Cp in general Boeh. *Hieroz.* bk. vi. 7; *Ges. Jes.* 465 f.; Bandmann, *St.* 136 ff. and the article 'Feldgeister' in *PRK*; Mannhardt *Walt. u. Feldkulte.* ch. 3 (§ 8 refers to a trace of Syrian goat spirits in a story of Lamblichus.

G. B. O.

SAUL

SAUL

Origin (§ 1).
Wars (§ 2 f.).

End; character (§ 4 f.).
Family (§ 6).

Saul (*שׂאול*, *Sa'ul*, as if 'asked for,' § 56; according to Jastrow [*JBL* 19 (1900) 101] 'devoted,' viz., to Yahwē; but see below [§ 1, midway]); *שׂאול* [BVL] is traditionally regarded as the first king of Israel. His story has passed through phases little less various than that of David, with which it is so closely interlaced (see DAVID). In its present form, indeed, it raises insoluble problems both of history and of character; neither the outer nor the inner life of the heroic king is intelligible to us. Reluctant, therefore, as we may be to touch narratives which are universally interesting—though the interest partly arises from their enigmas—we cannot avoid criticising them, and we may be well assured that the gain which will result from critical thoroughness will be far greater than the seeming loss. There cannot but be a more potent attraction in narratives which can be read more nearly as they were meant to be read; and if the historical element turns out to be less than we have supposed, we can at any rate use it with some confidence, whilst in a secondary sense even the less historical elements are of documentary value for the period to which the traditions in their present form can be shown to belong (see SAMUEL [BOOKS]).

The traditions agree (and we shall find good reason to accept the statement) that Saul was a Benjamite of Gilead (1 S. 9.1, 10.26, 11.4, 15.34), though the most ingenious of our modern historians (Winckler) seeks to show that he was a Gileadite.

1. Origin. Gilead (1 S. 9.1, 10.26, 11.4, 15.34), though the most ingenious of our modern historians (Winckler) seeks to show that he was a Gileadite. The short genealogy in 1 S. 9.1 represents his father KISH as a 'son of Bechorath' (בְּחֹרָתַיִם) which follows is a corruption of 'Gilead' (גִּלְעָד), and in 10.21 Saul ben Kish is assigned to the family called MATRI (מַטְרִי), while in 2 S. 20.1 SHUBA the Benjamite, David's opponent, is called ben Bichri—i.e., a Bichrite (cp BECHER, and see below on the 'Bezek' of 1 S. 11.8). Taking these names Bechorath, Matri, and Bichri together, and noticing *שׂ*'s reading *μαχεσρ* in 1 S. 9.1, it is difficult not to see that Saul's family, according to the tradition underlying 9.1 and 10.21, was known as Machirith (cp מַכִּירִית = מַכִּירִית in 9.1) or Jerahme'elith (cp § 61; cp 1 Ch. 8.29 f., where the origin of Kish is traced to Maachah (a corruption of Jerahme'el). In other words, the clan and family to which the first king belonged were ultimately of semi-Jerahmeelite origin. Nevertheless the early writers were quite consistent in regarding Saul as a Benjamite, for the tribe of Benjamin (as its very name may perhaps indicate) had a strong Jerahmeelite element; this is suggestively expressed in 1 Ch. 7.7 f. where (by no mere arbitrary fiction) Jerimoth, at once son of Bela and son of Becher, is recognised as a Benjamite; now JERIMOTH is certainly not = 'exel-sa' [Ges.] but one of the most unmistakable popular corruptions of Jerahme'el.¹

This theory suggests an explanation of the name of Saul's father Kish, which, in spite of the very plausible connection suggested by Robertson Smith (see col. 2682), is perhaps best explained as a corruption of Cush (כּוּשׁ) or Cushi (כּוּשִׁי). Cush and Misur (Musri) were contiguous regions in N. Arabia; if there were Misrite elements in Israel (see MOSES, § 4), there were, of course, equally developed Cushite elements.

The name of the king himself does not admit of as

¹ It may no doubt be asserted that this way of regarding Saul was erroneous. It is said in 1 Ch. 7.14 f. of Machir, whose wife was MAACHAH (= Jerahme'elith), that he was the son of Manasseh, and Winckler holds that Saul was not a Benjamite but a Manassehite of Gilead. But surely the right view is that there were both northern and southern clans of Machirite (i.e., Jerahmeelite) affinities. According to 1 Ch. 8.29-33 Kish and Saul belonged to the southern Jerahmeelites (MAACHAH). This is the theory expressed above.

ready an explanation, and it seems to have been very

16. Name and home. much misunderstood. The key to it is probably to be found in 1 S. 10, where the name שָׁמְעֵל (Samuel) is expressly made equivalent to שָׁאֵל (Saul), and connected (cp 7, 2) with שְׁאֵל (šā'el), 'to ask.' It is at any rate plausible to suppose that Šamuel and Šaul (also Ishmael and Shohal?) are modifications of a common original, viz., the southern clan-name Sheba (Sheba, שְׁבָא, Josh. 19:27) with the affirmative ש or שָׁ. It will be remembered that elsewhere Saul (SAUL, 2; SAUL) is a N. Arabian name, given both to a Simeonite and to a Min-site; also that Samuel, according to tradition, was a son of BERUTAM—i.e., belonged to a clan which had Jerahmeelite (N. Arabian) affinities. It is even possible that the narrator who worked up the legends respecting Saul's connection with Samuel may have been ignorant of the seer's real name, and have selected for him one of two variants of the traditional name of the first king.²

The view of the origin of the name 'Saul' here recommended may help to account for the fact that ancient scribes were liable to confound the two names Saul and Samuel, for evidence of which it is enough to refer to 1 S. 11:7, where the rival readings שָׁאֵל (after Saul) and שָׁמְעֵל (after Samuel) stand side by side, and 1 S. 28:12, where the cry of the 'wife of Pharoah' is said to have been called forth by the sight of 'Samuel,' a palpable error (as Perles has pointed out) for 'Saul.'³

The true name of the first king, however, has probably passed into oblivion, like so much besides connected with this dim far-off figure.

The true name of Saul's native place is perhaps recoverable. It was most probably not Gilbeath-shaul (EV Gilbeah of Sml), but Gilbeath-shahshah (שָׁרָא and שִׁיחָא may reasonably be taken to be kindred forms); i.e., Shahshah was the name of the district in which this Gilbeah was situated. Near it were (a) LAISH, also called in MT Laishah and Zela (both corruptions of Shahshah), and (b) Gilgal or Beth-gilgal—i.e., very probably Beth-jerahmeel (see § 6). Beth-jerahmeel⁴ (if we may adopt this name as the true one), which was apparently a walled city of some importance, may be regarded as the centre of Saul's clan. As we shall presently see, it was the city which this hero relieved when in a very critical situation; it was also the place where his married daughter (see MERAB, PALTI) and his grandson (see MEHIBUSHEHU) resided, and where Sheba the Bichrite took refuge with his clansmen when pursued by Joab.⁵ The restoration of the true name throws a bright light on a number of passages (cp GALLIM).

It is a disputed point whether or no Saul was the first to realise the idea of kingly government. According to

10. Predecessors? Winckler (GT 2:36-157), the stories of Gideon, Abimelech, and Jephthah were brought into shape as justifications of the claim made by the Gileadite (?) Saul to the sovereignty of western Israel and to the possession of the religious capital—Shechem. This theory is decidedly ingenious; but it is more probable (see ISRAEL, § 10; GIBON; but cp ABIMELCH, 2) that Gideon was, strictly

¹ For the same idea somewhat differently applied see Wi. GL 2:24, KAT³ 225. This scholar's own explanation of שָׁאֵל is fully set forth in KAT³ 225; the Hebrew name ('asked') is the literal translation of šā'el parnas, 'the oracle-god,' a title of Sin, the moon-god.

² Cp Saxe, *Hilbert Lectures* (1887), 52. 'Sheba,' too, was hardly the birth-name of the Bichrite mentioned in 2 S. 20:1.

³ Σαουαλ represents שָׁאֵל in Gen. 46:15 (A), 1 S. 11:13 (B*) 15 (BA), 15:12 (B), while Σαουαλ represents שָׁמְעֵל in 1 S. 15:12 (B).

⁴ There were, of course, different places called Beth-jerahmeel. Cp GALLIM, SA 8 (4).

⁵ The passage (2 S. 20:14 f.) should probably be read thus: 'And Sheba passed on to Beth-jerahmeel, and all the Bichrites (Jerahmeelites) assembled and went in after him. And they came and besieged him in Beth-jerahmeel'; hence in 2, 13 אָבִי should be אֲבִי. In 7, 14 שָׁבָה (בָּשָׁ) should be שָׁבָה, and אָבִי should be אֲבִי; the following words בָּשָׁה אֲבִי should be אֲבִי אָבִי (an early correction). Other references to 'Beth-jerahmeel' probably involve certain corrupt words in Am. 1:3 Hos. 10:14 (see *Crit. Bib.*).

speaking, the first Israelitish king. It remains to be shown, however, that Saul is the first king of it section of the Israelites of whom fairly definite traditions are preserved, and it is to these traditions, not all equally trustworthy, that we now direct our attention.

Traditions of much interest respecting Saul have come down to us from a school of writers trained under the

1d. Traditions. phrase influence. According to these, it was a seer called Samuel¹ who, by his preternatural insight, recognised in the son of Kish the destined 'captain' or 'prince' (*magid*, see PRINCE of united Israel (1 S. 9:16). This patriotic Israelite SAMUEL is introduced to us going up to the Beth-el, an unnamed city to 'bless the sacrifice' and partake of the sacerdotal repast. By a happy accident, as it seems—Saul, on a journey in search of his father's lost asses, appears before him, and timely asks the way to the seer's house. At once Samuel (who, as a member of a Jerahmeelite clan, would perhaps recognise Saul) discloses his identity. He treats his visitor with marked consideration, and on the morrow, in strict privacy, communicates to him a divine oracle respecting him.² At the same time he solemnly anoints³ and then kisses him (see SACRIFICES). Finally, to strengthen Saul's faith, he specifies three remarkable experiences which the favourite of heaven will have as he returns home. One was that he would meet two men (see RACHIEL'S SEULCHRI) who would give news respecting the lost asses and would mention the paternal anxiety of Kish. Another was that three pilgrims whom he would also meet (see TABOR) would be so struck by his bearing that they would salute him and offer him a present of two loaves. The third sign was that Saul would meet a company of *nabim* in a state of frenzy (see PROPHET, § 4), and would be seized upon by the spirit of Yahweh and pass into the same state (calling out perhaps for the advent of Israel's war-god to lead his people to victory). All this, we are told, came to pass; yet it was not this, but the disclosures of the seer Samuel, which transformed Saul's nature, and made him a true king (10:6).

In about a month's time Saul was called upon to justify the seer's selection. So at least the true text of 1 S. 11 (preserved by G¹) tells us.

1c. Winckler's theory. Winckler, however, rejects the words which assert a month's interval, as not belonging to the original tradition. According to this scholar, it is quite a fresh account of Saul and his origin that we have in 1 S. 11:1-11, the original story having been recast when, to soothe the patriotic feelings, the Gileadite hero was converted into a Benjamite. After mulling what he regards as the work of the later editor of the tradition, Winckler arrives at this simple statement of fact which he considers to be authentic. Nahash, king of the Ammonites, was besieging the city of JABESH in Gilead, and pressing it hard. By a bold stroke, akin to that related, Winckler thinks, by anticipation in Judg. 7 (see GIBON), Saul relieved the city (7:11), which appears to have been his birthplace.⁴ The points which seem to Winckler to force upon us the view that Saul was a Jabeshite are three—(1) the tra-

¹ According to Winckler (GT 2:151), Zoph in Mt. Ephraim, whence the earlier prophetic legend brought Samuel, was within the ancient limits of Benjamin. See, however, ZURN.

² The relation between the prince-elect and the seer coincides with the traditions respecting Elisha as a king-maker (2 K. 10:15 f., 2 K. 8:13-19). No doubt it appeared natural to the prophetic school of narrators. Observe that there is an omission in the MT of 1 S. 10:1 (see *Van. Bib.*) which can be supplied from G¹. The sentence dropped out by homocoteleuton.

³ Whether this is historical may be doubted (see Smend, *Religgesch.*, 3² 60, n. 1).

⁴ καὶ ἐπέστη ὡς μετὰ μῆνα (BA); καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ μῆνα ἡμισίου (L). MT has בְּתַרְתִּים יָרִי (καὶ ἐγένεθη ὡς αὐθαίρω (L); G¹ points to a Heb. text in which בְּתַרְתִּים and יָרִי both had a

place at the end of 1 S. 10:28, giving not only a wrong reading but a wrong connection. For clearly 11:1 is a continuation of the narrative which breaks off at 10:7. See H. P. Smend.

⁵ So, not only GT 2 but also KAT³ 227.

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dition in 1 S. 31:11-13 relative to the pious care of the Jabeshites for the bones of Saul and his sons, (2) the stand made by Saul's son and heir Ishboseth, (3) the legend in 1 S. 11:14 that Jabesh-gilead sent no warriors against the offending tribe of Benjamin, and (4) (virtually) recognised the right of *connubium* enjoyed by Jabeshites and Benjamites.

Winckler's conclusion, however, though plausible (cp. MANASSEH, § 4), cannot well be admitted. As to (3), the statement in Judg. 21:14 does indeed imply the currency of it both in the connection between the Benjaminite king Saul and Jabesh-gilead, but in its present form the text is, in the opinion of the present writer, in need of revision; it is too late to have any critical value. As to (4), Ishboseth's stand at Mahanaim could only prove that Saul's sovereignty extended in some degree to Gilead. As to (1), the statement in the traditional text of 1 S. 31:11-13 is impossible, if, as the present writer believes, the place where the bodies of Saul and his sons were exposed on the wall was, according to the original tradition, not Beth-shan, but some southern town, such as Esheam (Josh. 15:32), i.e., perhaps Beer-sheba² (cp. ISRAEL, ASHAN). Who the friends of Saul really were, we shall see later; Jabeshites of Gilead, they most certainly were not.

Saul therefore was not a Gileadite but a Benjamite, the difficulty arising out of the improbable geographical statement in 1 S. 9:3 ff. (see SAMALISA, ZUPIT), and out of the statement in the traditional text (rejected) of 1 S. 31:11-13 so far as it refers to Beth-shan and the Jabeshites, must be met by stricter criticism of the text. Underlying 'Jabesh-gilead' there must be the name of some place easily accessible from Saul's home at Gibeah.³ What that name is, no one who has studied the errors of the scribes, both in MT and in G, can doubt for a moment. It is Beth-gilgal, i.e., Beth-jerahmeel, a place-name to which we have already been introduced—the city intended was in the S. of Benjamin near Gibeah and Anathoth; and the foes who threatened the city and the Benjamites besides,⁴ were not the Ammonites but the 'Amdekites'—i.e., a branch of the Jerahmeelites. The name was miswritten for עבקים = עבקים; cp. Judg. 3:13, the name of whose king was Achish (עכיש); see NATANU. It may be noticed in passing that the danger to which Beth-jerahmeel was exposed from the N. Arabians was, in the opinion of the present writer, not always averted; in Hos. 10:14 and Am. 1:3 there is possibly a reference to the cruel conduct of the Sabeans (nearly = 'shites) at their conquest either of this fortress or of a fortress with the same name in the Negeb. See SALMA.

The place where the Israelites mustered in obedience to Saul's summons was Bezek (1 S. 11:8), which on the supposition that the distressed city was in Gilead is suitably identified with Khirbet Izbak. If so, there will appear to be two places called Bezek, for in Judg. 14:2 we meet with a Bezek⁵ which is undeniably in the S. of Palestine (see BEZEK). If, however, the threatened city was in Benjamin, and the foes were Jerahmeelites from the extreme S., it is probable that the warriors who responded to Saul were from Benjamin and from the territory farther S., and that the mustering

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place was in (or, less probably, to the S. of) the district occupied by Saul's clan. Of Bezek we know nothing; but a southern clan-name עבקים is attested by the name עבקים and by the place-name עבקים Gilead. Most probably, however, we should read, for עבקים, not עבקים, but עבקים; ERITIK [y. r.] was in fact one form of the name of Saul's clan. The proceedings of the heroic leader thus become geographically clear; 'Gilead' in 1 S. 11:12-13 may be emended into 'Jerahmeel', i.e., Beth-jerahmeel, the name of the central place of Saul's clan.

Naturally enough, such an important event as the rebel of Beth-jerahmeel (Jabesh-gilead) led to the recognition of Saul as king of Benjamin.

14. King of Benjamin.

(2) 14 is rightly regarded by Driver as traditional, and may be unaltered. Possibly other tribes, too, recognised him as in a qualified sense their king by sending him presents, so that they might profit in time of need by his proved ability in warfare; but of this no certainty is attainable. The thoroughly antique action ascribed to Saul in 1 S. 11:7 has been placed in a wrong setting. The compiler gives no hint that the action referred to made the war a holy war, and he represents the pieces of flesh as having been sent throughout all Israel. It is not likely, however, that other clans besides those most nearly connected with Saul and those which were in equal danger from the Jerahmeelites (on the significant notice in 1 S. 31:7 [emended text] respecting 'the men of Israel that were in Jerahmeelite Arabia' see § 4 c) were summoned to his standard. Saul was by no means king of all Israel; that distinction was reserved for David.

Still in such turbulent times even this moderate dominion demanded all the energy and fervent patriotism of the ruler, who was certainly no mere lad at his succession, though his precise age is not recorded.² The words in 1 S. 11:7 'whosoever comes not out after Saul,'³ suggest that Saul was already well-known as a bold warrior. The story in 1 S. 9:1 ff., which presents him as a youthful and modest dependent of his father Kish, does not inspire us with confidence; indeed the whole connection of Saul with an individual called Samuel is historically not free from doubt.

According to the tradition, Saul now returned to his home at GIBEAH. From 1 S. 13:2 it would seem that

2a. Gibeon.

one of his first regal acts was to collect a small army of Israelitish warriors. Probably they were chiefly Benjamites under the leadership of Abner; it is a plausible hypothesis of Winckler that Benjamin was at that time by no means 'the smallest of the tribes of Israel' (1 S. 9:21), and that its territory was more extensive than in the later period, after it had been conquered (?) by David.⁴ This view of the composition of the army agrees with 1 S. 22:6 where Saul is described as in Gibeath, surrounded by Benjamites,⁵ when he pronounced an unjust sentence on the priests of Yahwe. It is probable, however, that he had also (like David) a bodyguard composed of foreigners, if *rayim* (22: 17

¹ For the archaeological origin of the custom referred to see WRS *Rel. Sem.* 2, 302, who illustrates from Lucian and Zeno-bius, and notices the parallel statement in Judg. 19:29. The narrative in Judg. 19:21 has been much edited, the statement referred to is partly connected with a mythological story relative to creation (see SCHWALLY, *Semit. Kitzgalt. Studien*, 154). Those who partook of the sacrificial pieces of flesh which Saul's sent round became consecrated persons whom no enemy could harm. The later compilers of the story of Saul had forgotten this; but it is the duty of the historical critic, so far as he can, to get behind their compilation, and restore the original setting of misunderstood traditions.

² 1 S. 13:1 gives no sense. Most critics since Wellhausen regard it as a gloss, and read '... years old was Saul when he began to reign, and he reigned ... years over Israel.' The glossator did not venture to fill up the number of years. This involves regarding עבקים before עבקים as a corrupt duplication of עבקים. See, however, DRIVER and LEHR, *ad loc.* Klostermann's theory seems too complicated.

³ The following words 'land' after Samuel' are a variant, as explained already.

⁴ The conquest may be obscurely referred to in Judg. 20. Similarly, it seems, Nöldeke (vol. 5, 30, n. 3).

⁵ On 1 S. 22:6 see TAMARISK; on 'ye Benjamites,' v. 7, see *Crit. Bib.*

¹ On 1 S. 10:13 see H. v. H. v. H.
² In 1 S. 11:11 frequently in P's lists we find a corrupt variant of עבקים, presented as the name of a fresh place.
³ 1 S. 11:12 has a close bearing on the criticism of Judg. 21:14 (see above).
⁴ 1 S. 11:2 has been thoroughly misunderstood owing to textual corruption. For עבקים we should certainly read עבקים. The passage then becomes, 'that I stop up to your loss every fourth of Benjamin' (cp. 2 K. 2:25). עבקים and עבקים can be confounded in Aramaic characters; cp. עבקים [עבקים] in 1 S. 12:9 for עבקים.
⁵ 'Abid-bezek' in Judg. 15:2 is probably a combination of two clan-names עבקים (from עבקים; see PARADISE, § 7) and עבקים (see above). עבקים = 'Atonikani' and 'Aloniram,' where 'kam' and 'ram' represent fragments of 'Jerahmeel.'

'runners' is, as the present writer suspects, a mutilation and corruption of Zarephathim (Zarephathites). These foreigners, however, were normally Israelites; they had adopted Israelitish reverence for the persons of the priests of Yahwe, whom they refused to massacre at the bidding of the enraged king (1 S. 17). It was Doeg an 'Aramite' (see 1 S. 21 f. [7], ^{Q¹}) who, according to the narrative, out of hatred for David performed the dreadful act, for which, after David had come to the throne, a stern penalty was (not indeed by David) exacted (2 S. 21).

The historical character of the massacre (apart from the details) cannot be doubted; but the real cause of it is not clear.

3b. Philistines. Had the priestly clan of Gibeon, like Samuel (a typical personage), 'rejected' Saul as king? Had they really espoused the cause of a pretender, and so done all in their power to paralyse Saul's patriotic activity? However that may be, we must not forget the odious nature of the task to which Saul had braced himself. He had to put an end to the disastrous incursions of a powerful enemy, the name of which is given as Pelištīm (פלשתים) or PHILISTINES [7.7]. The correctness of this name is generally accepted, but has, elsewhere by the present writer (see PHILISTINES, ZAREPHATHI), been questioned. In particular, there are passages in the narrative which is commonly used as evidence for David's outlawry, but may really be a transformed, distorted version of a tradition of a struggle between Saul and David (so Winckler), and also in the account of the closing scene of Saul's life, and of David's subsequent exploits, which force the present writer to hold that the Zarephathites—excluding those who had expatriated themselves and joined Saul's bodyguard—were, together with their neighbours the 'Amalekites,' the true enemies of Saul and for a time at least of David after him (see PELETHITES, RETOBOTH, ZAREPHATHI). In a word, the so-called 'Philistines' are Zarephathites, and their centre was not the 'Philistian sea-coast' but the NEGER [7.7].

A striking account is given by one of the narrators of the opening of the war against the 'Philistines' (1 S. 13)—of course, of the massacre just referred to. Jonathan (whose relation to Saul the writer assumes to be well-known) had offered an open insult to the 'Philistines' (1 S. 3); we may perhaps suppose that it was an insult which affected their religion.² The 'Philistines' mustered in force to avenge it. Affrighted at their appearance, the Israelites took refuge in mountain-hollows, or crossed over into Gad and Gilead. From the camp at Michmash (opposite Geba where the outrage had been committed) the 'Philistines' plundered the country, secure of meeting with no opposition, because few of the Israelites had any weapons (1 S. 13.19-22; cp FORK). Only six hundred men, we are told, remained with Saul at 'the border of Gibeon'; but one of these was no less than Jonathan. This brave man, together with his armour-bearer, is said to have performed a most audacious exploit (1 S. 14; on the text

¹ By Aramite we mean 'Jerahmeelite'. There is some reason to think that Doeg was one of the גִּזְרִים or rather Zarephathites (cp Gray's view, col. 1124). For some new evidence see *Crit. Bib.* ^{Q¹} has Ἰδομαίος.

² 'Garrison' (EV) is not a probable rendering of פִּלְשְׁתִּים. Like פִּלְשְׁתִּים in the Hadad inscription found near Zenjirli, the word must mean either 'prefect' or 'pillar'. The meaning 'pillar' is to be preferred (cp, however, ISRAEL, § 13). Jonathan would have slain more than one person, and פִּלְשְׁתִּים seems to point to some religious insult. Probably we should read פִּלְשְׁתִּים, 'he shattered' (Kla). A sacred pillar seems to be meant; we need not emend פִּלְשְׁתִּים into פִּלְשְׁתִּים (cp JEHOSHAPHAT, n. 2, col. 2352; PHENICIA, § 9). In 10.5 for 'the hill of God' (הַר יְהוָה) read הַר יְהוָה הַר יְהוָה 'Gibeon of the Jerahmeelites.' 'Jerahmeelites' and 'Zarephathites' (= 'Philistines') are synonymous terms. The sacred pillar of the Zarephathites (Philistines) caused the place to be called 'Gibeon of the Jerahmeelites.' From 13.3 it appears that Geba is meant.

of 11. 4 f. see MICHMASH). His object was to surprise the outpost of the enemy, whose duty it was to watch the steep ravine between Geba on the S. and Michmash on the N. (the Wady es Suwānā). The two men went secretly down into the valley below Geba, as they found their way to the caves where the timid Israelites were hidden. There is in fact a line of such caves on both sides of the wady, and they are practically impregnable (cp MICHMASH). Greeted with scoffs by the enemy, who noticed their first movements, Jonathan and his follower afterwards disappeared from view, and climbed up on the other side.¹ The Philistine outpost was thrown into confusion by the sudden appearance of the two men. Jonathan, fatigued as he was with his climb, smote right and left, and his armour-bearer quickly despatched the wounded. The 'spoilers' fled in dismay and the general panic so the legend says, was heightened by an earthquake (see EARTHQUAKE). Then Saul, who had (somewhat strangely) been tarrying in the pomegranate tree 'in the border of Gela' (11.2; see GIB. VII, § 1; MICHMASH), arose, and discovering the absence of Jonathan and his follower, applied to the priest for guidance. Before there was time, however, for Ahijah to bring forward the Eikon [7.7], circumstances had made the duty of the slowly moving king clear to him. Promptly he led his little band against the disordered enemy. At once those Israelites who had been compelled to serve with the 'Philistines' withdrew and joined the patriots. The 'Philistines' were seen hurrying wildly towards Bethel across the watershed and down the steep descent of Ajalon. In hot chase the Israelites followed them. The story is vividly told, and is evidently ancient. How far is it trustworthy? Certainly it cannot be a pure romance; but Winckler has called attention to some very doubtful elements, and to these the present writer must now add the designation of the oppressors of the Israelites by the name of 'Philistines.'

We have also an account of a battle between the Israelites and the Philistines in the valley of Elah (rather, ha-Elah), or, as the scene appears to be otherwise described, in Ephes-dammim (1 S. 17.1-3). The chief point in it, however, is the encounter of David with Goliath, which appears to be a reflection of the story of Elhanan and Goliath in 2 S. 21.10, where the scene of the combat is at Goh (= RETOBOTH). Probably 'Emek ha-Elah' and 'ephes-dammim' are corruptions respectively of 'Emek jerahme'el' and 'Emek Arammim', synonymous phrases (Aramim = jerahme'el) for the valley of Jerahmeel (= the wady el-Milh?). It is important to mention this here, to prepare the reader for the change in our view of the localities of the last fatal fight ('Gibeon') necessitated by our criticism of the text (see § 4). As has been shown elsewhere, the period as well as the scene of the traditional fight with Goliath is misstated in 1 S. 18.

According to the statement in 1 S. 14.7 f., Saul had various other wars in which he was uniformly successful.

3. Other wars.

It is doubtful from what source this passage is derived. Evidently the writer is an admirer of Saul, for he does not scruple to transfer exploits ascribed by tradition to David (2 S. 8.12)² to his neglected predecessor. The text of the passage needs rectification, and should probably run thus (see *Crit. Bib.*)—

And when Saul had taken the kingdom over Israel he fought against all his enemies round about, against Moab, against the Amalekites, against Jerahmeel-Misur, and against the Zarephathites, and whithersoever he turned, he was

¹ Cp Miller, *The Coast of all Lands*, 104; also Conder, *Tent-work*, 2:114 f.

² 2 S. 8.12 should probably run thus, or nearly thus (see *Crit. Bib.*, but cp DAVID, § 8), 'From Aram, and from Misur, and from the Amalekites, and from the Zarephathites, and from the spoil of Hadad, the Retobathite, king of Moab. On 'Aram' (i.e., Jerahmeel), as an emendation of 'I. m.' cp JORTHELL, § 2; REZIN; SAUL, VALLEY OF; ZAIR; ZOBAB.

various), he showed valour; he smote Amalek, and rescued Israel out of the hand of his spoiler.

This in its original form the passage was not the close of a history of Saul (Wellh. *II* 246 f.), but rather an introduction to the story of the campaign against 'Amalek', which is, in fact, the only war of Saul described at any length in our traditions before the tragedy of Mt. Gilboa (see I S. 15, and cp. AGAG, BESOR, HAVI'AM, SIDR, TELAIM, SAMUEL).

The narrative suffers greatly from the want of preliminary explanations. Are we to suppose that the raids of raiders had already forced their way to Saul's territory? Or should we rather assume that the clans to the S. of Benjamin had appealed for aid to the king's generosity? In order to answer these questions we must read the notice of Saul's expedition against 'Amalek' in the light of the new but indispensable theory (see above) that his warfare was chiefly with the Sargathites (Philistines) being a corruption of Sargathites as 'Amalek' is a distortion of Jerahme'elim). It may be assumed that if these raiders penetrated into Saul's kingdom (the territory of Benjamin was then perhaps more extensive than afterwards), the Amalekites (Jerahmeelites), whom we can only with some difficulty distinguish from the Sargathites, were not less successful. It is true, the details respecting Samuel are from a critical point of view, questionable. But we may perhaps accept the statement (so much more credible, rightly considered, to Saul than to Samuel) that on a certain point of religious tradition the seers represented by Samuel were more conservative than the king. The statement is that Samuel was highly displeased because, after Saul had 'utterly destroyed' (עָרַס) all 'the warriors' (עָרָץ) of Amalek, he spared Agag and 'the best of the sheep and the oxen' (17, 3 f.), thus violating the fundamental religious custom (see BESOR) of devoting enemies taken in war, and even the animals which belonged to them, to the wrathful God of Israel (cp. I S. 28 17). Still this, even if correct, was surely not the only or the chief reason why the seers (or the seers?) broke off intercourse with the king. As must agree, there was some other cause for the breach which can only be divined.

We must not, of course, underrate the benefit of the application of methodical criticism to the corrupt proper names in this section (ch. 15; see BESOR, HAVI'AM, SIDR, TELAIM, and especially JERAHMEL). Thus, in 17, 2 we should do well to read, 'I have marked that which Jerahmeel did to Israel' (the hostile section of the great Jerahmeelite people is intended), and should amend 'Amalek' and 'Amalekites' throughout accordingly. In 17, 12 the word 'Jerahmeel' has undergone fresh transformations which obscure the narrative. Not improbably we should read, 'It was told Samuel (saying), Saul came to Jerahmeel, and, behold, he destroyed the Jerahmeelites, and went down to Gilgal' (I S. 17 12; see *Crit. Bib.*). These gains are of the utmost value from the point of view of intelligibility. It is to be feared, however, that no textual criticism can make the narrative quite satisfactory as a piece of history. First of all, the success of Saul's expedition is evidently much exaggerated. If the 'Amalekites' had really been so completely crushed, we cannot believe that they would so soon have recovered from their overthrow. Next, the rupture between Samuel and the king (as was remarked above) is by no means fully intelligible. H. P. Smith considers the 'rejection' of Saul by Samuel in the name of his God to be an imaginary justification of the anointing of David as king; if David was to be anointed, it was clear that Saul must have been rejected. We may also plausibly hold that the 'rejection' seemed to the ancients to account for Saul's subsequent calamity. It remains true, however, that the cause of the 'rejection' given in I S. 15 is far from adequate.

As an additional reason it was related (I S. 13 7-15a) that

Saul had offered a sacrifice himself instead of waiting for Samuel, and (the object of the narrative in I S. 28 4 etc. can hardly have been different) that the fatal struggle on Mt. Gilboa (Saul applied to a necromancer at Endor (see I S. 28 7; HAVI'AM, WITLOR) - a case of necromancy in value which naturally deprived Saul of the protection of his God. A modern historian (Kautz, *II* 217) suggests a more critical reason, which, however, is not entirely satisfactory. He thinks that the estrangement of Samuel from Saul may have been caused by Saul's continued inattention to the fate of the ark, and his want of comprehension of the peculiar religious character of Israel.

It is usual (in spite of the parallel feature in the legend of Alexander¹) to . . . the report of Saul's

4a. Saul's morbid melancholy, alternating with fits of passion as historic² and to connect with

it his first acquaintance with David (cp. MADNESS). Certainly there was enough in the manifold difficulty of the king's position to affect his mind injuriously; but the circumstances in connection with which it is mentioned do not inspire us with much confidence. The whole story of Saul's relations with David, which has in general been regarded as founded on fact (see DAVI'D, §§ 1-4), has received a great shock from the investigations of Winckler. Apart from some questionable details in this scholar's criticism, it appears to be at any rate very unsafe to follow the tradition in its present form. That David early became attached to Saul, partly by loyalty, partly by a family tie (cp. MERAB, MICHAM), as the narratives represent, is, in the light of Winckler's criticism, very improbable. David appears to have been an ambitious freebooter from the Negeb who sought to carve out a realm for himself (see JUDAH, §§ 4 f.), starting first of all from 'Adullam' - i.e., the southern 'Carmel' (Jerahmeel) - and afterwards, when that attempt was baffled, renewing his enterprise from Halisah (Ziklag). Of course, to say this, is not to deny that he may have possessed some attractive qualities in which Saul was deficient, and which not only favoured his ambitious schemes, but also facilitated the idealising process of later narrators. We now hasten on to the pathetic closing scene of the life of the hapless king.

We have two versions of the ancient tradition; *a*, chaps. 28 and 31 belong to one document; *b*, chaps. 27, 29 f., and 2 S. 1 belong to another.²

4b. Last battle. In *a* the camp of the 'Philistines' is placed at Shunem; in *b* at BETH K [27, 1]. In *a* we have the strangely fascinating story of the 'witch of Endor'; in *b*, a great deal of interesting information respecting David, who was at that time at Ziklag or rather Halisah, a vassal of Achish (or Nahash?), king of Gath or REHOBOTH [27, 1] in the Negeb. There are also differences between the two accounts relative to the death of Saul. Neither of the two stories makes it clear what the precise object of the 'Philistines' was. An able geographer holds that they sought 'either to subjugate all the low country and so confine Israel to the hills, or else to secure their caravan route to Damascus and the East from Israel's descents upon it by the roads from Bezek to Beth-shan and across Gilboa' (G. A. Smith, *II* 402). Hence, when Saul had taken up his position on Mt. Gilboa (or rather Haggillon [27, 2]), which is taken to be the ridge running SE. from the eastern end of the great central plain, the 'Philistines' did not hesitate to attack him on his superior position (see GILBOA; HAVI'AM, WITLOR). To dislodge him was imperative, because from Gilboa he could descend at will either on Jezreel or on the Jordan valley. Before the battle, as one of the documents states, the despondent king, who neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets could obtain any oracles from Yahweh (28 15), applied to a female necromancer at Endor, of whom he had heard from his servants. In former times he had done all in his power to exterminate such magicians from his realm; but now he relapsed into the ancient superstition (see DIVINATION,

¹ Winckler, *G* 2172.

² See H. P. Smith, *Samuel*, Introd. pp. xxiv f.

§ 4). Accordingly the necromancer called up the shade of Samuel, who disclosed the terrible fact that on the morrow the king would die, and his army would be worsted, as a punishment for his disobedience in the matter of 'Amalek'.¹ On hearing this Saul fell on the ground, it is added that he had not eaten or drunk the whole day and the whole night, yet he could hardly be induced to break his fast. After this meal, we are told, Saul and his servants 'rose up and went away that night' (2 S 28: 25). It is impossible to decide how far the story is based on fact.² As it stands, it appears to be meant as an explanation of Saul's desertion by his God (see § 3). Whether in any degree historical or not, the narrative is highly natural, though considerable doubt attaches to the place name. Fiedler (see EXCURS; HAKOB, W. 11: 12) and the criticism below).

Thus far we have provisionally assumed the correctness of the MT. There is, however, a strong probability that the text of both forms of the tradition is vitiated by a great misunderstanding, and that here, as in many other cases, there is an underlying tradition very different from that represented by the text.

4. Emendations of names. The geographical obscurity of the present text of 1 S 28: 31 is undeniable; one may therefore naturally suspect corruption. It is, moreover, difficult to believe that the form 'Philistines' is correct in chaps. 28/ and 31, when close by (30: 1; see PEIERLHUIS) it has only been introduced by a textual error. The case is very similar to that of a passage in the famous elegy (2 S 1: 2). Whatever we may think of 'Gath' (the name is far from certain—see REICHENOW), we can hardly say that the mention of 'Ashkelon' was to be expected, and even if we defend 'Philistines,' we cannot assert that 'uncircumcised' forms a natural parallel to it.³ 'Izreel' (1 S 29: 17) needs no correction; the place intended is the Jezreel in the hill-country of Judah, not far from Carmel (i.e., Jerahmeel, to which David's wife Ahinoam by birth belonged). But the other names have been partly corrupted, partly manipulated, by an editor, till a completely false geographical setting of the narrative has been produced. The scene of the military operations has been supposed to be in the N., whereas it was really in the S. It is not the least of the arguments for the correctness of this view that it enables us to emend and explain a historical notice (1 S 31: 7) which has been a great trouble to commentators (see ISRAEL, § 16, and cp HPSM.), but may, with the utmost probability, be read thus:—'And when the men of Israel who were in Arab-jerahmeel [i.e., Jerahmeel in N. Arabia] saw that the men of Saul had fled and that Saul and his sons were dead, they forsook the cities and fled, and the Zarephathites came and dwelt in them.' The cities referred to are the 'cities of the Jerahmeelites,' where, according to 1 S 30: 29, 'elders of Judah' had lately been residing.

We must briefly indicate the emendations referred to; the names form the skeleton of the history. For 'Shimien' (שִׁמְיֹון, 1 S 28: 4) and 'Bethshan' (בֵּית שָׁן, 1 S 31: 1) it is the simplest course to read 'I-shaan' (אִישָׁן) and 'Beers-sheba' (בְּעֵר שֶׁבַע). The same place is no doubt intended by both forms; see ESTIVAS. Perhaps צֵנְיִן (29) should be צֵנְיִן, 'at Maon.' For 'Gillath' (גִּילָת, 30) or rather Hag-alibba (הַגְּאֵלִיבָּא) we should restore 'Amdek' (אִמְדֵק) or 'Jerahmeel' (יֶרְחֵמֵל; see note, in 2 S 1: 2). For 'to Aplek' (אִפְלֵק, 29: 1) we should read 'to Gibeah' (גִּבְעָה); the same error is probable in Josh. 18: 4; cp also אִפְלֵק in 31 [see AMUNYON]; the 'Gibeah' of Josh. 18: 4 (see GEN. viii, 1) or that of Judg. 7: 1 seems to be meant. The house of 'Ashtaroth' (אִשְׁתָּרוֹת, 31: 1) should probably be 'Beth-sarephath' (בֵּית שַׂרְפָּת), better known to us as

¹ Probably the original tradition represented the 'Amalekites' and the 'Philistines' as allied on this occasion, so that the retribution to Saul would be exactly proportioned to his guilt.
² Stade (*GHZ* 1: 255) rejects the narrative; cp Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Falsch*, 71 f. Buddle and Kittel, on the other hand, accept it as historical.
³ The fourth line of the stanza ought, like the others, to contain an ethnographic name.

'Beth-pelet' (בֵּית פְּלֵט, rather בֵּית פֶּלֶט, where פֶּלֶט comes from פֶּלַע, see PEIERLHUIS); the situation is suitable. 'I-gibeah' (גִּבְעָה) should be 'Beth-gilgai'; 'Zislag' should be 'Beth-gilgai', and 'Ezer' (עֵזֶר) should be 'Beth-el' (see note, in 1 S 28: 4) indicated in connection with Gilead. 'Hahash' and a Paltine acrotychical together 'Arad' and 'Hahash' (1 S 28: 4) and 'Beth-sharoth' here, if our explanation is correct, mentioned as in the same district in the narrative, which contains 2 S 23: 13. To pass now to the details of the scene (1 S 28: 25) are Rehoboth, Hahash, Sarephath, and Jerahmeel.

These, then, are in all probability the historical circumstances of the great crisis. The Zarephathites were probably with the aid of the 'Amalekites' (cp 2 S 16: 2), were on the march northwards; David, however, Hahash (זִכְרֵהָשָׁה), narrowly escaping accompanying them, Saul and his army went towards the enemy, hoping to deal them such a blow as would effectually stop their movements. The enemy's shunting his position from Maon by Jizreel (2 S 28: 29) indicated EXC) to the hills near 'Carmel' (2 S 28: 29) meant, one of which we suppose to have been especially called Gibeah or Gibeah-jerahmeel. It was at this Gibeah (certainly not at any place called 'Aplek') that the Zarephathites encamped. Not far off was Arad, whither Saul may perhaps have gone to consult a necromancer; Arad was presumably one of the 'cities of the Jerahmeelites' (1 S 30: 29) occupied by the Judahites. The original encampment of the Zarephathites was probably at Beersheba, and it was perhaps on the ridge which runs from the south to 'Carmel' WSW. towards Beersheba that the king and Saul were seated. The Zarephathites attacked him fiercely. After a heroic resistance, he gave way, and made his armour-bearer thrust him through with a sword, on account of a critical blow which had been dealt him by a great stone.³ His attendant, however, hesitating to do his bidding,⁴ the hapless king is slain (but this is by no means certain) to have taken his own life (31: 1).

4. Saul's death: Cheyne's theory.

A different tradition is reported in 2 S 1 (the story of chaps. 29, 30), where the fate which in 1 S 31: 1 Saul is said to have deprecatd, actually befalls him (cp ISRAEL, § 15). An 'Amalekite' (i.e., Jerahmeelite) who 'happened by chance upon Mt. Gilboa' (2 S 1: 6, EV), but who, as the narrator probably means us to suppose, hid his own reason for being on the spot slays Saul. We need not, with Stade (*GHZ* 1: 110) set the story altogether, though we must at any rate admit that it has been touched up by the writer who records it. Certainly it is in harmony with the well-known elegy, written to David, where the destined successor of Saul is represented as forbidding the sad news to be published in Hahash, lest the malicious Jerahmeelite women should triumph (see translation in col. 234), and compare 1 S 31: 4, 'lest the Jerahmeelites come and thrust me through'.
 In this connection it may be noticed that the elegy says nothing of Saul's 'sons,' which is in accordance with the fact that 2 S 21: 2 speaks only of the bones of Saul and Jonathan, his son. Very probably the statement in 1 S 31: 2 respecting

1 For שָׁן, אִפְלֵק and אִשְׁתָּרוֹת, פֶּלֶט, אִישָׁן, אִשְׁתָּרוֹת, עֵזֶר. See EXCURS; Book of § 2.
 2 Both locations (reading 'Gibeah' for 'Aplek,' and 'Hahash' or 'Beersheba' for 'Shimien') are plausible; but Paltine naturally comes before Gibeah. Beersheba was doubtless an important town for Gibeah; hence the omission of the acrotych document and the probable reference to Beersheba in 31: 1.
 3 Read probably, in 2 S 1: 3, אִישָׁן אִשְׁתָּרוֹת פֶּלֶט בֵּית שַׂרְפָּת וְיֶרְחֵמֵל, 'and those who cast (stones) with engines from Hahash, and they crushed him between the thighs.' See Cheyne, *PEI* 11: 17. We cannot see the full force of Saul's remark to his armour-bearer, 2 S 4: 7, 'lest these Jerahmeelites come and thrust me through,' etc.; אִישָׁן (as often elsewhere) should be אִישָׁן. See *Crit. Bib.*
 4 Unlike the armour-bearer of a grandson of Merodach-balad in a similar case (*KF* 2: 17 f.).
 5 The 'Amalekites' (Jerahmeelites), as we have seen, probably joined the Zarephathites.

Abinadab and Malchishua is incorrect (cp. § 6). 'Abinadab' seems to the present writer to be a double of 'Jonathan' (Abinadab and 'Nadab' confounded), and 'Malchishua' to be a corruption of (see § 3) of 'Jerahmeel' (whose name is misread as 'Melchishua'). The latter certainly did not fall on the field of battle. On the contrary he lived (1) since his father on the throne. Tradition not improbably said that he was lame (see § 6, note 1).

The story of the death of Saul in its present form is a narrative of the heroic but useless sacrifice of the king's son for the deliverance of Israel from the Philistines. That we have had to interfere with it may be a subject for regret, but not for surprise. The story of Saul and his relations with David was of course told and re-edited and re-edited, and could not but be considerably modified in the process. Textual corruption, too, naturally increased the confusion. The text becomes to some extent intelligible only when the textual errors have been removed by a methodical revision. We have also to consider alterations due to the hands. It was the editor who placed the story of the watch of Endor where it now stands. Endor (or Endor?) is in the N.,¹ but the scene of the great battle was in the S. The account of the iniquities done to the bodies of the king and of his sons (17: 27-31; 19: 10-11; 21: 10-11), however, has the impress of truth, and we can well believe that fierce resentment arose in the city so gallantly liberated by Saul. All might the warriors of Beth-gilgal² in Benjamin are said to have gathered. Not the northern fortress of Beth-shan, but more possibly Beer-sheba was their goal; there they found the dead bodies of the heroes fastened to the city walls. Proudly they took them down and brought them to Beth-gilgal, where they raised a fitting dirge over them, and gave an honourable burial to the bones beneath the sacred tree (see TAMARSK). Afterwards, we are told, David sent his warrior Beniah³ for them, and they were reinterred in the family grave at Shahshahim ('Zela') near Beth-gilgal (see ZELAM, and cp. KIZIVIM).

There is a third reference to this genealogical note in 2 S. 21: 7 which needs elucidation. 17: 27, 28 should probably run thus:—
 And they told David, 'The men of Beth-gilgal have buried Saul under the Asherah' (עֲצֵת אֲשֵׁרָה; cp. 1 S. 31: 13, above).
 And David sent presents (מִנְחָוֹת) to the men of Jabesh-gilgal.
 For, O LORD, 'will requite you this kindness' should be read for this friendliness.' David sends presents, nominally to acknowledge the generous act of the men of Beth-gilgal, but really to induce them to work for the extension of his sovereignty over Benjamin. 'Your lord' means 'the lord of Benjamin,' i.e. the lord of Gilead.

The impression which Saul produced on the later part of the tradition was not on the whole favourable.

5. Saul's character. His fine physical gifts, his ardent patriotism, and his extinguishable courage were readily acknowledged (1 S. 10: 23 f.; 11: 11-18; 17: 2 f. cannot be quoted on the other side); but we find a cheer of fits of passion and cruelty (1 S. 20: 27-34; 22: 1-2), of a dangerous religious scrupulosity (1 S. 11: 1, 2) and (cp. § 4) of sudden accesses of a fit stur-

¹ Of course there is the possibility that *Endor* (עֵדוֹר) may have come from 'Aracl' (אֲרָאֵל), and that the original story may have been cast in accordance with a later view of the scene of the battle. This may be the simplest solution of the problem. See Jabesh-gilgal (see § 1).

² Reading עֲצֵת אֲשֵׁרָה (Klo. Biddle). H. P. Smith's objection is now held; the mourning is naturally mentioned before the burial (Klo. refers to 21: 28-9). W. R. Smith's suggestion that the burning (עֲצֵת אֲשֵׁרָה) may have had a religious or political significance; but see Klo. Biddle.

³ See Klo. Biddle; see Klostermann, *ad loc.* The same name, had tabooed all eating before sunset. The man who tasted food was Jonathan, who had not heard of the taboo. Yahweh was believed to be offended by this transgression. By the sacred lot (see UTRASIA ETUMARA) Jonathan was found to be the culprit, and condemned by his father to death. But 'the people mourned Jonathan that he had died' (17: 4; MT). How this was effected, we are not told. Klo. supposes that it was by the substitution of another human life of less value; Kittel (*Hist.* 2: 116) and Driver (note *ad loc.*) modify this view. But *ἡ πόλις ἐπαινεῖται* points to the real-
 ing *ἡ πόλις*, and they acted as arbitrators concerning Jonathan; *id.*, they mediated between Jonathan and the

ting melancholy (1 S. 16: 4, 18: 1-10). This mental disturbance is described in 18: 1 by the same phrase (שָׁרָה) that is used elsewhere for that heightening of the physical powers under the influence of rage against Yahweh's enemies which characterised the successful great warriors and athletes. Was it a melancholy produced by a wild longing for battle? Was it (but the morbid reflex of the prophetic inspiration of Saul's heroic period? Does the story of the watch of Endor suggest that it was a frenzied anticipation of evil for Saul himself and his people? Or is it historical at all? May not the statement be due to the influence of a widespread Oriental tale (see § 4)? At any rate it is connected with statements respecting David which if our criticism is justified, cannot be even approximately correct. Tradition has in fact been at once too kind to David and too unkind to his predecessor. That Saul had good cause to oppose David has been stated already (§ 4), and even if we consider the loyalty of the men of Beth-gilgal (1 S. 31: 1 f.) to be largely the result of clan-loyalty (since Jabesh-gilgal = Beth-gilgal = Beth-jerahmeel), it is plain that nothing had been done by Saul which seemed to his fellow-clansmen to be unworthy of a great Israelite. Kittel (*Hist.* 2: 137 f.) has given an eloquent and sympathetic portrait of the heroic king to all of which one would gladly subscribe if the historical evidence were slightly stronger. The chief difficulty connected with Saul is his massacre of the priests of Gibeon ('Noh'); but we cannot say that we know the circumstances sufficiently well to pass a peremptory judgment.

The best attested names in Saul's family are those of his concubine Rizpah and his son Jonathan, unless indeed Jonathan was originally represented

6. Saul's family. as Saul's brother.¹ Abinadab and Malchishua, however (1 S. 31: 2; cp. 1 Ch. 8: 33, 39, and see above, § 4), are suspicious. Abinadab is probably a variant of 'Jonathan,' Malchishua a corruption of 'Jerahmeel' [Beric] Sh'ul'. The names of the two sons of Rizpah (2 S. 21: 2), Armoni and Mephibosheth, are also doubtful. Armoni is probably a corruption of 'Abinadab'; Mephibosheth seems to be borrowed from one of the two historic 'Mephibosheths.' Tradition probably did not preserve the names of the two hapless sons of Saul and Rizpah. The present writer has suggested that both Eshbaal (1 Ch. 8: 33) and Ishbosheth may be corruptions of Jerahmeel or Ishmael, and a similar origin may with reasonable probability be assigned to the current name of Saul's grandson (see MIPHTASHEITH, and cp. *Crit. Bib.*).

It is remarkable that, according to a new theory which fits in with a well-supported theory of the course of the history of Israel, no less than eleven of the personal names mentioned in MT with the family of Saul are corruptions of Jerahmeel and Ishmael, or of fragments of those names. These are—MERAB, MICHAEL, PAHIEL, AMIEL, MEPHIBOSHETH, ESHBAAL, ISHIBOSHETH, MERIBBAAL, MUDA, MACHUK, AMMIEL. This theory throws doubt on the genealogy in 1 Ch. 8: 33 ff. 9: 19 ff., which was possibly inserted to gratify a post-exilic family professedly descended from Saul. It is obvious that some of the names must be variants of the name of the same person; also that the names Jerahmeel or Ishmael were given, sometimes at least, as a substitute for the true name which had been forgotten. Jerahmeel or Jerahmeel-ith was in fact most probably the name of Saul's clan (see § 1), and Beth-jerahmeel that of the chief seat of the clan. Here probably 'Mephibosheth' resided, not in the house of Machir, the son of Ammiel, in Lo-debar² (2 S. 9: 4). See § 1, and cp. MIPHTASHEITH, SH'UL.

sacred custom or law. See Klostermann, who paraphrases, 'they imposed a fine on Jonathan.' (Winckler, *GI* 2: 103 f.) assumes a mythological basis for the detail.

¹ Schwally, *Stratigraphische Kriegergeschichte*, 1: 105.
² Biddle, *Religion of Israel to the Exile*, 93.
³ See also Tiele, *Urgeschichte des Geschlechtes van de Egypt. en Mesopotam. Gottheiten* 1: 72, 607 ff.
⁴ This is a startling suggestion of Winckler (*GI* 2: 101), based on 2 S. 1: 22 f. Compare the doubt (Sotom, § 10) whether Lot was not originally Abraham's brother.
⁵ The repetition of the elaborate description in 2 S. 9: 4 is suspicious. Note here, to supplement LO-DEBAR, that *ḥ* in *ḥ* *ḥ* may have arisen out of *ḥ* *ḥ*, and *ḥ* out of *ḥ* *ḥ*, which

SAVARAN

2. (RV SHAUL). An early Edomite king (Gen. 36:37 f. 1 Ch. 14:2 f.). Was he, however, an Edomite or a Jerahmeelite? ארם and ארם are so much alike that we may choose that reading which best suits the circumstances. On the whole, ארם, i.e., ירהמאל (Jerahmeel), best accords with the notices of the kings, though a connected examination of these would be required to make this appear as probable as it really is. To suppose that this Shaul was a foreign conqueror and founder of a dynasty, is a serious error. Certainly it is plausible at first sight to identify 'the river' (in the phrase 'Rehoboth by the river') with the Euphrates (see Onk.), and to compare the Rehoboth-ir of Gen. 10:11. Sayce (*Heb. Lect.* 55) would even identify our Rehoboth with Babylon, and make Saul the Hebraised form of Savul or Sawul (cp § 1), which he regards as a name of the Babylonian sun-god;² Furrer, however, thinks of a place called *Rahaba*, on the W. side of the Euphrates (Richm's *III B* 12911). But all this is even hazier than the speculations about Rehoboth-ir in Gen. 10:11. נהר כרמל and נהר כרמל (Gen. 15:18) may both mean 'the stream of Musri',—i.e., some wady in the Negeb, perhaps the Wady el-Aris, the border-stream of the N. Arabian land of Musri (see EGYPT, BROOK OF; ABIL-MIZRIM, but cp SHIHOR), so that 'Rehoboth' is er-Ruhaibeh, the REHOBOTH (7:7.) of Gen. 26:22, SW. of Beersheba. Cp BELA, PETHOR. See also SHAWL.

See WMM *As. u. Eur.* 114 (*RP* 2115). An ancient Egyptian text mentions Rakh and Rakh-hurohi next to Naham (the 'stream'). The Rakhth in Gebelene (*OS* 28677, 14175) is not to be compared. T. K. C.

SAVARAN (ΑΥΑΡΑΝ [ΑΥΡV]). 1 Macc. 6:47, RV 'Avaran.' See ELEAZAR, 9; MYCABEES I., § 3 [2].

SAVIAS (ΣΑΟΥΙΑ [Α]). 1 Esd. 8:2 = Ezra 7:4, UZZI [1].

SAW. The saws of the Egyptians, so far as known, were all straight and single-headed; but the double-headed saw seems to have been known to the Assyrians (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.*, 195), and we suppose from the reference in 1 K. must have been known to the Hebrews. Cp HANUCRATS, § 2 f. On the Egyptian saws see especially Petrie, *Temple of Gizeh*, 173 ff. Petrie infers that the blades of the saws were of bronze, and that jewel-points were sometimes fixed in the teeth. Circular saws were also employed. According to Schliemann (*Troy*, 264 f.) the ancient Mycenaean saw took the form of an ordinary knife or blade. See, further, *Dict. Class. Ant.*, s.v. 'serra,' and for Egyptian saws, Wilk. *Anc. Eg. 250*, and illustration, 1431 (nos. 7, 8).

The OT words for 'saw' are:—

1. *masōr*, מָסַר, *masōr*, *serra*, used for cutting wood, Is. 10:13.

2. *masōr*, מָסַר, 2 S. 12:11 1 Ch. 20:16 (in 1 Ch. 20:16 it is usual to emend מָסַר into מָסַר, 'axes,' after 2 S. 12:11 [so already EVD]; used for cutting stone, 1 K. 7:9 (κα διασπματοσ = מָסַר, cp 6). See ANV, 6.

[There is a remarkable difference of expression between 1 Ch. 20:1 and 2 S. 12:11. The 1 Ch. passage has וַיִּסְרוּ אֶתְּהֵם בַּמָּסָר, 'and he sawed them with saws' (the verb corresponding to וַיִּסְרוּ, διέσπασεν [Ἐ] ἐκαστον ἐν πλοσσαν; Vg. *fecit super eos tribulas* . . . *ita ut diti, secantur et conterentur*. 2 S. 12:11 has וַיִּסְרוּ אֶתְּהֵם, και ἔθησαν ἐν τῷ πλοσν [Ἐ] διέσπασεν ἐν πλοσσι; Vg. *serravit*. That the Chronicler's statement gives a gross caricature of David, is becoming more and more generally was a corruption of מָסַר. Cp 'Beth-gilead' in 1 S. 11 for 'Beth-gilgal.' Also than מָסַר in Am. 6:1 is most probably a corruption of מָסַר (Beth-gilead). The two cities conquered by the Israelites appear to have been Beth-gilead—i.e., Beth-heradmeel and either Mahanaim or Haradim. See further MAHANAIM, and cp *Crit. Bib.*

¹ See Buhl, *Gesch. der Edomiter*, 47.

² To illustrate Sayce's theory, see Schr. *KAT* 5:6 (COT 2:25). Del. *Ass. III B* explains *sumulu*, 'a tree or plant.' The same ideograph elsewhere = *nuru*, 'light.'

SCARLET

admitted, and G. Hoffmann's explanation ('he set them at the saw and at the iron pickaxes,' etc.) gains ground. The difficulties in this explanation are referred to by Driver (*TBS* 228 f.); but the corruptness of the whole passage, perhaps, has not been adequately realised, except by Klostermann. That able critic's restoration, however, does not produce very good Hebrew. If we take due account of the three verbs *הוציא*, *הניח*, and *העביר*, the general meaning of the passage ought to be clear. The people of Rabbah of the line Jerahmeel (not Rabbath-annon) were 'brought out' from their city, and 'placed' in other parts of David's realm; so he 'made (them) to pass' from Jerahmeel.¹ *בגדי* must, therefore, be a place-name.² This fits in with other results of a more searching criticism of the history of David and Solomon. Cp SOLOMON, and see *Crit. Bib.*

T. K. C.]

SCAB. 1. קַרֵב, *garābh*, Dt. 28:27 AV, RV 'scumy' See DISEASES, 8.

2. גַּלְפֶּתֶת, *gallpeth*, Lev. 21:20 22:24. See DISEASES, 4.

SCAFFOLD (כִּיָּוֶר, ΒΑΚΙΟ, *basio*) in EV of 2 Ch. 6:11 denotes the specially-made platform or stage of bronze on which *Solon* on sto. d. and kneeled at the dedication of the temple. *Κίβωρος* is elsewhere rendered pot, basin, or laver; and interpreters, therefore, have been led to suppose that Solomon's platform also was 'probably round, bowl-like in shape' (so BDB, 5:7); this, however, is not a likely shape, nor is it suggested by the terms of length, breadth (each 5 cubits), and height (3 cubits) in which its dimensions are given. Klostermann followed by Oettli (*ad loc.*) proposes, therefore, to emend to כִּיָּוֶר (כִּיָּוֶר); cp *Q. Vg.* (cp also *Q.* used of the laver; כִּיָּוֶר itself, is sometimes written כִּיָּוֶר).

With the measurements cp the description of the 'base' in 1 K. 7:27 (see LAVER, § 1); four (ἔ, Jos. five) cubits long, the same in breadth, and three (ἔ, Jos. six) high. The position, too, would correspond with P's statement (see LAVER, § 1), as also would the inference that there was only *one* base in the temple. Finally, it should be noticed, that כִּיָּוֶר, for which EV has 'stood upon it,' means equally naturally 'stood by the side of it' (on this not infrequent use of כִּיָּוֶר, see BDB, 7:756), in which case the MT כִּיָּוֶר may refer to the 'laver' itself, and no emendation is necessary.

2. כִּיָּוֶר, AVmg, Neh. 9:4. See STAIRS, 3.

SCALL (קַרֵב), Lev. 13:30 f. See LEPROSY, § 2.

SCAPEGOAT (שׂוֹמֵל), Lev. 16:8 f. AV, RV AZAZEL.

SCARECROW (ΠΡΟΒΑΚΑΝΗΝ), Baruch 6: [9]. See GARDEN, § 9 (end). Ewald, Graetz, Gieselrecht, etc., restore the 'scarecrow' in Jer. 10:5 (later, and RVmg accordingly renders קַרְקַר קַרְקַר, 'like a pillar in a garden of cucumbers.'

SCARLET is used in EV as rendering the following words and phrases:—

1. *sinī*, סִנִי (Gen. 38:28 and many other places), a common word of uncertain etymology, which may be connected either with Ar. *sana*—according to Philippi (*ZDMG* 3270) this root has for its original sense 'to be bright or shining'—or with Ass. *sinītu*, 'a dyed cloth.' The plur. *sinim* is found twice, Is. 1:18 Prov. 31:26.

2. The fuller *sinī tōlī'ath* (סִנִי תֹלִיאֶת, lit. 'worm-scarlet') occurs in Lev. 14 (five times) and in Nu 19:

3. Another equivalent phrase is the *tōlī'ath sinī* (סִנִי תֹלִיאֶת, lit. 'scarlet-worm') so frequent in Exodus, as well as (4) the shorter *tōlī'* (סִנִי) of Is. 1:18 (EV 'crimson') and Lam. 4:5. 5. A Pūal participle, *sinī'atim* (סִנִי'אִים, derived from *tōlī'*), occurs once (Nah. 2 [4]) to signify 'clothed in scarlet.'³

¹ סִנִי (Gen. 38:28), and סִנִי (Gen. 38:28), and סִנִי (Gen. 38:28) should be (cp) all probably come from the רַחֲמַיִם.

² סִנִי (cp Ass. 6) is a variant to סִנִי. Read, perhaps, סִנִי (the land of the Geshurites) or 'Girātes.

³ But see Snor, § 3, and cp *Crit. Bib.*

SCÉPTRE

SCORPION

6. *kókkivos* in Mt. 27:28 Heb. 9:19 Rev. 17:3 has, no doubt, the same meaning as *Janí*, of which it is G's rendering. See CRIMSON.

7. *argéwanti*, אַרְגָּמָן, the Aram. equivalent of אֶרְמָן, is in Dan. 5:7 rendered 'scarlet' in AV (AV¹⁹⁰⁸ RV 'purple'), and AV¹⁹⁰⁸ suggests the same rendering for the Hebrew word in Ezek. 27:7. See COLOURS, § 14; PURPLE.

SCÉPTRE. שֵׁבֶט, *šēbet*, cp Ass. *šēbtu*. In Nu. 21:7 (EV) we read of a 'sceptre' which shall smite

1. Terms. Moab. The translators apparently take 'sceptre' as a symbolic expression for 'king.' Here, however, as also in Ps. 29 (EV 'rod'), *šēbet* seems to denote rather a warlike instrument—a mace. For Egyptian representations of such a weapon see Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 126 f. 3 frontispiece; some, too, will remember the large heavy maces of limestone with relief sculptures, of the period before the sixth dynasty, exhibited lately (1900) in London, and found by Mr. Quibell at Kōm el-Ahmar (Hierakonpolis). An iron *šēbet* is referred to in the traditional text of Ps. 29: such a weapon was, at any rate, known to the last editor of the Psalter (cp the *σίδηρεὴν κοπίην* of II. 7:140). For a representation of Asur-nisir-pal holding a short staff or sceptre see Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Ass.* 2123; and for another of Sargon with a long one, see SARGON. In Ps. 125:3 'sceptre' is adequate (so RV, AV 'rod'); in Is. 11:3 (EV sceptre) we seem to need 'staff' as a parallel to 'rod.' Less common are:—

2. שֵׁבֶטֶל, *šēbetel*, a late form of *šēbet*, perhaps influenced by *σκήπτρον* (Kö. *Lehrgeb.* 21:2), only in Esch. 4:11 5:2 8:4.

3. שֵׁבֶטֶת, *mēšōšēket*, שֵׁבֶטֶת, Nu. 21:8 RV† (אֶרְמָנֶשֶׁת), Gen.

49:10 RV (אֶרְמָנֶשֶׁת); Ps. 60:7 [8] RV (= Ps. 108:8 [9] RV). In all these three passages, however, Cheyne suspects that the text is corrupt. In Nu. 21:8 and in Ps. 60:7 [8] 2 has probably come from אֶרְמָנֶשֶׁת Jerahmeel (Che.), and in Gen. 49:10 2 means a ruler (read, in 1, אֶרְמָנֶשֶׁת). See SIMON, 1, Che. P. 12, and *Crit. Bib.*; but cp Moore, *Judges*, 153 (on Judg. 5:14).

As to the form of the sceptre, it is plausible to hold that it was a reminiscence of the shepherd's staff or

2. Form. perhaps crook (cp Ass. *ri'ā* = מִשְׁבֵּט, [1] shepherd, [2] ruler). Koran, *Sur.* 20:17 f. may be quoted in illustration. 'What is that in thy right hand, O Moses?' Said he, 'It is my staff on which I lean, and wherewith I beat down leaves for my flock, and for which I have other uses.' We find the shepherd's crook (combined with the whip—mistaken by Diol. Siculus [33] for a plough) as an emblem of Egyptian royalty and vice-royalty; see Erman, *Eg.* 90, 63, also Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 337 (early, and Seti I.) and 3128 (Ah, son of Athor), 1183 (no. 7). As the emblem of Hebrew royalty we find not only a 'rod' or staff (Ezek. 19:11 14) but a spear (*hōnith*, from *hōnāh*, 'to bend, curve, bend down'), Is. 18:10 22:6; in Is. 24:10 31:10 the 'spear' is parallel to the 'pruning-hook,' out of which it might conceivably, according to the writers, be made.

To illustrate the 'golden sceptre' of Esch. 4:11 5:2 8:4, see Middleton in *EB*, s.v. 'Sceptre'; *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiq.*, s.v. 'Sceptrum'; and Frazer, *Paus.* 5:10 f.

SCÉVA (ΣΚΕΥΑΣ), 'a Jew, a chief-priest,' whose seven 'sons' (or disciples (Baur)) practised exorcism at Ephesus, with the results described with reference to two of them (1: 16 ἀποστρέψων, but TR ἀντῶν) in Acts 19:17. See EXORCISTS. Schürer thinks that ἀρχιερέως (gen.) in 1: 14 means 'member of a high-priestly family.' More plausibly we might read ἀρχισυναγώγων; the *ιερέως* of D seems too slight an emendation. As to the name Scéva, it may be a Graecised Latin name (Blöss).

T. K. C.

SCHOOLS. See EDUCATION.

SCIMITAR (ΔΚΙΝΑΚΗΚ). Judith 136 169 RV, AV 'fauchion.' See SWORD, WEAPONS, § 1.

SCORPION (שַׂרְפָּיִם, אַכְרִיב, ΣΚΟΡΠΙΟΝ). Scorpions are especially common in the peninsula of Sinai and the

desert of et-Tih (cp Dt. 8:15, and see AKRAABIM), and the Arabian desert generally.

'Scorpions lurk under the cool stones,' says Doughty; 'I have found them in my tent, upon my clothing, but never had any hurt. I have seen many grown persons and children

1. References. bitten, but the sting is not perilous; some wise man is called to 'read' over them' (*J. Tr. Des.* 1:328; Doughty's statements about Arabia must not be taken too generally; cp § 31. The form of expression, therefore, in I.k. 10:19 ('I empower you to tread upon serpents and scorpions') is not quite so striking as that in the passage, Ps. 91:13 6 ('Thou shalt go upon the asp and the basilisk'), and in the description of the locusts from the 'pit of the abyss' the weakest part may seem to be the detail of their 'tails like (those of) scorpions' (Rev. 9:10, see RV). From a picturesque point of view, however, this detail is quite in place; it is indeed a formidable appearance which the 'appendages' of the scorpion present.

Ezekiel apparently likens bitter words to the sting of a scorpion (Ezek. 2:6); so, perhaps, Eccles. 20:7. In I.k. 12:11 14 (2 Ch. 10:11 14) 'whips' and 'scorpions' are parallel, but the 'scorpions' intended are worse than those of nature (see WHITE). In I Macc. 6:51 the forcible term *σκορπίδια* ('little scorpions') is used for instruments for hurling darts; cp *Caes. Bell. Gall.* 7:25, 'scorpionem.' The term, weakened by EV into 'pieces' (without mg.), arose from the resemblance of part of the instrument to the upflung tail of a scorpion.

There is also a reference to the scorpion in I.k. 11:12, which needs fresh investigation. The saying of which,

2. Criticism. in I.k., it forms part, occurs also in I.k. 11:12. Mt. 7:9-11; but there a hungry son

appears asking his father for a loaf, or a fish, confident that he will not get a stone or even a serpent, whereas in I.k. (in the ordinary texts) the son is also represented as asking for an egg, sure that he will not get a scorpion. There is good evidence (cod. B, Vet. Lat., Syr. Sin.) for the omission of the loaf and the stone in I.k., and Plummer and Jülicher accept this form of the text, the insertion from Mt. being, it is urged, more probable than the omission. But how can I.k. have been satisfied with such a form of the saying?

The hungry child's first request is for bread, and the connection in which the saying stands being more original in I.k. than in Mt., we have a right to presume that I.k. did not omit the loaf and the stone. But there is this prior difficulty to meet. How came I.k. to suppose that one of the antitheses of Jesus was egg and scorpion? One commentator suggests that 'scorpion' may mean the egg of a scorpion; another, that when it is dormant, a scorpion is egg-shaped. Tristram passes over this point, and remarks (*VIII* 1302) that Jesus adopts a current Greek proverb, 'a scorpion instead of a perch' ἀντὶ πέρκης σκορπίου; similarly Jülicher (*Gleichnisreden*, 2:39). But if we compare this Greek proverb, we are bound to show either that ὄψων can mean 'fish' or some kind of fish, or that ὄψων can have been corrupted out of some Greek word meaning fish. The second alternative alone is feasible; ὄψων may be a corruption of ὄψων, which does not indeed occur in the NT, but might occur just as well as ὄψων.² The third pair of objects thus becomes 'fish' (ὄψων) and 'scorpion' (σκορπίος). These are variants to 'fish' (ἰχθίς) and 'serpent' (ὄφεις). There are two pairs, not three, and the trouble of explaining the egg is removed. 'Scorpion' is probably correct.

Scorpions are nocturnal in habit, and carnivorous, living on the juices of insects, spiders, etc., which they

3. Species, etc. kill with their pointed sting borne on the last joint of their tail. When the animal is running about, the tail is often carried turned forward over the trunk. Scorpions are provided with a pair of small clawed appendages on the head, and these are followed by a large pair of nippers or

¹ The שַׂרְפָּיִם may refer to scarfing instruments (Ass. *šukikīpu*, syn. *akrabu*); so Uhpfund, *RA* 4:224.
² Both words are used in the Greek Tobit.

SCOURGE, SCOURGING

joint claws which resemble those of a lobster and which serve to catch and hold their prey. Behind these are four pairs of walking legs. The sting is very painful, and if it occurs in such a part of the body as the throat, or if the sufferer be out of health, may cause death.

Zoologically scorpions belong to the group Scorpiones of the Arachnida. The following species are described from Syria, Palestine, and Sinai, *Uchus australis*, *B. massambra*, *B. bicolor*, *B. judaicus* confined to these regions, *B. schottanus*, *B. quinquestratus*, *U. volutus melanurus*, *Nobis hicrochanticus*, *N. flavipes*. Numerous other species are recorded from Egypt, Arabia, and Asia Minor.¹ T. K. C., § 1 f.; A. L. S., § 3.

SCOURGE, SCOURGING. See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12. The words are:—

1. שֵׁט, שֵׁט, 1 K. 12:11, 14, 2 Ch. 10:11, 14, Prov. 26:3, Nah. 3:2. Metaphorically, of the tongue (Job 2:20), and of a divine judgment, Is. 10:25, 26:15 (here, of invasion), Job 21:2. Cp Witt.
 2. שֵׁט, שֵׁט, Josh. 23:13 (metaphorically; cp 'plague').
 3. שֵׁט, שֵׁט, *hāšeph'eth*, Lev. 19:24 AV 'she shall be scourged,' AV⁹⁵ (following Mishnah) 'there shall be a scourging,' RV 'they shall be punished,' RV⁹⁵ (probably rightly) 'there shall be infliction' (i.e., judicial inquiry).
- The NT words are:—
4. μαστιγὴ (Mt. 3:10, etc.), μαστιγῶν (Mt. 10:17, etc.), μαστιγῶν (Acts 22:25). See SYN. AGREE, § 4 (n).
 5. φραγέλλων (Mt. 27:26, Mk. 15:15), φραγέλλον (Jn. 2:15); Lat. *flagello, flagellum*. Cp LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12.

SCREECH OWL (לילית). Is. 34:14, RV 'night-monster,' RV⁹⁵ LILITH.

SCREEN (מִזְבֵּץ; επισκίασμα), Ex. 26:36; see TABERNACLE.

SCRIBE. To do justice to this heading it is not enough to register and explain the three Hebrew words rendered 'scribe' in AV and RV taken together. We are bound to notice the fact that S sometimes renders שֵׁפַר (*sōphār*) as well as שָׂרַף (*sōphār*) by γραμματεὶς, and to consider the sense which this queen of the versions gives to that Greek word. The two Hebrew words will illustrate what is said elsewhere in this work on writing, literature (in its various branches), and government; in studying them we shall see how *sōphār* came to mean 'theologian,' and *sōphār* came to signify 'official.' The strange word *tiphṣar* (תִּפְסַר), rendered 'scribe' in RV⁹⁵ at Nah. 3:17, will also have to be considered; the discovery of the meaning of this word suggests literary influences, which are likely to receive more and more justification.

For a hardly less strange word, *hāšpām* (הַשְּׁפָם), rendered 'sacred scribe' in RV⁹⁵ at Gen. 41:5, etc., see MATR. (§ 3); the rendering of RV⁹⁵ is not very probable, and has no ancient support (but cp Ges.-Bo. s.).

S'phār (Ass. *Sapiru*) seems to be a denom. of *sōphār* (Ass. *sāpā*), and to judge from the Assyrian usage *s'phār* may originally have had a very wide sense, including every sort of message, and even permitting the rendering 'command.' It is a question whether *sōphār* in Judg. 5:14 should not be taken in accordance with this (possible) early usage as 'commander'; but to this we will return presently. The root-meaning of *spr*, on the other hand, is 'to write'; the distinction should be remembered—*sāpīru* in Ass. = 'to send'; *sāpīru* = 'to write,' cp Aram. *sāpīnā*, 'document.' In Heb. 'to write' is not *spr* (שָׂרַף) or *spr* (שָׂרַף), but *kth* (כתב) (see the Lexicons), a word not found in Ass. Presumably, therefore, *sōphār* (also, of course, *s'phār*; cp EPISTOLARY LITERATURE, § 5) and *sōphār* were borrowed from Assyrian or Babylonian. We find the Ass. noun *sāpīru* used as a syn. of *aklu*, 'secretary'; one or the other term was often wanted, for the most different classes needed secretaries to prepare legal documents and other business records. So, doubtless, among the Israelites. In Judg. 5:14, as also in Is. 33:18, we meet with a *sōphār* in the army (the Isaiah passage, being a late literary work, may be used as a Jewish record). There were,

no doubt, different grades of military *sōphārīm*; the highest would be the military adjutant who enrolled the warriors, and who might even (but this is an uncertain inference¹ from 2 K. 25:19) be the same person as the 'captain of the host' (cp Ass. *Sapiru*, 2, 'ruler'). The king, too, naturally had his *sōphār* (2 S. 8:17, 20, 25; 2 K. 12:13 [11], etc.). EV⁹⁵ 'secretary' (see GOVERNMENT, § 21). Only twice do we find the sing. *sōphār*—viz., in Prov. 6:7 (between *kingin* and *mōdāl*) and in 2 Ch. 26:11 (of a military enroller, syn. with *sōphār*).² Repeatedly, however, the *sōphārīm* are mentioned either next to the 'elders' of the people (Nu. 11:16 Dt. 20:9 [10] 31:2² Josh. 8:33 23:2 24:1), or beside the 'judges' (Josh. 8:33 23:2 24:1 Dt. 16:18). Proclamations or orders in time of war were made known through them (Dt. 20:38 f. Josh. 1:10 5:2).

In Ex. 5:6, etc., the Israelish overseers appointed by the Egyptian taskmasters are designated *sōphārīm*; S gives γραμματεὶς; cp S's rendering of *sōphār* in Prov. 6:7 for *ἀρραγοῦντα*. The term also occurs six times in Chronicles (1 Ch. 23:4 26:2, 27:1 2 Ch. 19:11 26:11 34:13). Evidently *sōphārīm* and *sōphār* were synon. terms, and could be used of any subordinate official who required ability to write. No doubt, too, in 1 Mac. 6:42 γραμματεὶς τοῦ λαοῦ = שָׂרַף.

Thus the later Jewish meaning of *sōphār* (see SCRIBES AND PHARISEES) will be kept carefully apart, when we are considering the old and very slowly forgotten meaning of the term. When the plur. *sōphārīm* took the new sense of holy writings (Dan. 9:2, βιβλίου, S Theod. it was natural that *sōphār* should come to mean theologian or 'lawyer' (so EV for *νομικός*). But the older meaning was precisely that which was most natural to Alexandrian Jews. Both under the Pharaohs and under the Ptolemies a 'scribe' was a government clerk, or registrar—in short, an official (see HISTORICAL LITERATURE, §§ 3, 5). He was not a theologian; the priests were the theologians. He was not properly a military man, for he was exempt from military service. Hence in Judg. 5:14 *sōphār* (שָׂרַף *sōphār*) becomes *δουγγύσων γραμματέως* (S⁹⁵), 'the report of an official (?)', and in Is. 33:18 *sōphār* becomes *οἱ γραμματικοὶ*. Under the Ptolemies, it is true, the term 'scribe' received a military colouring; but, for clearness' sake, it was usual to fill out the phrase and put γραμματεὶς τῶν μαχιμῶν or τῶν δυνάμεων.³

Δυνάμεων is actually found once in S, which gives in Jer. 52:25 (see note 1) τὸν γραμματεὶ τῶν δυνάμεων, reading שָׂרַף *sōphār*. The term γραμματεὶς δουγγύσων in S, Ex. 18:21, 25 (0+1 1: 1 in these two passages) Dt. 1:15 16:14 20:9 [10] 31:2², awaits explanation from the papyri.

The third and most difficult word remains—a word on which S throws no light,⁴ and for which our revisers in their uncertainty give two renderings—'marshal' and 'scribe.' 'Marshal,' no doubt, was chosen for *tiphṣar* or (Nah.) *taphṣar*, because this sense suited Jer. 51:57. But it can be shown that it does not suit Nah. 3:17, and in Jer. (*loc.*) we expect the name of a country; here שָׂרַף is probably corrupt (see *Crit. Bib.*). In fact, *tiphṣar*, as Leuonant first showed,⁵ is the Ass. *dap-sarru*, 'tablet-writer,'⁶ which

SCRIBE

whilst L reads שָׂרַף (*sōphār*) and Vg. *Sophar*, both is proper names. שָׂרַף, too, is MT's reading in Jer. 52:25 (S does not express שָׂרַף). 'Saphan' is adopted from S (King-) by Kbl: 'son of the general' is also a possible rendering in Jer., and is preferred by Kamph. in Kau. IS and Nowak (*Crit. Bib.*). Otherwise שָׂרַף will be a gloss (but cp Gesebrech).⁷

3. Later use of sōphār.

This later Jewish meaning of *sōphār* (see SCRIBES AND PHARISEES) will be kept carefully apart, when we are considering the old and very slowly forgotten meaning of the term. When the plur. *sōphārīm* took the new sense of holy writings (Dan. 9:2, βιβλίου, S Theod. it was natural that *sōphār* should come to mean theologian or 'lawyer' (so EV for *νομικός*). But the older meaning was precisely that which was most natural to Alexandrian Jews. Both under the Pharaohs and under the Ptolemies a 'scribe' was a government clerk, or registrar—in short, an official (see HISTORICAL LITERATURE, §§ 3, 5). He was not a theologian; the priests were the theologians. He was not properly a military man, for he was exempt from military service. Hence in Judg. 5:14 *sōphār* (שָׂרַף *sōphār*) becomes *δουγγύσων γραμματέως* (S⁹⁵), 'the report of an official (?)', and in Is. 33:18 *sōphār* becomes *οἱ γραμματικοὶ*. Under the Ptolemies, it is true, the term 'scribe' received a military colouring; but, for clearness' sake, it was usual to fill out the phrase and put γραμματεὶς τῶν μαχιμῶν or τῶν δυνάμεων.³

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1 MT reads here שָׂרַף *sōphār*, but S presupposes שָׂרַף. whilst L reads שָׂרַף (*sōphār*) and Vg. *Sophar*, both is proper names. שָׂרַף, too, is MT's reading in Jer. 52:25 (S does not express שָׂרַף). 'Saphan' is adopted from S (King-) by Kbl: 'son of the general' is also a possible rendering in Jer., and is preferred by Kamph. in Kau. IS and Nowak (*Crit. Bib.*). Otherwise שָׂרַף will be a gloss (but cp Gesebrech).
 2 S, however, gives γραμματεὶς for *sōphār*, γραμματεὶς for *sōphār*.
 3 Deis-smann, *Bibelstudien*, 106 (1893).
 4 In Jer. S gives βιβλοστήσις, a mere guess (S); in Nah. ἡ γραμματεὶς σου, which seems to represent שָׂרַף; a possible variant in שָׂרַף which in S's Heb. text supplanted שָׂרַף owing to the similarity of שָׂרַף to שָׂרַף.
 5 *La langue primitive de la Chaldée*, 362 (1875); *Findes sur syllabaires canififormes*, 186 (1876). So Schrader, *K 417*, 424.
 6 Halévy (*Origine de la chr. Bah.* 235 (1875)) compares *dāpṣu*, 'tablet,' with New Heb. דָּפְסָה, column (of a scroll) or page. Cp also Syr. *dāpṣu*, 'plank,' 'board' (e.g., Acts 27:44). *Dāpṣu* = 'letter'; see EPISTOLARY LITERATURE, § 5.

¹ Kraepelin, 'Scorpiones u. Pedipulpi,' *Das Tierreich*, 3 Lief., Berlin, 1899.

SCRIBES AND PHARISEES

is of Sumerian origin, but occurs countless times in the contract-tablets. See TABLETS. The proof of the correctness of this explanation is that a similar one is equally needful for the parallel word כִּנְיָרָה (EV 'thy crowned'; so Kimchi, unsuitably) which is perhaps corrupt in one letter (r for n), and should be read כִּנְיָרָה (so P. Ruben). *Mindidu*, like *dupšarru*, occurs often in contract tablets; it means one who is legally empowered to measure wheat, dates, etc. These two officers are naturally mentioned after the merchants (Nah. 3.6).

The same words (*iphisar* and *mindidu*) have been recognised by the present writer in Is. 33.13, where, for אִישׁ מִן הַכְּתָבִים אִישׁ מִן הַמִּשְׁכָּלִים (where are the tablet-writers? where are the measuring clerks?) (Che. 3507 'Isa.' [Heb.]), and *mindidu* is probably to be found also in Zech. 9.9, where 'a *manu*' (EV 'bastard'; see MAWZER) shall dwell in Ashdod 'should be 'a *mindid* shall dwell in Ashdod—i.e., Ashdod shall be subject to Assyrian (or foreign) civil functionaries (Che. 1581, May, 1900). This is at any rate at once a possible and a suitable explanation.

T. K. C.

SCRIBES AND PHARISEES

In NT (§ 1.7). Earlier history (§§ 11-16).
Name and position (§ 3.7). Assidæans = Pharisees (§ 17).
Character and beliefs (§§ 5-10). Later history (§§ 17-20).
Bibliography (§ 21).

It is too often forgotten that the gospel narratives make only incidental references to the Scribes and Pharisees. The stern reproofs uttered by Jesus against their arrogant self-righteousness, narrowness, and deadening spiritual pride, were undoubtedly well deserved as applied to the later form of Pharisaism; but they do not aid us in discovering, either the fundamental principles of the school, or the causes which produced such a religious development. Our present object must therefore be, first, to ascertain what the two classes of Jews, designated in the NT Scribes and Pharisees, really represented in the current theological thought, and thus to determine, as nearly as possible, the character of their party, and secondly, to trace their historical development down from its beginnings at the time following the Babylonian exile.

The usage of the terms 'Scribes' and 'Pharisees' throughout the Gospels shows that a conscious distinction was made between them, as may be seen, for example, from the common expression 'Scribes and Pharisees,' *passim*. It is significant that the word 'Scribe' is not used by any evangelist with reference to single individuals. It is in every instance applied to a literary class, as in Mt. 7.29 Mk. 1.22 (more specifically Mt. 15.1 Mk. 3.22 'the Scribes who came from Jerusalem,' who naturally were the most important and most influential members of the party). Where single scribes are meant, the writer usually designates them 'some of the Scribes' (Mt. 9.3 12.32 Mk. 7.1), or else classes them with the Pharisees, as just indicated. On the other hand, the term 'Pharisees' is frequently used in passages where the writer evidently means to refer to individual members of a certain school (Mt. 9.11 34 12.2 14.24 Mk. 2.18 24, etc.).

Josephus also refers to the Scribes as 'those learned in the law' (ἰσογραμματοίς, *B. J.* vi. 3.3), and as 'expositors of the law' (ἐπισημῶν ἐπισημῶν νόμου, *Ant.* xvii. 6.2), whereas by the term 'pharisee' (φουσιμαί, *B. J.* i. 8.32 ii. 178 ff.), he may mean the members of the distinctly Pharisaic party, some of whom taught law. Josephus, who uses the regular expression φουσιμαί much more often than any of the other terms, neglects to inform his readers (for example in *Ant.* xiii. 106) of the close connection between the Scribes and the Pharisees, probably because it was too well-known a fact to require explanation.

There can be no doubt that in the NT, especially in the many speeches of Jesus directed against the Scribes and Pharisees, the term 'scribes' (usually γραμματεῖς) is used of those learned persons who made a special study of the law ('the lawyers,' 1 Lk. 14.3; 'doctors, teachers of the Law,' νομοδιδάσκαλοι, 1 Lk. 5.17 Acts 5.34), and that the expression 'Pharisees' always means the peculiar body of men who affected to live according to the letter of the

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law. In spite of this evident distinction, however, it is quite clear that wherever the Scribes and the Pharisees are mentioned side by side in the NT they were purposely brought together as the representatives of the same intellectual tendency (cp Mt. 5.20 12.38, etc.). Furthermore, in Mk. 2.6, in the account of the cure of the palsied man, we find the term 'Scribes'; but in the parallel passage Lk. 5.21, the expression 'Scribes and Pharisees' is used in an evidently synonymous sense. Finally, the application of both terms to the same school of thought is found in the later Jewish literature, where the earlier Scribes of Maccabean times are generally made to call themselves *hikimim*, 'learned men,' but are also referred to as 'Pharisees,' especially in passages inspired by hostile Sadducee sentiment (*Yiddim*, 4.6 ff.; *Bab. Sif.* 226). Cp ISRAELI, §§ 81 ff.

The meaning of the name Pharisees (Φαρισαῖοι) is perfectly clear. Its original Heb. form פְּרִישִׁים, *Pharishim*

3. Name (Aram. פְּרִישִׁים פְּרִישִׁים) can signify only 'those Pharisees' who have been set apart—i.e., from the mass of the people (פְּרִישִׁים עַם). The op-

probrious sense in which the word was often used was imposed upon it by enemies. In itself the term means simply a school of ascetics, and is really quite in harmony with the general character of the Pharisees, who may have used it of themselves at first. Their own term for themselves was *haborim*, 'brethren'—that is to say, members of the true congregation of Israel.

Our data regarding the Scribes and Pharisees would appear to indicate that, while the Scribes were a class of *literati* devoted to the study and exposition of the Law, the Pharisees were more properly a distinct religious party, most of whose members belonged to the class of Scribes. The object of the Pharisees was, clearly, to live according to the Law, which the orthodox Scribes interpreted. It follows, therefore, that from the very inception of the Pharisaic party, its leaders must have been orthodox Scribes. As the Sadducees also followed the written Law, there must have been Sadducee Scribes as well, and it is highly likely that there were also Scribes who belonged to neither party. This explains the distinctive expressions 'Scribes of the Pharisees' (Mk. 2.16 Acts 23.9); 'the Pharisees and their Scribes' (Lk. 5.30), from which it is evident that not all the Scribes were Pharisees. It is probable also that some of the Pharisees, owing no doubt to lack of education, belonged only nominally to the scribal class and practised blindly the precepts laid down for them by their more scholarly scribal leaders. At the time of Jesus, we almost always find Scribes in judicial positions; thus, wherever the high priests and elders are mentioned, the Scribes are generally included—without, however, any specification as to whether they belonged to the Pharisees or the Sadducees, or whether they were merely neutral scholars (cp Mt. 16.21 Mk. 11.27 Lk. 9.22, 'the elders and chief priests and scribes'; Mt. 20.18, 'the chief priests and scribes,' Lk. 20.1 . . . 'with the elders'; Mt. 26.57 Acts 6.12, 'the scribes and elders').

It is certainly an error to characterise the Pharisees as a religious *sect*,¹ because that word implies a divergence in creed from other followers of the same cult. This was distinctly not the position of the Pharisees, as they were really from their first development representatives of orthodox Judaism

¹ The abstract form פְּרִישִׁים is used in the sense 'abstinence, continence,' *Yem.* 74b.

² Wellhausen's statement (*Pharisäer u. Sadducäer*, 11) that the Pharisees were the party of the Scribes needs some qualification.

³ EV's rendering in Acts 15.5 26.5 is unfortunate; ἀπερις means here 'a party which professes certain philosophical principles,' in fact, 'a school.' Cp Sext. Emp. 116. See HERTZ.

⁴ Νουριμαί; cp Mt. 22.35 Lk. 7.30 10.25 11.45 52 14.3.

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who distinguished themselves from the mass of their co-religionists rather by the strictness of their observances than by any deviation from accepted doctrine. The words of Jesus in Mt. 23 clearly prove the Pharisees' position; 'the scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat; all things, therefore, whatsoever they bid you, these do and observe'; but, he adds, as a reproof to their externalism, 'do ye not after their works, for they say and do not.' The sole object of the Pharisees' religious life was to fulfil, regardless of consequences, the requirements of the law which they believed to be the clearly expressed will of Yahwé. According to Iosephus, when Petronius asked the Pharisee leaders whether they were ready to make war against Cæsar without considering his strength and their own weakness, they replied: 'we will not make war with him; but still we will die rather than see our laws set aside.'¹ This short sentence expresses most characteristically their fundamental principles.

The Pharisaic dogmatic peculiarities, as outlined in § 2 *f.*, all tend to show how fully their religious position was in accord with orthodox Judaism, and

6. Dogmas: to what an extent their opponents the Sadducees had remained behind and apart from the current religious development. The chief point in the Pharisees' code wherein they differed from the Sadducees was their insistence on the validity of a mass of oral tradition (Mt. 15 2 Mk. 7 3) which had accumulated in the course of centuries as a supplement to the written law. The Pharisees held this traditional matter, regulating and explaining the observance of the written law, was as binding on the disciples of every generation as the law itself (*Sanh.* 1 1), whereas the Sadducees rejected all such oral traditions and held strictly to the written Mosaic ordinances (*Ant.* xiii. 106). Herein the Pharisees, rather than the Sadducees, represent the natural religious development, because traditions, both oral and written, recording, for example, precedents for the interpretation of the law are a necessary and logical supplement to a fixed code, and, whilst they should not be accorded the same authority as the code itself, are undoubtedly a permissible and normal growth.² In the case of the Pharisees, however, their reverence for traditional precepts gradually degenerated into a slavish regard, first, for the text of the law itself, and, secondly, for a purely arbitrary supplementary oral code which had exceeded the legitimate functions and authority of tradition.

This oral matter had largely originated among the scribes since the time of Ezra,³ although most of the literary class undoubtedly believed that it descended from Moses. They consequently even went so far as to lay down the principle that, in case of a contradiction between a written and an oral precept, the preference must be given to the oral. Their observance of law and tradition became, finally, so thoroughly formal, that the Pharisees actually seemed to have lost sight of the contents of the law in their endeavour to carry out its demands in proper form.

The Pharisees believed in a resurrection of the body and in a future state of rewards and punishments (Acts 23 8, Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 1 3).

7. Resurrection. The resurrection referred to in Dan. 12 2 is most probably confined to the Israelites; probably the author of Daniel did not believe in eternal life for the heathen. The resurrection of all human beings, however, is announced in Enoch 22, and was the prevailing orthodox dogma in the time of Jesus. The author of Dan. 12 also teaches the doctrine of future rewards and punishments for the Israelites, and for the first time uses the expression 'everlasting life'⁴ (Dan. 12 2).

The Sadducees denied both resurrection of the body and a future life (Mt. 22 23 Mk. 12 18, Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 14). See SADDUCEES, § 6.

The Pharisees, unlike the Sadducees, believed in the

¹ *Ant.* xviii. 8 3.

² Schürer in *Riehm.* *HHB* 2 1299.

³ The oral law was regularly codified in writing in the second century A.D. Cf. LAW LITERATURE, § 23.

⁴ It is identical with the *ἄνω ἀνάσσει* of the NT, and must not be confused with *עולם אבות* of Ps. 133 3, 'eternal life' for Israel as a nation.

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existence of angels and spirits (Acts 23 8). This was a doctrine which had been part of orthodox Judaism since the days of Zechariah (*Zech.* 7 17; 5 20 n.c.), and had in later times become expanded into a definite hierarchical system (p. Dan. 10 13 Toht 12 15, and the Book of Jubilees). Here, also, the Pharisees were undoubtedly the representatives of orthodox opinion. See ANGELS, DEMONS.

Furthermore, the Pharisees held in general the doctrine of predestination, which was a natural outgrowth of their strict literalism, attributing the origin of everything, even of evil, to the far-seeing wisdom of Yahwé. Unlike the Essenes, however, they made a distinction between such actions as were controlled entirely by fate (Yahwé's will) and such as were, to some extent, directed by man's will, which, according to their theory, was permitted to operate within certain fixed limits—e.g., *ἵνα παρρησίου τὰ δίκαια*, 'to choose the right' (Jos. *Ant.* 8 14, *Ant.* xiii. 59, xviii. 1 3). The Sadducees, on the other hand, held that man's own will regulated all the events of human life and determined his happiness or unhappiness.

The Pharisees were the most eager cultivators of Messianic ideas. They longed for and awaited the temporal Messiah of the earlier Israelitish hopes (see MESSIAH). They therefore, quite naturally, were among the most bitter opponents of the more spiritual teachings of Jesus, which they regarded as a dangerous departure from their point of view. Their ideal of a personal Messiah may be gathered from Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 24 where the author relates that the Pharisees were involved in an intrigue of Pheroras against his brother Herod, and that they sided with Pheroras, in order to accomplish the overthrow of Herod and place Pheroras on the throne. This statement is, without doubt, based on a misunderstanding of the Pharisees' motives.

In the first place, the prophecy which they made to Pheroras that Herod's government and dynasty should cease was uttered quite openly. This would hardly have been done had the Pharisees really been plotting directly against Herod with the aim of supplanting him by another. Secondly, they are said to have told Bagoas the eunuch that the new king would have control over all things and would be able to restore to him his powers of procreation. Such a statement could scarcely refer to Pheroras, a mere human monarch, but was plainly an allusion to the expected Messiah whose reign, according to Is. 66, should be a time of miraculous fruitfulness.¹ It was quite natural that such an idea should arise among the Pharisees at a time when the impious Herod was sitting as an usurper on the throne of David.

Jesus' frequent and bitter denunciations of both Scribes and Pharisees because of their intense immovable bigotry and cold formalism, show

9. Defects. very clearly their intellectual attitude in his time. They bound heavy burdens and laid them on men's shoulders (Mt. 23 1, k. 11 46)—i.e., they laid the utmost stress on a minute external observance of details. Such a formalism, although originally the product of a true desire to stand in the right way and follow the injunction of Yahwé, was certain to become the most crass externalism in a very short space of time. According to this system, the man who fulfilled to the letter all the physical requirements of the law, such as fasting, wearing the prescribed dress, etc., was technically 'righteous,' quite irrespective of his true inner feelings. This position is admirably illustrated by the well-known comparison between the Pharisee and the publican (Lk. 18 9-14). Such externalism could only breed a love of religious show, a tendency to display their formal 'righteousness' before the world, and was certain not only to kill all appreciation of the spiritual meaning which underlay the various forms (Mt. 6: 23-7), but also to engender a spirit of casuistry which manifested itself whenever the strict requirements of an ordinance became unpleasantly onerous.

This cannot perhaps be better illustrated than by citing the extraordinary means adopted by the later Pharisees to obtain a greater degree of freedom on the Sabbath than was allowed by the written law.

¹ On this discussion see Wellhausen, *Phar. u. Sadd.* 27.

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According to Jer. 17 21-24 (post-exilic) it was forbidden to convey or carry anything on the Sabbath from one place to another. It is clearly stated in Jer. that the ordinance refers, not merely to the city gates, but also to private houses out of which nothing might be carried. The Pharisees, whose tradition used the word *reshith*, 'district', to define the limit in which carrying was legal, deliberately enlarged the *reshith* artificially according to their own pleasure. Thus, if it was desired to fetch and carry on the Sabbath within the limits of a street or large space, they barred the street at either end or enclosed the space on four sides with beams or cords, thus making technically a legally defined limit (*reshith*) within which the labour of carrying or loading might go on.¹ Cp SABBATH, § 4, notes.

It is not surprising then that Jesus stigmatises the scribes and Pharisees as hypocrites 'who paid the tithes but neglected the weightier matters of the law'; 'men who changed the outside of the cup and platter, but within are full of extortion and excess'; 'whited sepulchres, which outwardly appear beautiful but inwardly are full of dead men's bones' (Mt. 23 2, ff.).

The following Jewish classification of the Pharisees is an interesting confirmation of Jesus' estimate of them.

10. Jewish classification. Certain Rabbinical writers divided the Pharisees under seven heads:² (1) the shoulder Pharisee, who wore openly on his shoulders a list of his own good actions. (2) The temporising Pharisee, who begged for time in order to perform a good deed. (3) The calculating Pharisee who said: 'my sins are more than counterbalanced by my many virtues.' (4) The saving Pharisee who said: 'I will save a little from my modest fortune to perform a work of charity.' (5) The Pharisee who said: 'would that I knew of a sin which I had committed, in order that I might make reparation by an act of virtue.' (6) The God-fearing Pharisee (Job). (7) The God-loving Pharisee (Abraham).

Of these, only the last two may be understood in a good sense. In spite of the general self-righteous tone of the party, such epithets were not infrequently applied to Pharisees. It must not, of course, be supposed that every member of the party was of necessity a spiritless formalist, dead to all true religious feeling. We need only remember the case of the righteous Nicodemus, and especially the words of Jesus already quoted (Mt. 23 2 f.), confirming the Pharisees in their principle of observing the law, but attacking their insincere and external manner of carrying out their own precepts. Paul himself boasts that he followed the Pharisaic ideas regarding the law (Phil. 3 5), thereby implying that he recognised the authority of both the written and the oral law.

In considering this subject, it is necessary to seek the reason why the Pharisees enjoyed such an ascendancy

11. Growth of scribal party. over the people, and to examine into the causes which had produced such a lamentable state of religion among the Jews of the time of Jesus. These are all to be found in the history of the gradual rise, after the Babylonian exile, of the scribal class, and in the account of the development of the distinctively Pharisaic party from their ranks.

As both Josephus and the NT writers, whose statements regarding the Scribes and Pharisees are certainly the most important that we have at our disposal, were familiar with this school of thought only when it was in an advanced state of development, their account is of use chiefly in showing the character of the party in later times. The sources which are most instructive, however, for the study of the origin and growth of the scribal party are the OT Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha, especially the Psalter of Solomon. Besides these, the canonical books of Ezra, Neh., Dan., Ch., and Esther are of great value in indicating the beginnings of the tendencies which produced the post-exilic literary and religious development.

It is useless to seek the origin of religious parties as far back as the period of the Babylonian exile.

¹ See Schäfer in *Ri-hm*, *HHB* 2 1207.

² See Levy, *NHWB* 4 142.

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The capture of Jerusalem by the Babylonians had, of course, completely shattered the Jewish political organisation, so that whatever differences of thought there had been before that event could hardly have survived in a concrete form under the radically changed conditions which obtained afterwards.

12. Pre-exilic times. In the pre-exilic days the people had been led, on the one hand, by the priests and priestly families, who were the real literalists and ritualists, and, on the other hand, by prophets who claimed to speak in the name and with the special commission of Yahweh, and who, as spiritual reformers professing to guide Israel through the crises of her history, were, in general, opposed to the more formal and worldly priestly caste. As it is impossible to trace here any of the differences between the Pharisees and the Sadducees already noted, the rise of all of them must be sought in the post-exilic times.

Directly after the return, we find the people divided, as shown by many passages in Ezra and Nehemiah, into two hostile schools, of which one approved of uniting by marriage with the neighbouring peoples, especially

13. Two exilic schools. the Samaritan mixed race which they did not regard as heathen, and the other opposed such amalgamation most strongly, urging the necessity of keeping Yahweh's favoured nation intact (cp Ezra 9 1 f., 10 2 12 ff.).

Both Ezra and Nehemiah were most zealous upholders of a strict observance of the law (Neh. 8 1 ff., 14 ff.), and the bitterest opponents of the tendency manifested by all classes of Jews to contaminate themselves by foreign alliances. Ezra's and Nehemiah's earnest efforts to spread a knowledge of the law met, therefore, with only partial success (Ezra 10 15 Neh. 6 7 10-14 10 30, etc.). The worst offenders against their injunctions were among the prominent high-priestly families who constituted the aristocracy, and in many cases had already allied themselves with outsiders seeking admission into the Jewish nation (note the relationship in Neh. 6 18, between the Persian official Tobiah and a prominent Jew, and in 13 28, between Sanballat and the son of the high priest Eliashib). It should be said in all fairness that the position so strongly taken by Ezra and Nehemiah was not necessarily the strictly legal one, as their opponents could cite many precedents from the earlier history which justified a considerate treatment of such strangers as wished to live at peace and in union with Israel (Lev. 24 22 Nu. 15 16, etc.; cp STRANGER, § 10). In fact, in the earlier law it was only marriage with the Canaanites that was expressly forbidden (cp Ex. 34 16, but see Judg. 3 6, etc.). This being the case, the rise of two post-exilic parties at bitter feud with each other can easily be understood. The one consisted of the high-priestly families, the real aristocracy (Ezra 10 18), who were anxious to connect themselves with another aristocracy in order to increase their own strength, not, as some scholars thought, to form an anti-Persian alliance. The pious leaders, on the other hand, were the strictly Jewish party, who sought to follow the Law as they understood it. These latter formed the beginnings of the class of scribes whose founder was Ezra 'the priest and scribe' (Ezra 7 11 Neh. 8 1). It should be remarked that the Book of Ruth, which derives the house of David from a Moabitish stock, is now considered by many to be a conscious polemic against the extreme position of Ezra with regard to foreign marriages (but cp RUTH [BOOK], § 7).

From this time onwards, a circle of Jewish scholars, many of whom were of priestly² (not high-priestly) race,

14. Juristic students. applied themselves with increasing devotion to the study of the law from a juristic point of view. Among these

men began and developed the system of oral tradition already mentioned which eventually took rank in their minds with the law itself. Between the time of Ezra and the period of Antiochus Epiphanes (520-175 B.C.) the differences became even more accentuated between this student class and the aristocratic high-priestly party whose policy of associating themselves with the nobility

¹ Cp Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, 26.

² For priestly Pharisees, see Jos. *JH*. 1 ff. 39; and in the Mishna, *Edüyth* 2 1 f. 8 2; *Aböth* 2 8 3 2.

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of the adjacent or dominant heathen people (Samaritan, Persian, Greek) remained unchanged. By the time the Graeco-Syrian domination began, the scholarly class, who edited and circulated the historical and prophetic Scriptures, treating them from the same minute dogmatic-etical point of view as they did the law, had founded many schools.

Into these schools gathered great numbers of students who, of course, assisted in promulgating the peculiar orthodox doctrines already described. In these schools it was especially laid down as the imperative duty of the faithful student to remember accurately the principles which he had learned and to transmit them with equal accuracy to others. This is fully illustrated by two characteristic maxims of the Talmud: (i.) 'To him who forgets a precept it is accounted by the scribes as if he had deliberately forfeited his life.' (ii.) 'Every one is bound to teach with the exact words of the teacher.'¹ In spite of these prescribed lines which the faithful student should follow, we find the caste of the Scribes at the time of Christ divided into two distinct schools, viz., the school of Hillel and the school of Shammai, which differed from each other, however, more on minor questions of interpretation than on any serious points of doctrine. In general, the school of Hillel was more lenient than that of Shammai (cp. CASON, § 53, n. 3).

The Scribes were undoubtedly the originators of the Synagogue service which was a natural result of their religious position.² Separated as they were from the high-priestly class, the teachers in these synagogal schools developed of necessity into a well-defined independent order of religious leaders called Rabbis, whom Sirach, writing at the beginning of the second century B.C., praises most heartily (39-40). It is doubtful whether the Scribes had crystallised into a distinctly political party as early as the time of Sirach.³

The first thing which tended to turn the religious faction was the attempts of Antiochus Epiphanes, so bitterly stigmatised in the book of Daniel, to Hellenise the entire Jewish people. In this, Antiochus was aided by the aristocratic party which, from the beginning of his reign, had manifested marked phil-Hellenic tendencies. Among the opponents of the Hellenistic movement we find a party calling themselves ASSIDEANS [אַסִּידֵּאִים] or the 'pious,' and representing the most rigid development of the ideas of the Scribes.

They were strict observers of the law (1 Macc. 2:42), and in particular so rigid in their views of the Sabbath that they even refused to defend themselves on the holy day (1 Macc. 2:32 ff.). That they were ascetics in their mode of life may be inferred from 1 Macc. 1:62 ff., and that they were evidently a well-organised body is seen from the unanimity with which they acted together (1 Macc. 7:13). See ASSIDEANS.

It is interesting to notice that the author of Daniel shows many Assidean tendencies. We need observe only the stress which he lays on the necessity of observing the law, and the indifference with which he regards the Maccabean rising, calling it only 'a little help' (11:34). This is probably an allusion to the fact that many of the Maccabean combatants attached more importance to the political than to the religious aspect of the question at issue.

The reasons for the rebellion of the Assideans against Antiochus Epiphanes must not be confounded with those which produced the popular rising of the Maccabees. The fundamental impulse of the Maccabean rebellion was a pure patriotism, a true feeling for the miseries which the common people were undergoing (1 Macc. 2:7 ff.). The Assideans were much more selfish in their aims, as they were perfectly willing to recognise the dominion of the heathen king, as long as they were left undisturbed in the observance of the law. They accordingly took part in the contest only long enough to insure their own religious freedom and, as soon as this seemed safe, promptly surrendered to Alcimus the Hellenistic high priest.

¹ See Schürer in Riehm, *III B* 21453.

² See SYNAGOGUE. Cp. Sieffert, 'Die jüd. Synagoge zur Zeit Jesu,' in *Beiträge des Glaubens*, 1876, pp. 8 ff.; also Kuenen, *Overs de Mannen der Grote Synagoge* (Amsterdam, 1876).

³ Cp. Sieffert, *RE* 2: 13220.

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The statement in 2 Macc. 1:16 that the Assideans were the real Maccabean war party is in direct contradiction to the data in 1 Macc. regarding them. In order to explain this, Hitzig (*GI* 7:17) considers 1 Macc. 7:13 as an interpolation. The probability is, as was suggested by Sieffert (*RE* 2: 13220), that 1 Macc. was written from a Maccabean, and 2 Macc. from a Pharisaic point of view. The Pharisees wished to claim for themselves the credit of the Maccabean victories. The true attitude of the Assideans is probably given in 1 Macc. 7:13 (see also Wellhausen, *Le.* pp. 79 ff.; cp. MACCABEES I, § 4).

There can be little doubt that these Assideans were practically identical with that party of the Scribes

which came to be called Pharisees under Johannes Hyrcanus (133-105 B.C.).

As soon as the Maccabean dynasty had become established, the new rulers assumed the high-priesthood, and so the ancient aristocratic and high-priestly families who, up to that time, had been the kernel of the phil-Hellenic party, were now forced to relinquish their position as political leaders. They retained a great part of their influence, however, as party leaders of their own faction which continued under the name Sadducees with essentially the same principles.

At the time of Hyrcanus, we find the Pharisees opposed to the Maccabean or Hasmonæan family, with whom during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes they had temporarily made common cause.

It is not difficult to account for this change of attitude. As it is already been stated, the Assideans cared little for political freedom and were therefore not in sympathy with the Maccabees as to the main issue. It was only natural, therefore, that, as soon as the Maccabees had succeeded in founding a temporal dynasty, they should begin to drift apart from the stricter scribal class who had now quite evidently assumed the leadership of their own party. The first rupture between the royal family and the Pharisees occurred in the reign of Hyrcanus who, although himself a Pharisee at first, deliberately left that party and became a Sadducee (cp. ISRAEL, § 73).

The son and successor of Hyrcanus, Alexander Jannæus (104-78 B.C.), inherited his father's spirit, and waged a six years' war against the now powerful Pharisaic party. On the death of Jannæus, however, his widow and successor Salome Alexandra (78-69 B.C.),

dismissing the facility of attempting to resist the Pharisees, was becoming stronger and stronger under opposition, made peace and allied herself with them (*Ant.* xiii. 61). It was at this period that the Pharisees gained over the minds of the people the ascendancy, retained without interruption until the days of Jesus, which appears so plainly in the pages of the NT. Indeed, their opponents the Sadducees never again became prominent as a political party after the advent of the Romans, who in 63 B.C. appointed the Pharisaic Hyrcanus, son of Alexandra, as their vassal-king, giving him the preference over his Sadducee brother, Aristobulus (cp. Ps. Sol. 2).

The Pharisees now appear as the leaders of Jewish national religious feeling, although they must not be

regarded as forming the kernel of the people, nor as being the people's party. This is true in spite of their violent opposition to Herod, with whom the Sadducees had allied themselves. The Pharisees naturally hated all religious oppression and were therefore on the people's side. Their position, like that of the earlier Assideans, was purely religious, however, and their object can be said to have been political only in so far as they desired to establish the theocratic idea. The Pharisees hated the Romans, therefore, with perfect consistency, because it was from them that the anti-legal exactions came. Extremists

1. Sieffert denies the identity of the Assideans and Pharisees, claiming that they were merely alike in principle, and not necessarily the same party. He finds it therefore impossible to trace the Pharisees farther back than the time of Hyrcanus (*RE* 2: 13220). It seems quite clear, however, that the party divisions of the Hasmonæan period were merely continuations of early differences and, as long as we can note in the Assideans the chief characteristics afterwards found in the Pharisees, there is every reason to see in the later party the logical development of the earlier.

like the Scribes refused, accordingly, to pay the foreign tax and were consequently in a constant state of friction with the Roman provincial authorities whom the Sadducees, ever true to their foreign predilections, supported. It cannot be said, however, that the later Sadducees like their phil-Hellenic predecessors were merely anti-national.

There can be no doubt that this bigoted theocratic nationalistic tendency, which the Pharisees never ceased to preach, eventually caused the disastrous anti-Roman rebellion that ended so fatally for the Jewish nation.

20. Rebellion. Indeed, according to Josephus (*J.W.* iv, 32 ff., *Ant.* xviii, 1-5), it was the Zealots, a distinctly Pharisaic development, who were the instigators and ringleaders of this movement. It happened then that those who wished to lead the people to righteousness and to the realisation of the Messianic hopes of centuries became, through their own blind pride, the chief instruments in the downfall of their nation and religion. The Pharisees' bigotry and narrow short-sightedness, therefore, which Jesus had condemned so frequently and so vehemently, were punished in the most terrible manner conceivable.

The literature on the subject is very extensive. Among the modern publications the following should be mentioned:—Cohen, *Jes. Phariseens* (Paris, 1877); Ewald, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, 3 357 ff., 472 ff. (1864); Geiger, 'Sadd. u. Phar.' in *Jüd. Ztschr.* 211 ff. (1863); Gröber, *Das Jahrhundert d. Heils*, 1 109 ff. (1833); Gröber, *Gesch. der Juden*, 71 ff., 455 ff. (1863); Hamburger, *Handb. f. Bibl. u. Talmud*, ii, 1038 ff. (1882); Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.* 176 ff., Krüger, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Phariseer u. Essener' in *Theol. Quartalschr.* 541-57; Kneuen, *Die Gottesknecht von Israel*, 2342 ff. (1869); *Volksreligion und Weltreligion*, 206 ff. (Berlin, 1883); Reuss, *RE* 11 427 ff.; Schenkel, *Bibllex.* 4518 ff.; Schäfer, *Gesch. des jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 2 248 ff., 314 ff. (1886); in Richm's *HWB* 2 1205-1210 1451-54 (1894); Sieffert, *PR* 1, 2 1321-44 (1884); Wellhausen, *Pharisäer u. Sadducäer* (1874).

J. D. P.

SCRIP. 1. יִקְרָא *yalkūt* (cp. Ass. *lakūtu* = לקת, 'to rake together'; or Ar. *kal'ām*, 'pouch, satchel, knapsack'), 1 S. 17 40† (עַל־אֲרָאָה).

2. ΠΗΡΑ, Mt. 10 10 Mk. 6 8 Lk. 9 3 10 4 22 35 f. (RV WHOLE). A scrip is a pouch or wallet used by shepherds (Milton, *Comus*, l. 626); cp. CATTLE, § 6. But the *yalkūt* was also used by travellers. It is probably the *πηρα* of Judith 10 5 13 to 15 (EV 'bag'), and of Mt. 10 10, etc.; יִקְרָא or (קִרְעָה) may (Che.) also be restored in Judg. 5 26 (MT קר), where it would mean a household box or bag (see JAEI).

SCRIPTURE, SCRIPTURES. 1. In Dan. 10 21 the seer's supernatural visitant is reported as saying, 'I will show thee that which is noted in the scripture of truth' (AV), or rather (RV), 'I will show thee that which is inscribed in the writing of truth'—i.e., in the book in which the destinies of mankind are written down beforehand. The expression stands in close relation to the growing interest of the later Jews in the 'last things.' Prophecy in the grand old style having ceased, it became necessary to look to the source of all true knowledge of the future—viz., to God—or more specially to those seers and sages of primitive times whom Yahwē, it was believed, favoured by giving them special revelations, either directly, or by one of those angels who 'see his face' (Enoch, Seth, Daniel, etc.). The phrase in its context is important for the comprehension of those late writings to which the name of some one of those primitive seers is prefixed. It is, of course, related to such an expression as the 'book of life,' or, 'of the living,' Ps. 69 28 [29], cp. Dan. 12 1, but very much more closely to the conception of the 'heavenly tablets' (τάβλῆς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, see *Test. xii. Patriarch.*; Enoch, 51 f.), which are the Jewish equivalent of the tablets of Marduk. The idea survives in the popular Jewish view of the Jewish New Year's Day (= the Zakmuk festival at Babylon) according to which God holds session on that day with a book before him in which he inscribes

the fates of men (Jastrow, *Karppé*). For the later Jewish references see Charles, *J. weh.*, note on pp. 131 ff., and for the origin of the tablets of Marduk see the Babylonian Creation-story, 1 33 11-1, and the last myth of Zu, *KZ*, vi, pt. i, pp. 47 ff., and cp. Jastrow, *KZ*, l. 428, 530.

2. αἱ γραφαί (some eighteen times in NT—*εἰς*, Jn. 5 39, of OT), see CANON, § 2; γραφῆς ἀγίων, Rom. 1 2; ἡ γραφή, Mk. 12 10 15 28 (O Lk. 4 21 Jn. 2 22 7 38 42 10 35 13 17 12 19 24 28 30 37 50 9 Acts 1 18 8 12 15 Rom. 4 3 17 10 11 11 9 Gal. 3 12 22 4 30 1 Tim. 5 6 14 28 21 4 5 1 Pet. 2 6 2 Pet. 1 20; πάντα γραφῆν, 2 Tim. 3 16; ταῖς ἐπιγραφήμασι (AV, the holy scriptures; RV, the sacred writings) 2 Tim. 3 15; οἱ 1 Macc. 12 9 (τα βιβλία τα ἀγία); 2 Macc. 8 23 (τῆν ἐπιγραφὴν βιβλίον).

Observe that in 1 Pet. probably, and in Jas., Jn., and 2 Pet. certainly, ἡ γραφή is used of the Scripture as a whole. In 2 Tim. 3 16, however, RV is doubtless right in changing AV's 'all scripture' as given by inspiration of God, and is 'into' every scripture (inspired of God is also). 'Γραφή' means here, as also in Paul, any single passage of Scripture. The writer shares the Jewish view of the purely supernatural origin of the Scripture in its strictest form, according to which 'theopneustia' is ascribed directly to the Scripture' (Holtmann, *Lehrb. der NTlichen Theologie*, 2 261). Cp. the Jewish belief in the heavenly origin of the Torah, the denial of which made a man an 'Epicurean' or apostate, and excluded him from the future age (*Sanhedrin*, 90a).

SCURVY (סִרְוִי). Lev. 21 20 22 22 Dt. 23 27†; see DISEASES, 8.

SCYTHE. For Jer. 50 16 AV¹⁹⁰¹ (סִיִּתִּים), see AGRICULTURE, § 7. For Is. 24 Joel 3 14 10 Mic. 4 3 [all AV¹⁹⁰¹] (סִיִּתִּים), see PRUNINGHOOK. For 2 Macc. 13 2 ('scythe-bearing,' δρεπανηφόρα), see CHARLOT, § 11.

SCYTHIANS. The LXX contains some apparent references to the Scythians.

In 2 Macc. 4 7 Antiochus IV. Epiphanes is charged with such injustice as would not be found in a Scythian court, and in 3 Macc. 7 5 the servants of Ptolemy IV. Philopator are accused of cruelties after the fashion of Scythians. The city of BETH-SHEAN (9. 7.) is called Scythopolis (Σκυθῶν πόλις) in Jude, 1 27 Judith 3 10 2 Macc. 12 29 f. Symmachus translates βήν (Eilat) in Gen. 14 9, Σκυθῶν.

Moreover 'Scythian' (Σκυθῆς) is mentioned as 'barbarian' in TR of Col. 3 11.

It is not certain that in any of these instances the reference is to the historic Scythians.

Jason of Cyrene in the days of Caesar, and the author of 3 Macc. at the time of Caligula, may indeed have had in mind such descriptions as those in Herod. 4 22-29 or some proverbial sayings based on them. It is also possible, however, that they used the term 'Scythians' only as a synonym for 'barbarians.' According to Georgius Syncellus (*Chron.* 1 405) the origin of the name Scythopolis for BETH-SHEAN, also known to Josephus (*Ant.* xii, 8 5 [§ 348]), Eusebius (*OS* 237 55), and others, was the presence in that city of a body of Scythians remaining from the invasion in the time of Psammeticus. The name, however, does not occur on an inscription before 218 B.C. Pliutarch (*HN* 5 74) that Scythopolis formerly had the name of Nysa. Whilst it is not in itself improbable that some Scythians in 625 B.C. remained as an enclave in Beth-shean and played as important a part there as the exiles from Cutha, such as the Parthian Dalaiæ (*Extra* 4 9, where Hoffmann's conjecture *κῆρ* is more ingenious than convincing). Symmachus may have used Scythian for Parthian.

In Col. 3 11 the text is clearly not in order. It probably read originally 'Jew and Gentile' (Ἰουδαῖος καὶ ἕθνος; Syr. *Ṭhūdāyā w' Arāmāyā*; Eth. *Aḥāyāwā w' Ḥālamāyā*; Lat. *Gentilis et Judæus*), 'circumcision and uncircumcision, Greek and barbarian' (περιτομῆ καὶ ἀκροβυστία, Ἕλληνας καὶ βάρβαρος; Syr. *Ṭaynāyā w' Barbarāyā*); cp. Ignatius, *Philad.* 6, Ἕλληνας τε καὶ βάρβαρος, δοῦλος καὶ ἐλευθέρους; 'Scythian' (Σκυθῆς) seems to be a gloss to 'barbarian.'

It is exceedingly probable that in MT the Scythians are referred to as Ashkenaz' (Ἐσσηναζ) in Gen. 10 3 1 Ch. 1 6 Jer. 51 27.

1 [The question of the origin and meaning of the name 'Ashkenaz' and the related names needs to be re-examined in connection with the 'Jerammeelite theory.' See *Crit. Bib.* on Gen. 10 2-4.]

SCYTHIANS

Originally the Hebrew word may have been pronounced Askunza (אשכנזא, אשכנז, אשכנזא, אשכנזא); it is as Delitzsch has pointed out (see ASHKENAZ) identical with Ashkenaz and Askana occurring in Assyrian inscriptions (see § 6). In the Babylonian inscription the Saka chief Shuka is called, in the Sinitian version, Iskunka. Already Vatei (1802, p. 100) observed that a name beginning with SK would be suitable on account of the prosthetic A, L, or I. The essential part of the name seems to be SKU: cp אשכנז, אשכנז, אשכנז, Chinese Szu, Persian Sa-ka. Askunza-Skuna is apparently the origin of Σκυθης.

In Gen. 10:3 the Scythian is, then, regarded as a son of the Kimmorian (Gomer, Gimirra, Gamir, Κιμμεραιοι) and a brother of Riphath and Togarmah, whilst in Jer. 51:27 he appears as the companion of the Manean and Urartarian. The author of Jer. 50:51-53, whose production is largely a patchwork of quotations, seems to have used in 51:27 some old writing now lost, since the connection of MINNI and ARARAT (q.v.) with Ashkenaz reflects a definite historical situation centuries before his own time (cp JEREMIAH [BOOK], § 20, viii.). Whether Riphath and Togarmah were current designations of certain countries in the N. at the time of the priestly editor of the Pentateuch, or likewise drawn from some older source, must be left in doubt.

It has also been maintained that the Scythians are alluded to under the names Gog and Magog. Magog was interpreted as Scythians by Josephus (Ant. i. 61 [§ 123]). Jerome, Theodoret, and others. The fact that Gomer (Kimmerian), Madai (Mede), Javan (Greek), Meshech (Moschi), Tubal (Tibarenes), and Tiras (Turša, Tyrrhenians) are so manifestly names of famous nations renders it quite certain that, if the word has been accurately transmitted, or formed at all a part of the original text, Magog must also represent the name of a well-known people. It must be confessed that the absence of so important a name alike in cuneiform and classical sources makes one suspect the correctness of the name.

3. Gog and Magog.

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This has led Cheyne to suppose a dithegony of גוג in Gen. 10:2, and a corruption of מדינת in Ezek. 38 f. (see GOG AND MAGOG, n.). The interpretation of ARMAGEDDON (q.v.) by this scholar is indeed as plausible as it is brilliant. It seems doubtful, however, whether the new-found ethiopic divinity will be of service in Ezek. 38 (cp textual corrections in col. 381, n. 1, and for the opposite view that a great historic personage is reflected by the Gog of Ezek. 38 see § 5). A simpler suggestion as to Gen. 10:2 would be that Magog (מגוג) was miswritten for Gog (גוג) under the influence of 'Madai' (מדי), as a consequence of a changed conception of Gog, because at one time it was customary to contract the Assyrian nûi Gag into Magag (Streck), or as a designation of a people akin to the Scythians and derived from Gog (גוג), such as the Sarmatians or Massagetae. It is interesting that Saadia in this place has מגוג (ed. Derenbourg), the customary rendering of גוג at his time; cp Kurān 210, and Arabic writers quoted by Herbelot. In Ezek. 38:2, 'land of the Magog' (ארץ מגוג) is apparently an interpolation (Stade), and in Ezek. 39:6 the original seems to have been Gog (גוג). [On Ezek. 38 see further Crit. Bib.] In Targ. Jer. 1 to Num. 11:26 גוג ארץ מגוג ארץ מגוג ארץ מגוג, 'a king shall arise from the land of Magog,' depends on Ezek. 38:2, while in Targ. Jer. 2 גוג ארץ מגוג ארץ מגוג 'Gog and Magog and his armies,' גוג ארץ מגוג is probably an interpolation; but Magog seems to be the name of a king, as it certainly is in Targ. Jon. to 1 S. 2:10.

Amenhotep III. (Am. Tit. 138 f.) mentions three countries—Gag, Hamgallat, and Ugarit. Hamgallat is probably Melitene, and Gog is likely to have been situated NE. of Commagene (Streck, ZA 15 321). A people called Gog, or Gog, was thus known in the fifteenth century B.C. Concerning its ethnic relations we as yet know nothing. In view of the marked Iranian character of some names in the Amarna letters (see § 13), it is not too bold an assumption that Gag may have been a forerunner of Askenaz in Anatolia belonging to the same family. Like the Muški, the Kaški, the Tubali, and the Haldi, the Gagi may have been driven N. by new invaders; and it is significant that, in the days of Strabo, there was a province Gogarene immediately E. of the territory occupied by the Moschi, the Colchians, the Tibarenes, and the Chaldeans (Geogr. II 14, pp. 452 f. ed. Didot). In the time of Asur-bani-

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pal Gaggi still lingered in the neighbourhood of Urartu as the name of a chief of Sahji (Cyl. B. 41 f.). That the memory of Gog as a people was not lost is shown by Rev. 20:8. Ewald rightly felt that the phrase 'Gog and Magog' was not the creation of the NT apocrypha. After the name Gogarene had attached itself to the territory occupied by Scythians, at least since the beginning of the seventh century B.C., Gog naturally was understood as a Scythian people, whatever its original character may have been.

As, according to Ezek. 38:17, the coming of Gog, prince of Meshech and Tubal, had been predicted by the former prophets, Jerome looked for such a prophecy and found it in Num. 24:7 where G and Sam. with Ag. Sym. read 'his king shall be higher than Gog.' There can be little doubt that this is more original than MT, though the whole verse is probably a late interpolation. [Cp Og. ed. 3465.]

4. 'King Gog.'

Peyron (Sur les prophètes, 1691, p. 136 f.) called attention to Am. 7:17 where G read 'and behold, one caterpillar, king Gog,' and made this passage refer to a Scythian invasion. Here, too, the Hebrew text gives no satisfactory sense, and Nowak rightly rejects it as a gloss. G probably reproduces more nearly the words of the glossator; but it may be questioned whether the original read גוג מלך, 'king of Gog,' or גוג מלך, 'Gog, the king.' If 'king of Gog' was the reading, 'Gog the king,' and with it 'king Gog' himself, may have originated in a misunderstanding of this marginal comment to Am. 7:1. But the idea of this king may also have been suggested by descriptions of Gog, ruler of Sahji, given by some of Asur-bani-pal's Syrian colonists, unless it should ultimately prove to have its roots in Babylonian mythology, where a divine messenger Gaga figures in the Ishtar lit. epic, § 2 f. 67. That the descriptions of Jer. 4:6 and Zeph. 2 (see § 6, and ZEPHANIAN, § 4) cannot by themselves have led to the definite conception of king Gog, is sufficiently evident from Jewish and Christian exegesis, which so long has been satisfied (but see § 27, and Crit. Bib.) with seeing in these passages references to the Chaldeans only.

That, with all its apocalyptic character, Ezek. 38:20 reflects the career of a great historic personage, was already felt by Polychronius (about 127

5. Mithridates = Gog of Ezek. 38.

A.D.) who thought of Antiochus III. He was followed in this by Gronovius whose commentary gives a detailed application of the text to the history of the Seleucid king. Winckler most ingeniously interprets the prophecy as occasioned by the career of Alexander I. (107-200 B.C.). But neither Antiochus nor Alexander would naturally be designated 'prince of Meshech and Tubal,' and there is in neither case any motive for the feeling of hostility displayed, whilst there is evidence of a different disposition toward these kings on the part of the Jews. The present writer would suggest that the conqueror whose career inspired this prophecy is far more likely to have been Mithridates VI. Eupator Dionysus of Pontus.

Mithridates alone could rightly be entitled 'prince of Meshech and Tubal,' his seat of power being where the Moschi and the Tibarenes lived, and his sway extending over the territory once associated with those names. None could more aptly be considered as the coming Gog than the proud conqueror of Scythia who reigned over all the coast-lands of the Black Sea and brought from the farthest N. his armies. No other ruler of those times had with him Paras, Cush, and Put, Gomer, Togarmah, and the extreme N. than Mithridates, whose general Pelopidas could justly boast of the Persian auxiliaries, Egyptian ships, Cappadocian troops, Armenian contingents, and Scythian, Sarmatian, Bastarnian, and Thracian hordes that swelled the king's forces. Mithridates' dark intrigues, his boundless ambition, his insatiable greed, the 'Ephesian vespers' with their 80,000 victims, the persecutions of the Jews in Cos and elsewhere, who were at the time warm friends and allies of Rome, must, in 83 B.C., have filled many a heart in Palestine with fear of an invasion, hatred, and abomination. But, in an age of eschatological hopes, the confidence could not fail that, should he invade the 'navel of the earth' where quiet and prosperity had been restored, and peace indeed to be the predicted Gog, he would there meet with a miserable end. By the sword of the faithful and the wrath of heaven he would perish, and his hosts would be buried during

1 MT מגוג: the addition of the prosthetic מ may be explained as in Arab. Ajaj for גוג in Ezek. 38:2 Ar. 2 This alternative can, it would seem, be explained by the course suggested in LOCUSTS, § 3 with note 6. Cp Crit. Bib. ad loc.]

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SCYTHIANS

seven months in 'the Valley of the Travellers to the Sea' (Ezek. 39:11), whilst for himself would be reserved a famous sepulchre in Israel in this valley of Hammothog (Esdraeloth), apparently in the city named after the foreign horde (Hammoth (Scythopolis)). Thus the king of Scythia would be buried in the land of the Scythians, the new Dionysus in the tomb where Dionysos-Orosyros buried Leucothea, his nurse (Pliny, 571), who was identified with Artimpasa, the Scythian Diana (Hegesippus 21, 22).

It is possible that already Photius understood Jeremiah as referring to the Scythians in 622 ff.

In his first homily on the Russian invasion in 803 Photius seems to regard himself as speaking of the same northern people that the prophet had in mind. He no doubt shared the view of his contemporary Nicetas who, in his life of Ignatius, speaks of the Russians as a Scythian people (Σκυθῶν ἔθνος, Ἀσκαρῶν ἴσως), as does also the unknown compiler of Theophanes's chronography; see 'Die Russorum invasiones' in *Lexicon Pindobonense*, ed. Nauck, 203 f. and xxiv, 7.

6. Scythians in Jer. and Zeph.

In modern times, Cramer, Eichhorn, Dahler, Hitzig, Ewald, and most recent critics have seen in Jer. 4-6 Zeph. 2 original references to the Scythians, though a limiting subsequent retouching under the impression of Chaldean invasions. It has seemed to them impossible that Jeremiah should have feared a Chaldean attack in the thirtieth year of Josiah, whilst the Scythian invasion mentioned by Herodotus (1103 ff.) seems to have occurred about that time. In JEREMIAH [BOOK], § 20, i., it has been suggested that Chaldean designs upon Syria may have become apparent already in 625, and that the Scythian army may have contained a Chaldean contingent by virtue of the agreement between Nabopolassar and the Umman Manda prince alluded to in the Nabuna'id inscription. That view must now be somewhat modified, as Winckler's researches have rendered it highly probable that the Umman Manda in this case are the Medes, and that there was an alliance between the Asuka-Scythians and the Assyrians. A paper to Šamaš, published by Knudtzon (*Hebräische Grammatik*, no. 29), mentions the request of Bartatua of Asuka for a daughter of Esarhadon. Winckler identifies this chief with Protothyas, father of Madyas, king of the Scythians (Herod. 1103), and reasonably supposes that there was effected an alliance which led Madyas to defend Nineveh against Cyaxares. If Madyas was the son of Bartatua who flourished about 675, he is likely to have taken just such a part in the events of 625 as Herodotus indicates. Phraortes had fallen in a battle against the Assyrians 625. To avenge his father, Cyaxares marched against Nineveh and invested the city. It is as natural that he should accept the aid of Nabopolassar as that this Chaldean usurper should be eager to gain an alliance with him by sending an army. In this predicament Madyas came to the aid of Nineveh. The Medes were worsted in the battle, and the city was saved. Another ally of Cyaxares and Nabopolassar had, however, to be dealt with. Pšammetichus had long been encroaching on Assyrian territory. Since 639 he seems to have laid siege to Ashdod. The Scythians, therefore, went on from Nineveh to invade Egypt. Their ostensible object was further to defend the endangered interests of Assyria. Hence the absence of any record of violence done. Even in the disorders in Ashkelon, it is distinctly stated that the mass of the army took no part, only a few individuals. Such treatment at the hands of Scythians could scarcely be expected. Prophets like Jeremiah and Zephaniah naturally watched their approach as a new scourge in the hand of Yahwé, amply justified by the moral condition of Judah. That these hordes should quietly come and go in peace, having received their tribute from Egypt, they could not dream. This line of conduct finds its

¹ There is nothing in the history of the Hebrew canon that forbids so late a date; see the present writer's articles on the canon in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* and the *New International Encyclopedia* and 'Daniel among the Prophets,' *Hebrews*, vol. i. Nor is there any evidence that this appendix already formed a part of the book that no doubt was translated a generation earlier (preface to *Ecclesi.*).

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explanation only in the political relations between Scythians and Assyrians. The editor of Jer. 1-29 (see JEREMIAH [BOOK], § 57.) had an important landmark to go by, and rightly put the beginning of his prophet's ministry in the memorable thirteenth year of Josiah (625).

Winckler assumes that the defence of Nineveh by Madyas occurred at the time when the city was finally destroyed (606), and that the Scythians were then routed. He correctly observes that a parenthesis begins after

7. Winckler's criticism.

the statement of the appearance of Madyas, and concludes that only the beginning of Herodotus's account (1103a) and the end of it (1106, end) were drawn from an older source, the remainder being the historian's own work. But the parenthesis only tells how the Scythians happened to be in Asia, and the narrative manifestly continues with 'Then the Medes fought with the Scythians' in 1104, end. The rest presents only one difficulty, which, however, may be satisfactorily met.

If the twenty-eight years of Scythian rule fell within Cyaxares' reign (625-585), as 1107 distinctly affirms, they must have extended from 625 to 597; yet the capture of Nineveh in 606 is mentioned after the recovery of the nations ruled before 625. But the restoration of Media's former territory is not unnaturally mentioned first, even though it had not been fully accomplished before 597, and the important addition of Assyria only afterwards with emphasis, though occurring already in 606. There is no evidence that Scythia lost anything but an ally by the fall of Assyria. If the king of the Umman Manda in the Nabuna'id inscription is Cyaxares, there is no hint in that document of a Scythian army appearing for the defence of Nineveh in 606. Had the Scythian power in Asia Minor been crushed in that year, it is not likely that hostilities between Media and Lydia would have been so long deferred. In 597 the two allies, Media and Chaldea, seem to have made a great attack upon the W., Media destroying the Scythian power in Armenia and Cappadocia, Chaldea humiliating Egypt's Syrian buffer state, Judah. They were still united when in 586 Nebuchadrezzar put an end to the Judæan kingdom, and the next year secured for his 'helper,' Cyaxares, an honourable peace after the battle of the eclipse, Cilicia being then the heir to the position and policy of Scythia. Winckler's hypothesis apparently makes the distance too great between Madyas and his father Protothyas, and does not sufficiently recognise the importance of the political situation in 625.

Such doubts concerning the first siege of Nineveh by Cyaxares and its attendant circumstances (already expressed by We., *Al. Proph.*,¹ 156², 160), questions as to the reliability of

8. Jerahmeel's theory.

Jer. 46 (cp JEREMIAH [BOOK], § 14), and particularly a searching and much-needed criticism of proper names in MT, finally led Cheyne to look for an invasion from the S. by the Jerahmeelites instigated by Nebuchadrezzar in the years immediately before 604 (see *PROPHETIC LITERATURE*, § 40). The Jerahmeelite theory unquestionably promises to throw much light on the obscure history of the Negeb. That the Arabian neighbours of Egypt, as well as the peoples E. of Judah, should have been inflamed by Nebuchadrezzar is altogether probable; and that Jeremiah, watching these repeated raids, should have felt behind them the master-hand of the Chaldean is not incredible. Nor need it be denied that p̄es has occasionally been understood as 'the North,' where, in reality, a place-name was intended. It is even possible that the reports of the prophet's earlier speeches have been coloured by the memory of more recent words of his occasioned by such raids by the neighbours. In view, however, of the account by Herodotus of a Scythian invasion of Palestine, following the relief of Nineveh by Madyas, the suggestion in a cuneiform letter of a Scytho-Assyrian alliance already in the time of Bartatua-Protothyas, the occasion for Scythian interference in the accessions of

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Cyxares forty years before the eclipse of 585, the insurrection of Nabopolassar, dated by Ptolemy's canon in 625, and the united attack of Cyxares and Nabopolassar upon Assyria, and the assignment of these prophecies to the same year by an editor apparently dependent on an early biographer, it seems safer to adhere to the construction of the history given above. [See, further, *Crit. Bib.*]

At most, little knowledge concerning the Scythians could be derived from these biblical references. If the

9. Cuneiform, classical, and Chinese sources.

identification of Askuza is correct, the Scythians are mentioned in cuneiform inscriptions, such as I R. 43 col. 27, and Kuntzian, *Ass. Mon.*, 29, 35, in a manner that throws light upon the beginnings of Scythian rule in Asia Minor.

In a Persian cuneiform inscription at Behistun, Saka humavarka and Saka tarak mla are referred to by Darius, who also speaks of the "Saka at the ends of the earth" in a topographical list of nations at the Suez canal. The Scythians are not mentioned by name in the Homeric poems, though they may be referred to as *αργείοι*, *Il.* 135. Strabo (7.1) quotes a direct reference from Hesiod; but whether this was drawn from an otherwise unknown genuine *ἄνθρακας* or from the third *καταλόγος* written about 600 B.C., as Kirchhoff emends the text, is uncertain. About 600 B.C. the name occurs in a fragment of Alcman, and that is probably also the date of the poem of Aristaeus of Proconnesus. Eschylus refers to the good laws of the Scythians (Strabo, *loc. cit.*), and Hecataeus of Miletus gave valuable information concerning them. The most important source is Herodotus. His fourth book is devoted to Scythia. Much of his knowledge is derived from native Scythians in Olbia, as well as from resident Greeks. Hippocrates also seems to have visited Scythia, and, like Herodotus, still confined the name Scythians to the Scythi. Pseudo-Scylax (about 337 B.C.) and Ephorus begin to use it in a somewhat wider sense, though familiar with the character and history of the Scythi. Some of the representations in art of Scythian life found at Kertsch (Panticapaeum), Kum Olbia and Almin Olbia (see § 11) belong to the fourth and third centuries. The Greek inscriptions of Olbia containing Scythian names are not older than the second century B.C. Dioborus adds little to the earlier sources; but Strabo's geography throws much light upon the Scythia of his day. The changed conditions there inspired him with undue scepticism as to the accuracy of Herodotus. Trogus Pompeius in Justin, Ptolemy the geographer, Polyanius, Ammianus Marcellinus, and others acquaint us with some facts. For the history of the eastern Scythians Ktesias is not without value. Coins give the names of Scythian kings. Of great importance are the Chinese writings of Sse-ma-t sien (about 100 B.C.) translated by Brosset, *Ann. As.* ii. 548 ff., and of Panku (about 80 A.D.), both because of their sober descriptions of lands and peoples, and because of the aid they furnish to the chronology.

Whilst, in historical times, there have been important centres of Scythian life in Asia Minor and in Europe,

10. Home and migrations of the Scythians.

in Margiana, Bactria, Kophene, and India, the people neither considered itself nor was regarded by others as autochthonous in any of these lands. Even in the territory between the Danube and the Don, which might properly be called Scythian, because for so many centuries the seat of a Scythian civilisation, a native tradition declared the Scythi to be strangers. Many indications point to the region N. of Jaxartes, between the Aral Sea and Lake Balkash, in modern Turkestan and the adjoining Khirgis steppe, as the home of the Scythians in the days when their immediate Iranian kinsmen, the Aryan invaders of India, were still their neighbours S. and SE. in the old Airyancem Vaejo.

The presence of Mongolian and Tibetan tribes on the NE. and E., and of the kindred Massagetae on the SE., occasioned by the expansion of Chinese power, gradually forced a branch of the people across the Ural, the Volga, and finally the Don. The time of this invasion of Western Scythia cannot be determined with certainty; but it may have occurred as early as in the sixteenth century B.C. (see § 14). Another Iranian people, the Kimmerians,¹ occupying the land so far S. as to the Danube, were gradually driven into the Crimea or, at different times and by different roads, into Asia Minor. The Kimmerian invasion that

¹ Such names of Kimmerian kings as Tenšpa, Tuktammi (*Δυρβασις* = *Αυρβασις*, *Sarce*) and Sandrakšatra, occurring in the seventh century, are clearly Iranian.

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followed the E. coast of the Black Sea in the seventh century was probably the last. Down the W. coast of the Caspian Sea the Scythian tribes E. of the Don followed and established themselves E. of the Kimmerians and N. of Madaeans and Medes, whence they apparently extended their power over all Armenia and Cappadocia. Their old places E. of the Azov Sea were taken by a Median people, the Sarmatians or Sarmatians, possibly not before the return of Median power. On the plateau through which the Dniester (Tyras) and Bog (Hypanis), the Dniester (Borysthenes), and the Inguletz (Panticapaeus) flow, and so far as to the Don (Tanaïs), the Scythi took possession of the land, some settling down to agricultural pursuits, others retaining their nomadic life.

The arrival of Milesian colonists (Olbia founded about 650) created mixed Graeco-Scythian tribes such as the Kalpinae and Aizones. A kindred Thracian tribe, the Agathyrsi, was introduced. Northwards the territory extended into Ukraine. Beyond their own clans in that direction lived Slavonic tribes, the Neart, the Melantheoi, and the Anthropopagi (*ἄνθρωποι* called). Up the Volga there were the Budine (Permians) and across the Ural the Thyssagetae and Tyrkai, Finnish peoples, whilst E. of these were the Turkish Argimpeoi and the Issedones, and their neighbours the Ariamaspae, fighting with griffins for the possession of gold.

The Scythians do not seem to have been driven out of their home in S. Russia, but rather to have been absorbed in the Sarmatian and then in the Slavonic tribes.

The eastern branch of the people was not allowed undisturbed possession of its lands N. of the Jaxartes. Already in the time of Cyrus and Darius a part of the Scythians had been pressed into Margiana (see § 17), and at the end of the third century another part was forced by the Massagetae into S. Sogdiana, and some what later into Bactria. In Bactria these Scythians found only a temporary home, as they were driven from there by the Massagetae (Yuechi); but they maintained themselves longer farther east.

In S. Kabulistan, Arachosia, Drangiana, and Sakestan (Kipcha, and in Kašmir, Nepal, and Punjab they established themselves. Finally, they were there also submerged by new powers and absorbed in the native population.

That the Scythians spoke an Iranian language is already evident from Herod. 4.117, where the Sarmatians, a Median people, are said to speak the

11. Language and ethnic relations.

Scythian language, though in an imperfect manner. The Scythian words explained by Herodotus are manifestly Iranian, and the many names of persons and places recorded by Greek writers and in the Olbian inscriptions leave no room for doubt. It is the merit particularly of Zeuss and Müllenhoff to have proved conclusively the Iranian character of Scythian speech. That the Eastern Scythians spoke substantially the same language is evident not least from the names of the Caka kings in India (see Hoffmann, *Syrische Akten persischer Herrscher*, 139 ff.).

An occasional Scythian loan-word in a neighbouring Slavonic or Turkish dialect cannot affect this result. The discussions of Neumann, Cuno, Frenzel, and others, who have tried to calculate the arguments of Zeuss, would have proved quite futile, even if their philological method had been more discriminating. Still, it should not be denied that neighbouring dialects of the same family have a tendency to shade off into each other.

For determining the ethnic relations of the Scythians the pictorial representations on objects found at Kertsch, Kum Olbia, and elsewhere on the Kimmerian Bosphorus are of utmost importance.

As the best of these are not later than the fourth century B.C., and were probably made for Scythian crandies (see Ruyet, *Études d'archéologie*, 106 ff.), they may be taken to represent fairly the Scythian type. The similarity to Russian masks, in dress, hair, beard, and general appearance, due to climatic conditions and the same mode of life, cannot obscure the fact that the features are essentially Iranian. If they all should prove to be likenesses of Sarmatians, as the later ones probably are, this would not weaken the conclusion, since the Iranian character of the Sarmatians admits of no doubt.

Through Herodotus we know that the Scythians worshipped

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Tabul (*Tariz*, *Vesta*), goddess of the fire; Papaeus (probably Papai or Bahai, Zeus), the heaven-father; 12. Religion. Api (yē), the earth; Oibosyrus (Apollo, possibly descriptive name of Mitra), the Sun; Artimpasa (Aphrodite Urania), Venus; Thamisadas (Poseidon), the Sea; Herakles and Ares.

The Scythians had no images, or altars, or temples. Their chief sacrifices were horses, which they offered in a peculiar manner; but prisoners in war were also at times offered. Only the god of war had a few great shrines. There is evidence of ancestral cults. Divination by rods or linden bark was practised, and the soothsayers formed distinct classes. A comparison with Persian divinities and religious customs shows a remarkable similarity. Whilst a heptad of divinities occurs (*Ἀγ-ἀπάδα*), there is no trace of Ahura Mazda. Whether any of the E. Scythians accepted the Mazdaean faith, is not known.

Buddhism may have made some progress among the Sse in Sipa and Panjab; but the Vucchi king Kaniska (78 A.D.) seems to have been the first monarch officially to embrace that form of religion.

The earlier Greek writers speak in terms of high praise of the character of the Scythians, giving instances of their justice, sincerity, love of truth, and sharp intelligence.

It is possible, however, that these descriptions have to some extent been coloured by *a priori* reasoning as to the virtues of a nomadic life, such as may still be found in modern works. On the other hand, the less flattering tone of later authors was, no doubt, due in no small measure to their confusion of the Scythians with their ruler Slavonic, Finno-Ugric, and Turkish neighbours. In Roman times, the conflicts with the Sarmatians naturally added bitterness to the references to Scythians.

The Scythians probably possessed, in addition to the general characteristics of all Iranian peoples, some qualities peculiar to that nomadic life so large a part of them continued to lead. The rôle which the Askuzi played in Asia, at a time when the Assyrian empire had reached its greatest extent, and in the days of its decadence, indicates a somewhat highly developed political organisation and a certain adaptability to conditions of settled life, sagacity as well as energy, diplomacy not less than enterprise.

In Russia the long contact of the Scythians with Greek civilisation, at a time when it had attained its very highest development, could not but exercise a profound influence upon them. The antiquities found on the Kimmerian Bosphorus, now in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, amply prove what the tastes of Scythian artists were and what enviable means they had of gratifying them. One class of these finds probably represents the work of native artists trained upon Grecian models. These Scythian masters produced a type of art the influence of which may be traced beyond (N. of) the Baltic. Since some tribes had for centuries cultivated the soil, and large numbers of Scythians lived in cities, many no doubt had their residences built by Greek architects. King Skyles had a palace in Olbia. Concerning their industrial skill, we have no information, except that they excelled in metallurgy. In Bactria the Scythians became the heirs of another Greek civilisation; and in India they evidently adapted themselves to native and Greek traditions, not without themselves exerting an influence upon the life of Panjab and Sindh.

Concerning the period in which the Scythians still had for their neighbours in the Airyanein Vaejo (Vendidad, 1) the other branches of the Iranian family, before these had passed into Sogdiana, Margiana, Bactria, Hyrcania, Herat, and Kabul, we possess no direct information. The presence of Iranian names in the Amarna Tablets and early Assyrian and Egyptian inscriptions indicated by Ball (*PSB. I*, 1882, pp. 424 ff.), Deold-Budge (*Tell el Amarna Tablets*, 1882, p. xiv), Kost (*III*, 16, 1897), and especially Hommel (*Sitzber. Preuss. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1898), seems to show that Anatolia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Elam had already become acquainted with some members of the Iranian family in the sixteenth century B.C.

According to the native tradition of the Scythians found in Olbia by Herodotus (47), the first king of Scythia, Targitatus, reigned 200 years before Darius Hystaspis (and no more). We have no means of determining on what data this computation rests, and its historical value appears doubtful, Targitatus himself being probably a mythical personage. Hommel con-

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nects this story with the accounts of a Scythian conquest as far as the Nile and an invasion of Asia to the borders of Syria by an Amazonian queen (Diodorus, 2.414), and regards Stabos (4317) Ida thyrsus as a mistake for Targitatus. But it is probable that the accounts in Diodorus are only reflections of the invasion in the time of Psammeticus, and that Idanthyrus has in Strabo received credit for the work accomplished by Madyas. The narratives of the conquest of Scythia by Sesostris (Kamesse II.) are clearly late exaggerations; but Hommel's notable theory, accounting for Iranian names in Kalavakia (= Cappadocia, a country closely allied to the centre of Hittite power, Melitene, and Cilicia; see Müller, *Asien*, 223, 115) by the Sarmatian character of its people, also tends to explain this confusion of Hittite and Scythian. The people called Gog may prove to be akin to the Kimmerians and forerunners of the Askuzi. As regards the history of the Scythians in Russian Scythia before their contact with the Greeks in the seventh century, we have no information.

From tablets inscribed in the reign of Esarhaddon (681-668) we learn that Scythians had established themselves N. of Lake Urmiah.

15. Atlantic rule: Fear is expressed lest the Scythians should break through Mannan into Assyrian territory, the chief Epakai

is said to be an ally of the Mannaeans, and king Bututu (Protothyas) is referred to as seeking an alliance and the hand of Esarhaddon's daughter. That the alliance was concluded is highly probable, since in 625 Madyas, Protothyas' son, came to the aid of Assyria by defeating Cyaxares, who was besieging Nineveh, and by checking the advances of Psammeticus in Syria. In consideration of these services, it is natural that the suzerainty of Assyria over Urartu acknowledged by Sardinis III. should pass to Scythia, and that such states as Cappadocia, Commagene, and Melitene should become tributary. What the relation of Cilicia to the new power was, it would be interesting to know; but it cannot yet be discerned. The Median border states Atropatene, Matiene, and others are likely to have been subdued. From 625 to 597 Scythian rule in Asia Minor continued. Then the power was broken by Cyaxares. In 591 Scythian refugees from the Median court fled to Lydia for protection; but Scythians continued to live under Median and Persian domination in Asia Minor. There was a Saeastene in Cappadocia as well as in Armenia.

Darius claims to have conquered the 'Saka beyond the Sea.' By these he means the Scythians N. of the

16. Scythians Euxine. He probably also refers to them as the *saka tigrakhuda*, since

the pictorial representations from the Kimmerian Bosphorus show that these wore the Phrygian cap. It is to Darius' campaign into Russia in 512 that we owe the elaborate account of the Scythians by Herodotus. That Darius marched as far as the Volga may be doubted, and some other points in the narrative are manifestly unhistorical.

There is no reason, however, to question the rôle ascribed to Idanthyrus, though whose adroit management of the defence Darius was frustrated in his object. His father Saulius seems to have already impressed himself upon the colonists, as his name is especially mentioned. No events of any importance, however, have been recorded by the Greek writers before Herodotus who refer to the Scythians. Whether the use by them of the name Scythiae (*Σκυθία*) shows that their knowledge of the people was derived from the Askuzi of Asia Minor, or that Skuzi was as much a native designation of the people as Skolot, cannot be determined.

The Milesian colonists were, of course, tributary to the Scythian suzerain; but the relations seem to have been cordial.

Only when a king like Skyles forgot his native traditions to the extent of taking part in the Dionysiac orgies in Olbia, the Scythians resented his proceeding. Friendly relations also prevailed between Ariapithes and Teres of Thrace, in the beginning of the fifth century. It is doubtful whether Spartacus (438-432), the founder of the Bosphorian kingdom, was a Greek or of mixed race. There are some indications that the king whose skeleton was found in a tomb at Kertsch (Panticapaeum) had Scythian blood in his veins. The Spartacidae were not a serious menace to Scythian power in the fourth century. Danger threatened first from Macedonia, whose ambitious ruler Philip invaded Scythia and killed in battle king Ateas in 339, and subsequently from the Sarmatians who crossed the Don and made themselves during the third century the most important people in the

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territory once claimed by the Scythians. In the beginning of the second century the German Bastarnians made their appearance. A Scythian reaction seems to have occurred under Saurinus who, however, was defeated by Mithridates VI, 133 B.C. After Mithridates (120-87) had conquered the country N. of the Taurus, he could lead armies of Scythians as well as Sarmatians, Bactrians, and Thracians against the Romans. Later, the legions of Rome found Sarmatians as well as they had crossed the Danube. Finally, the Scythians were absorbed in the prevailing Slavonic population.

From their old home the eastern branch of this people was also driven by invaders across the Jaxartes into Chorasmia, Margiana, and Bactria.

17. Eastern Scythians. According to Ktesias, Cyrus fought against these Scythians, and forced Amorges to aid him in his war upon Croesus (549). There is probably also a nucleus of truth in his account of Cyrus' war with the Derbikkæ, though he has wrongly connected his death with this war. There is no reason for doubting the substantial accuracy of Herodotus' account of his death in the war upon Tomyris, queen of the Massagetae, though there are as usual some embellishments. The grounds on which Dancker rejected this story are quite insufficient.

Darius had to fight with Scythians whom he designates as *Naka Kumavarka*. These are probably identical with the Amyrgian Scythians. Fressl may be right in connecting both these words with Margiana. According to Fr. Müller (*HZ* 17 720) they are the 'Soma-preparing Scythians'; but Ed. Meyer (*G* 1310f.) doubts this interpretation. Scythian archers took part in the battle of Marathon, and were also in the army of Xerxes. Where their home was, is not indicated. Alexander came into contact with Scythians only after he had crossed the Jaxartes in Sogdiana. For some time before 133 Scythians had held possession of Margiana.

Through Chang-kian's account of his mission (in Saemai-ien), it is possible to trace the political situation in Iran in 120, and to discern some of the events that led up to it. Pressed by the Hungna, a Turkish people, the Yuechi (probably Massagetae) had forced the Szu (Gaka, Saka, Scythians) across the Jaxartes. In 175 the Szu conquered Sogdiana from Euraides of Bactria. This king defended Bactria against their attack with the aid of Mithridates I. in 165. In 133 the Scythians took most of Bactria from Heliocles. But they were in their turn driven from Bactria, and fled into Kipin, Kashmir, Nepal, and India, where they established kingdoms. Maues (120-80) in Kipin and Punjab (130-100), Azes (100-80), and Spavarma, Azes, and Vardanes after 80. Between 70 and 30 Spalaboros, Spalagdanos, Spalyris, and Spalyrisis reigned in W. India, though their power was much limited by Hermalos. They were finally overthrown by Kanishka I. (Kantsa-Kio), the founder of the Yuechi dynasty. The Kanishka dynasty (until 100 A.D.), whose most famous king is Kanishka (70-90 A.D.), was also designated as the Scythian (C'ha), and the Gaka-era begins with the year 73 A.D. The E. Scythians were confounded with their kinsmen, the Massagetae, and other neighbours in India, as the W. Scythians had been confounded with their kinsmen, the Sarmatians, and other neighbours in Europe. In India, as in Afghanistan, the Scythians were absorbed in the native population.

(1) On the biblical references see the commentaries on Genesis, Jeremiah, Zephaniah, and Ezekiel, and the histories of Israel [also *Crit. Bib.*]. The best modern history

18. Literature. of Mithridates of Pontus is by Theodore Reiaach (*Mithridate, Empereur*, 1890). (2) For descriptions of Scythia see especially Ukert, *Geogr. der Griechen und Römer*, 32; Reclus, *Asie, Univ.*; Lindner, *Skythien u. d. Skythen des Alterthums*, 171, and especially Neumann, *Die Hellenen im Skythienlande*, 1255; Baer, *Hist. Fragen*, 1871, and Fomsksek in *Berichte d. Wiener Akademie*, 1028. (3) The most important works on the language are Zens, *Die Deutschen auf die Nachbarstämme*, 1337; and Mullenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 3 (1920). Fressl, *Die Skythen-Saken*, 1896, is not sufficiently critical. (4) For the antiquities see Stephani, *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, 1231; MacPherson, *Antiquités of Kertsch*, 1837; Neumann (see under 2). Rayet, *Études d'archéologie et d'art*, 1898; S. domon Reinach, *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, 1875. (5) For the history, see, in addition to primary sources, Winckler, *Gesch. d. Altertums*, 1873, 2 (215 f.); Gutschmid, *EB* 9, art. 'Scythia' and 'Persia', discriminating, but wrongly excluding the eastern Scythians; the suggestive discussions of H. Winckler, *WZ* 14 2 (1874); the admirable summaries of Ed. Meyer, *GA*, especially 3, §§ 65 ff. (1901); Lassen, *Indische Altertumskunde*, 1817-1837; Schröder, *Indische Literatur und Cultur*, 1867; and Lehmann, *Gesch. des Alten Indiens*, 1865. N. S.

SCYTHOPOLIS (σκυθων πολιν), 2 Macc. 12:20; in Josh. etc. BETH-SHEAN [q.v.]; cp HAMONAI.

SEA (D), *q.v.*; *q.v.* **ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑ**. See GEOGRAPHY, § 4; also DEAD SEA, GALILEE (Sea of), MEDITERRANEAN, RED SEA, SALT SEA.

SEA, THE BRAZEN

SEA, THE BRAZEN (σκυθων θησαυρον, την θαλασσαν την χαλκην 2 K. 25:17 Jer. 52:17 [om. A] 1 Ch. 18:1)

1. Size and form. THE MODERN SEA (ΘΥΣΣΟ ΘΥΣΣΗ, ΤΗΝ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑΝ [B], Τ. Θ. ΑΥΤΗΝ [V], Τ. Θ. ΑΥΤΩΝ [L], 1 K. 7:21; Τ. Θ. ΑΥΤΩΝ [B], 2 Ch. 4:15), or simply THE SEA (1 K. 7:21, 2 K. 18:17, 2 Ch. 4:15), the large bronze reservoir which stood in the SE. angle of the court of Solomon's temple. The designation 'sea' is explained by Josephus from the sea (*Ant.* viii 35; *ἀληθη . . . θαλασσα δια το μετρον*).

According to the description in 1 K. 7:21-23 the 'sea' was round, measuring 10 cubits (17 22 ft.) in width, 60 (18 64) in depth; 'and a line of 30 cubits (54 60 cubits) compassed it round about.' These numbers are of course only approximate—not given with mathematical precision, otherwise to a diameter of 10 cubits would have corresponded a circumference of 31.4159 . . . cubits; failure to observe this has caused commentators needless trouble. The capacity of the 'sea' (1 K. 7:26; *Θ* om.) was 2000 baths = 16,010 gallons (see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, § 3). 2 Ch. gives 3000 baths (= 24,010 gallons), certainly an impossible figure, even that of 1 K. being too large for the data; a hemispheroid of the dimensions given contains only 6376 gallons and a cylinder 10,798 gallons.² Even if, in view of what is said about the 12 oxen, we come to the conclusion that the 'sea' must have been more or less cylindrical in shape, not, as Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 35, *το ημισφαιρον*) will have it, hemispherical, we can hardly suppose it to have held much more than (say) 7000 gallons. There is, however, no recorded ancient parallel even for such casting. It is one of very considerable magnitude (great bell of Moscow 198 tons; great bell of St. Paul's—largest in England—17½ tons). The ancients no doubt usually did their large castings in pieces; but where possible they preferred hammered work. Solomon's 'sea' may, therefore, it has been suggested, have been a wooden vessel plated with bronze. On the notice in 1 K. 7:46 see ADAM, 1; and for a different view, SECCOTT, 2.

As to the form of the 'sea' the only further data we have are that the brass was an handbreadth thick, that the brim was wrought like the brim of a cup, like the flower of lily, and that below the brim ran two rows of gourd-like ornaments *εγγυρα* (see GOURD, end). These ornaments, as distinguished from those of the brazen pillars, were cast when the sea itself was cast; in other words we have to think of them as in relief, not as undercut. The sea rested upon 12 brazen oxen arranged in four groups facing the four quarters of the heavens. On every other point worth knowing—the height of the oxen, the shape of the basin, and so forth—the writer is silent. Nor are we told in what manner the water was supplied or drawn; one naturally thinks of the temple spring or a conduit from it.

Klostermann satisfies our curiosity as to the mode of filling by conjectural emendation of 1 K. 7:23 where he reads: 'There were 30 cocks around the sea; 20 were under the brim as supplied it, and at the bottom of the sea were 10 which drank it; the cocks were in two rows and their flow was according to their measure.' The Vss., however, supply no sign of hint towards any such emendation.

According to the Chronicler (2 Ch. 4:6) the sea was 1 (On the assumption that by *ammah* is meant the long cubit, see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, § 1.)

2 (Prof. Urwin, F.R.S., in a private communication says: 'I make out that a hemispherical cup, 15 ft. external diameter and 3 ins. thick would require 113.5 cubic ft. of brass, and would weigh 261 tons. It would contain 750 cubic ft. or 495 gallons of water, and this would weigh 24½ tons. A cylindrical vessel would weigh more and contain more—but the spherical shape is the most favourable for possibility.')

3 (2 K. 25:17 in 1 K. 7:24 is usually rendered 'ten in a cubit' (so RVmg. and AV), and accordingly the total number of 2000 in each row reckoned to be 300. The words as they stand, however, can only mean 'in a length of 10 cubits'; but this gives no sense. The clause is (with *Stade*) to be deleted as a gloss (Benzinger, *ad loc.*).

SEA CALVES

for the priests to wash in (cp Ex. 30:19); as to this, all one can say is that the arrangement would be in the highest degree inconvenient for any such purpose. Almost inevitably therefore one comes back to the conjecture that the sea itself had a symbolical meaning, as well as the oxen on which it rested. The oxen are to be explained not by the consideration that the ox was the principal sacrificial animal (so Riehm, *HWB*, s.v. 'Moor, ehernes) but rather by the symbolic character of the ox as representing deity, in Canaanite-Israelitish religion. Kisters (cp *J. L.*, 1879, pp. 455 ff.) explains the sea itself as a symbol of the subterranean ocean, the *aphan*. He recalls the many traces to be found in the OT of acquaintance with the Babylonian creation-myth and the struggle of the gods with Tiamat (cp Gunkel, *Schöpfung*, 153, and see DRAGON, LEVIATHAN, RAHAB, SERPENT). It is this Tiamat—who was held to represent the waters of chaos, and to have been vanquished by the gods—that according to Kisters was represented by the 'sea' upon the oxen (these last symbolising Marduk). In view of the admitted fact that the Babylonian creation-myth determined the form of the Israelitish cosmogony, one cannot deny that such a view may be correct, even though the OT itself does not directly support it. Cp CREATION, §§ 13, 19, 22; NEHUSHTAN, § 2.

Gunkel refers to the *aphan*, or primeval sea, made by king Enlil of Lagash and the *tiannu*, or sea, of Agum (1500 B.C.); cp *AR* iii. 113-141; *Del. Ass. HWB* 114; *Muss.-Ass. Diet.* 1; Jensen, *Konigol.* 233 ff., 511, and pl. 3. See also Sayce (*ibid.*, *Lect.*, 1887, p. 63, and *AT* (2) 105), who points out the connection between the sea and the large basins called *apsi* in Babylonian temples. What this acute scholar did not remark was the connection of these basins with the Babylonian creation-myth, in which *apsu* (the *apsawu* of Hammurabi; see *CHALDEAN*, § 15, end) designates the ocean which 'in the beginning was, or filled, all things.'

All events no other satisfactory explanation has been proposed. How the worshippers of Yahweh interpreted or (if it came from Babylon) adapted this symbol, we have also no information from the OT. But that the original meaning of the 'sea' did not quite accord with later Yahwistic ideas, may be inferred with great probability from the fact that the later period either explained it in an impossible manner (so the Chronicler; see § 2, *begin.*) or eliminated it altogether. In Ex. 30:18-40:7, instead of the molten 'sea' P has merely a brazen laver or basin (שֵׁבַע) for the priests to wash their hands and feet. So also the post-exilic temple has only a basin of the same sort, not to be compared in point of size with Solomon's 'sea.' In Ezekiel it would seem as if the temple fountain were to take the place of the molten sea, which does not otherwise seem to be represented in the temple; in its place we find a fountain to the E. of the temple (note the agreement, partly verbatim, between the expressions of 1 K. 7:39 and of Ezek. 47:1). As regards this fountain too we can see that it is not primarily intended to provide an arrangement for the priests to wash their hands, but has a symbolical meaning (see the comm. *ad loc.*).

Of Solomon's brazen sea we are further told that King Asa took it down from off the oxen, and put it upon a pavement of stones (see PAVEMENT). Like other brazen appurtenances of the temple the oxen were made available for paying the tribute exacted by the king of Assyria (2 K. 18:17). The sea itself fell into the hands of the conquering Babylonians, who broke it in pieces and carried off the fragments (2 K. 25:13-16 Jer. 52:22-23—where the twelve oxen also are erroneously reckoned among the spoils of the Babylonians).

See the Archaeologies and Dictionaries, also the commentaries on Kings by Theodotus, Kell, Klostermann, Benzinger, and Kittel. See also Perrot and Chipiez, *Sard.*, *Jud.* etc. 1:258-264; *Phoen. and Tyrr.*, 1:280-292; Renan, *Hist. Peup. Isr.*, 2:156 ff. Consult also, in *Masp. Struggle*, 110.

SEACALVES (שֵׂבַע), Lam. 4:3 AV^{ms}, RV JACKAL (2).

SEAL (שֵׁבַע), 1 K. 218. See RING, § 1.

SEDECIA

SEALSKIN, Ex. 25: etc. RV, AV HAZGERS SKIN.

SEAMEW (שֵׂבַע), Lev. 11:13-14, AV CUCKOO.

SEA MONSTER (שֵׂבַע), Lam. 4: AV, AV^{ms}, 'sea calves,' RV JACKAL (2:1); cp WHALE.

SEAT. See THRONE.

SEBA (שֵׂבַע; CABA [HN.M.], etc.), -7 [Houze]; in Is. 43:3 CUMHNN [HN.M.], CUMHNN [I]; in Is. 45:14, pl. שֵׂבַע. EV SABBANS (שֵׂבַע) CABAECIM [I], CABAECIN [N^o]. CEBWAECIM [N], CEBWAECIN [N^o]. CABAECIN: 017' CABAECIM [Q^{ms}]; (שֵׂבַע), first in order of the sons of Cush, Gen. 10:7 [I], 1 Ch. 1:9. Mentioned also in other late passages—e.g., Is. 43:3 (with Mizraim and Cush), 45:14 (in pl., with same companions); Ps. 72:10 (with Sheba), where, however, Beckell, Cheyne, *P^o*, regard it as a later insertion. This last passage may simply indicate a locality in the far S.; the other passages favour Africa, and the neighbourhood of Ethiopia (but cp *CUSH*, 2). Dillmann (on Gen. 10:7) thinks it safest to regard Seba as a branch of the Cushites or Ethiopians settled eastward from Napata, on the Red Sea or Arabian Gulf, a view which Baethgen (on Is. 72:10) and Duhm (on Is. 43:3) accept.

The name is not found in Egyptian; but Dillmann cites τὸ σεβαρτικὸν σπομα, ἀπὸ τῆς Σεβας, Σεβας καὶ τὴν ἐπιμελεθῆναι, from Strabo, xxi. 4:10 and Σεβαρτικὸν σπομα, σαρὰρ ποδὶς ἐν τῷ Αἰθιοπικῷ κολυμβ. from Phot. s. v. 777; Josephus, and many following him, identify with Menoë; but this does not seem to be elsewhere distinguished from Cush. See also *CUSH*, 2; *MIZRAIM*, § 2.

SEBAM (שֵׂבַע), Num. 32: RV, in 1. 36, RV SIBMAL.

SEBAT, RV SHEBAT (שֵׂבַע), Zech. 17. See MOUNT.

SECACAH (שֵׂבַע), ΔΙΧΙΟΖΑ [B], ΔΙΟΧ. [B], ΣΟΧΟΧΑ [N], ΣΥΧΑΧΑ [L], a city in the wilderness of Judah (Josh. 15:61), mentioned between Middin and Nibshan. Assuming the ordinary view of the sites mentioned in Josh. 15:61 f. (see BETU-AR, 1), we might suppose Secacah to be the name of a fortified city (with cisterns) on the plateau above the Dead Sea to keep the nomad tribes (cp 2 Ch. 28:10).

The caution, however, given elsewhere (*MIDDIN*, 2) may be here repeated. P may have led subsequent ages into a great misunderstanding by putting 'En-gedi' for 'En-kalesh.' Secacah was probably a place in the far south (Negeb); possibly Khalashah is meant. See *NEGEB*, 2.

SECHENIAS (ΣΕΧΕΝΙΑΣ [A.L.]), 1. 1 Esd. 8:29 = Ezra 8:3, SHECANIAH, 2. 2. 1 Esd. 8:32 = Ezra 8:5, SHECANIAH, 3.

SECHU, RV Secu (שֵׂבַע), a corrupt reading in 1 S. 19:22 (in the same late narrative referred to under NATURIT). In the place so called in EV we are told that there was 'a great well' (AV) or 'the (well-known) great well' (RV). Unfortunately *hîr kag-gâdîl* cannot properly be rendered either way. ^{PL} not only suggests the right reading, *hîr kaggôdîm* (שֵׂבַע לְהַגְדִּים), 'the cistern of the threshing-floor,' but also completes the correction by the very appropriate שֵׂבַע, 'on the (bare) height.' A treeless height where there would be cool breezes was the natural place for a threshing floor; cp Jer. 4:11 and see AGRICULTURE, § 8. (Σ, ἐπι τοῦ φρέατος τοῦ ἄνω τοῦ ἐν τῷ σέφει [B], ἐ, φρ. τῆς ἄ. τῆς ἐν σέφει [L], φρ. τοῦ μεγάλου τοῦ ἐν σοαχω [A], Socho [N.G.]) S. A. C.

SECRETARY (שֵׂבַע), 2 S. 8:17 EV^{ms}, etc., EV SCRIBE.

SECT (ΑΙΡΕΣΙΣ), Acts 24:14 RV, AV HERESY.

SECUNDUS (ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΟΣ [Ti. WH]), a Thessalonian, who accompanied Paul for (at least) a part of the way from Europe on his last recorded journey to Jerusalem (Acts 20:4).

SEDECIA, RV Sedekias (ΣΕΔΕΚΙΑΣ). 1. b.

SEDUCERS

Maasias, an ancestor of BARUCH [q.v.] (Bar. 11); cp 'Zedekiah h. Maaseiah' Jer. 21 21 f.
2. In Bar. 18; elsewhere called ZEDEKIAH, 1.

SEDUCERS, RV 'Impostors' (ΓΟΗΤΕΣ), 2 Tim. 3 13. See MAGIC, § 4.

SEER (סֵּר), 1 S. 9; הִרְרָה, 2 S. 21 11; see PROPHECY, § 5.

SEGUB (סִגְיָוּב, סֵּגוּיָב). 1. b. Hezron; father of JAIR [q.v.] (1 Ch. 2 21 f., סֵּגוּיָב [B]). See CALEB-EPHRATAH, REUBEN, § 11.

2. The youngest son of HIR [q.v.] (1 K. 16 34; Kr. סִגְיָוּב; סֵּגוּיָב [B; om. L.]). Cp REUBEN, § 11. In G of Josh. 6 25 it may be his name that is rendered διασωθῆναι; the translator apparently misread סִגְיָוּב (Aram. 'to save').

In the name, see NAMES, § 57, and for S. Ar. analogies, Hommel, *SüdArab. Altertümer* (1899), 21. But the theory that it is an ethnic like Jair, Hezron, and Machir is attractive. Cf. 1 in 1 Ch. 2 21 f. implies סִגְיָוּב, and this comes probably by transposition from סִגְיָוּב (cp SERUC). Abiram, the brother of 2, also probably bears an ethnic name. 'Rim,' if not also the fuller form Abiram, comes (like 'Jericho') from יִרְחָה = יִרְחָה (Che.). See *Crit. Bib.*

SEIR (סֵּיר), the reputed ancestor of the Horites (Gen. 36 21 f., 1 Ch. 1 38 f.). See SEIR, MOUNT.

SEIR, MOUNT (סֵּיר), either lit. 'hairy' [Lag. *Ubers.*, 92], or trop. 'overgrown' [Nö. *ZDMG* 40 105 n. 2]; always סֵּיר, except Josh. 11 17 סֵּירָה [A]; 12 7 סֵּירָה [AF], אֲסֵּירָה [L.]; 1 Ch. 1 38 סֵּירָה [A]; Ezek. 25 8 [om. BQ]; 11. *Palmyra*, Ch. [except 1 Ch. 1 38 סֵּירָה [L.]].

The name of a mountain district occupied by Esau and the Edomites, Josh. 24 4 (E), Gen. 36 9 f. (P), Dt. 2 5 etc., but by the Horites in Gen. 14 6 (on text see especially Buhl, *Edomites*, 28). The name 'land of Seir' (סֵּירָה) also appears in Gen. 32 4 (J) 36 30 (P); where, however, S has אֲדוּמָה [ADIEL, B lacking], and (often) simply 'Seir,' Judg. 5 4 Gen. 33 14 16 (J), Nu. 24 18 (E); where, however, S has אֲרָבָה [ARABIA], Dt. 1 4 etc.

The mountain region of Seir (mod. *es-Sirah*) extends 15 or 20 m. E. from the 'Arabah (S. from the Dead Sea), which it skirts nearly to the Gulf of Akaba (the terms 'land of Seir' and 'Seir,' are sometimes applied to the plateau W. of the 'Arabah); Zimmermann (*Z.A.* 6 257 n. 13) doubtfully suggests a connection with the district of *Ser* mentioned with Gihon (ruil) in an Amarna letter from Jerusalem (Wi. *AB* 5 182 [B 105] 26). On early traces of the name Seir, and on its meaning, see EDOM, §§ 2, 3.

Edom' and 'Seir' are terms which are often used interchangeably as the designation of a region occupied by Esau and his descendants (Gen. 32 3; 36 1 8 f., 19 21 43 Nu. 24 6 Dt. 2 5 8 29 Josh. 24 14). 'Mt. Seir,' the range of mountains running S. from the Dead Sea, on the E. of the 'Arabah, was a main feature of 'Edom' (Gen. 14 6 36 3 f., Dt. 2 8 Josh. 24 14); but 'Seir' (Gen. 33 14 Dt. 1 44) and 'the land of Seir' (an ancient variant to 'the country [or field] of Edom,' Gen. 32 4), are terms which are clearly not limited to, nor, indeed, are commonly, if ever, identical with, 'Mt. Seir' in the OT text. Sometimes סֵּיר 'Seir' appears to be miswritten for סֵּירָה, 'Mussir' [Che.]. The practical question therefore is, What portion of the country westward of the 'Arabah was included in 'Seir' and in 'the country of Edom,' in the days of the Israelites' wanderings? Cp EDOM, § 5. Trumbull answers, 'The extensive plain es-Sir, bounded on the S. by Wady el-Fikreh, a wady which ascends south-westerly from the 'Arabah, from a point not far S. of the Dead Sea, and separates Palestine proper from the 'Azazimch mountain-tract, or Jebel Makrah group. The northern wall of this wady is a bare and bald rampart of rock, forming a natural boundary as it goeth up to Seir'; a landmark both impressive and unique, which corresponds with all the OT mentions of the Mt. Halak', *Kadesh-barnea*, 99 f.² Cp HALAK, MOUNT.

¹ Trumbull, *Kadesh-barnea*, 84 f.
² See, further, Palmer, *Desert of Exodus*, 404 (es-Sir), and note that Rowlands (Williams, *Holy City*, 1 265) had already connected 'Seir' with es-Serr (sic).

SELA

SEIR, MOUNT (סֵּיר מִצְרָה; ΟΡΟΣ ΑCΚΑΡ [B], Ο. ΑCΚΑΡΕC [B^{ab}], Ο. ΧΕΙΡ [A], Ο. ΟΙΟΙΡ [L.]), one of the landmarks on the boundary between Judah and Benjamin (Josh. 15 10), between Kirjath-jearim and CHESALON [q.v.], and therefore in the neighbourhood of the rocky point of Saris, 2 m. W. by S. from *el-Zenab* (so Robinson). With Saris may be identified the Sore of S, Josh. 15 6 (σάρης [B], σάρης [A, vs [L.]); see Buhl, *Pal.* 61 167, and BENJAMIN, JUDAH.

SEIRAH, but AV *Seirath* (סֵּירָה), the place to which Ehud fled, where he 'blew the trumpet in the hill country of Ephraim' (Judg. 3 26, CΕΤΕΙΡΩΘΑ [B], CΕΕΙΡΩΘΑ [A], CΗΡΩΘΑ [L.]). The name has greatly puzzled critics.² Winkler (*Alttest. Unt.* 55 ff.) even supposed some unknown place on the E. of Jordan to be meant; in *GI* 2 100 he prefers the 'Mt. Seir' of Josh. 15 10. If, however, we use the key supplied by a number of the narratives, in which, as the evidence tends to show, the scene has been transferred from the Negeb to the tribal territory of Ephraim, we shall see a way out of this perplexity. Eglon was king of Moab, and the city he took was a place called Jerahmeel—i.e., either Jericho (see JERICHO, § 2) or more probably the capital of the Jerahmeelite Negeb (possibly Kadesh). After his exploit Ehud escaped to Zarephath (זָרְפָּת), and mustered the Israelites who dwell in the southern Ephraim—i.e., the Jerahmeelite highlands. Ehud himself was probably a Benjamite of the Negeb.

SELA, or (AV 2 K.) *Selah*, or once [see § 2] ΠΕΤΡΑ (ΠΕΤΡΑ, ΠΕΤΡΑ in Is.; פֶּטֶרָה, הַ פֶּטֶרָה in Judg. 2 K.), Judg. 1 36 (RV^{ms}) 2 K. 14 7 (EV) Is. 16 1 (AV^{ms} Petra) 42 11 (Hit., Del., Dhnh). Commonly supposed to be the Hebrew name of the later city of Petra (see § 2). The name of *Sela* indeed is parallel to the Arabic name *Saf*, which Yāqūt gives to a fortress in the Wady Musa, where Petra stood (cp Nöld. *ZDMG* 25 259).² Wetzstein (in *Del.* *lex.* 696 ff.) thinks that *Sela* is another name for Bozrah [q.v.]; the full name of the Edomite capital being Bozrah bas-sela, a view which has not much to recommend it. Nor is the simpler view that a city on the site of Petra was known to the Hebrews as *Sela* or has-sela' ('the rock') essentially untenable; there is in fact no city called *Sela* mentioned in the OT. See, however, EDOM, § 7.

1. No city called Sela in OT. From *Sela*' (פֶּטֶרָה), in Judg. 1 36 should rather be 'from the rock' (פֶּטֶרָה); the reference may be to some striking cliff near the S. end of the Dead Sea, fitted to be a landmark, such as that now called es-Sāfiel (so Buhl, Moore). In 2 K. 14 7, it may be 'some castle on a rock unknown to us' (Kittel) that is referred to. In Is. 16 1 פֶּטֶרָה 'from the rocks' (collective); cp Jer. 48 20, is generally taken to describe the route taken by the Moabite ambassadors, which would run through the rocky country of Edom. Is. 42 11 should be rendered 'Let the inhabitants of the rocks (פֶּטֶרָה collectively) sing'; cp Ob. 1. It should be added, however, that though as against 'Sela' the above summary of current interpretations will stand, the views of the geography of the texts which are proposed seem open to question. The redactors themselves were sometimes the authors of confusion (see *Crit. Bib.*).

Of all these passages the only one which can with any plausibility be thought to refer to Petra is 2 K. 14 7. But in the passage, 2 Ch. 25 12, we only read of a 'rock,' nor does Joktheel occur anywhere as the name of an Edomite city; JOKTHEEL [q.v.] is very probably connected with 'Maacath' or 'Jerahmeel.' The misinterpretation (for such, as Kittel has shown, it is) arose partly from the supposed mention of the Edomites, partly from the comparatively early confusion between Petra and Kadesh. Euseb. and Jer. (*OS* 2 86 2 145 9) distinctly assert that Petra, a city of Arabia in

¹ S's Cετερωθα may, perhaps, be a corruption of Cεερωθα (T and P confounded).
² See Hudde, Moore, and cp van Kasteren, *MOPB*, 1895, pp. 26-27.
³ WRS, *Ency. Brit.*, art. 'Petra.'

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SELA-HAMMAHLEKOTH

the land of Edom, surnamed Joktheel, is called Rekem by the Assyrians (so Ears., but Jer. 'Syrians'). Still, as elsewhere they appeal to Jos., they may not be speaking here on their own authority. Jos. (*Ant.* v. 17 71) says that Petra, the capital of Arabia, was called *αρη* or *περη* from its founder Rekem, a Moabite king. But Targ. Onk. and Targ. Jon. apply *קרי* to Kadesh-barnea, Gen. 16:14 20:1. *קרי* is supposed to be connected with *קרי*, 'to stone'; it is probably, however, as applied to Kadesh, a corrupt fragment of 'Jerahmeel,' whilst, as applied to Petra, it may perhaps, as Wetzstein suggests, be derived from the Greek *πέτρα*, 'a cleft in the rocks.'

Wellhausen (*De Gentibus* [1870], 39, n. 2) doubts whether Rekem as the name of Petra is derived from the variegated colours of the rocks about Wady Mūsā or from a tribe dwelling in the Edomite region called Rekem, and virtually mentioned in 1 Ch. 2:44. The present writer is convinced, however, that the *Rekem* of Chronicles, which is the name of a tribe of S. Palestine, is really a mutilation of Jerahmeel.

See Wetzstein in *Del. Israh.*,¹ 667-677; Buhl, *Gesch. der Edomiter*, 34-37; Künzl, *HK*, on 2 K. 14:7; Lury, *Gesch. der Edomiter*, 23 f.; Robinson, *BK* 2:53, ff. (n. 39). T. K. C.

Petra (*ἡ Πέτρα*; αἱ Πέτραι), however, which gave its name to the province Arabia Petraea (*ἡ κατὰ Πέτραν*

2. Petra. *Ἀραβία*, Agathenerus), became famous under the Nabateans (*q. v.*); but, to judge from the advantages of its situation, it was doubtless a city or fortress before that time. Its ruins are in the deep valley called Wady Mūsā (from its connection in Mohammedan legend with Moses), which is in the mountains forming the eastern wall of the great valley between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of 'Akaba. Wady Mūsā lies just N. of the watershed between the two seas, in 30° 19' N. lat. and 35° 31' E. long.¹ Travellers coming up the 'Arabiah usually approach the ruins from the SW. by a rough path, partly of artificial construction;² but the natural entrance is from the E. down a narrow defile more than a mile long called the Sik ('shaft'). The Sik is a contraction in the valley of a stream which comes down from the E., rising in the so-called Fountain of Moses ('Ain Mūsā),³ and passing between the villages of Elji and 'Aireh (Palmer). Both these places are ancient; the latter is the fortress Wānā of Vākit,⁴ whilst Elji, mentioned by Edrisi, is the 'Gardis juxta civitatem Petram' of the *Onomasticon*.⁵ Below these and above the ravine the characteristic rock-cut tombs and dwellings of the Nabateans begin to appear.

Not only was Petra a place of refuge and a safe storeroom, it was also the great centre of the Nabatean caravan trade. It was the place where the Gaza road branched off from that to Bostra, Palmyra, and N. Syria, and it commanded the route from Egypt to Damascus. From Petra, too, there went a great route direct through the desert to the head of the Persian Gulf. Thus Petra became a centre for all the main lines of overland trade between the E. and the W., and it was not till the fall of the Nabatean kingdom that Palmyra superseded it as the chief emporium of N. Arabia.

¹ See Léon de Laborde and Linant, *Voyage dans l'Arabie Pétrée* (1830); Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'exploration à la mer morte* (1845); Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 440 ff.; Vissouli, *Voyage in Arabia Petraea* (1872); Labbey, *PEEK*, 1902, p. 427.

T. K. C., § 1; W. R. S., § 2.

SELA-HAMMAHLEKOTH (סֵלָה הַמַּחֲלֵקוֹת; ΠΕΤΡΑ)

¹ The latitude and longitude are taken from De Luynes's map. Ptolemy, who, according to Olympiodorus, spent some time in Petra, and doubtless owes to this fact his excellent information about the caravan-routes in Arabia, gives the latitude, with surprising accuracy, its 30 20.

² Cp. Duval, 1907.

³ This seems to be the fountain mentioned by Nowairi (in Quatremère's *Mémoires*, 84), which flowed with blood and was changed to water by Moses. The name *Ql-dema*, which gave rise to this legend, may possibly be a relic of the old name of Edom.

⁴ Perhaps also the 'Iram of Gen. 30:43 [see IRAM].

⁵ See Tisch., *Gen.* (2) 27:1 n.

SELAH

ἢ ΜΕΡΙΘΕΙΤΑ [BAI.]; cp Driver's note), the name of a mountain where Saul and David 'played hide and seek' (1 S. 23:28 f.). Saul hurries along on one side of the mountain, thinking to overtake the unseen David, and David on the other flies (as he thinks) before the unseen Saul. There is danger of their coming into collision, which is averted by the news of an inroad of the Philistines; Saul turns aside from the chase. The narrator must have explained *Sela*-hammahlekōth so as to suggest this 'hide and seek' game. But neither 'rock of divisions' (EVMS), nor 'rock of escaping' (an unjustifiable rendering) can be right. Though the name is confirmed on the whole by the certainly corrupt form *הַחֵלֶה* (see HACHITHAH), we are almost driven to suppose that the original form was *הַחֵלֶה* 'the rock of the *m'hilōth*' (circling dances). *Meholah*, like *Hachilah*, may come from 'Jerahmeel.' T. K. C.

SELAH (סֵלָה) occurs seventy-one times in forty psalms, and three times in Habakkuk (3:39 13). Mostly it occurs in the middle of a psalm; but

1. Data of MT and versions. In four psalms (3 9 21 46) also at the end. Usually it occurs only once in a

psalm; but there are several cases of two Selahs, and in some psalms we find three (3 32 46 66 68 77 140); Ps. 89 actually presents four. In 55:20 [10] 57:4 [3] Hab. 3:39 *Selah* occurs in the middle of a verse. The accents connect it closely with the preceding word; *Aq. Jer.*, *Tg.* also imply that it forms part of the text. These three versions take it to mean 'always' (*ἀεί*, *semper* and *jugiter*, *קָדְמִי*, but also *אֲדָמָה*). So Ps. 9:17. *Theod.* and *ἄλλος* give *ἀεί*; *Quinta* *ἐς τοὺς αἰῶνας*; *Sexta* *διὰ παντός*. *S.*, however, gives *διάψαλμα*, a word of somewhat uncertain signification (*Theodolet.*, *μεταβολή*); it occurs more frequently than the Hebrew 'Selah.'

Various conjectures as to the etymology of *Selah* have been offered (see *Ges. Theol.* 955; and the commentaries

2. Use and meaning. of Delitzsch and Baethgen); even a Greek origin (*ψάλλε*) has been suggested (Paulus

Cassel; see Siegfried-Stade, *Lex.*). Parisot (*Rev. bibl.*, Oct. 1899) approves the theory that *Selah* represents a musical interlude. Briggs suggests that when a section of a psalm or a prayer was used apart from its context in liturgical service it was followed by a doxology, and that 'Selah' divides a psalm into sections for liturgical use.¹ By an inductive process Miss E. Briggs arrives at results of much interest (*JSL*, 16:1-29). These partly depend on the correctness of the MT; but Grimmie has shown that in some cases (and the present writer, *Ch. Ps.* (2), has added considerably to the number) the *סֵלָה* of MT is due to corruption of the text.

Attractive as the view that *סֵלָה* is properly a musical indication may be, it will have to be reconsidered if

3. Conjectured origin. the other so-called musical notes in the headings owe their existence to textual corruption. In that case it

becomes plausible to hold that *סֵלָה* is a corruption of *Sellem* (סֵלֵם), 'supplement,' or *Wallelem* (וַלְלֵם), 'for supplementing.' The note may either be a direction to supplement the MS at a defective place from another MS, or an intimation that an editor at this point has made an insertion in the psalm. Possibly the old traditional interpretation 'always' points to a reading *עָלֵי* or *עָלֵם*, which was itself a corruption of *עָלֵם* or *עָלֵם*. For another view see B. Jacob, *ZATW* 16:10 ff.

As to the meaning of *סֵלָה* *διὰ ψαλμα*: for the opinions of the Fathers see Smier, 1890; Lag., *Novae Psalterii Graeci Editionis Specimen*, 101; B. Jacob, *ZATW* 16 (1896) 173-181. The result is that all the various explanations are pure guesses. What, then, is to be offered in place of them? We cannot suppose that the Alexandrian translators coined *διὰ ψαλμα*; but it is very

¹ An inductive study of 'Selah' (*JBL* 18:112 ff.). Briggs thinks it probable that *סֵלָה* is an imperative cohortative, 'lift up a benediction or doxology.'

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possible indeed that *διδύ* only exists through textual corruption. *διγάλαμα* and *διδάλαμα* have been suggested (*ap. Schultens, Lex. in L.V.V.* [1820] 1140), but neither word exists. It remained to suggest that *διδύ* may be a (graecised) Hebrew word; *דוד* (see above) might become first *δασαλαμα* and then, for euphony, *διδάλαμα*. T. K. C.

SELED (לָדָד; אל. סאלאד. [B]. C. [A]. -על [L.]).
b. Nadab h. Shammai, a Jerahmeelite; 1 Ch. 230.

SELEMIAS (*i.e.*, Shelemiah). I. (ΣΕΛΕΜΙΑΣ [B]).
1 Esd. 9 34 = Ezra 10 39 SHELEMIAS. 6.
2. (*Selemtam*) a scribe; 4 Esd. 14 24, RV *Selemia*.

SELEUCIA (ΣΕΛΕΥΚΙΑ. Acts 13 4. Ti. WH; 1 Macc. 11 8). One of the four chief cities of northern Syria (the others being Antioch on the Orontes, Apameia, and Laodiceia) which together were spoken of as the tetrapolis of Seleucis (Strabo, 749). They were the foundation of Seleucus Nicator (died 280 B.C.). Seleucia lay on the southern skirts of Mt. Coryphaeus (the *Peria* of Strabo, 751)—a spur of Mt. Ananus¹—separated from it by a ravine (see description in Pol. 559). The town extended to the sea, and was surrounded by cliffs, except towards the W., where the site was more open; here lay the mercantile buildings (*ἐμπορεία*). The upper town could be reached only, from the seaward side, by an artificial ascent cut in the rock like a stair (*κλιμακωτήν*). Seleucia was the port of Antioch, which was distant 16 m. by land; the distance by the Orontes, which fell into the sea about 5 m. to the southward of Seleucia, was still greater (Strabo, 751). Being strongly fortified (Strabo, 751, *ἐριμα ἀξιόλογον καὶ κρείττον βίαις*) Seleucia was the key of Syria (cp Pol. 558). In 1 Macc. 11 8 there is a reference to the capture of 'Seleucia which is by the sea' by Ptolemy Philometor VI. (146 B.C.). Its remains are still great. In consequence of the resistance it made to Tigranes, the Roman Pompeius declared it a free city, and this was its condition in Paul's time (Pliny, *H.V.* 513).

Paul, with Barnabas, sailed from Seleucia on his first missionary enterprise (Acts 13 4), and to Seleucia in all probability he returned (Acts. 14 26; for the expression 'sailed to Antioch' need not imply a voyage up the river; cp the expression 'sailed away from Philippi' in Acts 20 6). Probably also Paul's passage through Seleucia is implied in such places as Acts 15 39, and 15 30 (with which contrast the land journey summarised in 15 3). In this connection it is interesting to note that two piers of the old harbour bear the names of Paul and Barnabas, with whose work they are probably coeval. W. J. W.

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ALPHABETICAL LIST OF KINGS

Alexander II. (§ 17).	Antiochus IX. (§ 19).	Demetrius III. (§ 22).
Antiochus I. (§ 3).	Antiochus X. (§ 21).	Philippos I. (§ 22).
Antiochus II. (§ 4).	Antiochus XIII. (§ 23).	Seleucus I. (§ 2).
Antiochus III. (§ 7).	Demetrius I. (§ 11).	Seleucus II. (§ 5).
Antiochus IV. (§ 9).	Demetrius II. (§§ 12, 14, 16).	Seleucus III. (§ 6).
Antiochus V. (§ 10).		Seleucus IV. (§ 8).
Antiochus VI. (§ 13).		Seleucus V. (§ 17).
Antiochus VII. (§ 15).		Seleucus VI. (§ 20).
Antiochus VIII. (§ 18).		Tryphon (§ 13).

Bibliography (§ 24).

'Selencidæ' is the general name applied to the kings of Syria, who were so called from Seleucus I., the founder of the monarchy. This empire is alluded to as 'the kingdom of the Greeks' in 1 Macc. 110 818, and in the phrase 'the diadem of Asia' in 1 Macc. 11 13. The Syrian kings claimed to rule over the Asiatic portion of Alexander's empire, and to interfere in the affairs of every country from the Hellespont to India; but the territorial limits were gradually reduced, the border-lands of India being first

1 Hence the town was called *Σελεύκεια Περία*, or *Σελεύκεια ἡ ἐν Περία*, to distinguish it from other towns of the same name (Strabo, 749).

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lost, and then Asia Minor and Egypt effecting their withdrawal from Seleucid sway. Egypt under the Ptolemaic dynasty became in fact a standing rival, disputing with the Seleucidæ the possession of Palestine. The hold of the Seleucidæ upon Asia Minor was precarious, owing to the peculiar characteristics of the Greek cities there, and the rise of new powers (e.g., Pergamos and the Attalid dynasty). Here nothing can be attempted more than a few general remarks upon salient features of the monarchy. Syria was its intellectual centre; for Seleucus abandoned his capital at Babylon (which was in truth suitable only for the undivided world-wide empire dreamed of by Alexander), and transferred his permanent abode to Antioch on the Orontes (see ANTIOCH, 2). This transference also calls attention to the constant striving, as constantly thwarted, of the Syrian empire, to become, not so much a military, as a naval power. Its wealth, indeed, came from commerce, which partly depended upon command of the sea, and partly also upon keeping open the old trade routes leading into inner Asia. The latter condition was found to be more easily realised than the former, for the rise of Egypt and of Rhodes, with other powers, prevented the realisation of the designs of the Syrian dynasty. As regards its internal characteristics the Seleucid empire is well described by Holm (*Gk. Hist.* ET 4112) as an artificial creation—in its essence an attempt to found in the E. a state based on Greek views. That Seleucus tried to promote the Hellenising of Asia in the spirit of Alexander appears from the many cities (about 75) which he founded; and the progress of Greek life is seen from the fact that eventually Syria proper breaks up into a number of city communities almost entirely. It is precisely through their continuation of Alexander's work on this line, of controlling Asia by a policy based upon a preference given to the Graeco-Macedonian civilisation, that the Seleucidæ come into violent contact with the peculiar institutions of the Jews. It was especially in Seleucia on the Tigris that the Greek life of Mesopotamia and Babylonia centred, to such an extent that this city completely overshadows the other Greek communities in these regions.

Seleucus I., Nicator (312-281 B.C.), one of the best of Alexander's generals, was made chiliarch by Perdiccas upon Alexander's death. Perdiccas invaded Egypt, and being checked 312-280 B.C. upon the Nile by Ptolemy was murdered by his own officers, among them being Seleucus. Subsequently Babylon was assigned to Seleucus; but he was soon compelled to flee for his life from his satrapy, to avoid Antigonus, and took refuge with Ptolemy (316 B.C., cp App. *Syr.* 53). In the war with Antigonus that followed, Seleucus bore a distinguished part, at first as commander of Ptolemy's fleet, and afterwards in the operations in Syria which culminated in the battle of Gaza (312 B.C.), in which Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, was completely defeated. Seleucus in consequence with a small force recovered his satrapy, and the era of the Seleucids dated from the capture of Babylon (1st Oct. 312 B.C.).

The career of Seleucus is very obscure during the ten years which followed; his name is not even mentioned in the peace concluded in 311 B.C. between Ptolemy Cassander and Lychnichus on the one side, and Antigonus on the other; but the record of that peace may be incomplete. It seems clear, at any rate, that Seleucus was left to extend his conquests in the E. undisturbed, and that in a series of successful campaigns he recovered all the eastern provinces of Alexander's empire between the Euphrates, the Oxus, and the Indus. He was obliged, however, to acquiesce in the cession of the territories beyond the Indus to king Tchandragupta (Sandracottus, Strabo, 724) in return for five hundred war-elephants.

In 306 B.C. Seleucus followed the example of Antigonus and Demetrius in adopting the title of 'king'; and from that date his coins are so inscribed, whilst Alexander's types are gradually abandoned in favour of new devices, such as his own head with bull's horn

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an emblem of divine strength, probably also bearing allusion to the story told by Appian (*Syr.* 57); as an adjunct symbol in the field occurs an anchor, the badge of the family (cp Justin, 154).

When Ptolemy Cassander and Lysimachus again combined against Antigonos, Seleucus also joined the coalition, and was largely instrumental in winning the decisive victory at Ipsus in which Antigonos fell (301 B.C.). Seleucus consequently received a great extension of territory—all Syria, and Asia Minor as far as Phrygia (with the exception also of Cilicia). Hence the Seleucidæ are spoken of as kings of Asia (e.g., 1 Macc. 50; though in other passages, such as 1 Macc. 11:13, it is doubtful whether the term Asia should be restricted to Asia Minor).

Seleucus reigned over the largest kingdom that had been carved out of Alexander's empire. The direct government of the provinces beyond the Euphrates was in the hands of his son Antiochus. In 281 B.C., by the defeat of king Lysimachus at Korupedion in Phrygia, Seleucus became heir by gage of battle to the crowns of Thrace and Macedonia, and appears to have intended to hand over his Asiatic possessions to his son and spend the remainder of his life (he was now about seventy-two years old) as ruler of his native country, Macedonia, from which he had been so long absent. He set out for Europe, but was murdered at Lysimachia by Ptolemy Ceraunus, the exiled elder son of Ptolemy I. Ceraunus took possession of Thrace and Macedonia; Antiochus succeeded to his father's Asiatic sovereignty.

Seleucus was undoubtedly an able administrator of what his generalship secured for him. He was a patron of art, fostered trade, and by his foundation of many cities encouraged the spread of Hellenic civilisation through his dominions; he was, in fact, perhaps the only one of Alexander's successors that showed an appreciation of Alexander's true policy ('I should be inclined to call him a true disciple of Alexander', Holm, *Gk. Hist.* ET, 4131).

Not much is known of the reign of his successor, Antiochus I., Soter (281-261 B.C.). It was occupied

3. Antiochus I. partly with attempts to assert himself in Asia Minor, as a prelude to making good his claims to the Macedonian crown, and partly in endeavours to render effective the Syrian rule over Coele-syria, as against the claims of Egypt to those territories (the so-called First Syrian War).¹ In Asia Minor he was defeated by the Bithynians, at the beginning of his reign; and by Eumenes, king of Pergamum, towards the end of it.² The intermediate years show him engaged in warfare with the Gauls who poured into Asia Minor (277 B.C.) and founded the state of Galatia (see GALATIA, § 1). He won a victory over them (App. *Syr.* 65), and in consequence assumed, or was given, the honourable title of Soter ('Saviour') and a festival was founded in his honour.³

In 261 B.C. Antiochus was killed in battle by a Gaul (Celt); but whether he was actually then fighting the Celtic invaders is doubtful. He seems to have been a brave and energetic prince; history knows nothing to his discredit, and he deserves praise for his attempts to carry on his father's Grecising policy by means of city foundations.

Antiochus II., Theos (261-246 B.C.), son of the preceding and Stratonice, married

4. Antiochus II. (261-246 B.C.), Laodice, daughter of Antiochus I. by another wife (Polyæn. 850).

Practically our knowledge of him is confined to the statements that he was a debauchee and addicted to drink, that he left affairs in the hands of unworthy favourites, that he waged war in Thrace, that he earned his surname by liberating the Milesians from their tyrant Timarchus, and that he was generally popular in the cities of Ionia (Holm, *op. cit.* 4132).

Of the second Syrian war which he waged with Ptolemy Philadelphus, we know little. This led indirectly to his death; for to put an end to the strife Ptolemy gave his daughter Berenice in marriage to Antiochus, who put away Laodice. After a time, however, Antiochus changed his mind and recalled

¹ Alluded to only in Pans. i. 7.

² See Strabo, 624. It occurred near Sardis.

³ See letters of thanksgiving from Novumesium, *IG* 3595 = Hicks, *Manual*, no. 166, with notes thereto added.

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Laodice, who immediately poisoned him and murdered Berenice and her infant son, and her own son ascended the vacant throne. It has, however, been suggested that this dark history was an invention of the Egyptian partisans of Berenice, and that Antiochus really died a natural death. According to the traditional interpretation, Dan. 11:6 refers to this king (Jerome, *in loc.*); but the text is corrupt (see DANIEL, § 6 f.).

Seleucus II., Callinicus¹ (246-226 B.C.), was the eldest son of the preceding by his first wife, Laodice.

5. Seleucus II. From the moment of his accession (246-226 B.C.) Seleucus II. was engaged in warfare with Ptolemy III. Euergetes, who invaded Syria to avenge the death of his sister Berenice (the third Syrian War). This war is as mysterious in its course and results as the two previous conflicts between Egypt and Syria. Ptolemy, we learn, drove Seleucus beyond the Taurus, captured Antioch, made himself master of Syria and Phœnicia, and penetrated even beyond the Euphrates; the Egyptian successes are sketched in even more extravagant terms, which make them tantamount to the recovery of all Alexander's empire.² Seleucus summoned to his aid his younger brother Antiochus Hierax, promising him the regency of Asia Minor. Ptolemy was indeed obliged to consent to a peace; but Seleucus soon found himself at war with his own brother (Justin, 272). Antiochus was at first victorious, with the help of the Galatæi (Celts); but they deserted him, and when their co-operation was again bought, both they and Antiochus suffered repeated defeats at the hands of Attalus of Pergamum, who seized the opportunity of the strife between the two brothers to strengthen his own position in Asia Minor. Antiochus Hierax was at last driven from the country into Egypt; but Ptolemy imprisoned him, and when he escaped he was slain by brigands (227 B.C., Justin, 273).

Seleucus apparently owed his title Callinicus to an eastern expedition in which he vanquished Arsaces of Parthia (Strabo, 513; Justin, 414). Afterwards, however, Arsaces defeated Seleucus in a great battle which the Parthians long celebrated as the foundation of their independence. 'The title to the surname of Callinicus was therefore as well made out as is necessary for an Oriental monarch, and the subsequent foundation of a city called Callinicum in his hereditary territory on the Euphrates by the hero who had been fortunate enough to escape from the Parthians, no doubt made a great impression on the surrounding inhabitants' (Holm, *op. cit.* 425).

In 226 B.C. Seleucus lost his life by a fall from his horse.

Seleucus III., Ceraunus, or Soter (226-223 B.C.), was the elder son and successor of Seleucus II. He

6. Seleucus III. invaded Asia Minor in order to put down Attalus. He was assisted by his skillful and energetic relative Achæus. Soon, however, he was murdered by one Nicanor and a Gaul named Apaturius (Polyb. 448).

Seleucus III. seems to have left a son Antiochus, mentioned only in an inscription, to whom are attributed coins bearing on one side the image of an infant Antiochus (see Head, *op. cit.* 640, and cp *IG* 4458, and Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hell.* iii. 212).

Antiochus III., the Great (222-187 B.C.), the younger son of Seleucus Callinicus and Laodice (Pol. 540), was

7. Antiochus III. (222-187 B.C.) only twenty years old when he came to the throne, and for some time he was entirely under the influence of his

minister Hermæas. The condition of Egypt, then governed by Ptolemy IV. Philopator, a weak and vicious monarch, invited attack. A rebellion in Persis and Media weakened the blow; but when that had been put down, and the king had freed himself from the evil influence of Hermæas by executing him (Pol. 556) the war with Egypt was resumed. At first

¹ He was also called Pogon, the Bearded, from his habit of wearing a beard, which, like Demetrius II., the only other bearded king of Syria, he probably adopted during his sojourn in Parthia (cp Head, *Hist. Numm.* 639).

² See the Adule inscription preserved by Cosmas Indicopleustes in his *Topographia Christiana* = *IG* 5127 (and cp Jer. on Dan. 11:5; also Polyæn. 850, who says that he pushed his conquests μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδίας).

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Antiochus carried all before him, and made himself master of Phœnicia and the territory on both sides of the Jordan (Pol. 503 f.), and wintered in Ptolemais. In the following year, however, he was utterly defeated at Raphia, the most southerly Syrian city (217 B.C.), and compelled to cede to Egypt all Coele-syria and Phœnicia. In the meantime Achæus had raised the standard of revolt in Asia Minor, and it cost a two years' warfare round Sardis to overcome him (Pol. 715 f.).

Then followed an expedition to the east, in which Parthia and Bactria were invaded; these successes gained the king his surname (209 B.C.). When Ptolemy Philopator died and Ptolemy V. Epiphanes ascended the throne (204 B.C.), Antiochus III. combined with Philip V. king of Macedonia, for the partition of the Egyptian kingdom (Livy, 31 14; Pol. 1520). In pursuance of the scheme Antiochus invaded Coele-syria and Phœnicia, and overran Palestine (Jos. Ant. xii. 33); and though a diversion caused by Attalus of Pergamum enabled the Egyptians to reoccupy Palestine, they were defeated (198 B.C.) by Antiochus himself near the sources of the Jordan, and driven out of the country. Jerusalem itself fell into the hands of Antiochus (Pol. 1639). A peace was concluded in which it was agreed that Epiphanes should marry Antiochus' daughter, Cleopatra, who should receive Coele-syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine as her dowry (on this peace, see Holm, *op. cit.* 1339, and note on p. 368). Antiochus then commenced operations in Asia Minor, with a view of recovering the Greek cities there as a whole, and more especially those of the S. and W. coasts, which had long been reckoned to belong to Egypt, but had recently been occupied by Philip under the terms of the secret alliance with Syria above-mentioned.¹ The defeat of Philip by the Romans at Cynoscephalæ brought Antiochus also face to face with the power of Rome (197 B.C.).

Antiochus claimed not only sovereignty over the cities of Asia, but the throne of Thrace also, in virtue of the victory of Seleucus over Lysimachus a century before him. The tension between him and Rome was increased when Hannibal, a fugitive from Carthage, sought asylum at the Syrian court (App. Syr. 4). After long negotiations war was declared between the two powers in 191 B.C. The decisive battle took place in the autumn of 190 B.C. at Magnesia on the Hermus, and the motley host of Antiochus was utterly defeated; the Roman legions were never actually called upon, and the victory which gave them a third continent cost but 24 horsemen and 300 light infantry (Momms. *Hist. of Rome*, ET, 1831, 2270 f.).² Allusion is made to these events in Dan. 11 19, and 1 Macc. 10 86 f. (see ANTIUCHUS, 1). Antiochus was compelled to renounce all his conquests N. of the Taurus range, which had in fact always been the boundary of effective Syrian power in this direction (Pol. 2117; Diod. Sic. 2910; Livy, 37 45). In consequence of this defeat and loss of prestige Antiochus fell away from the Syrian empire (Strabo, 528). In 187 B.C. Antiochus himself, marching into Elymais, at the head of the Persian Gulf, in order to plunder a temple of Bel to replenish his treasury exhausted by the enormous war indemnity, was slain by the natives of the district (Strabo, 744).

Seleucus IV. Philopator (187-175 B.C.), son and successor of Antiochus the Great, came to the throne in difficult times, when Armenia had already revolted and the prestige of his country was dimmed. The power of Rome also overshadowed the East, and freedom of policy was almost impossible. Thus he was compelled

¹ It was probably at this period, or perhaps earlier, that Antiochus sent 2000 Jewish families from Mesopotamia into the cities of Lydia and Phrygia, securing their loyalty by grants of land and immunity from taxation. See Jos. Ant. xii. 34.

² With the fall of Magnesia Asia was erased from the list of great states; and never, perhaps, did a great power fall so rapidly, so thoroughly, and so ignominiously as the kingdom of the Seleucidæ under this Antiochus the Great (Mommsen, *loc. cit.*).

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to forego the opportunity of interfering beyond Mt. Taurus, in assisting Pharnaces of Pontus against Eumenes of Pergamum (179 B.C., see Diod. Sic. 2924). Yet he concluded a treaty of alliance with Perseus of Macedonia. With Egypt he lived outwardly at peace, though his minister HELIODORUS (q. v.) interfered in the affairs of Palestine. One APOLLONIUS (2), son of Thraseas, being governor (στρατηγός) of Coele-syria and Phœnicia, induced the king to send Heliodorus his chancellor ('treasurer,' AV) to plunder the temple of Jerusalem.

This attempt, and the supernatural (?) means by which it was baffled, are related in 2 Macc. 31 f. (cp. 4 Macc. 41 f., where the attempt is ascribed to Apollonius himself). In 175 B.C. this Heliodorus murdered Seleucus, and tried to seize the Syrian throne, but was driven out by Eumenes and Attalus of Pergamum (Appian, Syr. 45; Livy, 41 24).

Seleucus IV. left two children, Demetrius, who subsequently ascended the throne (see § 11), and Laodice.

Antiochus IV., Epiphanes¹ (175-164 B.C.), was the son of Antiochus III. and Laodice (daughter of the Pontic king Mithridates II.). After the battle of Magnesia he had been sent to Rome as hostage (Appian, Syr. 39). At Rome he remained nearly

fourteen years, and then Seleucus IV., who was on the Syrian throne secured his exchange for the heir apparent, Demetrius (Appian, Syr. 45; cp. Justin, 31 3).

On his way home Antiochus visited Athens, and displayed his phil-Hellenic sympathies by accepting the post of first στρατηγός (στρατηγός ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, see coins; cp. Reinach, *Revue Ét. Ét.*, 1883, p. 163 f.). He also contributed to the completion of the Olympium (Pol. 261), and placed a golden ægis over the temple (Paus. v. 124). He presented a silver statue of Zeus at Olympia, and to those of Apollo at Delphi and Delos, as well as to many Greek cities—Rhodes, Cyzicus, Tegea (theatre), and Megalopolis (contribution to walls). His favourite cult was that of Olympian Zeus (cp. MACZAN), to whom he erected a temple at Daphne near Antioch on the Orontes (see ANTIUCH, 2), with a statue which was a replica of that made by Phidias for Olympia.² It was his thorough-going programme of Hellenisation which gained him his notoriety in Jewish annals (Ecc. Hist. 58: 'rex Antiochus demere supersitionem et mores Græcorum dare admissis').

While he lingered in Athens Antiochus received news of the murder of Seleucus IV. by Heliodorus and being supported by the king of Pergamum, he expelled the usurper, and gained the crown in defiance of the rights of his nephew Demetrius (Appian, Syr. 45; cp. Frankel, *Inscr. of Pergamon*, 1160; 1 Macc. 110). He showed himself soon even more enterprising than his father. For the death of his sister Cleopatra, the widow of Ptolemy V. Epiphanes (173 B.C.), opened the whole question of the ownership of Coele-syria, which the Egyptians claimed as the dowry of the dead queen (Pol. 2719), whereas she had only enjoyed a portion of the revenue derived from that country (Pol. 2820). Antiochus forestalled the Egyptian attack (2 Macc. 421). At the end of 171 B.C. the contending powers came into decisive conflict on the Egyptian frontier between Mt. Casius and Pelusium (1 Macc. 117). The Egyptians were utterly defeated. Antiochus even secured the person of the young king Ptolemy Philometor, and was himself crowned king of Egypt at Memphis. There was a Seleucid party among the Egyptians themselves (Diod. 3014); but upon the withdrawal of Antiochus (1 Macc. 120 f.) the national party in Alexandria rose and placed the young Ptolemy Physcon upon the throne of Egypt. Antiochus therefore invaded Egypt a second time (2 Macc. 51; Pol. 2810), nominally at first in the interests of Philometor.³ He demanded the cession of

¹ Ἐπιφανής, 'illustrious,' called also Ἐπιμαρτής, 'mild,' from his actions, Pol. 261, Athen. 1052. On coins his name is Ἐπιφανής, Νικηφόρος, and Θεός. Cp. Jos. Ant. xii. 34. See ANTIUCHUS, 2.

² The figure of Zeus Nicephoros enthroned on the acropolis of his coins in place of that of Apollo. It is to be considered himself a manifestation of Zeus; and perhaps his name Epiphanes really means that. On some of his coins his own portrait occurs, in the character of Zeus. See Head, *Hitt. Numm.* 641. The nimbus on the diadem of the Seleucidæ originates with him. See the remarks of Holm, *Arch. Hist.* 4390.

³ The wars of Antiochus IV. with Egypt are complicated, and it is doubtful whether he made three or more invasions (cp.

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Pelusium and of the island of Cyprus which was now practically his through the treachery of Ptolemy Macron (2 Macc. 10.13). Antiochus' victorious career in Egypt came to an abrupt ending. For at this moment the Roman victory at Pydna (168 B.C.) changed the whole face of affairs in the East.

Papilius Lenax, the Roman envoy, a harsh, rude man, demanded in the name of the senate that Antiochus should restore his conquests and evacuate Egypt within a set term. Antiochus asked time for consideration; but the envoy drew with his staff a circle round the king and bade him answer before he stepped beyond it (Pol. 29.27; Livy 45.12). Antiochus yielded. 'Like Macedonia in the war just waged by Perseus, the Seleucidæ had made in the war regarding Coele Syria a final effort to recover their earlier power; but it is a significant indication of the difference between the two kingdoms, that in the former case the legions, in the latter the abrupt language of a diplomatist, decided the controversy' (Momms. *Hist. of Rome*, 2.30).

It was upon his return to Syria after finding the prize of Egypt, so nearly within his grasp, thus forever snatched from him, that Antiochus committed those outrages in Palestine which earned him the undying hatred of the Jews, and for which he is pilloried in the books of Daniel and Maccabees as the very personification of impiety. Already upon his first return, in 170 B.C., he had captured Jerusalem, slain and enslaved thousands of Jews, entered the Holy Places, and despoiled the temple (1 Macc. 1.20 f., 2 Macc. 2.511 f.; see ANTOCHUS 2, JASON, MENELAËS). Now the king determined to carry through the Hellenic sation of Palestine. A royal edict made the practice of Jewish rites punishable by death; the temple was dedicated to Zeus Olympios (168 B.C. See 1 Macc. 1.41 f., 2 Macc. 6.1 f.).¹ These persecutions led to the revolt of the Maccabæes. The outbreak of Mattathias at Modin (167 B.C.) seems to have attracted little attention at the capital. It was not until the death of Mattathias and the assumption of leadership of the movement by his son Judas (166 B.C.), who defeated several detachments (that of Apollonius, 1 Macc. 3.10; that of Seron, 1 Macc. 3.13), that 'his name came near even unto the king,' and energetic measures were taken to suppress the insurrection (1 Macc. 3.27). The general conduct of the operations was entrusted to LYSTAS (q.v.), 'an honourable man, and one of the seed royal' (1 Macc. 3.32); but the victories of Judas at Emmons and Beth-zur secured the practical evacuation of the country, and gave opportunity for the purification and rededication of the Temple (1 Macc. 4.36 f., 2 Macc. 10.1 f.). Antiochus was unable apparently to direct upon Judea the whole force of the empire, before which the Jewish national party must undoubtedly have succumbed. He was engaged beyond the Euphrates (1 Macc. 3.37), not, as the Jewish narrative puts it, to 'take the tributes of the countries, and to gather much money' (1 Macc. 3.31), but more probably in safe-guarding his frontiers against the growing power of the Parthians (cp Tac. *Hist.* 5.8: 'rex Antiochus demere superstitionem et mores Græcorum dare admissis, quominus terribilium genium in melius mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibitus est').

The sequence and extent of his operations in this quarter are unknown. After making an attempt to plunder a temple of Artemis in ELYMAIS (q.v.; see also NANPA), Antiochus died of disease at Lake in Persia; some said that he died mad (Pol. 31.1; Appian, *Syr.* 66); the professedly circumstantial narratives of 1 Macc. 6.1 f. and 2 Macc. 9.1 f. are mutually contradictory and of no historical value (cp in general MACCABEES, FIRST, § 2, STERON, § 2.2). When, in fact, we compare the last episode of this king's life with that of his father, we may well doubt whether the tradition is not a confusion partly suggested by and founded upon the nickname Epiphanes applied to Antiochus IV.

Willen, *op. cit.* 'Antiochus' in Pauly's *Realencyc.*, ed. Wissowa, 1.151 (1890) 2 Macc. 5.1; see Mallett, *Emb. of the Ptolemies*, 119.73. His usurpation of Egypt was marked by the Seleucid author on the copper coins, and also by a new issue of copper coins with his own name.

¹ Perhaps the savage outbreak at Jerusalem upon the second occasion was due to some more personal grievance than mere resistance to innovations. The nationisms of Palestine may have been in part responsible for the delay and failure of his Egyptian expedition, as Mahaffy suggests, *op. cit.* 341.

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Antiochus V., Eupator (164-162 B.C.), son of the preceding, was either nine or eleven years old at his father's death (Appian, *Syr.* 46; Eus. *Chr.* 1.233). In 166 B.C. Antiochus V. (164-162 B.C.) Epiphanes, on the eve of his departure to the east, appointed Lysias 'to be

over the affairs of the king from the river Euphrates to the borders of Egypt, and to bring up his son Antiochus, until he came again' (1 Macc. 3.32 f.); see LYSTAS. On the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, Lysias declared Antiochus his son king, with the title Eupator, 'on account of the virtues of his father' (1 Macc. 6.17; cp Appian, *Syr.* 46). The young king and his guardian then led an expedition to the relief of Jerusalem, where the citadel was hard pressed by Judas Maccabæus. The armies met at Beth-zacharias, near Beth-zur, and Judas was defeated and his brother Eleazar slain (1 Macc. 6.28 f., Jos. *Ant.* xii. 94; but 2 Macc. 13.16 f., representing the Jews as victorious, is clearly unhistorical). The victory of Antiochus enabled him to invest Jerusalem (1 Macc. 6.48 f.), and famine was already doing its work when the king's troops were recalled by the news that Philip, the foster-brother of Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Macc. 9.29), was approaching Antioch with an army (1 Macc. 6.55 f.). Philip had, in fact, been appointed by the dying Epiphanes as guardian of the young Antiochus (1 Macc. 6.55). Peace was made with the Jews on the terms that 'they shall walk after their own laws, as aforetime' (1 Macc. 6.59; 2 Macc. 13.23); but Antiochus in spite of this destroyed the fortifications of the city and imprisoned the high priest (1 Macc. 6.62, Jos. *Ant.* xii. 97). Returning to Syria, he found no difficulty in expelling Philip from Antioch (1 Macc. 6.63). In 162 B.C. Antiochus himself was betrayed, along with Lysias, into the hands of Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, and rightful heir to the Syrian throne, and was by him put to death (1 Macc. 7.2 f., 2 Macc. 14.1 f., Polyb. 31.19 f., Jos. *Ant.* xii. 10.1 f.). See ANTOCHUS, 3.

Demetrius I., Soter (162-150 B.C.), son of Seleucus IV. Philopator.

As a boy he had been sent in 175 B.C. to take his uncle's place as a hostage in Rome (Polyb. 31.12, 1 Macc. 1.10). When his cousin inherited the crown which his father Epiphanes had usurped, Demetrius, who (162-150 B.C.) had then lived nearly twelve years practically a state prisoner in Italy, begged the Roman Senate to recognise his claim to the Syrian throne, but in vain. It suited the Senate better that a mere boy should rule, rather than one who had reached his twenty-third year. At last he made his escape in a Carthaginian vessel and landed in Syria (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 10.1, 2 Macc. 14.1). There seems no ground for the opinion that the Senate really connived at his escape (so Holm, *Gk. Hist.* 4.116 ET).

After putting to death Antiochus V. and Lysias (see above), the first object of Demetrius was to gain the recognition of the senate (Polyb. 32.4 f., Diod. 31.29). It was only after a long time that he gained the grudging and half-hearted recognition he sought. Timarchus, who under Antiochus Epiphanes had been satrap of Babylon (Appian, *Syr.* 47), revolted, and declared himself king, and ruled Babylon with an iron hand. Him Demetrius put down, being given for this service his title Soter ('Saviour') by the grateful Babylonians. The relations of Demetrius with the Jews are sufficiently set forth elsewhere (DEMETRIUS, 1, and in the references there given).

The foreign policy of Demetrius was not skilful; indeed it is difficult to see the object at which he aimed. First, he attempted to get his sister Laodice, the widow of Perseus, married to Ariarathes V. of Cappadoeia, possibly in order to form an anti-Roman league in the east. Failing in this, he married her himself, and in revenge encouraged a claimant to the Cappadocian throne in the person of Orophernes, brother of Ariarathes (Polyb. 32.24). The only result was to raise against Demetrius the enmity of both Rome and Attalus of Pergamum (Polyb. 3.5). Attalus II. in return supported the claims of a pretender, Alexander Bala, or Balas, to

the Syrian throne; ALEXANDER (q.v., 2) made himself out to be a son of Antiochus Epiphanes.

Alexander Balas appeared at an opportune moment, as Demetrius had completely alienated his subjects by his tyranny and excesses (153 B.C.) whilst at the same time he had given way to love of drink, the hereditary vice of his house (Polyb. 33.19). In addition to this, an attempt to secure the island of Cyprus by treachery had indeed failed, but had earned the Syrian monarchy the hostility of Ptolemy Philometor (Polyb. 33.4). The result was that, though a party at Rome (perhaps that of the Scipios) was favourably inclined to Demetrius, the Roman Senate, upon grounds of policy, and also upon more sordid grounds, was induced to recognise the impostor Alexander (Polyb. 33.18), who was also supported by Attalus Ariarathes and Ptolemy Philometor. Consequently, in 153 B.C., Alexander appeared with an army in Syria.

Both Demetrius and Alexander made bids for the favour of the Jews, who were now under Jonathan (1 Macc. 10.1 f.). The king recalled his garrisons from all the towns except Jerusalem and Beth-zur, and gave Jonathan power to raise an army and to liberate the hostages. The various taxes and royal claims upon the Jews were also remitted (see the instructive list given in Jos. Ant. xiii. 2.2 f.).¹ The impostor, however, was more successful in appealing to Jonathan's personal ambition, nominating him high-priest, and sending him the insignia of royalty, with the title of 'king's friend' (cp FRIEND). The decisive battle was fought in 150 B.C., and Demetrius fighting heroically was slain (Justin, 35.1, Polyb. 35, Jos. Ant. xiii. 2.4). In spite of the fragmentary and obscure character of the record, we may well doubt whether this Demetrius was not one of the most gifted of the Seleucid dynasty (v. Gutschmid, Fran. 43).

Demetrius II., Nicator (145-139 and 129-125 B.C.), the elder of the two sons of Demetrius I., had been sent by his father for protection to

12. Demetrius II.
(first reign: 145-139 B.C.)

Cnidus when Alexander invaded Syria (Justin, 35.2), and remained there for some years in exile until he became aware that the usurper had forfeited the goodwill of his subjects by his negligence of state affairs and his self-indulgence (Livy, Epit. 50). In 147 B.C. he landed on the Cilician coast with a force of Cretan mercenaries (1 Macc. 10.67). Ptolemy VI. Philometor had given his daughter Cleopatra Thea ('one of the most impudent women produced by the Ptolemy line, which had no lack of such characters,' Holm, Grk. Hist. 4.417) in marriage to Alexander, and at first came to his assistance, but afterwards transferred his favour to Demetrius II., to whom also he transferred his daughter.

Ptolemy's volte-face was accounted for by a story that Alexander had attempted his life (1 Macc. 11.10); but the true motive was probably the desire to take advantage of the intestine strife to annex at least Palestine and Coele-syria (1 Macc. 11.1). According to Josephus (Ant. xiii. 45 f.), Ptolemy actually at Antioch assumed the 'diadem of Asia' (so also 1 Macc. 11.8 f., where, however, the motive assigned for Ptolemy's conduct differs). On this episode, see Mahaffy, Emp. of the Ptolemies, 364 f.

The opportune death of the Egyptian king on the third day after he had gazed upon the severed head of Alexander Balas, removed a formidable rival from the path of Demetrius (1 Macc. 11.13; was he murdered? Strabo, 751, says that he died from a wound received in the battle on the Enojaras, near Antioch, fighting against Alexander). Having thus won back his father's kingdom by arms he received the title Nicator ('Conqueror'; Appian, Syr. 67, *ὡς νόθον τοῦ γένους ἀνδρα νεκῆρας*).² The entire country, in fact, had rallied to him, with the exception of Judaea, where the ambitious Jonathan had inflicted defeat upon his adherent Apollonius, governor of Coele-syria (1 Macc. 10.69 f.). Demetrius was, indeed, fain to purchase the acquiescence of Jonathan by confirming him in the high-priesthood, and by the abolition of taxes (1 Macc. 11.20 f.), and the surrender to Judaea of three Samarian districts.

When peace was assured Demetrius disbanded the

¹ See the remarks of Mahaffy, *Emp. of the Ptolemies*, 182 f.
² On his coins he also calls himself Theos and Philadelphos.

native troops and retained only his Cretan mercenaries. This led to risings in Antioch, which were put down by the mercenaries with the aid of 3000 Jewish troops sent by Jonathan. Confiscations and executions alienated the goodwill of the people (1 Macc. 11.39 f.). This emboldened one Diodotus, a native of Kasiana, brought up at Apamea on the Orontes (Strabo, 752; cp *ibid.* 668), to declare a young son of Alexander Balas king as Antiochus VI. Dionysus.¹ This was in 145 B.C. The Jews profited by this revolt, for Demetrius had not redeemed his promises to withdraw his garrisons from Judaea. The disbanded troops also rallied to the standard of his rival, and Demetrius was compelled to evacuate Antioch and to retire to Seleucia (Livy, 1.17.52) or to Cilicia (so Jos. Ant. xiii. 5.4). Jonathan and his brother Simon mastered all southern Syria (for the details of the operations, see 1 Macc. 11.60 f.).

Seleucia, near Antioch, remained true to Demetrius, along with Cilicia and the eastern provinces generally; so that the young Antiochus never ruled over more than a small part of Syria. His reign soon came to an end, as he was murdered by Diodotus, who usurped the throne under the name of Tryphon.

13. Antiochus VI.
(145-142 B.C.)
and Tryphon
(142-138 B.C.)

The date is disputed; probably it was in 143-142 B.C.; so the coins (see Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, 131 f. and cp 1 Macc. 13.11). On the other hand, according to Josephus (1.17. xiii. 5.17-7.1) the murder of Antiochus occurred after the capture of Demetrius by the Parthians. (On this much disputed point see the authorities referred to in Schür. *Hist. of the Jews*, E.T. i. 117, and Cambridge Bible, *First Book of M.* in *l.c.*)

The usurper made himself detested for his cruelties. Chiefly he alienated the sympathies of the Jews, and earned their active hatred, by the capture and execution of Jonathan when he had all but established the independence of his country (1 Macc. 12.39 f.).

The three or four years of the reign of Tryphon are almost destitute of incident, save for a few isolated notices. His headquarters seem to have been at Coracesium in Cilicia Aspera, a robbers' eyrie on a precipitous crag by the sea. Strabo (668) attributes to him the rise of the piratical power in Cilicia, which afterwards attained such extraordinary dimensions. The generals of Demetrius, in Mesopotamia and Coele-syria at least, retained their ground before those of Tryphon, whilst Simon, who had succeeded to the leadership of the Jews (1 Macc. 13.8), entered into negotiations with Demetrius, who granted all his demands, including even exemption from tribute (1 Macc. 13.36 f.). Though the Jews thus did not gain absolute independence, but had still to recognise the suzerainty of the Syrian kings, they adopted a new era, and Simon ruled as ethnarch, or vassal prince (1 Macc. 13.41 f.; cp Justin, 36.13).

14. Demetrius
in Parthia
(139-129 B.C.)

The Babylonians appealed for assistance. Demetrius was joined by the Persians, Ely-mæans, and Bactrians; but in 139 B.C. he was defeated and taken prisoner by the Parthians, and carried about through their territories as a show* (1 Macc. 14.1, Jos. Ant. xiii. 5.1, Appian, Syr. 67). The actual capture was due to treachery. For ten years Demetrius remained a prisoner, but very soon after his capture his treatment improved, and he was even given the king's daughter in marriage to wife. Probably the promise of reinstatement in his kingdom would have been realised had not Mithridates himself died, and been succeeded

¹ The coins of this seven-year-old king also bear the title Epiphanes. His mother was the Egyptian princess Cleopatra Thea. In Appian, Syr. 68, he is wrongly called Alexander. See ANTIQUITIES, 4.

² Cp inser. from Babylon in *Zeitschr. f. Assyriol.* 8.110, and inser. from Paphos in *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, 9 (1889) 220.

³ Mithridates I. reigned 174-136 B.C. He calls himself on his coins King of Kings, the Great, Arsaces, Epiphanes, Eugetes, Philhellen. He was the most considerable of the Parthian monarchs.

⁴ From this circumstance he was called mockingly Seripides (Eus. Chron. 1.236).

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by Phraates II. as Arsaces Philopator Epiphanes Philhellen (reigned 136-127 B.C.). It seemed better to this monarch to retain Demetrius in order to be able to use him in case of threatening circumstances.

Whilst Demetrius was a captive in the hands of the Parthians (see above, § 14) his younger brother Antiochus Sidetes, who owed his surname to the fact that he had been brought up at Side in Pamphylia (see STUE),¹ asserted his claims to the kingdom of Syria (Macc. 151 f.). He was now sixteen years old. His attempt succeeded, perhaps chiefly because he was joined by queen Cleopatra Thea, who, enraged at the union of Demetrius with the daughter of the Parthian king, went over to the side of Antiochus, and surrendered to him the strong tower of Seleucia, near Antioch, which during all these years she had held for Demetrius.

Tryphon was defeated and driven into the Phœnician town of Bœa, where he was besieged. Thence he escaped to Apamea, but was again besieged, and compelled to end his life by his own hand (Macc. 15 to 37; Strabo, 665; Jos. Ant. xiii. 72; Appian, Syr. 67).²

Antiochus married Thea ('the objectionable but evidently inevitable adjunct of the Syrian throne,' Holm, *Grk. Hist.* 449), and acted very vigorously to unite again the severed fragments of the Syrian kingdom (Justin, 361). First and foremost came the necessity of dealing with Palestine, which in the turmoil of the past few years had absorbed large tracts of Syrian territory, and attained an almost completely independent position, even entering into diplomatic relations with distant and, in part, hostile powers (1 Macc. 10, 59 f. 124 f. 1416 f. 24). In 135 B.C. Antiochus invaded Judæa in person. Already, three years previously, the Syrian king had come into collision with the Jews, who, under Judas and John Hyrcanus, inflicted a defeat upon his general CENDEBEUS. After the assassination of Simon and two of his sons by his son-in-law Ptolemy, the son of Alabius (1 Macc. 16 11 f.), John Hyrcanus had become high priest and prince of Judæa. Upon the invasion by Antiochus he was shut up in the citadel of Jerusalem for at least a year, and then forced to capitulate. The walls were destroyed, hostages demanded, with five hundred talents indemnity, and tribute for the cities which had been occupied by the Maccabees (Diod. 311; Justin, 361; Jos. Ant. xiii. 82).³ Syrian suzerainty over Judæa was fully asserted.

Next occurred the final attempt of the Seleucidæ to overthrow the formidable Parthian power which had wrested from them so much of their eastern possessions.

In 130 B.C. Antiochus undertook an expedition against the Parthians. His brother Demetrius was still in their hands, having twice been recaptured when he attempted escape. Three victories gave the Syrian king the possession of Babylonia, and brought to his standard all the peoples who had been reduced under the Parthian yoke.⁴ Phraates opened negotiations with Antiochus to amuse him, while he prepared once more to try his fortune in the field (Diod. 35 15); more effective still was the stroke by which Demetrius was at last released from captivity in order to cause the withdrawal of the Syrian forces. In the next collision with the Parthian troops Antiochus fell, bravely fighting (Appian, Syr. 68; Justin, 38 10). His entire army was cut to pieces.

The Parthian king, having thus won the victory by arms, keenly regretted having set Demetrius at liberty

16. Demetrius II, Nicator
second reign,
129-125 B.C.)
(see § 14), and tried to recapture him, but failed. He tried next to undo his work by sending into Syria a second pretender, a son of Antiochus, the late king, Seleucus by name, who had fallen into his hands. This also proved of no avail. Demetrius, however, did not long enjoy his change of fortune.

¹ In *Sila urbe educatus*, quapropter Sidetes utique vocatur (Jos. Ant. 1255). On his coins Antiochus VII. calls himself *Euergetes*, which was, therefore, his true official title. Jos. Ant. xiii. 71 calls him *Σωτήρ*. See ANTOCIUS, 5.

² On his coins Tryphon calls himself *Βασιλεύς αυτοκράτωρ*, which no other Syrian ruler does.

³ This Antiochus was not hostile to the Jewish faith, and for his tolerance was called *Eusebes* ('pious'), Jos. Ant. xiii. 82.

⁴ For these victories Antiochus received the title Great (Dittenb. *Sylloge*, p. 214 and 245, *Βασιλεὺς μεγάλου Ἀντιόχου*, cp. Justin, 38 10; 'Magnus haberi cepit').

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He was induced to enter into war with Egypt on behalf of Cleopatra II., sister-wife of Ptolemy Physcon,¹ and his own mother-in-law, who had taken refuge in Syria. The war with which he was thus threatened Physcon evaded by setting up Alexander Zabinas, a pretended son of Alexander I. Bala, to claim the Syrian throne.²

Supported by a strong Egyptian army, the pretender invaded Syria, where several cities fell away from Demetrius. The decisive battle was fought in 125 B.C. near Damascus, and Demetrius was defeated. He fled to Ptolemais to his wife Cleopatra, who refused to receive him, and, when he tried to enter Tyre, had him murdered (Justin, 39 1; Appian, Syr. 68; Jos. Ant. xiii. 93).

Little is known of the rule of Alexander II.; but one authority at least passes a favourable verdict.³ He entered into friendly relations with

17. Alexander II. and Seleucus V.
Hyrcanus, influenced largely, no doubt, by the desire to find support against Egypt, from which power he soon

became estranged (Jos. Ant. xiii. 93). He was, in fact, not left to enjoy his usurped dignity long without rivals. Immediately upon the death of Demetrius II., Seleucus, the son of the murdered king, laid claim to the throne, only to be murdered after a few months by the infamous Cleopatra Thea, his mother, who was indignant that he should have taken such a step without her, and without sharing the power with herself.

Cleopatra then put forward the second son of Demetrius II. as heir to the throne; his claim was also supported by Egypt. Alexander II. was defeated and fled to Antioch, and then to Seleucia (Diod. Sic. 35 25; Justin, 39 2). Finally he was captured and brought to Antiochus, who had him put to death. Thus from 125 B.C. Antiochus reigned, in association with his mother, after the fashion common in Egypt. Their joint reign lasted four years.⁴

The queen-mother was thrown more and more into the shade, especially after the marriage of her son with Cleopatra Tryphena, given to him by her father Ptolemy Euergetes II. as a pledge of Egyptian support, and also after 123 B.C. by the victory gained over Alexander II. (cp. Justin, 39 2; 'Cleopatra cum Iulius [sc. Antiochus] inque victoria inferiorum dignitatem suam factam doleret'). In 121 B.C. she tried to poison him, but was compelled instead to drink the draught herself (Appian, Syr. 69).

For some years Antiochus Grypus reigned quietly, and then there arose a claimant to the throne in the person of his half-brother and cousin

19. Antiochus IX, Cyzicenus
(116-95 B.C.)
Antiochus (IX.), son of Antiochus VII. Sidetes and Cleopatra Thea (see above, § 15). Antiochus owed his surname to

his having been brought up at Cyzicus (his title on his coins is Philopator), whither his mother had sent him in 129 B.C. upon the return of Demetrius II., her second husband, from his Parthian captivity (Jos. Ant. xiii. 101). The poisoned cup with which his mother had made him familiar was employed in vain by Grypus to remove this rival. The attempt only precipitated the inevitable struggle (116 B.C.). In the first important battle of the war Grypus was victorious, and took Antioch, where he found his own sister-in-law Cleopatra IV., sister and divorced wife of Ptolemy Soter II. (Lathyrus); having been expelled from Egypt by her mother (*i.e.*, Cleopatra III., Physcon's niece and former wife, who herself married Ptolemy Soter) Cleopatra had married Antiochus Cyzicenus. By command of her sister, Try-

¹ Ptolemy Euergetes II., or Physcon, reigned 146-117 B.C.

² Or, according to another and more probable version (Justin, 39 1) he claimed to be an adoptive son of the dead Antiochus VII. Sidetes. He was really an Egyptian, son of a merchant called Protarchus, though Jos. Ant. xiii. 93 calls him a genuine Seleucid. He also gives the title as Zabinas. It is translated 'slave' (*ἀγοραστός*) in Eus. *Chron.* 1257.

³ Diod. Sic. 35 22 (3445), ἦν γὰρ πρὸς καὶ συγγνωμονικός, ἐτι δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιλείαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς εὐτεύεσι προσήνης. ὡς χάρις διαφέρουτος ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἡγαπάτο.

⁴ His titles are Epiphanes Philopator (?) Callinienus. The name Grypus = 'hook-nose'—a feature conspicuous on his coins. Grypus is, of course, not an official, but a vulgar title.

⁵ Coins bear her portrait, with *κομμοποιᾶ*. Her titles are Thea and Eueteria ('abundance').

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phæna, the wife of Grypus, the unfortunate Cleopatra was put to death (Justin, 39.3). Soon the scale was turned, and Grypus was defeated, and compelled to retire to Aspendus (Eus. *Chron.* 1.257); Tryphæna was put to death in her turn by the victor. In 111 B.C. Grypus returned and won back northern Syria. The result of the struggle was that the Syrian empire, now sadly shrunken in size, was partitioned between the contestants, Grypus retaining northern Syria with Cilicia, and Cyzicus taking Phœnicia and Coele Syria with its capital Damascus. Apparently a state of peace did not long continue; but the details of the never-ceasing warfare are hard to trace.

It is clear that the brothers' war in Syria was intimately connected with a similar strife in Egypt, where also Ptolemy Alexander and Ptolemy Soter II. were at enmity, due to the intrigues of their mother the reigning queen Cleopatra III. (cp *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 9.232; Justin, 39.4; *Jos. Ant.* xiii. 10.2; and see Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, 405 f.). Grypus held with the party of Alexander, and by way of attaching him more closely thereto Cleopatra sent him as his wife her youngest daughter, Selene, beforetime the wife of the exiled Ptolemy Soter II.

The confusion in Syria was an opportunity for surrounding powers. In 103 B.C. even Rome, by the victory of the Prætor M. Antonius over the pirates, gained a footing in Cilicia (cp Justin, 39.5). By the union of Laodice (Thea Philadelphus), daughter of Grypus, with Mithridates I. Callinicus, the dynasty of Commagene was founded, and the way prepared for the severance of that kingdom from Syria (cp Mommsen in *Athen. Mitt.* 1.27 f.). The Jews also, under John Hyrcanus, who had practically thrown off their allegiance since the death of Antiochus VII. (129 B.C.), made great strides forward, investing and destroying Samaria (about 108 B.C.) in spite of all that Antiochus Cyzicus, even with the help of 6000 troops sent by Ptolemy Soter II., could do to save it (*Jos. Ant.* xiii. 10.2 f.). Such successes as the Syrian king won were entirely neutralised and torn from his grasp by the *senatus consultum* secured by Hyrcanus bidding 'Antiochus the son of Antiochus' (*Jos. Ant.* xiv. 10.22; cp *id.* xiii. 9.2) restore all his Palestinian conquests.

In 96 B.C. Antiochus Grypus died, or was murdered by Hieracleon (*Jos. Ant.* xiii. 13.4; cp Eus. *Chron.* 1.259). He was forty-five years old at the time of his death, and left behind him five sons.

Seleucus VI., Epiphanes, the eldest son of Antiochus Grypus, on his father's death laid claim to the undivided empire, and proceeded to assert his claims by arms. Antiochus Cyzicus marched into northern Syria against him, but being defeated killed himself in the battle (Appian, *Syr.* 69; *Jos. Ant.* xiii. 13.4 seems not quite accurate). A sketch of the character of Antiochus Cyzicus is given in Diod. 35.34. We are told that he had to wife Selene, the Egyptian princess, who had been married to his rival Grypus; but whether her marriage to Cyzicus occurred before or after the death of Grypus is unknown. For a few months Seleucus VI. was master of the whole extent of the Syrian empire, as it then existed, but soon he was expelled by a rival, Antiochus X. Eusebes, Philopator, the son of Antiochus Cyzicus. He was compelled to retire into Cilicia, where he took refuge in the town of Mopsuestia (mod. *Misis*).

By his violent and tyrannical behaviour, and his extortions, Seleucus raised the inhabitants against him; they fired the gymnasium in which he had taken shelter, and he either perished in the flames, or slew himself to avoid a worse fate (*Jos. Ant.* xiii. 13.4; Appian, *Syr.* 69). This was probably in 94 B.C. Mopsuestia was thereafter razed to the ground by Philippos and Antiochus XI., brothers of Seleucus.

Syria now presented the spectacle of, firstly, a contest between two branches of the Seleucids, the

21. Antiochus X. (94-83 B.C.), the descendants of the brothers Demetrius II. and Antiochus VII., but both having the same ancestress [Cleopatra Thea], and, secondly, of squabbling between the members of the first branch, the five sons of Grypus

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(Holm, *Grk. Hist.* 4.542). The confusion prevailing is well illustrated by the fact that Antiochus X. married Selene who had first been the wife of Grypus and had then married Antiochus Cyzicus, his own father.

First, Antiochus X. had to meet the opposition of Antiochus XI. and Philippos I., the third and the second sons of Grypus. After a battle on the Orontes in which Antiochus X. was victorious, Antiochus XI. lost his life in the river in his flight (*Jos. L.c.*; Eus. *Chron.* 1.261). Philippos then assumed the royal title, and held part of Syria (from 94 B.C.). In the meantime, Ptolemy Lathyrus¹ had sent for Demetrius, fourth son of Grypus, from Cilicia, and had established him as king in Damascus.² After hard fighting Antiochus X. was expelled from Syria (or, according to Josephus, lost his life in battle with the Parthians).

According to Appian (*Mithr.* 105) this Antiochus was slain and ruling in 83 B.C. when Tigranes (see below, § 22) expelled himself master of Syria. If this is true, his death in war with the Parthians fell later (it had already occurred in 92 B.C.) Appian (*Syr.* 69) also tells us that he married Selene, his father's widow. His son was Antiochus XIII. (§ 23; cp Kuhn, *Lehrb. u. Gesch. der Seleukiden*, 33 f.).

In what way Philippos and Demetrius divided the kingdom is not known; but Demetrius probably ruled Coele Syria and Antioch. Soon hostilities broke out between them. Demetrius was also engaged with the Jews, who in 88 B.C. called him in to aid

22. Philippos I. and Demetrius III.

them against their tyrant prince Alexander Jannæus. Demetrius defeated Jannæus (*Jos. Ant.* xiii. 11.7), but in the moment of victory Jewish national feeling awoke, and 6000 Jews went over to Alexander from the army of Demetrius. The Syrian king must have shown signs of desiring to reduce Judæa once more to a dependency of Syria. Demetrius then turned his arms against his brother Philippos, whom he besieged in Beroa.³ Straton, the ruler of Beroa, who supported Philippos, appealed for assistance to the Arab king Azizus and the Parthian Mithridates. By them Demetrius was himself beleaguered in his camp and compelled to capitulate. He died in honourable confinement at the court of the Parthian king Mithridates II (*Jos. Ant.* xiii. 11.3).

After the capture of Demetrius by the Parthians Philippos made himself master of Antioch, and for a short time was sole ruler of what was left of the Syrian empire (88 B.C.). The intestine strife was soon renewed, for Antiochus XII. Dionysos,⁴ the youngest of the sons of Grypus, claimed the throne, and established himself in Damascus (87/6 B.C.). Philippos, indeed, shortly afterwards took the town by the treachery of the governor Milesius, while Antiochus was engaged with the Nabateans; but he was compelled to evacuate it again. When Antiochus resumed operations against the Arabians, the Jewish despot, Alexander Jannæus, attempted to bar the road through Judæa by constructing a great wall and trench from Joppa to Capharsaba but in vain (*Jos. Ant.* xiii. 15.1). Ten thousand Arab riders surprised the forces of the Syrian king, who, true to the traditions of his house, fell fighting bravely (probably about 84 B.C.).

The end of Philippos is doubtful. In 83 B.C. the Armenian king Tigranes was invited to put an end to the long strife by making himself master of the Syrian kingdom. Neither Philippos nor Antiochus X. (if they were still alive) so far as § 20 could offer any real opposition, and Tigranes made himself master of the entire Syrian kingdom from the source of the Euphrates, including also Cilicia (Justin, 30.1. Appian, *Syr.* 43). He so ruled for fourteen years, Syria being governed by a viceroy. In 69 B.C. the connection of Tigranes with his father-in-law Mithridates of Pontus led to his own defeat by Lucullus.

¹ Ptolemy Lathyrus = Ptolemy Soter II. (see *PROLEG.* 2).
² Demetrius III., Eucærus (95-88 B.C.). *Εὐκαῖρος*, so *Jos. Ant.* xiii. 13.4, where, however, Niese reads *Ἀνατολάς*. The coins of Antiochus X. bear the triple title Theos, Philopator, Soter, or else Philomator Euergetes Callinicus.

³ A town E. of Antioch.

⁴ Dionysos' coins bear also the titles Epiphanes, Philopator, Callinicus, the title Dionysos being also sometimes omitted.

SEM

After the defeat of Tigranes, Syria did not all at once come into the possession of the Romans. The royal house of Syria was not yet extinct, for Antiochus X. (69-65 B.C.), Eusebes and Cleopatra Selene had left a son Antiochus.

23. Antiochus XIII. Asiaticus
(69-65 B.C.)

The youth of Asiaticus had been passed in Asia Minor (Justin, 19.2, 'in angulo Cilicæ'), from which circumstance he received his surname (Appian, *Syr.* 79). This Antiochus, along with a brother, appeared in Rome to urge their claim to the kingdom of Egypt, then under the sway of the illegitimate Ptolemy Auletes. This claim was disregarded, and the disappointed princes returned home by way of Sicily, where Antiochus was robbed by Verres of a rich present intended for the Senate (Cic. *Verr.* II. 427). This was about 72 B.C. Three years later Tigranes had lost his Syrian possessions, and Antiochus was received with open arms as the heir to his kingdom (Appian, *Syr.* 49). Lucullus recognised his claim.

In 65 B.C. disturbances broke out in Antioch (Diod. *Syr.* 34), and Philippos son of Philippos I. was encouraged to lay claim to the crown. Thus the old strife between the two rival lines was renewed in the third generation. The Arabian chief Azizus (cp § 22) supported Philippos, whilst Sampsiceramus, prince of Emesa (Strabo, 753), supported Antiochus. Into the details of the strife we need not enter. Pompeius, who had taken the place of Lucullus in 66 B.C., took in hand the reduction of this chaos to order. Antiochus, on requesting to be acknowledged as the rightful heir to the throne, received the answer that Pompeius would not give back the sovereignty to a king who knew neither how to maintain nor how to govern his kingdom, even at the request of his subjects, much less against their distinctly expressed wishes. With this letter of the Roman proconsul the house of Seleucis was ejected from the throne which it had occupied for two hundred and fifty years. Antiochus soon after lost his life through the artifice of the emir Sampsiceramus, as whose client he played the ruler in Antioch (Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, 4135). Syria now became a Roman province (65 B.C.).

Besides the special articles devoted to Antiochus, Demetrius, etc., and collateral articles, in the present work, Schürer's *Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ*,

24. Literature. ET₁ should be consulted for a sketch of Syrian history, and for the authorities there cited. The literature of the subject is extensive. Most important are P. Gardner, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum: The Seleucid Kings of Syria*; and Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*. Extremely valuable are the articles under the various headings Antiochus, Demetrius, etc., in Pauly's *Real Encyclopædie*, now available in part in the revised edition by Wissowa; in it will be found the fullest collection of recent authorities, to which general reference must here suffice. W. J. W.

SEM (סמ) [TI. WHI], Lk. 3:36, RV SHEM.

SEMACHIAH (שִׁמְחִיָּהוּ, § 29), one of the sons of Shemaiah b. Obed-edom (1 Ch. 26:7, ΣΑΒΥΧΕΙΑ [B], ΣΑΜΑΧΙΑ [L], -ΙΑC [A]). Cp ISMACHIAH, where a religious meaning is suggested. This meaning, however, seems to be due to a redactor. The neighbouring names are surely clan-names of the Negeb (cp OBEDEDOM). Cp SEMI-CAL. T. K. C.

SEMEI (σεμεϊε), 1. 1 Esd. 9:33 = Ezra 10:33, SEMI (10).

2. Esth. 1:7, RV SEMI; elsewhere SEMI (10).
3. Lk. 3:23, (σεμεϊε) [TI. WHI], RV SEMEIN, a name in the genealogy of Jesus, see GENEALOGIES, § 3.

SEMEIS (σεμεϊε [A]), 1 Esd. 9:23 RV, AV Semis = Ezra 10:23, SEMI, 14.

SEMELLIUS (σεμελλιουc [A]), 1 Esd. 2:16 = Ezra 4:3 SEMI-TIAL.

BENAAH (בְּנֵי־אָה), Ezra 2:35; HASSENAAH.

SENEH (סֵנֶה), in Neh. 3:3, 1 S. 144. See BOZEZ, MICHMAH, § 2.

1. As a son of Asiaticus he is ex-ant, we do not know his official title. The name Asiaticus, of course, belongs to the same class as Grypus, Hierax, etc., which are vulgar in origin, not official. Possibly the official title of this last of the Seleucide was Eusebes, which would account for his being confused with his father by our authorities.

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SENIER (סֵנִיר; CAN[ε]ip; *Senir*; Dt. 3:9 1 Ch. 5:23 Cant. 4:8 [CAN[ε]ip. N] Ezek. 27:5 [CENE[ε]ip. B]), or sometimes, incorrectly, in AV, SHERIR (Dt. Cant.), Senir (the Amorite name of Mt. Hermon, Dt. 3:9 is described in an inscription of Shalmaneser as 'Sairit, the mountain summit at the entrance to Lebanon' [Del. *Proc.* 104]); Ezekiel says that the Tyrians (int cp TYRE, § 1) sent thither for planks of fir-trees. In 1 Ch. 5:23 Senir is coupled with Mount Hermon. It might be a designation of that part of the Hermon-range which is between B'albek and Homs, and was known by the same name to the Arabic geographers (e.g., *Maifolal*).

Cp. K. 11² 159; Halévy, *RI* 20 [1824] 24; Metzstein, *Z. f. W.* 3278. See HERMON, SIRON, and, on the question whether there is one or twice a confusion between a mountain-range in the far N. and one in the far S., bearing a similar name, see *Crit. Bib.*

SENNACHERIB (סֵנַחֲרִיב or [2 K. 19:35] סֵנַחֲרִיב; CENNAACH[ε]ip [BNAQI] -ειβ [Opp. Is. 37:36] -χεip.

1. Sources [1.], CENNAACH[ε]ip. [2 K. 18:17 A. 2 Macc. 8:19 V*], -χεip. [2 Macc. 8:19 15:22, V*]; 3 Macc. 6:5, V], CENNH[ε]B [Is. 36:1, Aq.];

Ass. *Sin-ah-ib-aba*, 'Sin has increased the brothers'), son and successor of Sargon, came to the throne on the 12th of Abu, 705 B.C. Sennacherib's own dated inscriptions, the Taylor Cylinder being the latest, give the events of the first fifteen years of his reign, in a chronological order, but arranged according to campaigns, not, like Sargon's Annals, according to years. The Canon Lists, of the second class, which fix some definite event for each eponymy, are defective after his first year. The Babylonian Chronicle, which was exceptionally full for this reign, deals chiefly with what concerned Babylon. The Kings List, a Babylonian document, records the succession of kings who ruled in Babylon during this reign. Some statements preserved in classical authors are to be regarded with suspicion until they are brought to the test of further inscriptions, still unpublished, of this king's. The many contracts of this reign and a large number of letters, now being published, give many incidental references. Hence the last word on the history of Sennacherib from the Assyrian side cannot yet be said. All that can now be done is to summarise the present state of knowledge.

Sennacherib does not seem to have been in a position to proceed to Babylon directly after his accession to the throne of Assyria and there 'take the hands of B'el,' or become legitimate king of Babylon. Polyhistor relates

2. Struggle for the kingdom. indeed that Sennacherib's brother reigned there at first, and, on his death, a man named Hagises reigned for one month, till he was killed by Merodach-baladan, who reigned for six months. The Babylonian Kings List assigns one month to Marduk-zakir-sumi, who may be Hagises, and then gives nine months to Merodach-baladan. Whatever means Sennacherib took to govern Babylon in his first two years—whether he ruled by a *saknu* or governor, or whether he really sent a brother to act as sub-king—his rule was thrown off by an upstart, 'son of a slave,' Merodach-baladan, who had been expelled by Sargon in 721 B.C., although a Chaldean, was evidently more welcome than Sennacherib, whom the Babylonian Kings List calls a member of the dynasty of Haligal. According to Jensen, this means simply 'Great Rascal.'

Sennacherib's own inscriptions ascribe to the commencement of his reign the active hostility of Merodach-baladan, king of Karhumiaš, the old name for Babylonia, whom Sennacherib defeated in his first expedition. Merodach-baladan was supported by an army from Elam. These allies were defeated at Kisit (now Hymer), about 10 m. E. from Babylon. Merodach-baladan fled alone to Guzamani. Sennacherib immediately entered Babylon and took possession of Me. 'ach-Baladan's

1 For a portrait of Sennacherib see col. 729.

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palace, acquiring great spoil. He then sent after Merodach-baladan an army which searched the swamps where he had taken refuge; but the wily Chaldean escaped. Sennacherib then proceeded to conquer the country, city by city. He seems to have had to fight with a number of tribes, Urbi, Aramu, and Chaldeans, who had occupied Erech, Nippur, Kisu, Haršakalama and Cutha, and boasts of having captured 89 strong cities as well as 820 smaller cities in Chaldea. On his return to Babylon he had to pacify the country, and rescue it from the hordes of Aramæan and Chaldean peoples, who would not acknowledge him as king.

Sennacherib enumerates the Tu'mana, Rihhu, Iadku, Ubulu, Kipré, Malhu, Girromu, Ubulu, Damnu, Gambulu, Hindaru, Ka'a, Pukulu, Hauranu, Hagaratu, Sabatu, Lihatu, Aramu. The number of his captives he puts at 208,000. The nature of these tribes is indicated by the spoil taken from them: 7200 horses, 11,073 asses, 5200 camels, 80,100 oxen, 800,500 sheep. The country was clearly over-run by nomads.

It is evident that Assyria had completely lost control of the country. Sennacherib had to reconquer it. The Babylonian Chronicle and a fragment of the Canon List place a conquest of Larak and Sarabānu in 704 B.C. This doubtless marked the commencement of the reconquest. But the campaign clearly lasted beyond 702 B.C., when Sennacherib set Bēl-ibni on the throne of Babylon. This prince had been brought up at the Assyrian court, but was of the old Babylonian seed royal, for all the sources acknowledge him as legitimate monarch, and the Babylonian Kings' List ascribes him to 'the dynasty of Babylon,' and gives him a reign of three years. He was, of course, a vassal king.

Sennacherib assigns to this period the submission of Nabū-bēl-šumūte, *kīzu* of Hararatu, and the destruction of Hirimmu. Some of Sennacherib's inscriptions follow the plan of presenting together the events connected with one district. Thus we learn that after Bēl-ibni had proved faithless or inefficient, Sennacherib once more marched to Babylon and deposed him, setting Asur-nādin-šum, his own son, on the throne. The Babylonian Chronicle places the pillage of Hararatu and Hirimmu in 702 B.C., and associates the accession of Asur-nādin-šum with Sennacherib's pillage of Akkad, or Northern Babylonia. Bēl-ibni was called away to Assyria. It was probably during Sennacherib's absence in the West that Bēl-ibni became disgraced. Asur-nādin-šum was acknowledged king in Babylon according to all sources; but the Kings' List assigns him to the dynasty of Haligal. He reigned six years, 699-693 B.C.

Sennacherib owed Elam a grudge for supporting Merodach-baladan against him. In his second campaign, as he calls it, before September 702 B.C., when the Bellino Cylinder is dated, he marched an army towards Elam. The Kašši, who had once furnished the ruling dynasty of Babylonia, about 1725-1155 B.C., and a neighbouring tribe, the Isabigalli, on the borders of Babylonia and Elam, who had never been subjected to Assyrian rule, were now ravaged. The neighbouring kingdom of Ellipi, once subject to Sargon, was also pillaged. As in Sargon's case, some distant tribes of the Medes sent presents. Sennacherib boasts that his predecessors had not even heard the names of these peoples. But although Elam was threatened, it does not seem that Sennacherib made any direct attack this time. His hands were soon full in another quarter.

How long the West had been in rebellion does not appear; but Sennacherib calls the campaign in which he proceeded to bring the West to submission his third. This is ascribed by general consent to 701 B.C. Bēl-ibni was settled in Babylon, and Sennacherib was free to attend to the West at that time; but we have no explicit statement of date from cuneiform sources. The first move was against Tyre. Ethlolan, whom Sennacherib calls Lull king of Sidon, according to Menander, as quoted by Josephus, had gone to Cithium in Cyprus to establish his authority. He was thus committing a technical act of war against Sennacherib. The latter

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does not state the grounds of his quarrel. But doubtless all the West had become very backward in payment of tribute. Sennacherib says that Lull fled from Tyre to Cyprus and that all his country fell into Assyrian hands. Great Sidon and Little Sidon, Beth zaf, Saupita, Mahaliba, Ušū, Achzib, and Aecho are named as fortresses captured from Lull. Sennacherib set up Ethlolan as vassal king over a new kingdom of Sidon. Tyre he could not reduce.

The vassal kings and semi-independent rulers of Syria and Palestine now hastened to secure exemption from pillage by tribute and submission. Menahem of Samaria, Abdi-hi'u of Arvad, Urnimlki of Gêbel, Mutin of Ashdod, Pudu-ilu of Ammon, Kinnus and Iad of Moab, Aramun of Edom, all called kings of the Moabite land, submitted. Sidka of Ashkelon stood out, was captured and with all his belongings carried to Assyria. He had apparently gone to the throne by a revolution which had expelled Sarru-luddari, son of Rakiptu, whom Tiglath-pileser III. had set over Ashkelon, about 734 B.C. Hence he probably expected no mercy if he submitted. Sarru-luddari was reinstated. Sennacherib then reduced Beth-dagan, Joppa, Benebarka, and Azor which had been under Sidka's rule.

The nobles and people of Ekron had rebelled against their king Padi, a faithful vassal of Assyria, put him on chains, and sent him to Hezekiah, king of Judah, to keep in prison. When Sennacherib advanced against Ekron, he was faced by a great army of the kings of Musur, with troops, archers, chariots, and horsemen from Meluhha. This army he defeated at Ekeke, capturing the sons of the kings of Musur and the generals sent from Meluhha. He then stormed Ekeke and Timmath. Ekron soon submitted. After wiping out the conspirators and enslaving their supporters Sennacherib reinstated Padi, whom he says he 'brought forth out of Jerusalem.'

Sennacherib then proceeded to ravage Judah, capturing forty-six great fortresses and smaller cities 'without number,' 'counting as spoil' 200,150 people. He does not claim to have captured Jerusalem. He says of Hezekiah, 'him, like a caged bird, within Jerusalem, his capital, I shut in, forts against him I raised and I repulsed whoever came out of his city gate and took it up'; but here is no mention of capture. The captured cities were annexed to the dominions of Melatu of Ashdod, Padi of Ekron, and Silli-bēl of Gaza. What caused Sennacherib to leave Judah we are not told; but it is nearly certain that troubles in Babylon were again pressing. The army left behind under the Tartan and Rabshakeh would be well able to carry on a siege, but Hezekiah would not push matters to the point of standing a long siege. He did submit, as is evident from the tribute which, Sennacherib says, was sent after him to Nineveh. It amounted to 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, and an enormous amount of precious stones and palace furniture, besides Hezekiah's daughters, his eunuchs, musicians, etc. Sennacherib's account of the submission seems to imply that it was the Urbi, Arabs whom Hezekiah had received into the city to strengthen it, who really gave in, and so forced the king to submit. They may have been a garrison from Meluhha. These events are recorded on Cylinder B, which is dated in the Eponymy of Mitunu, 700 B.C. That the account is complete no one can pretend. It makes no mention of Lachish, although the celebrated scene of Sennacherib receiving the submission of that city shows the great importance attached by him to its capture. Whether Lachish was one of the forty-six great fortresses, or not, it seems probable, as it was only 10 m. or so from Ekeke, that it was captured in this expedition.

What was the exact nature of Bēl-ibni's fault we do not know; but Merodach-baladan's activity in the Sealand and the unrest of Marduk-usēzib in Chaldea caused Sennacherib to attack the southern portion of

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Babylonia. His principal enemies fled. Merodach-baladan, with his gods, escaped by ship to Nagitu on the Elamite coast of the Persian Gulf; but his brothers and the rest of his people, whom he had left in Bit Yakin, were taken captives. Sennacherib added 15,000 bowmen and 15,000 pikemen from these countries to his army. This was in 700 B.C. Sennacherib calls it his 'fourth campaign.'

Sennacherib now seems to have considered his empire thoroughly subdued, for he embarked on a fancy expedition, what he himself calls his fifth campaign. It can have brought little profit, but he dwells upon it with evident pride and delight. Some of the mountain districts of Cilicia, peopled by the Tanurru, Sernu, Ezama, Kipsu, Halbuda, Kôa, Kana, dwelling in cities perched like birds' nests on Mount Nipur, 'were not submissive to my yoke. So, pitching his camp at the foot of Mount Nipur, with his bodyguards and picked warriors he scaled the mountain peaks, leading the attack in person, 'like a mighty bull.' He goes on to describe the hardships of this raid in a way that shows his own love of fighting. Then he turned to Manla, king of Ukki, at the Mount Anara and Uppa; then against parts of Cilicia, Fulgarimmin, and the borders of Tabal. Everywhere he succeeded, pillaged, burnt, and destroyed. This seems to have been in 699 B.C. Although there seems to have been small value in this move, Berossus seems to have known of Sennacherib's war in Cilicia and ascribes to him the foundation of Tarsus.

In his sixth campaign Sennacherib struck out a completely new plan. Merodach-baladan's elusive tactics had repeatedly foiled his enemy. He had taken to the ships for which the Chaldeans were famous, and escaped to Nagitu, whither Sennacherib could not follow. Now Sennacherib determined to strike him even there. So he set his captives from the Phœnician coasts, skilled shipbuilders, to build ships at Nineveh. These he took down the Tigris to Opis, dragged them inland to the Arahtu canal, and floated them on the Euphrates at Bit Dakkiri. He then embarked his bodyguards and picked warriors, stocked the ships with provisions for the men and fodder for the horses, and sent them down the river, while he marched beside them on land, as far as Bab Salimitti. The fleet stretched on the shore of the river to the shore of the Gulf, 'two *katpu*.' At the mouth of the river Sennacherib seems to have stayed behind. He sent on his fleet, however, and after five days and nights they reached a point where he caused sacrifices to be offered to Ea, god of the ocean, and threw a gold ship, a gold fish, and an *allutu* of gold into the sea. The landing at Nagitu was opposed and the shore was difficult; but at the mouth of the Uai, where the shore was practicable, a landing was effected and Sennacherib's army swarmed out of the ships 'like locusts.' The Chaldeans were utterly routed, Nagitu, Nagitu Dihibina, Hilnu, Pillatu, Hupapanu, Elamite cities, were captured. The gods of Bit Yakin that had been carried there, the people, with a number of Elamites, and immense booty, were brought back to Sennacherib at Bab Salimitti. Sennacherib added to his army 30,500 bowmen, 30,500 pikemen. The rest of the spoil he distributed among his warriors.

In this campaign Sennacherib had violated the territory of Elam. Istar-hundu of Elam had never crossed swords with Sennacherib since the defeat of his army sent to support Merodach-baladan. Probably he was regarded by the more warlike spirits in Elam as pusillanimous. At any rate in 699 B.C. his brother Hallušu imprisoned him and took the rule in Elam. How long Sennacherib was occupied over his preparations for the extirpation of Merodach-baladan is not clear; but it was in 693 B.C. that he pillaged Nagitu, Hilnu, Pillatu, and Hupapanu. This invasion was at once revenged by Hallušu. While Sennacherib was triumphing in the S. the king of Elam made a raid into Babylonia, cap-

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tured Sippara, slew its people, defeated Asur-nâdin-lum and carried him captive to Elam, whence he seems never to have returned. The king of Elam then set Nergal-usêzib on the throne of Babylonia. Nergal-usêzib at once set to work, evidently assisted by Elamite troops, to occupy the country in Sennacherib's rear. In Tannuz he occupied Nippur. He attacked Erech and pillaged its gods and people. His Elamite allies carried off the gods and people. This was on the first of Tešritu; but on the seventh he met the victorious army of Sennacherib returning from the S. and was defeated, captured, and carried off to Assyria, after a reign of a year and six months. This was in 693 B.C. At the end of this year Hallušu of Elam was killed in a revolution and was succeeded by Kudur-nahhundi. Sennacherib is silent as to the troubles in Babylonia and the fate of Asur-nâdin-lum. But he appends to the account of the sixth expedition the statement that on his return he defeated and captured Suzib, son of Gahni, who had seated himself on the throne of Babylonia. He ascribes this revolution to the Babylonians, who had fled with Merodach-baladan to Elam, and had returned thence to Babylonia. Sennacherib then sent an army against the Elamite auxiliaries while he apparently pursued his way to Assyria. His army defeated that of Elam and slew the king of Elam's son.

It was clear that Sennacherib could not pass over such conduct as Elam had shown. In his 'seventh campaign,' Sennacherib raided the land. He claims to have captured thirty-four fortified cities and an endless number of smaller towns, 'the smoke of their burning lay over the land like a cloud.' But Kudur-nahhundi would not meet the invader, who seems only to have ravaged the lowlands. Sennacherib states that the king of Elam returned to Madaktu, a mountain fortress. Thither Sennacherib determined to follow and root him out. Kudur-nahhundi abandoned Madaktu and fled to Hialu, a remote mountain fastness. Sennacherib attacked Madaktu; but in the hills winter came on so fast and the storms were so severe that he could not press the assault, and returned to Nineveh. Kudur-nahhundi did not survive more than three months, and was succeeded by a brother Unman-minânu, whom Sennacherib regarded as a man without sense or prudence.

Sennacherib with his plunder-laden army had passed Babylonia by on his return from the S., and though he had captured its king Nergal-usêzib at Nippur and driven the Elamites out of Babylonia, and subsequently raided Elam, he had not yet entered the capital. Doubtless his first efforts had been directed to an attempt to recover his son from Elam, and the place was hateful to him. Now, when he would enter Babylonia, he found that the inhabitants had made themselves a new king, Musêzib-Marduk, another Chaldean. He is credited with reigning four years—692-88 B.C. Sennacherib calls him a felon who had fled from the prefect of Lahiri and had collected a band of murderers and robbers, and taken refuge in the marshes. When surrounded by Sennacherib before, he managed to escape to Elam; but when he found there only danger and trouble, he had come back to Babylonia and there found means to secure the throne. He broke open the treasure-house of Marduk's temple and sent a bribe to Unman-minânu. The latter giving no heed to the fate which Sennacherib had brought upon Elam in his last campaign, received the bribe and assembled an immense army, drawn not only from Elam, but also from many lands which had once acknowledged Assyria's power. It is interesting to note Parsua, Anzân (afterwards the land of Cyrus), Ellipi, Lahiru, Pukudu, Ganouin; also Sanuua, son of Merodach-baladan. The forces reached Babylonia and effected a junction with Musêzib-Marduk. It was the greatest coalition that had yet faced Sennacherib. In his eighth campaign he met them at Hialulê on the Tigris, and the chronicler

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waxes eloquent over the immense array that faced the Assyrian army. They were 'like a great swarm' of locusts. 'The dust of their feet was like a heavy storm cloud which spreads over the wide heaven about to break in downpour. The account of the battle given by Sennacherib is a masterpiece of description, but too long to quote. He claims to have defeated his enemies with tremendous slaughter and terrible butchery. The Babylonian Chronicle, however, claims the victory for Elam. At any rate Sennacherib returned to Nineveh for a time. It is not clear in which year the battle occurred; perhaps it was in 691 B.C. In 689 B.C. (Nisan the 15th), Uman-mīnānu had a stroke of paralysis and lost his speech. Sennacherib seized the opportunity to attack Babylon, which was without Elamite assistance. On the first of Kishnu the city was taken, Mušēzib-Marduk was carried away captive to Assyria, Marduk himself was taken to Assur. Babylon was sacked, its walls razed to the ground, the greater portion of the houses burnt, its inhabitants driven out, or deported, and the waters of the Euphrates turned over the site. For eight years the Babylonian Chronicle and Ptolemy's Canon write the city down as 'kingless.'

Some time after this Sennacherib made an expedition to Arabia. This we learn from a notice by Esarhaddon. Adma was captured and the gods carried off to Assyria. Winckler sees in this an excuse for postulating a second expedition of Sennacherib to the W., at any rate to Arabia and Egypt. Several fragmentary inscriptions have been published which are consistent with the supposition that there is a cylinder at least partly preserved, which narrated events occurring after 688 B.C. There is no means, however, of dating the events until the remaining historical inscriptions are published. The reference to Azekah, noted by Hommel, may belong to the reign of Sargon. No convincing evidence from cuneiform sources is available to support a second expedition of Sennacherib to the W. All sources are silent as to the last eight years of his reign.

Sennacherib was the maker of NINEVEH (*q.v.*). His inscriptions are very full on the subject of his great buildings there. Some think that it was with a view to make Nineveh supreme that he humbled Babylon so completely; but the trouble it had given him and the memory of his son amply account for his policy.

Besides Asur-nādin-šum, king of Babylon, 690-693 B.C., doubtless Sennacherib's eldest son, we know of a son Ardi-Bēlit, crown prince in Nineveh, in 694 B.C.; Asur-šum-ubāši, a son for whom Sennacherib built a palace at Scherif Khān; Nergal-Sum-*(ušur?)*, named in 693 B.C.; Sar-ēpir-Assur, whom Winckler would make the Sharezer of 2 K. 19:37; and ESARHADDON (*q.v.*), who succeeded him. The mother of Esarhaddon seems to have borne the names Zakūm and Nakla. For an account of a jewel belonging to this queen, see Scheil, *Rec. des Trav.*, and see the article ESARHADDON for her rôle as regent in Assyria. Her sister was called Abiramī. Sennacherib also left a daughter called Mitē.

Sennacherib was murdered by his son, according to the Babylonian Chronicle, and the Canon Lists, on the 20th of Tēbētu, 682 B.C. On the biblical account of the murder, see ADRAMMELECH, SUAREZER, and NISROCH. C. H. W. J.

With regard to the history of the relations between Sennacherib and the kingdom of Judah, there is much difference of opinion. The chief points in dispute are (1) whether the Hebrew narratives, except where they coincide with the cuneiform record, can be used at all for historical purposes, and (2) whether these narratives, if based upon facts, relate to one period, or to two, in the reign of Sennacherib. That the first of the three portions, into which Stade and his successors have analysed the Hebrew record, agrees in the main with

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the cuneiform record, is obvious. That portion consists of barely four verses (2 K. 18:17^f) [from 277] and probably comes from the royal annals of Judah. It states (so too Is. 37:36) that Sennacherib took 'all the fortified cities of Judah (Sennacherib himself says forty-six), and exacted a heavy tribute from Hezekiah as the price of forgiveness; two points of discrepancy in the respective accounts, (1) as to the amount of the tribute, and (2) as to the place to which the tribute was sent (Lachish? Nineveh?), need not be dwelt upon. The second and the third portions (2 K. 18:17-19:37 and 36 f. 19:38-39), however, contain statements which are unconfirmed by Sennacherib. Thus (1) in 2 K. 19:35 (Is. 37:36)—*i.e.*, in the second narrative—we are told that Tirhakah took the field against Sennacherib, and it is implied that this stood in close relation to the withdrawal of Sennacherib from Palestine. (2) 2 K. 19:35 (Is. 37:36) tells us that 185,000 men in the Assyrian army were destroyed in one night by pestilence—the explanation which the third narrative gives of the failure of Sennacherib's invasion of Judah. (3) 2 K. 19:38 (Is. 37:38) speaks of Sennacherib as engaged in the siege of Libnah when the news respecting Tirhakah reached him—*i.e.*, the third narrative gives the prominence to Libnah which the first and the second (see 2 K. 18:17 Is. 37:36) give to Lachish. The first and the second of these statements are commonly supposed to be confirmed by the legend in Herod. 2:141, that when Savaqāpator, king of the Arabians and Assyrians, invaded Egypt and besieged Pelusium in the days of the pious king Sethos, field-mice gnawed the omens and shield-handles of the invaders, who precipitately fled. Even Winckler and Prašek accept this view, and they find in the passage of Herodotus a support for their theory (which is accepted by Guthe [*Gesch.* 204] and Benzinger) that Sennacherib made a second expedition to S. Palestine and NW. Arabia (in the course of which he actually besieged Jerusalem) some time between 690 and 681, which is referred to in the third narrative, whilst the second narrative relates to the expedition of 701, in the course of which Jerusalem was only blockaded, not besieged.

We shall do well in considering this theory to put aside altogether the material in the second and the third Hebrew narrative, for a close examination of them clearly shows that they are parallel. The two narratives are no doubt inconsistent in some respects, but upon the whole they interlace and are mutually complementary. All depends, therefore, on the justice of the inference drawn from Herod. 2:141. Prašek² conceives himself to have shown that the Sethos of Herodotus is no other than Tirhakah. That Egypt was a member of the coalition against Sennacherib is shown by the presence of 'kings of Egypt' at the battle of Altaku (Schr. *K.A.T.* 302 f.), and the designation of Savaqāpator as 'king of the Arabians and Assyrians' is thought to be a record of the fact (2) that after his successes against the NW. Arabian tribes Sennacherib assumed the title of 'king of Arabia'; lastly, the mouse is said to be the symbol of pestilence. The objection is threefold. (1) As Winckler has shown, it was the kings of Mušri (𐎎𐎌𐎗𐎐), not of Egypt (𐎎𐎌𐎗𐎐) who fought at Altaku; (2) We have no occasion to assume that 'Sethos' is written in error for 'Tirhakah'; and (3) there is no trustworthy evidence that a mouse is the symbol of pestilence (see HEZEKIAH, § 2, col. 2059). The second of these criticisms may need some explanation. The reason why scholars equate Sethos with Tirhakah is simply that Herodotus gives his Arabian and Assyrian king the name of Savaqāpator. But how if Herodotus or his informant has made a confusion? And how if the king of Egypt really in-

¹ See Winckler, in *K.A.T.* 342.

² Cp. *Intr.* Is. 229 f.

³ *Forschungen zur Gesch. des Alt.* 2:112.

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tended was Seti (the natural equivalent of Sethos)? As Hingsch relates: 1—

The wars of Seti towards the E. began in the first year of his reign. The scene of them was the districts and the fortresses on the territory of the Shasu, or Hethou, "from the fortress Akham, in the land of Zabu, to the place Kan'ana." . . . The fortress Kan'ana was stormed by Seti and his warriors, and the Pharaoh became the lord of the entire Edomite Negeb.

The name of the Shasu chief is not given us. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the popular tradition caught up by Herodotus spoke of 'the chieftain of the Arabian Shasu,' and that this became to Herodotus' ears 'Sennacherib' the king of the Arabians and Assyrians.

The result, so far attained, is that the only historical account of the campaign of Sennacherib against Judah and its capital are to be found in the cuneiform inscriptions of Sennacherib and in the short extract from the Annals of Judah (2 K. 18:13-16). But how is the rest of the Hebrew narrative to be accounted for? We are not bound to answer the question here at length; but some suggestions must be given. According to Marti (p. 250), the subject of the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib attracted imaginative and dialectic writers. This, indeed, is about all that we could venture to say, as the text of the Hebrew narrative now stands. But it is not all that we can say, if we give this weight to critical considerations. We must not exaggerate the imaginativeness of later Hebrew writers, but rather dig deep down for the fragments of genuine tradition in their works. This is by no means a hopeless task because we know that the two powers constantly present to the minds of the peoples of Israel and of Judah were N. Arabia and Assyria; the works of the prophets of the 'Assyrian age' prove this conclusively. We have, therefore, something to direct and restrain us in our application of text-critical methods. Now in the account of the national extinction of Judah two missions appear to be combined, an Assyrian and a N. Arabian. This leads us to suppose that such may have been the case in 2 K. 18:13-19:37. The king who invaded Judah may have been a king of Meluhha—the same who sent troops to fight against Sennacherib at Akaku,—and the Cush, whose king interfered with the invader's progress, may have been the N. Arabian Cush (friendly to Judah?). The names Sennacherib and Tirhakah may be explained on the analogy of the erroneous *Tarshish* of Herodotus.

The pestilence, if at all historical, may have attacked the N. Arabian army. 'Nineveh,' as in some other passages, may have come from 'Jerahmeel,' 'Nisroch' from 'Nimrod,' 'Aidrammelech' from 'Jerahmeel,' and 'Ararat' (as in Gen. 8:4) from 'Aram'—i.e., 'Jerahmeel.' The object of the Assyrian or N. Arabian invasion would be to form one strong united empire in opposition to Assyria. It may be added that the much-disputed and badly transmitted prophecy in Is. 22:1-14 refers most probably not to an Assyrian, but to an Asshurite siege of the Judaite capital (see Vissler, *Valley of*, and *Crit. Bib.*).

It may be urged in objection to these conclusions that fresh inscriptions of Sennacherib are not past hoping for. That is true; but these inscriptions will not supersede the Hebrew traditions. To attempt to write the history of the Israelites simply on the basis of the unclassified Hebrew texts and the unclassified Assyrian inscriptions would be a very grave mistake. G. Smith's *History of Sennacherib* gives the chief events with the original texts. For additional small items of information see the Histories of Assyria, especially Winkler's *GBA*, R. W. Rogers' *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, Winkler's *AOF*, *Assyrian and Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, *fascim.*

6. Literature. Winkler's *GBA*, R. W. Rogers' *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, Winkler's *AOF*, *Assyrian and Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, *fascim.* C. H. W. J., §§ 1-4, 6; T. K. C., § 5.

SENUAH (שֵׁנְוָה), Neh. 11:9; in 33 HASENAAH.

SEORIM (שְׂוֹרִים), the name borne by one of the post-exilic priestly courses: 1 Ch. 24:8 (ΣΕΩΡΕΙΜ [ΣΕΩΡΕΙΜ]).

SEPARATION. On the water of separation (מֵי נִדָּח, RVm's 'water of impurity,' Nu. 19:9, see CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 17.

On the separation of the Nazirite see NAZIRITE.

1 Gesch. *Egyptens*, 458-460; cp Egypt, § 57.

SEPHARAD

SEPHAR (שֶׁפָרַד; סַפְרַפָּרָ [VEL.]) is mentioned in Gen. 10:30 as one of the best parts of the territory of the sons of Joktan. It has not been identified with certainty. The usual identification—a very appropriate one—is with the *σαρφαρα*, *σαρφαρ* of Ptolemy, Pliny, and the *Seprilus* (i.e., the ancient Hymyatic capital *Zafar*), this again is held by Karl Ritter, Gesenius, etc., to be the same with the seaport of Hadramaut, near Mirbat, the name being now pronounced *Iyaf* or *Iyafir*. The possibility of this may be granted, but it is still uncertain (see Di. *Gen.*, 201; Del. *Gen.* [1887], 228). The mountain of the East is too general an expression to give precision to the undefined geographical terms of this verse. [On the textual criticism and the meaning of Gen. 10:30 see further GOLD, § 1 (C), PARVAIM.]

[See also Ritter, *Asienkunde*, 1437; Tob. *Gen.*, 212; Sprenger, *Alle Gesch. von Arabien*, 125; Glaser, *Skizze*, 247; Bent, *Southern Arabia* (1903); A. H. Keane, *The Gold of Ophir*, 70. From Prof. Keane we quote the following lines; his work only appeared as the article OPHIR was passing through the press. 'Ithfar [Zafar], as Bent tells us, forms a sort of oasis, an extremely rich alluvial plain, extending some sixty miles along the coast a little to the W. of the Kuria Muria Islands, and cut off by the Gara range from the sandy wastes of Hadramaut. Here still flourish both the tamar and the Frankincense shrub, which have constituted the chief industry of the inhabitants for thousands of years. . . . The harbour of Mocha, now nearly blocked by a sandbank, is still deep, and extends inland about a mile and a half, and there are many ruins about it. . . . Here we have the *Portus Nobilis* of the *Persians* (p. 72). Here Prof. Keane would place 'the elusive Ophir.' Mocha was in fact the port of Ophir, which itself stood a little inland, round about the head of the inlet, which Bent tells us is surrounded by many ridges and was reached "from Mocha as thou goest into Sefar" (82).] E. B.—T. K. C.

SEPHARAD (שֶׁפָרַד, in prose for שֶׁפָרַד [SEPHARAD]?) סַפְרַפָּרָ [SEPHARAD] (Q^{ant} for 1), סַפְרַפָּרָד [SEPHARAD] (Q^{ant}); Vg. [in] *Bosphorus*, as if the prefixed 3 were radical). If the text is right, a place or country in which Jewish captives from Jerusalem resided when Obad. 13-21 was written (Obad. 13). That Sefarad (or Sefared?) is not Spain¹ (1g. Jon Pesh.), nor Sipar, or some other Babylonian city (Schr. *A. 17:20*) need not now be shown. Schrader in *A. 17:20* 445f. identifies it with Sarpada, a region in SW Media towards Babylonia mentioned by Sargon (cp *AGF* 116-119). This view is also accepted as most probable by Fried. Dehtsch (*Par.* 249) and G. A. Smith (*Twelve Prophets*, 216); it harmonises with the theory that 17: 10 (15)-21 are to be referred to the time of the 'Babylonian exile.'² But it is also possible to identify Sefarad with Cparda, a province of the Persian empire mentioned in two inscriptions of Darius between Cappadocia and Ionia, and in a third (Behistun) at the head of the list of provinces, immediately before Ionia.³ In the Seleucidan chronicles from Babylonia this name is applied to Asia Minor as a whole. According to Winckler, the origin of the Jewish captivity of Asia Minor is to be referred to 118 B.C. (Antiochus Epiphanes); if, however, the tradition of a captivity under Artaxerxes Ochus is historical, this period will naturally deserve the preference. W. R. Smith remarks,⁴ 'Lydia was a great slave-market, and Asia Minor was a chief seat of the Diaspora at an early date (cp Gutschmid, *Neue Beitr.* 77).'

The text of Obad. 20, however, is very far from trustworthy, and the context does not favour the view that any distant place of captivity or indeed (see OBADIAH, § 3) any place of captivity at all is referred to. We expect some part of the Negeb to be mentioned. It is not too bold to take שֶׁפָרַד as a dittographed שֶׁפָרַד.⁵ This is confirmed by Q's reading סַפְרַפָּרָ (so the Ar.

¹ From Sefarad thus explained comes Sephardim, the name of the Jews of Spanish origin.

² Knudtzon (*Ass. Texte*, nos. 8, 11, 30) has also found a Sarpada, NE. from Nineveh, spoken of in Esarhadon's time.

³ So Silv. de Sacy, Pusey, W. R. Smith (see col. 3454), Sayce (*Crit. Mon.* 48f.), Cheyne (*Founders*, 312 f.), W. *AOF* 2430. Lassen even connected the name Sardis with Cparda.

⁴ *E. B.*, art. 'Sardis.'

⁵ Cp *Crit. Bib.* on Ezek. 27:14 (שֶׁפָרַד). That 'd in Obad. is corrupt is recognised by Wellhausen and Nowack.

SEPHARVAIM

version). 'Zarephathites' was a synonym for 'Jerahmeelites.' See OBIADIAH, § 5 end, n. 1.

SEPHARVAIM (סִפְרַוַּיִם); variously ΣΕΦΑΡΕΙΜ.

יֵין, יֵינ, יֵוּגַיִם, יֵוּגַיִן, יֵוּגַיִם, יֵוּגַיִן [2 K. 18:34, B].

1. OT יֵוּגַיִם, ΣΕΦΑΡΟΥΑΙΜ, יֵוּגַיִם, יֵוּגַיִן. references. ΕΠΙΦΑΡΟΥΑΙΜ, ΕΠΦ., ΕΠΦΑΡΕΝΙ.

ΕΜΦΑΡΙΝ ΣΕΠΦΑΡΟΥΕΜ, whence the gentile Sefharvites (סִפְרַוַּיִם), 2 K. 17:31, 32, Kt. in 2. 316 סִפְרַוַּיִם. The references to a place, or places, called 'Sefharvaim' are in 2 K. 17:24 (cp 31), 18:34 (= Is. 36:10), 19:13 (= Is. 37:13). Taking the passages as they stand, in contexts relating to the political intercourse between Assyria and Israel or Judah, we may venture to explain them provisionally as follows, reserving our own judgment to the end.

1. The passage 2 K. 18:32-35 (Is. 36:18-20), which is plainly an interpolation (see Marti, and cp Intr. Is. 218), seems to be based on 2 K. 19:13 (Is. 37:13), which may refer to the Syrian city called in the Babylonian Chronicle Šabarain, which was destroyed by Šalmaneser IV. (see ŠIBRAVI).

2. The Sefharvaim of 2 K. 17:24-31 (in which passages captives of war appear to be referred to), however, is more plausibly identified¹ with Sipar, or Šippar, the city of Šamaš the sun-god (Σιπφαρα, Ptol. 5:18; Σιπφαραίων πόλις, Abyden. ap. Eus. Praep. Ev. 9:41), famous from its association with the Deluge-story as given by Berossus, and regarded as one of the mahazi rabiti, or 'great capitals.'² This place was one of the three cities which maintained the great Babylonian revolt against Asur-bani-pal the longest. It was on the left or eastern bank of the Euphrates;

2. Assyriological evidence. the site was identified with the mounds of Abu Habba, about 16 m. SE. of Baghdad, by the explorer H. Rassam, who found here a large stone with a representation of the shrine of Šamaš and short inscriptions, dating from the time of king Nabu-abla-iddina (about 800 B.C.).

The builder of the temple was Naram-sin (about 3750 B.C.), whose original inscription was found by Nabu-na'id (about 490 B.C.), one of the royal restorers of the sanctuary. The temple was held in high honour; one of the most constant titles of Šamaš was, the great lord, dwelling in E-bara, which is within Sipar' (Pinches, ISRAEL 104 ff.). But there was also a second divinity, called Anmuti, who was specially worshipped at Sipar. In the Synchronical History (2:12-21), Durkurigalzan is said to have conquered Sipar of Šamaš and Sipar of Anuniti (KBI 109; Sayce, TSB 211); the Anuniti referred to was the consort of the sun-god. We must not, however, use this statement to confirm Schrader's (very natural) explanation of ANAMMELECH (2 K. 17:31) as = Anu-malku, for if Anu (the heaven-god) were designated 'king' in Assyria, the word used would not be malku ('prince') but šarru.

Dr. W. H. Ward (Proc. Am. Or. Soc., 1885, pp. 29 f.) thought that he had found the site of a double city of Sipar (Sefharvaim, dual?) at the mod. el-Anbar, a few miles from Sufeira, WNW. of Baghdad, where, from the appearance of the ruins, it is evident that a canal was conducted from the Euphrates into the heart of the city. Dr. Ward found there a small tablet on which three or four Sipars were mentioned, and he supposed 'Anbar to represent at once Sipar Ša Anunitum and Aganó (Peters, Nippur, 1:76-355 [Dr. Ward's diary]). If so, Sipar Ša Anunitum was a more considerable city than Sipar of Šamaš (Abu Habba). But we can hardly admit that the duality of the city which lies under the mound of el-Anbar is made out. Most probably the form Sefharvaim is erroneous. Either the editor con-founded 'Sipar' with the 'Sefharvaim' of 2 K. 19:13, or, as Haupt proposes, we should restore the reading

1 E.g., by Wl. Alt. Unt. 101; Benzinger, KHC, Kdn. 175. 2 See Wl. AOF 2:520.

SERAH

סֵרָה סֵרָה (or סֵרָה), Sipar (or, Šippar) - main¹ - i.e., 'Sipar on the stream.' Cp the phrase 'the stream of Sipar,' a title of the Enphrates (Z. I. [1887], p. 207).

There is, however, a threefold difficulty in the above explanation of 'Sefharvaim' in 2 K. 17:24. (1) The Annals of Asur-bani-pal do not affirm that the king transplanted people from Babylon, Kuth (Cuthah), and Sipar,

3. Objections to current theories. but only that he 'commanded that they should remain alive, and caused them to dwell in Babylon.'² (2) The god specially worshipped at Sipar was neither 'Adrammelech' nor 'Anammelech' but Šamaš. On the other hand, it is equally true that Sargon, who as a fact brought captive populations to Samaria (KBI 243 l. 20; cp SAMARIA), did not and could not include any captives from Babylon, Sefharvaim, etc., for the excellent reason that he made none there. And (3) the theory in question requires us to suppose that Avva and Hamath have been introduced into 2 K. 17:24 from 18:34 by Rn,⁴ which is a complicated procedure.

The question of Sefharvaim is therefore no simple one. At present there is no current theory which satisfies the conditions of the problem.

4. Textual criticism. There is a strong a priori objection to distinguishing the Sefharvaim of 2 K. 19:13 and 18:34 (with the parallels in Is.) from that of 2 K. 17:24-31, and there are three considerable difficulties in this course, two suggested by Assyriology and one by literary criticism. Let us, then, approach the subject, bearing in mind the gradually accumulating evidence for the apparently destructive but in reality conservative theory that many passages both of the narrative and of the prophetic books have been recast, and provided with a new historical and geographical setting. It is by no means an impossible view that the passages in Kings and Isaiah here referred to have been recast by an editor to suit his own theory of the course of later Israelitish history (see SUNNACHERIB, § 5). This view implies that the names of the cities mentioned there have come out of somewhat similar names of places in the N. Arabian border of Palestine.

Sefharvaim, like Receph in 2 K. 19:12 (Is. 37:12), will then be a distortion of Zarephath, one of the most important places in that region (see ZARPHATH), or rather the final letters צפ (MT ספ, sayim) are, together with ספ (MT ספ), 'to, or of, the city', ספ (MT ספ), 'Hena?'), and possibly ספ (MT ספ, 'and Iyrah?'), representatives of ספ (Jerahmeel). It is noteworthy that the god worshipped by the Sefharvites receives the double name ספ and ספ (2 K. 17:31). In the latter form ס has displaced ס (cp ספ and ספ); probably the best intermediate reading is ספ, the original of which is surely ספ (Jerahmeel).⁵ The rite of sacrificing children was apparently distinctive of some famous sanctuary in Jerahmeel (see MORIATH, and cp Crit. Bib. on Gen. 22: [er. 2:1113]).

The other passages which should be considered in this connection are Ezra 4:8-10 (see SHUSHANCHITES) and Is. 19:4 (see Crit. Bib.). See also REZEM.

See especially Winkler, Alt. Unt. 100-103; and cp Cheze, Exp. T., 1898, p. 428 f.

SEPHELA (σεφηλα [AN² a. c. b.], c. ΠΕΔΙΝΗ [N² V]). Vg. Sefhela, 1 Macc. 12:38, RV 'plain country.' See SIEPHELAH; also JUDAEA, col. 2617.

SEPTUAGINT. See TEXT AND VERSIONS §§ 46-53.

SEPULCHRE (סִפְרָה). Gen. 23:6 etc.; ΑΝΗΜΕΙΟΝ. Mk. 15:46 etc.). See TOMB, RESURRECTION.

SERAH (סֵרָה), in pause סֵרָה, AV SARAH in Nu. 26:46; סΑΡΑ [L.], daughter of ASHER [S. P., § 47; Gen. 46:17 (ΣΑΡΑ [A], ΣΑΡΡΑ [D]), Nu. 26:46 (ΣΑΡΑ [B], ΣΑΡΑ [A], ΣΑΡΑ [A]) = 1 Ch 7:30 (c. [B], ΣΑΡΑ [A], -ΔΔ [L.]).

1 Cp 2 K. 18:34, σιπφαραμοι. 2 KBI 2:193 (600); cp Kt. AOF. 276. 3 See Wl. Alt. Unt. 99. 4 Ibid. 101 f. 5 The most plausible alternative original is ספ 'Merodach' or 'Merodach' (cp Νισσοχο). This is favoured by 'Nergal' in the same list. But it must perhaps be owned that 'Nergal' is only a little less doubtful than ADRAMMELECH [S. P.].

SERAIAH

'Helel' and 'Malkiel' (= Jerahmeel) both point to the south (cp ASHUR, § 4); of Asher's original settlement in the Negeb we may perhaps still possess a record in an early poem (see *Cant. 8:16* on Judg. 5:17). 'Serah' too will be a southern ethnic name; cp 777, Zerah, and 7777 Ashhur. We have also sub. proper names 7777, 7777, 7777, with which we might compare 7777 (root, 'to open?') the origin of which need not be discussed here.

SERAIAH (7777), once [Jer. 36:26] 7777, §§ 35, 80, as if 'God strives'; ΣΑΡΑΙΑ[Ι] [BABL.]. Gray [JZNY 236] argues from the apparent formation with a perf. followed by א that 'Seraiah' can hardly be an early name. The formation has indeed been questioned, though perhaps without sufficient reason. It is suggested that the name has been adapted from an old ethnic; cp 7777.

Note that in 1 Ch. 4:14 Joab, b. Seraiah, is called the father of Ge-harashim, which is probably a distortion of the ethnic Geshurim, or of Ge-ashurim ['the.'].
 1. David's scribe (2 S. 8:17; אסא [RB], probably miswritten for שמש [9:7]).

2. A. Aziel, one of those whom Jehoiakim commanded to take Jeremiah and Baruch (Jer. 36:2; סארא [RB]).
 3. b. Lahnuneth, a captain, temp. Gedaliah (2 K. 25:23 Jer. 40).

4. b. Neriah and brother of Baruch, mentioned in a passage (Jer. 51:59-61, סארא [A*¹⁰⁰ once 7:50], סאראס [N once 7:50]) which follows a prophecy (50:51-58) wrongly ascribed to Jeremiah. He is said to have gone up to Babylon with (or, see below, from) Zerubbabel [9:1], carrying a prophecy of Jeremiah on the fate of Babylon, which he was commanded to bind to a stone and cast into the Euphrates, as a sign that Babylon would sink and not rise again. Seraiah bears a title which AV renders 'a quiet prince' and RV 'chief chamberlain' (so AV²⁰, Rashi, etc. סניף סניף, 'Prince of Memcha' [AV²⁰] is evidently a resource of despair; Memcha = Manahath 9:1 Ch. 86. Another interpretation is 'officer of resting-place' = quartermaster (so Hb., Gr., Gieseler.); this strangely poetical title is assumed to have belonged to the officer who arranged the halting-places of the royal train. More probably, however, Seraiah's office was that of commissary of the tribute (סאראס, G. Tg., Gr., Che.). This view implies a further correction of 'with' into 'from Zerubbabel'. Note that Jeremiah's interest is entirely absorbed in Seraiah (2: 61, 'when thou comest, and seest', etc.).

But is this story historical? It has the appearance of being Haggadic, i.e., an edifying romance. See IRKUMI (BOOK), § 17, and cp Giesebrecht's commentary.

5. b. Kenaz, brother of Othniel and father of JOAB 2 (1 Ch. 4:12, סארא [A²⁰ 14]). See *ad init.*

6. b. Asiel of SAMARIA (8:9 Hb.). 1 Ch. 4:35 (סאראו [B]).

7. A chief priest in the time of Zedekiah, who was put to death by Nebuchadnezzar (2 K. 25:18 ff.; Jer. 52:24 ff.; [BRAT. an.]). The Chronicler traces his origin to Eleazar b. Aaron (1 Ch. 6:4 ff. [9:9 ff.]); he is the son of Azariah b. Hilkiah (7:13), and father of JEDAZAR [9:7]. In EZRA 7:7, Ezra, who was perhaps not even a priest at all, is made a son of Seraiah, which betrays the desire of the priestly redactor to bring him into the high-priestly family (cp EZRA, GENERAL PRINCIPLES I, § 7 [iv.]). The same fragment of genealogy springs up again in Neh. 11:11, where Seraiah b. Hilkiah is called 7777 7777 (cp 2 Ch. 36:1; cp also 1 Ch. 9:11), where, however, the name is replaced by Azariah. In 1 Esd. 5:5 = 2 Esd. 11:8 SARAIAS, RV; but RV²⁰ SARAIAS, 1 Esd. 8:1.

8. One of those who came up from Babel with Zerubbabel (cp 2 Esd. 5:8 as ZACHARIAS, RV ZARAIAS (Σαραου [9:12] 9:13)).

9. The signatory to the covenant (see EZRA 1: § 7); Neh. 1:1; cp 12:1. In Neh. 12:12 the house of Seraiah is first on the list, whence we infer that in the mind of the Chronicler his family was considered to be of great importance, and perhaps therefore connected by him with Seraiah (7). See SARAI.

SERAPHIM (סרפדים, ΣΕΡΑΦΕΙΜ, -N [BNAQT]).

1. Several Palmyrene inscriptions state that they have been set up 'in honour of the leader of the caravan (סרפינא) by the senate and people.'

SERAPHIM

סרפ, [N² once], supernatural guardians of the throne of Yahwe, mentioned and partly described.

1. References. In the account of Isaiah's inaugural vision (Is. 6:2-46 f.), 'Above him stood the Seraphim'—i.e., they seemed to be above Yahwe, who was enthroned in the most sacred part of the temple (the 7777). Each had six wings: a pair covered the face, another the loins, and the third served for flight, when Yahwe saw his seraphim in some crisis. Responsively they proclaimed the adiphon, 'Holy, holy, holy is Yahwe Sêbô'oth; the whole earth is full of his glory,' and so powerful were their voices that the posts (read 7777 of the doorway trembled. Then one of the seraphim flew to Isaiah with a 'hot stone' (see 6:6), from the altar in his hand, and touched Isaiah's mouth with it, as a symbol of the purification of his lips. The seraphim are not mentioned again by name in the OT or the NT, though in Rev. 4:6-8 the four cherub-like beings (7777) sing the anthem of Isaiah's seraphim. But in Enoch 20:7 'the serpents' (δράκοντες, Gk., —i.e., no doubt the seraphim—are mentioned together with Paradise and the cherubim as under the rule of Gabriel, and in 61:7 with the cherubim and the ophanim; the latter classification also occurs in the 'Lullaby' cp CHERUB, § 1). And in the Slavonic 'Secrets of Enoch'—first edited by Charles—we find not only cherubim and seraphim mentioned together as orders of angels (20: 21), but also seven six-winged creatures overshadowing the throne of God and singing with one voice (196: 21), who are obviously the same as the seraphim and certain living creatures that sing called Chalkadri (= 'crocodiles'? cp CROCODYLUS), with the feet and tails of lions and the heads of crocodiles, mentioned with the fabulous Phoenix-bird (12: 15). These creatures have twelve wings, and attend the chariot of the sun; evidently they are a modification of the seraphim.

Passing over the view that the seraphim are merely a class of 'high' or 'noble' angels (Ar. *šarafa*, to be high), we note three possible views as to the original meaning of the name.

2. Explanations.
 1. Fried. Delitzsch and Hommel see a connection between *širaphim* and *šarrāpa* (the burner), which is given as one of the names of the Babylonian solar fire-god Nergal 'in the land of the west'—i.e., in Canaan (5 K. 46: 22, *cd.*; Jensen, *Königol.* 62).

This suggests that Rešeph, the old Palestinian solar fire god (CS 138), also admitted (as Rešpu) into the Egyptian Pantheon, may possibly in early times have been called *širāph*. If Rešub (one of the gods of Semal in N. Syria) were really, as Halevy thought, the same as Kērah, 'Cherub', this would supply a parallel. The *širāphim* (not *širaphim*) would in this case be a mythic rendering of the supernatural flames in which this god revealed himself (cp Cant. 8: [Job 7:7]); the form which they took would naturally be that of the lion (cp NEBEVI). And Isaiah's *širāphim* (2) may have been suggested by mythic forms which perhaps existed in the temple, similar to the *nergal* (or colossal winged lions with human heads which, like the colossal winged bulls, guarded the portals of Babylonian temples and palaces. We find 'lions, oxen, and cherubim' mentioned together in 1 K. 7:20.

2. Another possibility is that the *širāphim* (not *širaphim*) were originally, in accordance with Nu. 21:8, 18, 14:20, serpents; Arabian and Hebrew folk-lore placed flying serpents, with burning venomous bite, in the desert, and Hebrew mythographers may have represented winged serpents as the guardians of the dwelling of the Deity. The place of honour given to living serpents in the Egyptian temples, is remarked upon elsewhere (see SERPENT, § 3 [f.]), and though to Isaiah the seraphic guards of Yahwe have assumed a higher form of being (see *SBOT*, 'Isaiah,' 1:30, 31; no one who remembers the frequency with which in folk-lore serpents are transformed into human beings, can pronounce such a development impossible. It is true, there is no mention of the seraphim in the Hebrew story of Paradise as it has come down to us. But it is quite possible (see PARADISE, § 14) that the serpent

SERAR

(*nāhīs*) who held discourse with the first woman was originally represented as the guardian of the wonderful tree in the mid. of God's garden. There may have been originally only one seraph just as there may have been only one cherub (cp Ezek. 28 14 Ps. 18 10 [11]).

3. It is also possible to regard the seraph as a bolder development of a bird of prey. H. G. Tomkins long ago suggested a comparison with the Egyptian *seraf*, which appears as the guardian of graves and as the bearer of the Egyptian kings to heaven on their decease.

The *seraf* is not with as early as the pyramid texts; in a late papyrus he is said to 'seize [his prey] in his claws in an instant and take them above the top of the clouds of heaven.'¹ It is a composite animal, and bears a close resemblance to the Hebrew cherub and to the *griffin* or *griffon* (part lion, part eagle).

The arguments in favour of the second of these views preponderate. It is against the first that we find no trace of *seraf* as a divine name, and against the third that it leaves no real distinction between the seraph and the cherub. And it is against both that *seraphim* is so much more naturally rendered 'serpents' than either 'burning ones' or 'serafs.' It may seem strange that the symbolism of the temple decoration made no use of the seraphim. But the temple did contain one sacred object closely analogous to the original seraphim—the so-called 'brazen serpent' (see NETTUSIFAN). Hezekiah broke it in pieces. The Jewish and Christian imagination did something better with the seraphim inherited from folk-lore; it transformed and embodied them. See CHERUBIM, § 1.

SERAR (σεραρ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5:32 RV, AV ASERER = Ezra 2:53, SŒKA, 2.

SEREBIAS (σερεβιας [BA]), 1 Esd. 8:54. AV^{msc} = Ezra 8:53, SHEREBIAH.

SERED (סֵרֵד; סֵרֵד [BAFL]), a clan of ZEBULON (ז.ז. Gen. 48:14 [CE: [M], ECP: [D], CEDEK [L], Nu. 26:26], whence the patronymic, AV SARDITE, RV *Seredite* (Nu. 26:26; 'סֵרֵד; סֵרֵד [BAFL]).

SERGIUS PAULUS (σεργιω παυλω [Ti.WH]) Acts 13:7. See PAULUS.

SERJEANTS (Acts 16:35 38, + EV), RV^{ms} LICTORS.

SERMON ON THE MOUNT

Critical presuppositions (§ 1).
In Mt. (§§ 2-4).
In Lk. (§ 5-7).
Sermonic logia in Mk. (§ 7).
Mt.'s Sermon a compilation (§ 2).
Transposition in Sermon (§ 9).

Beatitudes and Woes (§ 10).
Jesus and the Law (§§ 11-13).
New Law (§ 14 f.).
Finale (§ 16).
Audience (§ 17).
Historical significance (§ 18).
Bibliography (§ 19).

The Sermon on the Mount is the conventional title given to an address variously reported by the first (Mt. 5-7, *ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος*) and the third (Lk. 6:20-49) canonical evangelists, assigned by both to the early Galilean mission of Jesus. The remarkable divergencies and as remarkable coincidences between the reports constitute a problem of some nicety which is bound up with the general synoptic question. How far free editorial revision upon the part of each author extended in the case of these reports of the Sermon, and how far it is feasible not simply to reconstruct the original address as that lay in the Matthean Logia (= Q) or in the Greek recensions of Q used with other material by each writer, but also to estimate its historicity and actual situation in the life of Jesus—these are questions to which no answer can be attempted until a firm foothold has been obtained upon a critical examination of each report and a comparative analysis of their contents.

Evidently unknown to the original Mk. ('Ur-Marcus'), the sermon transmitted in Q seems to have simply borne the title 'to disciples' and a general reference to the Galilean period—to judge at least from the

¹ Revillout, *Revue égyptienne*, 1891, p. 86; see *Proph. Is.* 3:284, (9) 295.

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unfettered way in which Mt. and Lk. make a place for it in their narratives.

The idiosyncrasies of the reports, too marked to be explained from the separate use of Q by each editor, necessitate the hypothesis that they had at their disposal different recensions of Matthew's vernacular logia-collection, which had originated in various ends of faith and practice. Translation such as Papias mentions certainly would involve editing; the fluidity of interests in the primitive church, together with the absence of any definite authority upon the biography of Jesus, expedited evangelic collections to considerable vicissitudes, even before they came under the free but neither arbitrary nor doctrinaire handling of an editor with religious aims and prepossession of his own (see GOSPELS, §§ 120 f.), to say nothing of the diverse needs of edification. Upon the characteristics of the recension used by Lk. see P. Ewald, *Das Hauptproblem der Evangelien* (1899), 212 f., 219 f.; Soltan, *Einw. zur. Keider synopt. Prolegomena* (1899), 175; and Feine, *Eine monachon. Uebersetzung des Lucas* (1897), 142 f.

The place assigned to this *oratio montana*¹ in our first gospel illustrates the literary method which here elsewhere leads Mt. to produce his etho-

2. In Mt.: by means of massing together alternate setting: groups of incidents and of sayings, not infrequently taken from various quarters without strict regard to what may have been their original setting or chronological sequence.

As in Mk., which substantially lay before Mt., the baptism and the temptation of Jesus are followed by his return northwards to Galilee and the choice of the first disciples (Mt. 3:1-12 = Mk. 1:1-20). So far the two writings generally agree. But whilst Mk. proceeds to narrate the healing ministry of Jesus in detail, Mt. either postpones this till he reaches his cycle of miracles (Mt. 8:14-17 = Mk. 1:29-34; Lk. 4:38-41) or omits it altogether as irrelevant to his plan (Mt. 1:45-38 = Lk. 4:23), hurrying on to elaborate an impression of Jesus as the prophet and authority of the new religion. The description of a preaching tour in the Galilean synagogues, which fell bare in the primitive document underlying the synoptists (Mk. 1:21-28; Lk. 4:44), is expanded by Mt. (4:23-25) somewhat vaguely in order to form an introduction to two separate cycles of (a) instruction, and (b) healing. The author's plan thus is to represent Jesus successively as teaching and preaching (*διδάσκων καὶ κηρυσσών*; 7:7) and as healing (*θεραπεύων*; 8:3-14, 23-34), for the most part, of ten miracles. The exigencies of this method postpone to the latter phase all the incidents narrated in their proper place by Mk. (1:40-3:12) and Lk. (5:12-6:17-16). In historical order these ought to form a prelude to Mt. 9:5, upon which they serve to throw occasionally rays of light.

The inner structure of the address corresponds in part, but only in part, to its setting.² Out of the

3. Structure. crowds, Galilean and non-Galilean, who thronged Jesus on the border of the lake, his adherents gathered to him as he retired to the hill-slope (5:1 f.). What follows is represented as an address delivered to them directly, in the hearing of the larger throng (7:28 f.). Jesus seizes the opportunity to proclaim vividly and openly his aims and methods in a *magna charta* of the new reign of God. With large and divine utterance (*ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ*), he at once lays bare the continuity of his message with the religious tradition of the people, and explicitly differentiates what made up the original element in his own ideal as compared with that of current Judaism.

The address opens with a reflective but glowing description of the genuine religious character, in its demands and privileges. The eight beatitudes (5:3-10), of which the last is repeated and specially applied to his hearers (5:11 f.), define a spirit of chastity and unselfish devotion towards God and man, rather than a

¹ For the question of the Sermon's ethical originality, which does not fall within the scope of the present article, see especially Trinius, *Die Äthliche Lehre von der Seligkeit* (Erster Theil, 1894, 107-190); for the teaching on marriage, *ibid.* 177-7; and on matrimony's consciousness of God, *ibid.* 114-117. Further, F. Ehrlich, *Der Gemüthcharakter der Ethik Jesu im Verhältnis zu den messian. Hoffnungen seines Volkes*, etc. (1895), 175 f.

² The incident in the Capernaum synagogue (Mt. 13:54-58 = Lk. 13:10-17) and the flight of Jesus (Mk. 1:35-38; Lk. 4:42) are both omitted.

³ Jesus as the deliverer of a new Law speaks from a hill at the opening (5:1 f.), as at the close, of the gospel (28:19, equally vague). Mt.'s moderate concern for chronology renders it uncertain how far an expansive passage like 4:21-23 (88. om. 4:24) rests upon some hill-tradition, or is derived and modified from the narrative of Mk. (see the doublet 9:15:10:1). Certainly in 5:1 there is no trace of contempt for the crowd as composed of *λαοὶ σαρρατῶν* (Chrym.).

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robust attitude to the world. But Jesus the rabbi hastens to explain that his ideal, so far from being pariah or pious-fundamentalist, involves an unflinching stand before hardship and duty (5:13-14); so little was it a relaxed method of piety, that it demanded from men a loftier and more exacting conduct than that taught or practised by the conventional rabbinical religion of the day (5:17-20). This avowal naturally suggests the new and final attitude of Jesus to the Jewish law, which is exemplified with brilliant and effective paradox in five or six crucial instances (5:21-48) of the radical antithesis between the new legislation and the old jurisprudence with its ethical limitations. The new rests on motive and inner disposition, summed up in ungrudging charity to one's enemies; thus Jesus rounds off the circle of thought started in the beatitudes, cutting up the poisonous growths of evasion and quibbling by unconditional precepts of incisive brevity.

The principle of inwardness and sincerity is then expounded (6:1-18), pointedly and strongly like all effective principles, in the shape of a triple antithesis to the Pharisaic praxis of almsgiving, prayer, and fasting, which, by their externality, develop ostentation. Jesus then returns to the positive relation of man to God's fatherly providence (6:19-34, cp 5:43) as a motive for singleness of heart and for freedom from undue worldly anxiety (cp O. Holtzmann's *Neutest. Zeitsch.*, 1895, p. 229). The loosely joined aphoristic logia which follow (in 7:1-26), are partly resumptive and in the main accessory rather than vital to the body of the address. Warnings against censoriousness (7:1-5) with its attendant hypocrisy, and the opposite (though less common) fault of an indiscriminating temper which is blind to the differences of men (7:6), an encouragement to prayer, based on God's fatherly goodness (7:7-11); a reiteration of the golden rule (7:12); a call to personal effort and independence in seeking life (7:13-14); a warning against being misled by false prophets, whose conduct is to be made their test (7:15-20); these lead up to the epilogue (7:21-27), in which spurious discipleship is exposed, and (by means of a parable) the responsibility of hearers and the wisdom of practical obedience to Jesus' commands are vividly depicted.

In style, conception, and arrangement, Mt.'s elaborate and prolonged Sermon shows traces of his workmanship and characteristic traits. It is a composition rather than an actual address. That it was carried in some retentive memory as it now stands, is a perfectly unmanage-

4. Character-istics.

1. Aelius incensibly traces missionaries (9) and martyrs (10) suffering, the latter (11 f.) generally, the former inside (12) and outside (14-15) Israel. The temper of vv. 3-10 resembles, with less eschatological emphasis, that of passages like Lu. 5:7, 'but for the elect there will be light and joy and peace, and they will inherit the earth.' Cp Taylor's *Ancient Ideals*, 225 f. (1896).

2. The connection of 5:12 and 5:13 f. seems to be: 'as successors to the noble and devout company of the prophets, you must be prepared for hardships which flow from an open stand for religion among the people. Fear of such peril is not to deter you from taking your place, any more than the subtler temptation of false modesty. On the continuity, of which Jesus was conscious in his preaching of God's reign, between himself and the OT psalmists and prophets, see Barth, *Die Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu*, 286 f. (1896).

3. Zahn (*Eint.*, 2:277-287) actually makes 5:16 the theme of the sermon, emphasising the apologetic aim of the whole Gospel as a defence of Jesus and his religion against current Judaism. Grauert ingeniously tries to detect in the beatitudes a reversed programme of contents: 5:10=5:11-10; 5:9=5:17-20; 5:8=5:27-37; 5:7=5:19-48; 5:6=6:1-34; 5:5=7:1 f.; 5:4=7:3-6; 5:3=7:11.

4. The curious variation of 5:15-17 in an early Talmudic story ('I am not come to take away from the law of Moses, but to add to the law of Moses am I come,' accompanied by 'Let thy light shine in the candlestick') is supposed by Giefemann to have been derived from Mt.'s Logia. Cp *Studia Biblica*, 157-59 (Neubauer), *Philol. Sacra*, 45 (Nestle), and Laible, *Jesus Christus im Talmud* (1891), 62 f.

5. The good works of v. 16 are simply the higher righteousness of v. 20, which (it is implied in vv. 26 and 45) reflects and reproduces on earth the character and conduct of the Father in heaven; cp Holtzmann, *NT Theol.*, 171-174 f.

6. Although, in conformity to the historical situation, the claim of Jesus upon the personal life of his followers is not emphasised as in this inaugural period of the ministry, and his Messianic title is still obscure (cp on 7:21 f.), his commanding authority and self-consciousness are evident in words like 'I come . . . I say.' Such language is the utterance of a superhuman self-consciousness which, as the secret of Christianity's origin and growth, must be grasped first and foremost as a fact. . . . It is quite impossible for us to conceive such an inner life. Revelation, redemption, forgiveness, help—he has it all within himself and offers it to those who yield to the impression of his personality' (Wernle, *Einfluss uns. Religion*, 24 f., after Baur).

7. Mt. may, however, have meant 6:10-34 to continue the anti-Pharisaic polemic (cp Mk. 12:40 Mt. 23:25 Lk. 16:13 f.).

8. To imitate God's ungrudging love towards men (5:43-48) or to obey his will (7:21) is as impossible along the road of legal righteousness (5:20) as it is for mere profession and empty words. On 7:21-23 cp the (too conservative) essay by Schlatter in *Greifswalder Studien*, 85-105 (1895). The citation in

able hypothesis. The well-known habit of compiling material, which stamps Mt.'s Gospel, is legible all through the *oratio montana*; earlier and later logia are massed together, and even their dexterous union cannot obliterate their heterogeneous nature and foreign sites. Mt.'s Sermon, to a much larger degree than Lk.'s, is neither consecutive in trend nor a unity in time; internal evidence, and the comparative evidence gained from Lk., put this beyond the reach of doubt. The very style shows how the source has been worked over.

In Mt. 5:7 we have the author's favourite 'come unto' (προσ-ερχομαι) in the introduction (like Lk.'s, as he was '[εἰς τὸ] infim.) 11 f. etc.), and favourite or characteristic phrases throughout the whole—e.g., 'and then' (καὶ τότε; 5:24 7:23-4), 'verily' (ἀμὲν; 5:18 etc.), 'say . . . against . . .' (εἰπεῖτε τι κατὰ τινος; 5:11 12:15), 'again' (πάλιν; 5:33 etc.), 'be seen' (ὁρατοί; 6:17-19), intrins. 'do' (ποιεῖν) with adverb (5:47 6:2 7:12—Lk. 6:31), 'be done' (γενηθήτω; 6:10, not in Lk.; Acts 1:20 B), 'it was said' (εἰρηθῆ; 5:21 etc., non-Lucan), verbs in -εναι (ἵστασθε, προδοῦναι; φοβηθῆναι, ἀγγαρεύειν), 'go thy way' (εἶπατε; 5:24), 'whosoever' (ὅστις; 5:29 41 7:15 24—ος, Lk. 6:49), 'till' (ὡς; 5:18 27), 'before' (ἔμπροσθεν; 5:1 23 6:1 f. 7:1), 'for so' (οὕτως γὰρ; 2:8 3:15 with infim. (5:28 6:1), 'that . . . may' (ὥστε 16 times), 'as' (ὡσπερ; 6:2 etc.), 'it is profitable' (συμφερεῖ; 5:29 f., non-Lucan), παῖσις (-οῦ) of evil (one)=5:27 39 6:13 (p 1316 38; Lk. 6:45 only of men), δάρον a sacrificial gift (5:23 f.), 'raiment' (εἶδμα; 6:25=Lk. 12:23 Mt. 6:28 7:15 etc.), 'in danger of' (έκφοδος; 5:21 f., non-Lucan), 'altar' (θυσιαστήριον; 5:23 f., 23:18-20 25), 'belial' (κρίπτω; 5:14 etc.), 'reward' (μισθός; 11 f. etc.), 'only' (μόνον, adv.; 3:47), 'swear' (ὅρκω; 5:34 36 37), 'profess' (ὁμολογῶ; 7:23 etc.), 'for this is' (οὗτος γὰρ; 3:3 7:12; cp 11 to AV), 'hating . . . to' (προσφθῆναι; 5:23 f. etc.), 'hypocrite' (υποκριτής; 6:2 5:10 7:5), 'wise' (σοφισμὸς; 7:24 etc.), besides, of course, the famous kingdom of heaven (5:3 10 etc.) instead of kingdom of God, and the distinctive (except Mk. 11:25) usage of Father (in heaven, or θεοτενὴ) as applied to God (your Father occurs in Lk. only 6:36=Mt. 5:48 and 12:29—Mt. 6:32, besides 12:12; it is Matthean). Of Mt.'s 120 *λόγια* the Sermon alone contains 22 (βαπτισμοῦ, βραχί, θαλάσσης, εἰρηνοποιός, ἐπιτοκήν, εἰσὸς, ἰσά, καταμαίθηνας, κροθίσσω, εἰρηνοποιός, ἔπιτοκήν, εἰσὸς, ἰσά, καταμαίθηνας, κροθίσσω, εἰρηνοποιός, πῶλυλογία, ρακά, ὄρκοι (phr.= νόμος, 5:33), πῆλτρον (dial.), ἔθιμος (5:47 6:17 11:17), ἴλασθ. του οὐρανῶν (and βαπτισμὸς (5:29 26:17). Phrases like *on that* (ἕν) κρινεῖν -μα -σις (in sense of final judgment, 5:21 f. 7:1 f.) are more frequent in Mt. than in the other Synoptics, and traces of the apostolic (Pauline) age have been more or less reasonably found in expressions such as ἔργα, ἀνομιῆ (7:23), ἀνομία (7:23), ἀπάθεια (7:23), δικαιοσύνη (5:6 etc.); Lk. 1:75 in OT sense, μωρὸς (5:22 7:2, etc.), ὀφθαλμοματὰ (6:12), παραπτώματα (6:14 f.), περισσεύειν (5:20), ἀγαπᾶν του ἑτέρου (6:24 Rom. 13:8), etc.

Following in the main Mk.'s order during the narrative of the Galilean mission, though with one characteristic (see below, § 9) transposition

5. In Lk.: structure.

(Mk. 3:7-12=Lk. 6:17-19, Mk. 3:13-19=Lk. 6:12-16), which was introduced to provide an audience and situation for the non-Marcian address to be inserted at this point, Lk. narrates the choice of the Twelve and the subsequent position of Jesus on some level ground where he was surrounded by (a) the Twelve, (b) a large crowd of disciples, and (c) a large multitude of non-Galileans. Abbreviating Mk.'s account of Jesus as a healer of diseases, Lk.

2 Clem. 4 accentuates the logion, 'even though I have gathered with me in my bosom and do not my commandments, etc.'

1. Some logia would by their nature be associated with certain places and certain people. Others would be somewhat timeless, either owing to their repetition or to their less local content. Introductory and explanatory comments, by way of setting, must have been retained by many of the primitive logia in passing from oral to written form, just as earth clings to the roots of a plucked plant. But a comparison of Mt. and Lk. shows that whilst Lk. frequently found no setting for his logia, and generally tried to furnish them with a site, Mt. is much less concerned to preserve the local and chronological position even of logia which he found equipped with such a habitation. His Sermon consists of several smaller collections of logia, already compiled, perhaps in part by himself, for catechetical purposes. These, welded more or less skilfully together, make up the splendid summary of the Sermon as it now lies in the Gospel.

2. Mk.'s Galileans and (so St.) Idumeans are omitted. Just as the force of Mt. 23:16 is felt when one realises that it was addressed to a crowd drawn primarily from Galilee (4:25), that traditionally inferior and ignorant province (4:7 f.), so Lk.'s omission of the logion from his Sermon becomes significant when one recalls that he wrote for a public in the Roman empire when memories of the desperate part played by Galileans in the recent war (66-70 A.D.) made it inadvisable to dwell upon their connection with the new religion. Jerusalem and Judaea bulk largely in Lk. 2:3; Lk. alone narates the Galileans' punishment

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hastens to incorporate an address of his to the disciples (6:2, not to the Twelve).

The address opens with a quartette of beatitudes, apostrophizing literal poverty, physical hunger, and actual tears as destined to secure eventually bliss and benefits for disciples in such a present plight of social want and oppression. These beatitudes breathe a spirit of intense sympathy with the poor and down-trodden, which is characteristic of the third gospel. Dives, for example (6:19-21), is not sent to hell simply because he is rich. Yet he is rich, it is implied, have not merely aggravated his guilt, but proved a barrier to the conduct which would have saved him. Better without them, is the inference. Better bestow them in alms upon the needy. Lazarus, as this *sermo mansuetudinis Christi* assumes, being a poor man is pious. Similarly, in the good time coming, Jesus promises a complete revolution of the social order, when the destitute will receive compensation for their present ills (cp the deliberate 'now' [νῦν] repeated in 7: 21; [ἴσ] [ἴστω], 7: 20, implies certain, not present, possession). As 6:27 indicates, 17: 20-26 are spoken in the hearing of the disciples rather than addressed to them directly. They represent an impassioned monologue addressed to two general classes of individuals whom Jesus, here 'one of the prophets' (μαθηταί) standing round him, there were probably poor (cp 6:1), and sufferers (6:17). But at this juncture it would have been neither an appropriate nor an exhaustive description to classify the disciples as a whole under these categories.

This is corroborated by the quartette of woes (6:27-34) in which the reverse side of the picture is sketched (Lk. 5:8-23, cp 6:13-14). Like the rest of what is peculiar to Lk. in the Sermon, it is mainly concerned with the perils of authority (37f), popularity (26), and especially money (24f, 33f, 35f). The second woe is unaccountably omitted in 28. There is no woe corresponding to the third beatitude, and the fourth woe is addressed to the disciples, rather than to an objective class, thereby resuming 17: 22f. and paving the way for the transition in 7: 27. In his second volume Lk. has stories illustrating the joy felt by disciples under persecution (6:23=Acts 5:41, etc.), while at the same time he points out that popularity is not invariably (Rora. 14:12) a proof of disloyalty (6:29, cp Acts 2:47). Although the first three beatitudes and woes are rather external and eschatological, the fourth touches a deeper note of experience; yet all are controlled by the same sense that the religious question is bound up with the social, as the OT prophets were never weary of reiterating.

In quieter tones Jesus now proceeds to address not the twelve apostles but the wider circle (6:17-25) of his disciples or immediate hearers (6:27f.), passing from the vehement denunciation of prosperous and proud folk into a persuasive appeal for charity and forbearance among his adherents. The introduction, 'But I say unto you' (ἀλλὰ ὑμῖν λέγω), where 'you' is defined by 'who hear' (οἱ ἀκούοντες), corroborates the impression that hitherto in 6:20-26 Jesus has been describing, rather than addressing, certain types of men. At this point the contrast is almost equal to a dropping of the voice. The substance of the discourse, in its second phase, is love to one's enemies or opponents. As contrasted to Lk., this humane disposition is to be expressed not simply in blessing and prayer, but heroically in (a) patient, uncomplaining endurance of violence and robbery, and in (b) lending money freely—so freely, indeed, that it is a loan merely in name. As usual, the question of money hurls largely in Lk.'s mind. He represents Jesus as counselling the disciples in effective and unqualified aphorisms never to make money an occasion of quarrelling; if it be stolen from them, better acquiesce than retaliate and attempt to recover the loss; if borrowed, neither money nor property is to be demanded back. To this passive *do*, an active side is added; money is to be ungrudgingly lent even to one's enemies. One does not need

by Pilate (13:1-5) and the false charge of sedition (6:6 τῆς Π, 23-5) made against Jesus by the priests; Galilee plays no part in his Resurrection stories.

Lk.'s Sermon is less true than Mt.'s to the normal position of Jesus towards the future of God's reign on earth; in rightly reproducing the somewhat catastrophic side, which Jesus held in common with his age, he fails to give sufficient prominence to the inner-spiritual side, which formed the real contribution of Jesus to the time. Hence the impression left by his Sermon is vivid but limited. See Titius, 177f, 185f.

This is so far in keeping with the first preaching of Jesus in Galilee, which echoed the eschatological note of the Baptist (Mk. 1:14 f. Mt. 4:17 f.). Both 'holy spirit' (ἅγιον πνεῦμα) and 'fire' (ἥρ) are in the Sermon; but, particularly in Mt., the gracious heavenly spirit predominates, even although Lk. has little or nothing of Mt.'s sweeping anti-legal criticism. Both versions are, from different standpoints, to be regarded as 'good news' (Mt. 4:23).

The connection would be still closer if the wealthy oppressors of 7: 21 f. were the enemies of 7: 27.

On the religious economy of alms see 6:1-14, and contrast 12:33-18:22 with Mt. 6:19. Like the Epistle of James, Lk. reflects the trading atmosphere of early Palestinian Christians; the dangers presented by property and wealth to the faith (6:19-21, 8:40) are vividly present to his mind. See Peabody's *Jesus Christ and the Social Life* (1901), 197f., and especially

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to be rich in order to be robbed or to lend money; but it is obvious that reiterated and prominent injunctions like these would lose much of their point, if the society to which they were addressed consisted of poverty-stricken outcasts. This confirms the view that 6:20f. is not intended to describe the actual condition of the disciples round Jesus, to whom 6:27f. is spoken.

The third phase of the address (6:43) opens with some loosely set logic; the thread upon which Lk. has strung them seems to be as follows: Turning from one's duty to

6. Characteristics. Jesus dwells on the duty, especially of teaching and instruction, which one owes to the brethren. To give safe guidance (cp Mt. 23:34, Jax. 5:19f.) one must be clear-eyed oneself; to give adequate and complete assistance to the untrained and inexperienced, one must be equipped adequately first of all (6:43). Self-criticism (6:41f.) is the necessary prelude to any sincere and useful criticism of other people. It is the inner state of a man's own heart (6:43-45) that determines the value and virtue of what he contributes to the world. (See MISER, col. 300b).

Finally, the epilogue (6:41-49) in parabolic form (which had a constantly inhibited both the memory and the judgment, so Philip Sidney) sums up the responsibility of hearers: a strong character is built up not on mere verbal admiration of the teacher, but on practical obedience to such commands as he has laid down.

Whatever be Lk.'s method elsewhere in dealing with his sources, the Sermon exhibits traces of considerable freedom on the part of the editor, whose general characteristics of style, conception, and arrangement are fairly conspicuous in 6:20-49. Not merely in the beatitudes and woes (Feine, pp. 112-120), but throughout the whole, the Jewish-Christian circle reflected in Lk.'s sources becomes visible and audible. Whilst Mt. reflects the early church under the strain of opposition at the hands of Pharisaic religion, Lk. reveals indirectly the fortunes and hopes of Palestinian Christians, possibly within the Jerusalem-church of one, pp. 142-145) itself, under the overbearing rule and bitter animosity of the wealthy Sadducees (see Reimach's *Antichrist*, chap. 3). His sources vibrate with feeling similar in many points to that felt in the Epistle of James, Hermas, etc. Formally, too, his pungent report of the Sermon is shaped into a homily, whereas Mt.'s is built up out of didactic pieces used by Catholics of the apostolic age.

In the Lucan beatitudes etc. (6:20-26) the poor (πτωχοί) are first of all blessed (as already in 4:12). Jesus is represented as quoting Isaiah 61:1f. and placing in the forefront of his message — to preach the gospel to the poor (εὐαγγελισθῆναι πτωχοῖς), several of the Lucan *hapax legomena* occur (εὐαγγέλιον, ἀκούσας), and in the introductory formula (εὐαγγέλιον κ. τ. λ.) as throughout the rest of the address, the style is predominantly Lucan. Favourite or characteristic Lucan terms occur: εὐαγγέλιον (more external than Mt.'s *εὐαγγέλιον*), κατά τὰ ἀγαθά (6:23), πλούσιος, πῦρ, παρακλήσις (6:24 of selfish worldly satisfaction, as opposed to messianic bliss, 2:25, cp 16:24), ὑπερηφανία (6:25, contrast similarly 1:53), πεινῶν (6:21, 1:53), πᾶς ὡν πρὸς (6:27-47 etc.), πᾶσι (6:24, 35), ἀγαπᾶτε (6:27, 31, 20), ἀπολαύσασθε (6:24), καθὼς (6:36), κολλᾶς (6:32), ὄμοιος (6:21, etc.), σάββας (in unique sense 6:38), ἐμπειρεῖ (6:39, cp Mt. 13:14), ἰδοὺ (6:42, cp Mt. 7:4; 6:44, cp Mt. 12:33), ἐρχεσθαι πρὸς (6:47, 14:9), ἠποδείξω (6:47, 12:5), one instance of his preference for compounds with ἀντί (6:29), ἴσχω [ἴσχω] (6:47), δε καὶ (6:40), εἰμὶ with dative (6:12f.), the Hebraism ἰδοὺ γὰρ (6:23, etc., never Mt.), εὐαγγέλιον δε (6:39, etc.; Mt. 12:47), εἶπεν παραβολῆν (6:35, etc.; cp Lk. 12:12), καὶ αὐτὸς (6:20, etc.), προσεμνησθῆναι περὶ (6:21, Acts 18:18), ὁμοίως of God (1:32, 35, 7: 6:45), the common Lucan and Pauline constr. of the article (6:42; only in Mt. once, 7: 3), etc. Notable *hapax legomena* are: ἀπελπιστοί τες (6:35), ὑπερηφανία (6:25), πικρῶ (6:37), πλημμυρῶς (6:47), σκαπτοῦ (6:47), βάθυν (6:47), τὸ θ. μ. (6:48, 11: 2), συμπιπτοῦ (6:49), προσρηγνῆναι (6:17, 12: 12), and ἄδωκα (6:42). In 6:27f. εὐχθροί and μισοῦντες are parallel to 6:41f.

L. Paul's study (*UW*, 1901, pp. 304-314), 'Welche Rolle wird selig werden?' Also Hastings' *DR* 439f.

CP the second-century interpolations in *Text. Ind.* 21:100 οἱ εἰς πτωχείαν δια κληρονομίας ἠδικήσαντες καὶ οἱ ἐν πτωχείᾳ γεννηθέντες . . . οἱ δὲ ἀσθεῖς πενήθρονται καὶ ἀκαρτέρου καὶ θνητοῦ . . . The preceding saying (ὅτι ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκδοθήσονται ἀποκρίσονται ἐν γὰρ) reflects an outlook alien to either of the synoptic versions of the beatitudes—a fact which in itself confirms their historic verisimilitude. When the Sermon was spoken, Jesus had not yet emphasised his second-coming, even his death; all the future for him and his lay within the horizon of his lifetime, as yet hardly clouded by opposition, imprisonment, tragedy or delay. Even the allusions to excommunication from the synagogue and other apostolic ills do not obliterate this primitive feature, although they qualify it.

The idea is one of several anticipated in Ps. Sol. (1: 51-52). See further, on the meaning, Reimach, *Revue des études grecques* 13:4, pp. 52-58.

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and ill-will defined as speech (καταρ.) and act (ἐπιρ., cp. 1 Pet. 3:12). Similar phrases recalling the apostolic age may be seen in the use of I.k.'s favourite (eleven times) ἁγιον πνευμα (11:13), αγαθοποιειν (6:9, 33, 15, never in Mt.; cp. 1 Pet. 2:15, 20, 30, 17), and αγαπαλον (6:48, cp. 1 Cor. 3:10, etc.), besides phrases like 'Father' 'pifial' (6:9, cp. 2 Cor. 1:3), παρχειν (6:20), χαρις (6:32-34, for Mt.'s μαροβος), ἀμαρτωλοι (generic for Mt.'s ἁθητικοι, τελωται), ἀγαριστος (6:35-2 Tim. 3:2; cp. 8:13 with 1 Tim. 4:1), ελπιζειν (6:34, etc., only once in quot. in Mt. 12:21), and blind guides (6:39; Rom. 2:19, which is perhaps a reminiscence of the logion). Similarly, the two other passages (11:1-4, 9-13, 12:22-34) where I.k. has reproduced matter included in Mt.'s Sermon, show evident traces of the author's style in favourite or characteristic expressions, such as:—ἀναστας, ἀναστρατης (11:7 f.), καθ' ημεραν (11:3), προς address, very common in I.k. (11:1, 12:22), εστιν δε (11:2, 12:22), τις with a noun (11:12, 16, etc., only once in Mt. 12:11), ως where (11:1, never in Mt.), βαλλαντιον (12:33), ελται with prep. and art. (11:1).

These linguistic phenomena bring I.k.'s version of the Sermon into line with the rest of his gospel. It cannot be said that Hebraisms or Aramaisms are at all characteristic of the passage, and the inference is that I.k. has either translated from Q with a freedom which makes his rendering something of a paraphrase, or (as is more probable) that like Mt. he has edited and in part rewritten a Greek recension of Q. In this Q, to all appearance, the Sermon lay between the choice of the Twelve and the healing of the centurion's child at Capernaum (Mk. 3:13-19=Lk. 6:12-16 Mt. 8:5-13=Lk. 7:1-10). Near (NW.) Capernaum and about midway in the Galilean period Jesus may be conjectured to have spoken this address. It is much less probable that I.k. had before him not merely the logia but also another independent document containing a discourse which he confused with the Sermon on the Mount.

In three instances our canonical Mk. contains logia equivalent to passages in the Sermon: on retribution 7. Sermonic logia in Mk. 4:24=Mt. (6:33b) 7:2 Lk. (12:31d) 6:38, on salt's salt 9:50a=Mt. 5:13a Lk. 14:34, and on a forgiving spirit with prayer 11:25 [26]=Mt. 6:14 f.

The presence of these in Mk. may be due to a redactor of the primitive 'Mk.' who had become acquainted with the logia; certainly the first two Marcan passages occur in extremely difficult contexts and are in themselves not particularly apposite, whilst the third is distinctly inappropriate to its surroundings (cp. Mk. 11:23 from Mt. 17:20). Even were this hypothesis rejected, however, it would not be necessary to presuppose Mk.'s acquaintance with Q. There may have been identical or substantially identical logia in Q and in the Petrine narrative which is practically equivalent to the primitive 'Mk.' There is no reason to believe that these documents were mutually exclusive, and it is natural to suppose that occasionally the same logia in divergent historical settings and linguistic shapes lay in both: e.g., Mt. 5:29 f. (Q) = Mt. 18:7 f. Mk. 9:43 45 47; Mt. 5:32 Lk. 16:18 (Q) = Mt. 19:9 Mk. 10:11 f. Similarly it is possible that even within Q itself logia lay in two different connections preserved from heterogeneous traditions. A capital instance is the saying on the lamp and the bushel, which is a pendant to the parable of the seeds (Mk. 4:21=Lk. 8:16, Jillicher, *Gleichnisreden* 2:80-92; cp. Goswami, § 134, col. 1875), and also connected with a dispute-logion (Mt. 5:15, repeated and misplaced by I.k. in 11:35). This seems on the whole a preferable hypothesis to that which would confine the logion to the former setting and make its employment elsewhere by Mt. and I.k. an arbitrary displacement and application. Mt. 7:16-18 and 12:33-35 form independent variations of a common idea rather than a doublet, and passages like 3:10=7:19 3:7=12:34 23:34 may reasonably be taken as reminiscences by a younger man of his first leader's phraseology. These are cases where pure literary criticism requires to be conscious of its limitations.

Happily, in the absence of direct parallels⁴ to the

¹ Justin Martyr's apology is offered (1:5) ὑπερ τῶν ἐκ πατρίδος ἑσόντων ἀποφωτιστῶν ἀδικῶν ἀποσημασιων καὶ ἐπιπρεσβουμένων.

² Similarly, in expanding the warning against censoriousness (6:1-7 Mt. 7:1 f.), I.k. redoubles it by adding καταδικασθητε (of which, as of ἀπολοιθη=let off, Mt. 18:27, Mt. is content to give a practical illustration 12:7), and presents the positive side as the social form which appealed to him, viz. charity in the sense of 'charity now is advocated as certain to win ample return.

³ 7:30 is textually suspect, however (om. D, S), and with 7:22 is probably placed here by the editor.

⁴ The parallels in Jewish thought (e.g., Hillel, the Essenes, the *Pirke Aboth*, and the earlier wisdom literature, including the negative form of the law of love) may be seen in Wünsche, *13* Lightfoot, Weiststein, or Rodriguez *Les origines du Sermon de la Montagne* (for Mt. 6:9-13 see LORD'S PRAYER), and are worked out in more or less detail by critical editors. So far as

Sermon in the fourth gospel, the comparative phenomena of the third gospel enable us sometimes to analyse Mt.'s version of the Sermon, which is obviously composite, into its component parts. At least seven passages set in Mt. 5-7 appear throughout I.k., although differently edited and applied, in connections which are not merely superior but intrinsically probable from the historical standpoint. These are the logia on (a) coming to terms with an opponent (Mt. 5:25 f.=I.k. 12:57-59),¹ (b) the model prayer (Mt. 6:9-15=Lk. 11:1-4), (c) God and manum (Mt. 6:24=Lk. 16:13), (d) worldly anxiety (Mt. 6:25-33=Lk. 12:22-31),² (e) encouragement to prayer (Mt. 7:7-11=Lk. 11:9-13), (f) the narrow way (Mt. 7:13 f.=Lk. 13:23 f.), and (g) the final rejection (Mt. 7:21-23=Lk. 13:25-27).³ Upon the other hand, it must be admitted that I.k. is possibly inferior to Mt. in his setting of other four logia which occur in Mt. 5-7 (5:15=Lk. 11:33, 5:18=Lk. 16:17, 5:31 f.=Lk. 16:18, 6:22 f.=Lk. 11:34-36); although this does not imply that even Mt. preserves them in their original strata. Two instances are neutral—that is to say, Jesus might have interred the saying upon either occasion or upon both, so far as the evidence available is concerned (Mt. 5:13=Lk. 11:34, 6:19-21=Lk. 12:33 f.; so e.g., Lk. 6:44a=Mt. 12:13c, 6:45c=Mt. 12:14b). In three instances of a doublet in Mt. affecting the Sermon (5:29 f.=18:8 f. 5:32=19:9 and 7:19=3:10 Lk. 3:9), the historic probabilities seem to favour that setting of the logion which is extra-Sermonic.

The Sermon also exhibits several curious instances of transposition (e.g., the temptation-narrative Mt. 4:5-10=Lk. 4:5-12, Jonah and Solomon Mt. 12:41 f.=Solomon and Jonah Lk. 11:31 f., etc.) in passages like Mt. 5:40 (χρ. ἰματ.)=Lk. 6:29 (ἰμ. κ. χρ.) 5:42-44 (liberality and prayer)=Lk. 6:28, 29 (prayer and liberality), 5:45 f. (sonship and reward)=Lk. 6:32-35 (reward and sonship), Mt. 6:19 f. (treasure in heaven and seeking kingdom)=Lk. 12:29 f. 33 f. (seeking kingdom and treasure in heaven), Mt. 6:28 (neither labour nor spin)=Lk. 12:27 (neither spin nor weave [Ti. WH¹⁸⁸⁸]), Mt. 7:16 (grapes and figs)=Lk. 6:44 (figs and grapes). Such transpositions occur throughout the three synoptists. If literary variety be considered too artificial a motive to explain their phenomena, we must have recourse to the hypothesis that such divergencies grew up unconsciously during the period of oral transmission, although the frecks of

the Sermon is concerned, the resemblances only serve to accentuate the profound difference between Jesus and the contemporary piety of his age, even when he is using the latter's language and developing germs already present on the higher levels of the OT and of pre-Christian Judaism. Here, from the historical standpoint, Jesus appears engaged not merely in clearing away accumulated rubbish to refresh the stream of piety to have free course, but in opening fresh fountains for its supply as well as in disclosing a reach and flow for its waters larger than had been hitherto imagined—much less attained.

¹ As I.k. plainly reproduces the original setting of this logion (cp. Weiss, *Matth. Evglm.* 158 f.), and as Mt. 5:21-48 represents a homogeneous and fairly coherent address, it is probably right to regard 5:25 f. as an interpolation (e.g., Holtzmann, Bruce, Réville). Its insertion was mediated by the well-known connection of debt and sin in the ethnic mind (*Exp. T.* 19:54, cp. Mt. 6:12 14 f.).

² The unique 'the nations of the world' (τὰ ἔθνη τοῦ κόσμου: Lk. 12:30), translating an Aramaic or Hebrew rabbinical equivalent (עַמֵּי הָעוֹלָם, Dalman, *Wortb. Jesu*, 1:144 f.), is one proof that I.k. stands nearer than Mt. to the original source. I.k.'s retention of Lk. 12:32 balances his omission of Mt. 6:34. Similarly the un-Matthaeian *kingdom of God* in Mt. 6:33 (as in 12:28 19:24) shows that Q is reproduced here verbally, as by I.k.; and the righteousness ('καὶ τῆς δικ.': cp. Jas. 1:20) is an editorial explanation (like *πρωτον*) or gloss upon 'kingdom'. Even were the variant order adopted (*his righteousness and kingdom*), still 'kingdom' would remain as the predominating term. I.k. 12:31 is plainly more faithful to the original. Cp. Titus, 82.

³ I.k. preserves, in an altered and somewhat expanded form, the original reference to unbelieving Jews. Mt., who applies the logion to antinomian adherents of Jesus (possibly ultra-Pauline Christians), is obliged to use the sequel elsewhere (8:11 f.=Lk. 13:28 f.), as it would not have suited his purpose in the Sermon.

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memory do not seem quite adequate to account for inversions so repeated. Intentional or accidental, they are to all appearance destitute of significance.

Assuming these results and continuing to employ the larger report as more convenient for the purpose of comparative analysis, we now pass to its divisions. As a working hypothesis we may provisionally surmise that the original scheme¹ of the Sermon in Q embraced (a) beatitudes, (b) a statement of Jesus' relation to the Jewish law, followed by (c) a definition of his own *messiah*, and (d) a warning against unreal, idle adherence to it and to himself. If Lk.'s *level spot* (6:17) meant a plateau among the hills, a comprehensive designation of the Sermon both in Lk. and Mt. might be 'the teaching on the hill-side' or 'the hill-teaching.'

(1) The divergence of the beatitudes in style and spirit accentuates at the very outset the general variation of the two reports. Lk.'s four beatitudes are followed² by four woes (after Dt. 27:11 f.), Mt.'s eight³ stand alone, save

10. The beatitudes and woes.

for an expansion or application of the eighth. Lk.'s are more vehement (sec. pers. plur.), Mt.'s (exc. 5:11) employ the quieter third plur. Lk.'s order (poor, hungry, weeping, persecuted) differs from what verbally corresponds to it in Mt. (*poor in spirit, mourners, meek, hungry for righteousness, merciful, pure in heart, peacemakers, persecuted*), much more his general atmosphere and colour. The original Sermon in Q probably contained beatitudes and woes in the second person corresponding to those preserved with somewhat heightened ascetic colouring by Lk.; their number it is impossible to ascertain with any certainty; their nature is as elusive, except that it was less restricted and external than Lk.'s report (see below, on the audience). Mt. 5:11 f. = Lk. 6:22 f. is apostolic in its present form (cp. *for my sake, the Name*, and terms of persecution⁴); especially in Mt. 5:11 f. it is a comment such as Mt. loves, added here to lead over from the beatitudes into 5:13-16.

As the crucial instance of the first beatitude indicates, the discrepancies of the two reports run back not only to the predilections of the final editors, but to variant renderings of the vernacular in Q; *πτωχοι* and *ταπεινοι* are Q's equivalents for *עניים* in Is. 61:1, a passage applied by Lk. elsewhere to Jesus and his career (4:17 f., where Mt. places the Sermon), and *καταλαλιπτω* is similarly used. Mt.'s beatitudes, therefore, represent variations upon the leading idea of 'the poor being blessed'—'poor' being the dominant lower classes in the main. Lk.'s rendering is truer to the latter, Mt.'s to the spirit, of the original.⁵ No

¹ Feine (*Ueber das gegenseitige Verhältniss der Texte der Bergpredigt bei Mt. und bei Lk.*, *JPT*, 1835, pp. 1-55) finds the original Sermon in Mt. 5:1-10 17 20-22 27 f. 33-48 61-9 10-18 7:15 12 15-18 21 24-27. The Hebrew and Greek reconstruction attempted by Resch (*Usserianon, Paralleltexte*, 1803-7; 2:62-65 81-102 113 f. 3:62-68 101-6; *Die Logia Jesu*, 1898, pp. 18-29) traces the Sermon in 5:1-6 11 f. 20-22 27 f. 31 33-154 37-48 7:15 12 10-18 20 f. 24-27; whilst Wendt's outline consists of Lk. 6:20-25 Mt. 5:17-23 21-24 27-29 31-42 7:12 5:43-47 Lk. 6:34 Mt. 5:43 6:1-18 7:15 15-19 7:21 (Lk. 6:46) 24-27.

² Fourfold woe in En. 95:4-7. S. on Lk. 6:25a, *καταλαλιπτω* *μενοι* . . . *απρωτοι*, and softens beatitudes from second to third person plural. See J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu*, 17:157.

³ Or seven (as e.g., 4 Esd. 7:74-9), where seven woes follow), if 5:10b (= 3:30) is supposed to mean a fresh start. It is quite fanciful to see a counterpart to the decalogue in ten beatitudes (Delffzsch, *Ederstein*). On Mt. 5:3, with its sonorous form, cp. Klöpffer, *ZIT*, 1894, pp. 175-177, with the essay of Kabisch in *St. Kr.* (1896) 195-215; on the general superiority of Lk.'s report, Adeney, *Evangel.*, subser. 2:301-375.

⁴ The alternative order (meek, mourners), even if better attested, would not affect this point.

⁵ There was a reasonable ground for anticipating persecution, although Mt. either ignores or fails to emphasize it, in the recent arrest of Jesus' master (Mt. 4:12), as well as in the conflict which had taken place between Jesus and the religious authorities (Jests, §§ 22 f.). The Sermon by no means portrays the dash of an absolute Galilean success. See § 6, n. 1.

⁶ Lk.'s fundamental idea is (cp. Feine, 25-35) that no satisfaction will be got in the present age, such are its contradictions and oppressive manners; Mt.'s view is, no satisfaction will be got in this or any age of the world, since the inner needs of the soul cannot be satisfied outside of God. Lk.'s report suits the original situation better. But Mt.'s is truer to the central teaching of Jesus; his beatitudes give rich and vigorous expression to the purest ideal of the Christian consciousness, even although,

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doubt, language such as that preserved by Lk. would appear ambiguous and unsatisfactory to those who had lost touch with the primitive situation in which the words were spoken, or who had not the same intellectual sympathies. Mt.'s version, figurative and traditional in its use of language hallowed by religious associations, would appeal to a larger circle.

(8) The attitude of Jesus to the Jewish law would naturally form a cardinal topic in any such inaugural

11. Jesus and the law.

address, especially as popular curiosity must have been already whetted and misunderstanding created by the conflicts between Jesus and the religious authorities. The prospect of a revolutionary attitude upon his part towards the law must have stirred hopes and fears alike unfounded. But the original form of the passage in Q seems to have been expanded by Mt. and abbreviated by Lk. The latter had an obvious motive for omitting anti-legal polemic from his narrative as unsuitable at an irrelevant to his audience; his familiarity with most of the logia underlying Mt. 5:13-16 17-20 21-43 is proved by his reproduction of several elsewhere in more or less apt situations (see above, § 8 f.). Mt. 5:21-24 27 f. 31-43, therefore, is in all likelihood substantially reproduced from Q, filled out by the incorporation of two logia from other places (25 f. 29 f.).¹ From this passage in his edition of Q, Lk. has merely taken the climax² (*i. e.*, the superseding of retaliation by unstinted love), in order to preserve the distinctive assertion of the new law. The linguistic variations seldom affect the sense of the parallel passages materially. Nor does the catechetical form of Mt.'s version with its careful structure, reproduced from the church catechism of Q, imply that Jesus did not use such a method of instruction. He taught as a rabbi. The apostolic churches arranged and used his sayings for catechetical purposes, but in this Jesus had to some degree anticipated them; the five commandments of the lawgiver in Mt. 5:21 f. may well be a specimen of the preaching which Jesus already practised in the synagogues,³ where part of the service consisted in the reading of OT scriptures from the law and the prophets, followed by comments (Lk. 4:17, cp. Acts 13:15; Schür, *Hist.*, ii. 263 f. 21). Cp. SYNAGOGUE, §§ 8 f.

The transition from the beatitudes into the relation of Jesus to the law was probably mediated in Q by logia

12. Mt. 5:13-16.

(corresponding to those substantially preserved in Mt. 5:13-16 17 20) upon the sphere and function of those whose character had just been described, as well as upon the personal attitude assumed by their leader to the conventional religion. Whether 5:13-16 in whole or part belonged to the original Sermon is doubtful. Were the Sermon addressed to the Twelve (so, e.g., Hahn, Resch, and [Lk.] O. Holtzmann), the passage would be quite in line with 10:1, where the Twelve are also prophets (cp. 5:12 and 5:14). Even with an audience of many disciples, as Mt. and Lk. both describe the scene, the appropriateness of the passage is defensible (the prophets as in Jas. 5:10 f.). The connection of 5:12 (Lk. 6:23) and 5:17 is excellent; but the intervening sentences may have been an aside

upon critical grounds, they may not justify their claim to be regarded as the prelude to the historical Sermon.

¹ Possibly 25, 25 f. are also foreign to their context, as they stand in the original Sermon. The superior position of 25 and 17-20 might, but does not necessarily, involve that 5:13-16 21-43 belong to its Sermonic context. The omission of 27 (with Lk. 28), would contribute to the terseness of the context.

² Thus failing in the Sermon to establish (with Mt.) the historical continuity of Jesus with the religious tradition of the past. He had done this already and otherwise (4:1 f.). But with Lk. the disciples of Jesus within Judaism have 'something to become' rather than 'something to cast off,' in taking their course of obedience to him.

³ On the significance of this early ministry among the synagogues of Galilee (Lk. 4:15 44 = Mk. 1:39 Mt. 4:23), which was interrupted and checked by the scribes, see Bruce, *Birth of Christ*, 109-106 (1896). 'Great temporary popularity, little permanent fruit' sums up its effects; but, as the Sermon indicates, it enabled Jesus to come to an issue with the current legal religion, besides inducing him to turn his attention specially to the receptive disciples (*ακούοντες*) who showed some capacity of mind and soul for the new teaching.

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(for which Mt. has prepared by the word *τοῦς ἡρώδης* (12:14), after which Jesus resumed the tenor of his speech. Function depends on character, and privilege implies responsibility; the disciples are an Israel within Israel,¹ whose *raison d'être* is to permeate the people as a whole, instead of preaching an esoteric piety or an Essene-like retirement. The horizon of Jesus was primarily Judaism at this period (Rom. 15:7-9); with a high and devout consciousness of his mission, which was partly to be achieved through his adherents, he sets himself and them (in these logia) to the regeneration of Judaism.² Whatever be the origin³ of 14b, the logia 13 and 14c (13-15) may quite well have lain side by side (otherwise GOSPELS, § 134) in the original (cp the Roman proverb, *nil tale et tale atque*), though not exactly in their present form. The traces of editorial handling, however, do not affect the substance of the passage; its parts fit in here at least as well as, if not better than, in their arrangement by Mk. and Lk.; and as a whole this didactic piece vindicates its position in the Sermon. If any 'definite historical situation' (Weizs.) needs to be sought for the passage, its present site affords a motif of sufficient psychological and historical importance.

Whilst 5:17-20 is not only an authentic saying but also in its proper place as a vindication of Jesus against the suspicion of laxity and undue mildness raised⁴ by his free, daring attitude to the law, 5:13 f. is widely accepted as representing a Jewish-Christian gloss which evidently (cp its partial retention in sharper form by Lk. 16:17, Mt.'s *ἡ ἑστὴ* being secondary, Dalman, 125) belonged not merely to Q but but to Q. See GOSPELS, §§ 340, 1127, 1287; Feine, pp. 25-35; also Moffatt, *Historical New Testament* (1901), pp. 645 f.).

The aim of the O.T. religion, as expressed by the phrase 'the law or the prophets',⁵ was to be realised by Jesus in the higher Christian 'righteousness' (δικαιοσύνη), not (as 18:17) imply through the permanent validity of the Mosaic code with its statutory and ritual elements, although the more conservative circles of Jewish Christianity believed that the latter was not merely 'ultimate but essential to the new faith.' It is one thing to say that the law contained a divine revelation; it would have been quite another thing for Jesus to say that the Mosaic law (Leviticus and all) with its institutions had still a future and a role. The very qualifications and repudiations of 5:21-44 indicate the irrelevance of 5:13 f. to the original context.⁶ On the other hand, 5:17-20 define not

merely the theme of the Sermon but the permanent attitude of Jesus towards possible abuses and misunderstanding of his gospel (cp Kloppner, *ZNTW*, 1896, pp. 1-23). The critical attitude which a reformer finds it necessary to assume towards orthodox opinion and habit in order to clear the road for positive and healthy progress, is generally mistaken for mere iconoclasm; he is imagined as a mover of old landmarks, and one of his first and hardest duties is to show that valid change and advance in religion only knit the bonds of moral claim more tightly on the conscience.

(c) The abruptness with which the *nova lex* is introduced in Lk. (6:27-36) contrasts unfavourably with the fine climax of Mt. (5:43-48), which comes 14. The new law alter a smooth and clear series of anti-theses to the traditional legislation (21-43).

In Mt. 5:43-45, which Mt. has correctly preserved as the kernel of the Sermon, the new 'righteousness' already sketched is elucidated with respect to (i) murder and anger (21-24); see KACA and SYLLOGIC 2.2. The form of denunciation (ἔρεος with gen. of punishment or punishment's source, in Mk. 3:24 of the crime) is said to be common in inscriptions against guilty persons in Asia Minor (Kams, *EA. P.* 1055 f.; 1172 f.; cf. the Ptolemaic Christianity previous to 70 A.D. and emphasis of the duty of reconciliation as paramount, superseding even the claim of sacrifice, Cp Epict., *Diss.* 2:16, 'if you go and blame your brother, I tell you, you have forgotten who you are, and what you are called' (66), a brother). The same hardness breathes in the treatment (ii) of adultery and divorce (27 f. 31 f.); cp GOSPELS, § 143 d; MARRIAGE, § 6. (iii) Laxity in oaths (33-37), as well as in marriage, had already been checked by the Essenes, and 34 f. is a Jewish commonplace (cp, besides Weizs., *ad loc.*, Charles on Slav. Ev. 491, also Harnack or Conybeare on *Levit. Apollon.* 6). A remarkable parallel from a pagan inscription of the Katakaumene is cited by Kams, *EA. P.* 1050, and Boughton (*Chr. Dec.* 1204-204) notes the frivolous, lavish use of oaths among the Arabs. (iv) 'Retaliation superseded by beneficence' (43-48) is put in characteristically Oriental and paradoxical form, though Epictetus also (*Diss.* 3:22) teaches the cynic to practise forbearance, and when flogged to love those that flog him, even yielding his body to the free pleasure of anybody. (v) Love to one's enemies (43-48), with prayer for them, constitutes the distinctive spirit of the new reign (cp 25:20 with 25:40 f.); the divine ideal is magnanimity, which Jesus inculcates on his adherents as their duty; in short a 'love imperturbable' (Diez's *hlag*), which is not deterred from serving other people by their ingratitude or active opposition, and finds its motive in ardent desire to be like God, and its method in instinctive activity, not in punctilious performance of set duties. See LOVINGKINDNESS, § 4, and NICHOLSON.

Lk.'s indifference to the critical attitude of Jesus, which dictated his omission of the logia corresponding to Mt. 5:21-47, leaves him with a repetition of the *nova lex* (6:27-36) which is, upon the whole, less admirably arranged⁷

¹ 5:14, with an instance of Mt.'s partiality for 'the world' (6:109-110), reflects (as it stands) the universalism which forms one trait of Mt. Originally in Aramaic the logion had a range consistent with the historical situation of Jesus and the disciples (so 29: 13 = land, not earth). Cp Dalman's *Worte Jesu*, 113-144. The selection of the twelve shows that Jesus already contemplated a vocation on the part of his disciples, which was not confined, of course, to the Twelve (cp Lk. 8:30 Mk. 9:38). Unmistakably Mt., who preserves the logion on vocation, omits to narrate beforehand the incident which helps to elucidate its appress.

² It is needless, therefore, to regard 5:13-15 (with Réville, 212-130) as a patriotic address to the Jewish people ideally represented by the crowd, whom Jesus exhorts to be faithful to their historical vocation and to show themselves worthy of their religious superiority to the surrounding world. No direct preaching as yet (except for the Twelve? Mk. 1:17 = Mt. 4:16); only the expression of an upright and exceptionally pious life. Cp TILLY, 12-17.

³ The Overt, logion 7 ('a city built upon a high hill and established cannot either fall or be hidden') blends 5:14b and 7:17 f. and a 13-16 was known to the author of the Pastorals (1 Tim. 3:2) as well as to Justin (*1 Apol.* 17).

⁴ Perhaps already in his younger brother James, who appears in tradition (cp von Dobschütz, *Die archaischen Gemeinden*, 112 f. 212 f. 100-22) as an austere or strict Jewish Christian; certainly in the Scribes and Pharisees, who felt themselves responsible for defending the faith against unsettling tendencies. For the disciples may already have needed a warning of this kind against rash inferences from sayings like Mk. 2:22.

⁵ Unless (Weizs.) or the prophets' (ἡ τοῦς ἡρώδης) be an editorial gloss (om. Clem. Rom. 3:51). But if Paul could appeal to the 'righteousness of God' which was realised in the gospel (Rom. 3:21), surely Jesus could have done the same. Christianity is the carry of a certain reserve and guarded tone in 5:17 (*οἰκονομία λόγων*) is imaginary. On 'the righteousness of Christ's kingdom' (Mt. 5:20 f.), cp Dalman, *F. 1. 40*, 4th ser. 570 f. 17 f., also Gardner's *Explan. Evangelica*, 192 f.

⁶ As it stands, however, 5:17-20 reflects Mt.'s sapientic temper, especially in its effort to show the Jews of the Diaspora the

spiritual continuity between esteem for the Law as an ethical code and devotion to Jesus its 'end' (ἔσχατος); see Weizs., *ZNTW*, 1896, p. 47 f. This tendency has led Mt. to preserve conditions and logia which often seem rather alien to the radical spirit of his own mind. See Mancho, *Prot. Monach.*, 1902, pp. 211-227.

⁷ This is not by any means an ideal such as could be derived from the hopes of the future church (which the Jews, or from their law; it is in the truest sense the possession of Jesus alone) (O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, 192). Whilst this is true of 5:43, 5:44 f. is not unparalleled; cp, e.g., Seneca (*de Benef.* 4:20, 'si deos imitatis, da et ingratis beneficia; non et sceleratis sol oritur, et piratis patent maria'), and, earlier still in Judaism, Eccles. 4:10 ('Be as a father to the fatherless, . . . So shalt thou be as a son of the most High'). See O. Holtzmann, *Verantw. Zeitgesch.*, (1895) 226 f., Lightfoot, *Philippians*, 28-227, and *HC* 1:10-224 f.

⁸ On 5:22, Field's *Optim. Novae*, (pars tertia, 1806), p. 17, and for Lk. 6:35, *ibid.*, 50. The prohibitions of Mt. 5:22 may have been actually thrown at Jesus by the Pharisees and their followers in the heat of controversy.

⁹ When these are treated separately, the antitheses against the Scribes fall into two sets of three (5:21 f. 27 f. 31 f., 33 f. 37 f. 41 f.), followed by three anti-Pharisaic in 21 f. 5 f. 11 f., followed by three others in 7 f. 12 f. 18 f. It is doubtful whether this trim scheme was present to the mind of the editor of Mt.; but even if it was, the arrangement seems artificial rather than spontaneously natural, and forms one reason for doubting whether the connection of 6:1-18 with what precedes is anything more than literary. The last-named passage is certainly less spontaneous than, e.g., Mk. 11:24 f. 218-22. But the methods of Christ's teaching were versatile, and whilst the passage is misplaced and possibly edited, it seems hardly safe to argue back to 'ecclesiastical piety' as its basis (Carpenter, *First Three Gospels*, 1890, p. 175).

¹⁰ Another genuine reflection of this evangelic tradition occurs in the two logia (preserved by Jerome) of the 'Gospel to the Hebrews': (a) et nunquam leti sumus, nisi cum fratrem vestrum videritis in caritate, (b) inter maxima ponitur crimina, qui fratris sui spiritum contristaverit. Jesus left it to common sense to apply the logion on indiscriminate charity; the necessary qualification is explicitly appended in *Did.* 16.

¹¹ Resch suggests for 6:40 a place in the address of the Last Supper (after Mt. 20:28 Mk. 10:45). At any rate 6:39 f. is irrele-

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and less definite in content (cp. e.g., *sinners* for *pagans* and *the fatherless*, *χρηστές* [613] for Mt. 5.45, sons of most High¹ for Mt. 5.42, the omission of 5.38 f. 41.4). He has taken Mt. 5.44a (in its logia form), expanded it (6.25b-26a), and reproduced Mt. 5.44b-47 in his own style, substituting for 45 logia (6.9 f.) roughly answering to Mt. 5.9b-45.47. Starting afresh from 5.44a he expands it independently, though Mt.'s climax² (5.43) becomes with him a transition to what follows (6.30 f.), and love is not thrown into relief against the background of formalism. The variations in expression are seldom significant; the main alteration of colour is robbery (Lk. 6.29) for legal proceedings (Mt. 5.45) as an opportunity for displaying the habitual mood of disinterested love.³

The law of unflinching love carries with it, as a corollary, abstinence from censoriousness (Mt. 7.1-5

16. Mt. 6.1-18 Lk. 6.37 f. 41 f.). Mt., however, has interpolated two long sections at this point:

(i.) an exposure of the Pharisaic praxis (6.1-18, incorporating anachronologically the Lord's Prayer; see LORD'S PRAYER and Cary, 114-120), which is undoubtedly genuine but misplaced, and (ii.) an appeal against worldly anxiety (6.25-34), which Lk. (indifferent to the former) has preserved elsewhere in a superior context (12.22-31 f.), where it is followed by the more positive logion on heavenly treasures (12.33 f. = Mt. 6.19-21) used by Mt.⁴ rather aptly to connect 6.13 and 6.25.⁵ The catechist (i.) upon a Christian's duty to his neighbour, his God, and himself (expressed in rhythmic form, 6.2.4.5 f. 16-18), which has a title,⁶ 6.1, and a logion, 6.7-9, introductory to the specimen prayer, 6.9b-11 (14 f.), describes the trinity of normal religious practices for an early Christian,—alms (ALMS, § 4; COMMUNITY OF GOODS, § 5; cp. GASM. II.6.334), prayer⁷ (see PRAYER, §§ 6-7), and fasting (FASTING, § 4)—the two latter combined in *Did.* 8 and *Test. Jos.* 3, etc. (ii.) The following counsel⁸ of idealism formed a unity in Q (Lk. 12.22-34 = Mt. 6.19-34). The significant element in the material peculiar to Lk. is *μη μετεωπίσθησθε* (Lk. 'Be not of doubtful mind': 12.29), the more

only introduced; its logia are correctly placed by Mt. (15.14 = Lk. 6.39, 10.24 f. = Lk. 6.45). It is difficult to discover (with Hahn) seven commandments in 6.27-35, or four parables in 6.39-49.

¹ On this term see Che. *OP.* 83 f., Dalman, 162 f., *HC* 1.342. The supposed originals *ἄσπυ* or *ἄσπυ*, of which *ῥέλειος* and *οὐκ ἔσπυ* are held to be variant translations, do not seem convincing. On Lk.'s superior connection in 6.36-37 see Bousset 82 f.

² The original form of the beatitudes, the presence of traits denoting social oppression and an atmosphere of strain, even of worldly perplexity, together with the absence of Mt. 6.25-34 from the Sermon, render it impossible to regard it as the echo of a Galilean idyll with pastoral charm, although Mt. lends itself to this impression of summer teaching among the hills. On the real state of Galilee and its population, see GALILEE, § 6, S. Hir. *Hist.* ii. 1-15. It is remarkable that the polemic of the Sermon omits any reference to the Sabbath question, upon which the bitter enmity of the Pharisees had already come to a head against Jesus (Mt. 23. Lk. 6.11). Mt. prefers to postpone the Sabbath dispute unhistorically (12.1-8.9.14).

³ The real treasure (6.4.6.11) is secured, not by ostentation, but by inwardness and single-minded devotion to God. Unfeigned and undivided desire for heavenly wealth (6.19-24) is sure of satisfaction (cp. Jn. 1.5-8), whatever else fails.

⁴ The gap is further filled up by means of logia (6.22-24) which—to judge from their erratic and less happy situation (11.34-39. 10.13) in Lk.—seem to have had no historical setting in Q. See EYE (col. 1453), also Wernle, *Synoptische Frage* (1896), 74, and O. Holtzmann's *Leben Jesu* (290-2). Mt. 6.24 is echoed in 1 Cor. 10.20 f., and cited in 2 Clem. 6.1, Orig. c. *Cels.* 8.15.

⁵ The possible interpretation of 'righteousness' (*δικαιοσύνη*) as 'alms' (*ἐλεημοσύνη*; 2 Cor. 9.9 f. Ps. 112.9) would make 6.1 specifically part of 6.2-4.

⁶ The house of God abhors much speaking. Pray thou with a loving heart; the petitions of all are in secret. He will do thy business. He will hear that which thou sayest, and accept thine offerings' (from the *Aui* papyrus, *Exp. T.* 6.537). Prayer, fasting, and alms in Tobit 12.

⁷ Epictetus, in urging the same trust in providence, adduces the odd consideration that runaway slaves (not birds or flowers) get a livelihood somehow (*D.* 55. 1a.3.2). It is one trace of a certain historic fitness in the evangelic success or their ediness, that figures drawn from the vine (Judea's characteristic plant) are confined to the Judean ministry, whilst the corn flourishes naturally enough in the Galilean tradition. See Bousset 44.

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accurate because simpler form of 31 (= Mt. 6.33), and 32 (originally between Mt. 6.11 and 31). Upon the other hand, 12.11 is Lucan, generalised in order to introduce what follows; 26 is possibly editorial (om. D); while Mt. has preserved 6.34 and the truer *Father* in 6.26.

Of these two pieces (i.) is less certainly than (ii.) foreign to the original Sermon; 6.19-21 might lie conceivably between the anti-Pharisaic 5.21.48 and 7.1-5 (so, e.g., Neander, Keim, Weiss, Feine, Hirsch), but it has all the appearance of an independent piece. And 7.1-5 flows readily out of 5.43.48.50.1.2. Resch after Keim, who regards 6.19-21 as the nucleus of the inaugural popular Sermon (also 7.24.27) which he strangely combines with a later sermon to disciples on the Law.

In 6.37-42 Lk.'s expansion of Mt. 7.20 is secondary, and his insertions of 6.39 f. (between 38 = Mt. 7.26 and 41 = Mt. 7.3) only confuses the original context. Otherwise this injunction to pursue a quiet, inoffensive life (*Test. Isach.* 3)² lies visibly enough behind the subordinate linguistic variations of the two reports, and in Mt. closer to the original. Jesus speaks in the narrative and proverbial language of popular wit against the vice of censoriousness, suggested by the Pharisaic type of character. Lk. thinks rather of the inner life of the churches, and applies the warning specially to negligence or lack of 'charity' in the narrower sense of the word (Eclus. 20.10 f. etc.).

The loose series of sententious aphorisms in Mt. 7.1-14³ has no connection with the Sermon; 7.1 is evidently an erratic boulder (possibly apostolical, 7.11 should follow 6.9 f. (as Lk. 11.9 f.) or 6.33 f.), and 7.12 connects with 5.42 (as Lk. 6.31; Holtzmann, Wernle) better than with 7.1-5 (Weiss), although as it lies it is meant to round off 5.17. Similarly 7.13 f. belongs to a later context (Lk. 13.23 f.); Mt. has inserted it here for dramatic reasons as a logion⁴ suitable for an opening address, adding some expansions (*ἡ ἀπαρχὴ εἰς τὴν ἀπόλειαν, ἡ ἀπαρχὴ εἰς τὴν ζωὴν*) to bring out his customary eschatological interest (cp. Dalman, 130 f.).

(d) The finale of the Sermon, a warning against spurious forms of discipleship (Mt. 7.16b-27 = Lk. 6.42-45),

has been expanded by Mt.'s insertion of an apostolic logion against false prophets⁵

16. The finale. (7.15, which 16a connects with what follows) and another logion (7.21-23) presented by Lk. in its true setting (13.26 f.). The latter, which represents Jesus as Messianic arbiter of human lives, is plainly prophetic and cannot have been uttered before 16.60 f.; like several other passages of the kind, if not apostolic (cp. 2 Ti. 2.19, etc.) it is at an unhistorical anticipation, at least in its present form, for 'lord' [*κύριε*] etc. in Lk. 6.40 may represent some Aramaic or Hebrew term for 'master'. Cp. GOSPELS, § 20 (iv.). On the other hand, Lk. 6.45 is not specially homogeneous with its context (cp. Mt. 12.35), and Mt.'s opening (7.16b-18) is superior. The identity and outline of the closing parable⁶ are quite

¹ Neubauer quotes a Galilean proverb similar to 6.39 (*Stuba Biblia*, 152, n. 3). 6.42 corresponds to Oxyrh. Logia 1, and 6.37 echoes a saying of Hillel. No doubt many of these sayings were suggested to Jesus by what he had heard on the lips of Galilean neighbours and during his recent tour throughout the Synagogues.

² Cp. Jas. 4.11 f. On Lk. 6.41 Cheyne quotes from a satirical poem in the Arabian *Hamasa* 5.37: 'I indeed see in thine eye a bean set across, and thou marvell'st if thou beholdest in mine eye a mote' (*Exp. T.* 4.402).

³ Resch groups 7.6 with a later set of logia on the service of the kingdom, following the agraphon 'the ye wise bankers (*οὐκ ἔσπυ δόκιμοι τραπεζίται*; cp. 1 Thess. 5.21a) and 1 Thess. 5.21b-22. The lapidary style of Mt. 7.1-14 represents one characteristic method of Jesus as a teacher, derived from the gnomic literature of Judaism and practised by most rabbis of his day. The other method, resembling that of the prophets, was a longer impassioned harangue, with sustained appeal and thrust. Such with the dialogic method, represent the characteristic styles adopted by Jesus, the Sermon being a combination of the first two.

⁴ For instances of this famous figure in the first century, cp. *Test. Acher.* 1, *Test. Abrah.* 11, and Epict. *Diss.* 2.11.322; for the roads of Galilee, GASM. II.6.425 f.

⁵ Lk.'s sole mention of 'false prophets' (*ψευδοπροφήται*; 6.2) refers to the past; in dealing with the 'political' or social tendency of his eschatology, he omits this trait in describing the apostrophe of Jesus (Mt. 23.24 Mk. 13.22).

⁶ According to the Talmud (Neub. *Glog. du Talm.* 185

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recognisable under the characteristic style of each editor, Mt.'s version being superior in accuracy. The impression of originality and authority produced by the Sermon (Mt. 7:28 f.) naturally corresponds to the weight and length of it in Mt., who has transferred to this place what Mk. (1:22) and Lk. (4:32) narrate as the result of Jesus' earlier teaching in the synagogue.

Much of the discussion upon the audience of the Sermon is misplaced. The dual nature of its contents

17. Audience.—now touching disciples specifically, now broadening out to the public—together with the deliberately dual description of its hearers (which is not the result of composite tradition), may serve to indicate that too rigid a distinction is usually drawn between teaching (*διδάχῃ*) and preaching (*κηρύσσας*) at this early period of Jesus' ministry. The alternative 'disciples or crowd' is as imaginary as the harmonising expositions are unsatisfactory. A solution of the problem is visible when the collocation of crowds (*ὄχλος, ὄχλος*) and 'disciples' (*μαθηταί*) in the description of the audience (Mt. 5:1 f.; 7:28 f.; Lk. 6:19 f.; 7:1) is held to imply that in Q the 'disciples' were not the restricted inner circle of the twelve, whose election preceded the Sermon, but a wider circle of adherents more or less devoted to the new prophet. His instructions they followed, and to his teaching they professed attention and obedience. This ordinary sense of 'disciples' (*μαθηταί*; cp Mt. 10:4; Acts 6:2 etc.), as employed if not retained by Mt.¹ and Lk., would cover people of varied enthusiasm and position (cp Mt. 10:42; Jn. 6:66), and even men with extremely imperfect ideas of what their new faith involved (Acts 19:1-3). The characteristic which distinguished them in general from the ordinary multitude was sympathy with the propaganda of Jesus—due in many cases to gratitude for the healing received from him—as well as a disposition to favour the new religious leader. Naturally the line between 'disciples' and 'crowd' would not be rigid; although there had been a certain sifting which helped to define the groups more clearly, they did not always lie noticeably apart as yet, like oil and water. Among the crowd there were usually some who were attracted by other motives than mere curiosity or the desire to range themselves behind a fresh and promising and popular guide; these Jesus in the Sermon and elsewhere² designed to reach and win.³ Particularly among the 'quiet in the land,' susceptible and devout souls unopposed by the hot fanaticism of Galilee with its semi-political zeal for God, or by the chilling formalities of

Stud. Bibl. 152). Galileans were noted as wandering preachers who excelled in expositions of the biblical text, couched in parabolic form. Whilst Lk.'s access to a Jerusalem-cycle of traditions or even sources enables him to give Jerusalem a considerable rôle in the account of Jesus' early days, as indeed suited his literary predilections, Mt. singularly ignores the capital. So far as Mt. is concerned, Jesus had never been there when he delivered the Sermon; his ministry had been purely Galilean. Jerusalem in Mt. 1:4 (cp 4:5) is merely indifferent if not antipathetic to Jesus (2:3), though susceptible to John (3:5, from Mk. 1:5).

¹ Mt.'s characteristic 'to disciple' (*μαθητεύει*; elsewhere in NT only in Acts 14:21) includes (28:10-20) instruction in the words of Jesus (cp. 5:21 f.) as the norm of life (cp 6:21-34); in 27:57 the word is substituted for 'awaiting the reign of God,' in the description of Joseph of Arimathea, and the important logion of Mt. 13:52 indicates the continuity and advance of Jesus' teaching (Dalman, 57). Thus the conception of 'disciple-ship,' especially in Mt., corresponds to the aim of the Sermon (as in Mt. 23:1); it means adherence to the teaching of Jesus as the consummation of Judaism and the independent rôle of a new faith. See further J. Weiss, *Nachfolge Christi* (1895) 2-13.

² Cp Mt. 23:1 and Mk. 8:34 (Lk. 9:23, yet Mt. 16:24), although the latter allusion to the crowd has its own difficulties (Carpenter, 22; Wrede, *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*, 1901, pp. 127 f.). The less determinate conditions of Jesus' actual ministry may, of course, have been somewhat sharpened in the process of tradition.

³ Even although Jesus is optolectically represented in the Sermon as Messianic judge, the fidelity of the evangelic sources appears in the fact that as yet the adherents or disciples are pointed not to himself but to God as the supreme object of imitation (cp Xen. *Mem.* 1. 6.3, ὡς περὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων οἱ διδασκάλου τοὺς μαθητὰς μιμήσθαι αὐτῶν ἀποδεικνύουσιν).

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the Pharisaic legalism, Jesus seems to have found congenial spirits.

This unobtrusive piety of the 'meek' (עָנִי, or עֲנָוִי) is sketched in Enoch 108:10, and its resigned semi-ascetic temper breathed through circles of pre-Christian Judaism outside Eschism; see Ps. Sol. 5:1 f., the *Assumptio Moysi*, the character of Simeon and Anna in Lk. 2 and of Nathanael in Jn. 1:45-49 (knees, *JBL*, 1898, pp. 21-30), and the later *mansueti quatuor contra* of 4 Esd. (11:42), with the suffering lower classes of James (19:27, etc.; Spitta on Ja. 2:5). The picture of poor and needy ones sketched in the earlier wisdom-literature and apocalypses of Judaism reveals a disposition which had certain affinities with that of Jesus and yet was capable of development under his hands. His patient endurance, as taught to these people in the Sermon, was not only devout, but more cheerful; alert rather than resigned. With the quietists, as with the Essenes, Jesus stood in evident if partial sympathy; they were the *latter-day* friends of the age. Affinities, however, do not imply alliance or dependence, and the 63 of the gospels referring to the Galilean period show that Jesus drew adherents from all classes, particularly from the poor, but not to the exclusion of that middle class which, as Graetz argues (*History of Jews*, I, 2:51 f.), was not conspicuously lacking in piety or morals and might have echoed honestly the young ruler's apologia (cp also Mk. 12:32-34). See NAZARETH, § 2, P. 908, § 2.

At any rate, the Sermon assumes most of the fundamental principles of the religious consciousness; it was not addressed to a people 'sitting in darkness,' much less to the twelve. Neither esoteric, nor official, nor a call to repentance, it may be presumed to have reached an audience of people morally disposed (owing partly to temperament and circumstances, partly to his preaching) to start on the new road, if they had not already started, people whose cardinal need was encouragement and instruction upon the *differentia* of their new course. That Jesus taught the contents of the Sermon during the course of several days (JESUS, § 12), is not impossible. The real Sermon, however, is short enough to have been delivered upon one occasion, and the gospels plainly intend to convey this impression of a single address, although the indefiniteness of Q and the evident absence of supplementary oral tradition did not permit them to sketch any concrete situation for it in time or place.

Perhaps the outstanding features of the address, from the point of view of historical and ethical progress in

18. Historical Judaism and primitive Christianity (ISRAEL, § 93), are (a) the close union between the mutual love of man and man, and the devout aspiration of the soul towards God; (b) the genial tenderness with which the conception of God is developed, free from rabbinic intellectualism or mere nationalism; and (c) 'the spiritual nomism' (Troy), which conserves the moral essence of the Law and at the same time frees it from legal dryness (JESUS, §§ 11-13, 17 f.). The last-named point is of cardinal importance to the historian, as the pivot upon which the relation of Jesus to Judaism finally turned. 'The expansion of the law quantitatively amounts,' as Baur remarked, 'to a qualitative difference.' There is no reason to doubt that even during the Galilean period Jesus was conscious of issues in his message which transcended the current and traditional environment of religion among the Jews. But revelation, like nature, is never brusque. As yet the transition had not become so acute as it did at a later stage, and one main concern of Jesus in the Sermon, while defining and urging the new revelation with perfect decisiveness (Braundt, *Die Evangelische Geschichte u. der Ursprung des Christenthums*, 1893, pp. 449-455) is to avoid needless misunderstanding and prevent his free views from being abused to the detriment of morality.¹ Both in the apocalyptic and in the nomistic

¹ Cp L. Jacob, *Jesu Stellung zum mosaischen Gesetz* (1893). The sensitiveness of Jesus upon this point has been already noticed (see above, § 13). Max Nordau quotes Mt. 5:17 as the last word in his exposure of modern *Degeneration* (ET 1898, p. 800); it is to him a profoundly penetrating maxim upon the truth that 'whoever preaches absence of discipline is an enemy of progress.' The preservation of such logia in Mt. and Lk. was necessary in view of their audiences in the Diaspora and the outside empire, to whom the Law was an ethical ancient code. Now that the Pauline strife had passed, the later generation (cp 1 Tim. 1:8 f.)

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ten-ten lex of the age he found support... Neither of these wholly anticipated his genius, and to neither did he yield himself; yet in each maternal lay ready for the new reconstruction of religion to which, in the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus is represented as having for the first time seriously addressed himself.

In addition to the essays and monographs already cited, consult the critical editions on Mt. (especially Weiss, Das Matthäus-Evangelium, n. neue Lektionsparalelle, 1870, pp. 190 f., 202 f., also in Meyer's comm., 1898; and Die vier Evangelien im bereinigten Text, 1900; Schanz, Comm. über des Ev. des heilig. Mt., 1879, pp. 150-247; Baljon, Comm. über des heilig. Mt., 1890, or Lk. (Schanz, Comm. über des heilig. Luc., 1879, 1881; Goulet, Comm. sur l'évangile de S. Luc., 1882; Olin Campbell, Crit. Studies in St. Luke's Gospel, 1892, pp. 230 f.; Hahn, Das Ev. des Luk., 1 [1892] 414 f.; J. Weiss in Meyer's Comm., 1892; A. Wright, St. Luke's Gospel [1900], or both (de Wette, Evang. Handbuch zum NT [1860] 3: 233-50; Holtzmann, NT vol. 1, 1891; Bruce, Expository Test. vol. 1, 1891; C. C. Cary, International Bible, to NT [1900], 1: 95-104, besides the patristic annotations of whom Augustine (De sermone Domino in deserto; Henck, ed., tom. iii.) and Euthymius Zigabenus are the most penetrating. The subject is handled by most writers upon the biography of Jesus—e.g., Keim, Jesus von Nazara (6: 113-12, 127-135; Neander, Life of Christ, 1837 (E.D.), pp. 40-256; Dolan, Jesus Christ, 1: 315-319; Renan, Vie de Jésus, ch. 10; A. Reville, Jésus de Nazareth (1872), 2: 490-2; Weiss, Leben Jesu (E.T. 2: 119-121); and O. Holtzmann, Leben Jesu (1913), 145-151. On the religion and ethics of the Sermon, see Haas's Das Christenthum u. die Christliche Kirche der ersten Jahrtausende (1854), E.F. 1: 27-39; Harneck, Dogmen-entwickelung (E.F. 1: 151 f.); Weisacker's Das apost. Zeitalter (E.D. 1: 35 f., 2: 45 f., 55 f.); Ritschl, Die altkatholische Kirche (1877), 47 f.; R. Mackintosh, Christ and the Jewish Law (1886), 84-91; Wellh. Sketch of Hist. of Israel (3d, 1891), 257 f.; C. H. Toy, Judaism and Christianity (1892), 415 f.; Douney on Law in NT (Hastings' DB 3: 1083); besides Eric Home, chs. 10-13; Eilersheim's Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah, 1, ch. 18; Pfeilerer, Das Urchristenthum (1887), 189-201, cp. 432-435; Tolstoy's famous My Religion, chs. 1-6 (1884), and Havet, Le Christianisme et ses origines (1884), 13-23. On the critical question add especially Holtzmann, Die Synops. Evange. (1893), 174-177, and Neutestamentliche Theologie (3d ed.), 1: 50-100; Bayou, Neutest. Theologie (1893), 2: 37 f.; Briggs, Messiah of Gospel (1894), 171 f.; Bruce, The Kingdom of God (3d, 1893), 1: 122 et passim; Bartlett on Matthew's Gospel, Hastings' DB 3: 297-305; Robinson, Saviour in Newer Light (1898), 92 f., 146 f.; Wernle, Die Anfänge unserer Religion (1901), 236 f.; et passim; Wendt, Die Lehre Jesu (2d, 1901); and generally the essays by Schurer (Die Predigt Jesu in ihrem Verhältniss zum AT., 1882), Bousset (Jesu Predigt in ihrem Gegensatz zum Judenthum, 1892), Ballenperger (Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu (2d, 1892, pp. 128 f.), Burton ('Ethical Teaching of Jesus in relation to Ethics of Pharisees and OT', Bibl. World, 1897, pp. 198-208), and J. Weiss (Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes, 1900). Special monographs by Jehnichen (1786), Butt (1789), Tholuck (3d, 1872), Aehelis (1875), Steinmeyer (1883), Bileken (2d, 1890), H. Weiss (1893), Gore (1897), Heinrich (Beiträge zur Gesch. u. Erklärung des NT; 2, die Bergpredigt, 1890), and F. Grawert (Die Bergpredigt nach Matthäus und ihre aussere u. innere Einheit, etc., 1900). On the Sermon in the later literature of the age see GOSPELS, § 3: 1-17, JAMES (EPISTLES), § 12, and the patristic citations collected by Resch in his Parallele-Texte. Prof. B. W. Bacon's thorough monograph, The Sermon on the Mount: its didactic purpose and literary structure (1902), and A. Wainwright's essay on the Mount of the Sermon, Revue de l'hist. et quest. rel. 1902, p. 235 f. were published since this article was written.

J. Mo.

SERON, the commander of the Syrian army belonging to Antiochus Epiphanes, who was defeated by Judas the Maccabee at Beth-horon 106 B.C. (1 Macc. 3: 13-24, ερωον [ANV], cp Jos. Ant. xii 71, סרונ [Pesh.], seron [Vg.]).

SERPENT. Serpents abound in Palestine, as well as in Egypt, in the Sinaitic peninsula, and in the Arabian desert (Doughty, Ar. Des. 1: 328). The OT

1. Names. writers use eleven different words for serpents of one kind or another. It is often difficult to determine which species of the order Ophidia is meant, and yet could regard the Law with equanimity, and, indeed, it was advisable to emphasise Jesus' positive approval of it to avoid misapprehensions.

The apocalyptic was not wholly destitute of a legal basis, for a right to the Messianic bliss frequently was traced back to loyalty to the Law. Not, on the other hand, did the Law entirely reject a Messianic outlook. See Ehrhardt (37) rightly, as against Baldeusperger's thesis. See further W. Mackintosh, The Natural History of the Christian Religion (1894), 133-225, and Caird's Evolution of Religion, 288 f., 137 f.

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clearness requires that we should vary our renderings and not translate all these eleven words 'serpents.'

1. שָׂרָפָה, 'ephrah (šāpā Job 20:16; dōšāder, Is. 30:6, βασιλισκος [N] ἔχιδνα, Sym. Th. 10:15), Is. 50:5 f., EV Viper, which is also the rendering of ἔχιδνα in N. The root of the Hebrew word (and its cognate in Arabic) means to utter a growling or hissing sound; the verb שָׂרָפָה occurs once in OT (Is. 42:24) in reference to the growling of one in pain. That 'ephrah as well as AV of a means the 'viper,' was shown long ago by Hieron. (Hieron., Bk. iii., chap. 21); the deadly nature of the viper's poison well suits the allusion in Job 20:16. Objection has been taken to the mention of a viper issuing from an ἔχιδνα (Is. 50:5b); but it is to be remembered (1) that vipers are in a sense oviparous, the young being hatched at the moment of birth, and (2) that such Hebrew words as 'ephrah are not like scientific terms for genera and species, and may easily be extended from the animals they properly denote to others which externally resemble them.

2. זֹחֵלֵק 'aphir, שָׂרָפָה (Dt. 32:24 f.), and זֹחֵלֵק מִן הַיָּם (Mi. 7:17 f.), 'they that glide on, or into, the earth'—a phrase which needs no comment (cp ZOBHELETH).

3. נִחְשִׁים, נָחָשׁ (many times; everywhere šāpā except Job 26:11, Amos 9:3, where δράκων), EV 'serpents'—the most general word (probably used also in Lev. 11:25, where the Greek translator has so strangely taken the wrong meaning of ראש—'head' should be 'antrum' [see GML]).

Its connection with the verb נָחַץ (Gen. 30:27 44:15 Lev. 19:17 K. 20:17 etc.), which means 'to divine by omens,' is obvious in a plural theory is that of Hoch (Hoch, 1: 4), that the verb is obtained by its meaning because of the belief, widespread in antiquity, that the serpent possessed the power of divination, and that this power could be gained through contact with serpents (as in the case of Helenus and Cassandra) or by partaking of their flesh. Against this it is urged by Robertson Smith (Proc. Phil. 11: 115) that the noun נִחְשִׁים is confined to Hebr., whilst the verb is common to all the Semitic dialects (cp Barth, E.S. 44). In any case, considering the common use of the root in Arabic and Syriac (ib. 113 f.), we cannot suppose, as has been held (e.g. by Lag. Ubers. 187), that the verb is a denominative from נִחְשִׁים and so referred primarily to whispered incantation, connected with the idea of the serpent's hiss. See LEVIATHAN, § 3: 1.

We find נִחְשִׁים combined with other terms in the phrases (a) נִחְשִׁים בְּרִיחִים, שָׂרָפָה בְּרִיחִים (šāpā bārāḥā Na. 2:16; šāpā bārāḥā, Dt. 8:15), 'fiery serpent'; see below 9; (b) n. ḥāḥāḥ, שָׂרָפָה בְּרִיחִים (Job 20:13 δράκων ἀποστράφη Is. 27:1 šāpā bārāḥā), AV 'piercing serpent,' RV 'swift serpent'; and (c) n. šāḥāḥāḥā, שָׂרָפָה בְּרִיחִים (Is. 27:1, šāpā bārāḥā), 'crooked (RV^{ms} 'winding') serpent.' Both epithets are applied to the mythical Leviathan in Is. 27:1, the reference in Job is similar. See LEVIATHAN.

4. אֲדָמָה 'adām (Ps. 140:3), † āšāpides, cp Rom. 8:11 [Aq. probably βασιλισκος]), 'adders.' This word, which in form resembles the word שָׂרָפָה, 'spider,' seems in the Mishnā to denote a kind of spider, perhaps the tarantula (Lewysohn, Zool. des Talmuds, 300 f.; Levy, NHTB, 2: 7), and was so understood by Rashī in the single instance where it occurs in the OT. But the authority of nearly all ancient versions (the Arabic renders 'vipers') and of the NT citation (Rom. 8:11) is in favour of the rendering 'adders'; and, as E. chart has shown (Hieron. 35), this rendering harmonises with its probable derivation from the root represented by Ar.

1 In Syr. the verb is used for the biting of sheep.
2 nāḥ is the Ar. term for infuscaus; but whether it is legitimate to connect this with שָׂרָפָה is doubtful. See We. H. id. (v. 147, n. 1).
3 Lag. (Mittl. 1: 230; cp Barth, E.S. 45) identifies שָׂרָפָה with Ar. ḥāḥāḥ. This seems very plausible, though ḥāḥāḥ is used for flies and worms as well as serpents (cp We. H. id. 2: 130). A shiny black serpent (Zamenis carbonaria) of Palestine often carried about in bags by dervish serpent-charmers, is called ḥāḥāḥ (P.F.F.C. 1: 39, 1824, p. 20 f.).
4 Smend (ZATW 4: 213) thinks that two different creatures (δράκων and ὄφεις) are meant. This seems unlikely.

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nahai, to 'invert' or 'turn round,' as describing the motion of a serpent.¹

5. **אָסַפּ**, *Asaph* (דָּאָסִיפּ, Dt. 32:33 [Aq. *Asa-Macos*]; Job 20:1, Ps. 58:4 [5] Is. 11:3, *Asaph* [Aq.], Syn. Th. דָּאָסִיפּ [5] Job 20:16; *Asa-Macos* [Syn. probably דָּאָסִיפּ]; Ps. 58:4 [5] 13+2), 'asp' or 'adder.' The word evidently denotes a highly poisonous snake, perhaps of the cobra kind (cp Arab. *bathin*, Forskål, *Descriptions Animatum*, 15), the particular sort intended cannot be determined. There is a ground for connecting the name (Heb. אָסַפּ) with Greek *aspas*.

6. **אָפִי**, *aphi* (Is. 11:29, † *Asphora dāsiḏaw*), AV 'cockatrice,' RV 'basilisk,' EV⁹⁸ 'adder.' From Is. 11:29 it appears that *aphi* denotes a more deadly animal than *nahai*, though itself less formidable than *asaph* (see Dillm. *ad loc.*). The Vg. renders *regulus*, and it is possible that the fabled 'basilisk' is intended; but the 'asps' brood' of the LXX seems equally likely.

7. **אָפִיחַ**, *aphiḥ* (דְּאָפִיחַ דָּאָסִיפּ, Is. 11:3; אָפִיחַ, Is. 59:5; אָפִיחַ, EV 'adder,' RV⁹⁸ 'basilisk,' Pr. 23:31; אָפִיחַ, *aphiḥ* cp no. 3] *Asaphochetes* [EV], Jer. 51:34), AV 'cockatrice,' RV 'basilisk,' EV⁹⁸ 'adder' except in Pr. 23:31 where 'adder' is in the text. Perhaps, as Tristram (III 275) and Eysn suggest, a large viper like *Daboia xanthina* (FFP 147) is intended both *aphiḥ* and the kindred *aphi*. Cp COCKATRICE.

The eggs mentioned in Is. 59:5 are an objection to this identification. Hence the cat-snake (*Ailurophis vivax*, now called *Fischophis falcata*) has been suggested by Furrer (III 162 1924), and this, it is true, may formerly have extended to 'N. Syria.' The eggs of the monitor lizard *Lacerta moutoni* (still eaten) would produce creatures fairly like vipers.

8. **אָפִיחַ**, *aphiḥ* (עֲפִיחַ, Is. 34:15), AV 'great owl,' Ar. *aphiḥ* means 'to spring,' and Ar. *aphiḥ* (= *aphiḥ*) and its fem. *aphiḥ* are both quoted (P. Smith, *Theol. Soc.* 1375. Lag. *Uebere.*, 89) as meaning a kind of serpent. The etymology would suggest some rapidly springing snake, such as *Eryx jaculus* (FFP 146); though the *aphiḥ* cannot be either this or (RV Bochart, *Gen.*, etc.) the 'arrowsnake' (דָּאָפִיחַ; cp Lucan, 6675 'Arabum volucer serpens' and 9822 'jaculum vocat Africa'), since only pythons 'hatch' (Is. *l.c.*).

The context of Is. 34:15 would be appropriate to any oviparous species; but there are no pythons now in Palestine or Babylonia nor are they known to have lived in Persia or Mesopotamia in historical times, being confined, with one exception, to the Palearctic and Australian regions (cp Houghton).

8 and most ancient interpreters confused *aphiḥ* with *aphiḥ*; but etymology and context show them to be distinct. AV's 'great owl' is not supported by etymology or ancient tradition (see Is. h. ii. 311); but there is force in the contention that a bird is suggested by the description (Houghton, *Acad.*, 1886, 1292; Post, Hastings' DIB 137).

9. **אָפִיחַ**, *aphiḥ* (Nu. 21:8), אָפִיחַ (Nu. 21:6 Dt. 8:15), and אָפִיחַ (Is. 11:29 30:6). The rendering 'fiery serpent' of EV is due to the derivation from אָפִיחַ, 'to learn' which still remains the most probable explanation of the name.

The name thus refers either to the fiery appearance of the serpent and especially of its eyes⁴ or to the inflammation caused by its venom. On the relation of the אָפִיחַ to the serpent of Is. 34:15, see below, § 3 (c).

10. **אָפִיחַ**, *aphiḥ* (עֲפִיחַ, Gen. 49:17 †), EV renders 'adder,' AV⁹⁸ 'arrowsnake,' RV⁹⁸ 'horned snake,' the *adder* (see § 2 [b]), cp Ar. *asif*.

11. **אָפִיחַ**, *aphiḥ* (Ex. 7:10 12), RV⁹⁸ 'Any large reptile'; Ps. 91:13 RV, AV 'dragon'; Deut. 32:33 (EV 'dragon'; Dr. 'reptiles'); cp DRAGON.

As we have seen, snakes are no rarity in Palestine, a

¹ For final *z* cp Ar. *thā'ālā* = *thā'āl*, 'fox'; see SHAA LABRUM.

² In Ps. 91:13 we may doubt the combination 'lion' (אָפִיחַ) and 'adder,' 'young lion' (C 22) and 'dragon.' *Q's* *עַל אֲפִיחַ* presupposes אָפִיחַ (cp 2 above), and in Job 4 to *Q's* *דְּרָקוֹנוֹתָו* (for C 22) presupposes אָפִיחַ, an otherwise unknown word for 'asp' (cp *Asif* (c), R. K. C.).

³ Here Ar. seems to render אָפִיחַ in one edition by *basiliskos*, and in another by *aspidochelone*; Sym. by *scorpius*.

⁴ An Arabian poet (Tarafa, *Muḥallā*, 83) speaks of the 'fiery head of the serpent' (cp Jacob, *Arabian Parallels*, 101; cp also *Verz. Arab.* 2216, Ardenisque oculus suffecti sanguine et igni.

SERPENT

country which, by climate, soil, and geographical position, is well adapted to sustain a largeophid fauna. Tristram

enumerates thirty-three species, of which the most venomous are: (a) The *Asa-hai*, or Egyptian Cobra, found in Southern Palestine and common in Egypt. Its habit of swelling and flattening its neck when irritated, and gliding along with its posterior two-thirds on the ground, its head and neck being erect, are well known. It usually forms part of the stock in trade of snake charmers, and it is said that the cobra is readily thrown into a rigid or mesmeric condition, which G. St. Hilaire says is induced by pressure applied to the neck. The remaining venomous snakes all belong to the family Viperidae. They are (b) *Cerastes cornutus* (*Asa-quistia*), the horned viper, which is exceptionally poisonous; it frequents the sandy deserts of South Palestine, and hides in the sand or in the hollow caused by a horse's or camel's foot (Gen. 49:17). It is an object of great terror to horses, and is thought by some to be the asp of Cleopatra. (c) *Vipera lebetina*, syns. *V. asphratia* and *Daboia xanthina*. (d) *V. ammoletes*, the bung-nosed or sand-viper, mainly nocturnal and found on hills. (e) *Echis carinatus*, syns. *E. arenicola*, found in the desert near the Dead Sea. It is said to produce a characteristic hissing or grating sound by rubbing its serrated scales together.

A. E. S.—N. M.

(a) The art of serpent-charming, still practised in Egypt, Palestine, and India, was known to the ancient Hebrews (see Ps. 58:4 f., Jer. 8:17 Eccles. 10:11 Eccl. 12:11 Ja. 3:7), who, however, like the dervish snake-charmers of to-day, found venomous serpents

deaf to incantations (cp *P.L.O.* Jan. 1894, p. 29 f.). In Ex. 7:10-12 (P) we hear of Moses and Aaron turning their rods (by the divine power) into serpents, and the Egyptian magicians (did the original story say, 'the magicians of Mism'?)—see Moses, § 61 performing the same feat. The converse of this (serpents stiffened into rods) is still common (see above on the cobra) with Eastern jugglers. J however, so far as we know, only told of Moses turning his rod into a serpent (see Ex. 4:3; its supernatural power must surely (in the oldest form of the tradition) have excluded the competition of the Egyptian sorcerers, though it is true that in the end, according to P., 'Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods.' Cp PLAGUES (TEN), § 4.

(b) Another element in Hebrew folk-lore was probably a veneration for the supernatural character of certain serpents. Of course we need not credit the Israelites with the full Arabian superstition respecting serpents. On the other hand, we can well imagine that much was popularly believed in Israel which has found no record in the OT (the names Dragon's Well, Serpent's Pool [Jos.], and Zohelah confirm us in this view; see DRAGON, § 4). Those who regard the narrative in Gen. 3 as of native Palestinian or even Jerahmeelite origin (see § 4) may therefore be excused if they look for illustrations of it in Arabian folk-lore. The most accessible sources of information are Robertson Smith's *Rel. Sem.* (see 120, 133, 168 n. 3, 172), and Wellhausen's *Reste Arab. Heid.* (2) 152 ff.

In the light of these facts it becomes very natural that the serpent in Gen. 3 (or rather the *šāḥiḥ* within it) should know the qualities of the fruit of the sacred tree. He might indeed conceivably have been regarded as the spirit of the tree, for such a spirit would become visible in serpent form. Or, until lately we might plausibly have held that he was originally thought of as the protective *šāḥiḥ* of the Havvah-elm (serpent-elm); on Wellhausen's theory as to Eve, compare EVEL, HAVVĀH, and PARADISE, § 12. The present writer now regards this theory (once so natural) as definitely set aside. Not less certainly may we affirm that the serpent of the Paradise story was neither a *šāḥiḥ* nor the Satan—i.e., neither one of the pernicious snake-demons called *šāḥiḥ* nor the Jewish-Christian Satan who is the *šāḥiḥ* *par excellence*.

¹ According to Sprenger, Goldziher, and van Vloten (in *Festschrift zum Prof. de Goeje*, 1891, p. 38 ff.) *šāḥiḥ* is an old Arabic word. This is extremely plausible, but it is possible that corrections have been introduced into old texts by Moham-

(1) The belief (implied in Nu 21⁹) in the power of a serpent of brass to check the ravages of venomous serpents can also be illustrated from Arabic sources. Kazwini (277) tells of a golden locust which guaranteed a certain town from a plague of locusts, and of two brazen ovens which checked a miriam among cattle.¹ More remote is the consideration that the serpent was the symbol of the divine power of healing, and sacred therefore to Asklepios.

(2) The belief in the special wickedness of a person who has died from a serpent's bite, ascribed to the 'Babylonian' people of Mehit in Acts 28:1-6, is well illustrated from the experience of Doughty in Arabia (*Ar. Dec.* 111 f.).

(3) On the flying seraphs of Is. 14:29, 306 much need not be said. We find them again in the dragons of Arabia mentioned in 4 Esd. 15:20, where their wings are apparently represented figuratively as chariots, and their hissing (so RV, reading *sibilatus* for *sic datus*, with Bensly) is said to be borne over the earth. They are among those fairy creatures with which folk-lore peoples desert regions where, as Asir-bâm-pal says, 'the birds of heaven fly not, and wild asses and gazelles do not feed' (*KB* 221). To this day the folk-lore of the fellahin of Palestine recognises such creatures (*PEFQ*, 1894, p. 30) — as indeed Herodotus (275), giving credence to travellers' tales, had long ago recognised them in Arabia. Delitzsch remarks (*Gen.* 3:1-6) that the 'flying seraphs' have their counterparts in the SERAPHIM, with which Wellhausen agrees (*Ar. Heid.* 153).

(4) The serpent (*nâhîl*) at the bottom of the sea mentioned by Amos (9:1), might also until lately have been explained from Arabic sources. The legendary sea-serpent or *tinnin* (= Heb. *tannin*) of the Arabs is described in such a way as to show that the waterspout is the phenomenon referred to² (*Masûdi* 126 f.; *Kazwini* 112 f.; *Duniri* 126 f.). Recent investigations, however, leave the present writer no doubt that the 'serpent' of Amos is a pale reflection of TĀMAT, the famous mythic enemy of the Light-god³ (see CREATION, DRAGONS). It need only be added here that the Babylonian TĀMAT is represented in two forms: (1) as a composite monster, with tail, horns, claws, and wings ('like the medieval devil,' Sayce),⁴ and (2) as a serpent, and that, according to Fr. Delitzsch,⁵ the serpent form considerably predominated.

As early as 1500 B.C. we find TĀMAT described in a Babylonian inscription as a 'raging serpent'⁶ — evidently the conception is similar to that of the serpent-myth which had almost faded away for a time when Amos wrote, and when unknown narrators produced the story of the brazen serpent in the wilderness as an explanation of the so-called NEPHETHIMAN (*op. cit.*).

In conclusion we have to speak briefly of certain other serpent myths, and to return to the subject of the narrative in Gen. 3. Such myths were specially abundant in Egypt and Babylonia. Among guardian serpents in Egypt may be classed the uræus (*oupaîos*, Egypt. *urîat*; asp or cobra), represented on the crowns of the gods and of the Pharaohs, which was endowed with a mysterious vitality, and was supposed to vomit flames when angry;⁷ also those which were kept in shrines in temples⁸ and were the embodiments of the median scholars. We (*Heid.* 152) compare the substitution of El and Bôsheth for Baal—a theory, which, however, seems to need some qualification.

¹ G. Jacob, *Arab. Parallelen zum AT* (1897), p. 11.

² WRS (*K'S* 176, n. 3) comparing Ps. 148:7, 'Ye dragons, and all deeps,' where 'dragons' is in the Hebrew *tanninim*. But the reference here seems rather to be to a class of animals (*Gen.* 1:21, AV 'whales,' RV better 'sea-monsters').

³ Observe that נָח, which in Ezek. 29:1 is fitly rendered 'dragon,' is used by P as a synonym for JE's נָח. Cp Ex. 7:9 to 12 (*ôphreus*) with 7:15 4:3 (*ôphre*).

⁴ Smith-Sayce, *Chaldean Genesis*, 113.

⁵ *Weltanschauungslehre*, 126.

⁶ *KB* iii. 142.

⁷ See the ode to Thothmes III. (*l. op. cit.*), Brugsch, *G. I.* 354.

⁸ *Masûdi*, *Daun of Civilization*, 265.

⁹ Cp the Hebrew seraphim. The second of the two hiero-

tutary demes, and open-air sacred serpents protective of districts,¹ besides the fairy-tale serpents which mariners professed to have seen in the Fortunate Isles.

Besides these, we hear of the sacred Sata-serpent of the world, which describes itself in these terms, 'I am the serpent of many years; I am bored and born (again) continually; I am the serpent at the utmost ends of the world; I am born and born; I renew myself, I make myself young continually; the evil serpent Apopi enough has been said elsewhere (see DRAGONS).

In Babylonia it is sufficient to mention the syncretic serpent of Ea (the god of the deep and the atmosphere), who was early connected with Babylon and the Euphrates — itself called the 'river of the snake.' This is an example of the beneficent serpent. But there was also an 'evil serpent' — the 'serpent of darkness' — and of the sea' — and it would not be unnatural if this serpent of darkness were often identified with the dragon. I am not sure.

We now return to Gen. 3. Is it sufficient to explain the part played by the serpent (*nâhîl*) from the way with hurtful creatures naturally returned to in an imaginative picture of man's early state? Surely not. In the story on which Gen. 3 is based (it is no doubt only a very pale reflection of it which we possess) the serpent must have been a mythological one. The facts of Arabian folk-lore (see § 3 b) are favourable to this view, and Jensen (*Köml.* 227) finds a suggestion of it in the Babylonian Flood story, which makes Pir-napsim give a fragment of the sacred plant called 'In old age the man becomes young' to Gilgamesh, from whom it is taken by a serpent. Here, however, the serpent (representing the jealous-minded gods) grudges the man the attainment of immortality;² the connection with the serpent of Gen. 3, suggested by Jensen, is surely as precarious as the theory of the late George Smith (*Chaldean Magic*, ed. Sayce, 88), energetically opposed by Oppert, Hübner, and Tiele, that the temptation was represented on a certain Babylonian cylinder. Indeed, though the tree of life in Gen. 2:3 (which, must be the original source tree [cp Rev. 22:2] of the Hebrew legend) is of Babylonian and not Iranian origin,³ it by no means follows that the story of the serpent tempting the woman comes from Babylonia. We have as yet no evidence that the Babylonians had a moralised Paradise-story, and it is conceivable that the writer of Gen. 2:4-3:24 (one of the later Yahwists) may have drawn from different sources. What these sources are, may now, with some confidence, be conjectured. See PARADISE, § 6.

The immediate source of the Paradise-story, including the half details about the serpent, was most probably Jerahmeelite, or the N. Arabian kinsfolk of the Israelites, a part of whom had entered Canaan before the Israelites, while a part remained in N. Arabia and in the Negeb, where they became to a large extent the religious tutors of the Israelites (see Moses, § 4). This is not doubt true that the Phoenicians (influenced, as Philo of Byblos rightly states, from Egypt) recognised the serpent as the symbol of wisdom and immortality;⁴ but this does not warrant the theory of a Phœnician or Canaanitish origin of our narrative. And if an ultimate Babylonian origin for the detail of the serpent (as a friendly adviser, not as a tempter) be thought probable, we yet need not look to the Babylonian Paradise for its germ. Ea, the god who formed and was specially interested in man, and who was also the lord of wisdom and bringer of culture to Babylonia, was imagined, not only as a fish (cp the culture-bringer Jannes⁵ in Berossus), but sometimes as a serpent.

A primitive form of culture-myth may have reached

glyphic papyri from Tanis (ed. Petrie; *Egypt. Fund.* 1890) contains a list of all the sacred titles of agathodæmon serpents in the larger Egyptian temples.

¹ See the illustration in Maspero, *Daun*, 120.

² See the tale of the shipwrecked mariner (*Maspero, Contes*, 135 ff.).

³ Brugsch, *Myth. u. Rel. der alten Aegypter*, 180, cp 106.

⁴ See Sayce, *Hibb. Lects.* 282 ff.

⁵ Maspero, *Daun of Civ.* p. 527.

⁶ E. S. Kerena, the Iranian 'tree of life,' may perhaps be ultimately of Babylonian origin.

⁷ Eus. *Præp. Ev.* 1:10:20 (on the serpent called Agathodæmon); τοῦ γίνω τοῦ προμαρτυρωμένου πάντως τῶν ἐπιπέσειν ἐστὶν ἡ φιλία τῶν φιδῶν.

⁸ The name Jannes probably conceals the name Ea (cp Tiele).

SERPENT, BRAZEN

N. Arabia in which this divine serpent brought the knowledge of useful arts, and out of this crude material Hebrew moralists may have constructed the episode of the serpent in Gen. 3. It was natural that the serpent (that) should become a Lind-snake, and that its poisonous character should disappear.

At any rate, the serpent is not to be identified with the poisonous serpent called by the Indians An-Dahaka, which spring like a snake out of the sky down to the earth to blight (Muhamaizla's) creation, 'nor of course with the serpent Ahir, Vritra, which is a pure nature-god of the ancient Aiyas of India. We must not therefore illustrate the saying in Gen. 3:15 by the temptation of Krishna in the Bhagavata Purana, which winds up with the overthrow of the great serpent, or by the slaying of An-Dahaka by Keresaspas. It is a similar fiction of the sense which identifies the shrewd and cunning serpent of Gen. 3 with the Babylonian dragon of chaos, overcome by the light-god, but allowed to work him for a time in the latter days (Rev. 12:9; cp. thevax). The curse pronounced upon the serpent in Gen. 3:14 is of course quite separate from the main story. When the divine or semi-divine serpent of the myth had suffered partial degradation, it was natural to connect the action by which (undesignedly) it had snared the first men with a new etiological myth to account for the physical peculiarities of ordinary serpents and the traceless war between serpents and men. In doing so, however, the narrator clearly implies that originally the serpent had been erect; this was a survival from the time when it was thought to be divine.

What then was the serpent's offence? It consisted not in ill-will to God's noblest creature, man, but in exciting intellectual pride - i.e., in aspiring to the possession of divine wisdom and of that eternal life which goes together with the highest wisdom. It is this pride which is abased in the serpent. Man on his part is to keep up the war against temptation to pride as vigorously as he prosecutes his war against the serpent, now become his deadly foe. Such was the moral meaning of the serpent-story suggested by the original narrator. The unfortunate corruption of the text indicated and perhaps not implausibly healed elsewhere (PARADISE, § 111) is responsible for the jungle growth of inconsistent interpolations which has gathered round the truly simple story of Gen. 3:1-24.

On the symbolism of the serpent, see Bandissin, Stud. Sem. Soc. 127-227; on Serpent-clans, WRS J. Phil. 990f.; and on (CANA) HBY 91, 114, and NEHUSHTAN. See also Toy, Analysis of Gen. 2, 3, JBL, 1891, pp. 1 ff.; the OT Theologies (Schultz and Schemel), and PARADISE, §§ 11, 13. On the animal history consult O. Fumher, Die Reptilien u. Amphibien in Syrien, Pal. u. Agypten, 1880.

§ 1 f. N. M. - A. E. S.; § 3 f. T. K. C.

SERPENT, BRAZEN. See NEHUSHTAN.

SERPENT, THE OLD. For Rev. 12:9 see APOCALYPSE, § 41; SATAN, §§ 6 (9) 7.

SERUG (סֵרֻג; סֵרֻגָּא [BAEL]. -ר [I. in Ch.]; -k 3-a סֵרֻגָּא [Ti. WH], AV SARUG) b. Reu, in P's genealogy connecting Shem and Abraham (Gen. 11:22-11b, 126), is the well-known district and city

1 See Pahlavi Texts (SBE), 117, and cp. Zend-Avesta, 2:1. An Dahaka is said to have been bound to Mt. Damāvend, where he is to stay till the end of the world, when he will be let loose, and then killed by Keresāspa. Cp. Rev. 20.

2 Zahn (1876, 2:200) connects the mention of the serpent as the symbol of the evil one (Rev. 12:9 20:2; cp. 2 Cor. 11) with the reference to Pergamum in Rev. 2:12-17. The serpent was the symbol of Aklēpios, the god of healing, who was specially worshipped at Pergamum, and whose commonest epithet was σέρπας (θεός σέρπας, and σωτηρ τῶν ὄλων). To the Christians he might appear a diabolical caricature of the true σωτηρ τοῦ κόσμου.

3 Del. Weltchöpfungsgesch., 128.

4 Eating dust (cp. Mic. 7:17) need not be taken literally. It may be a conventional expression for the deepest humiliation as in Am. Tab. 1, 42:35. 'May our enemies see it and eat dust' (WE. AOE 1271). The gloss in Is. 65:25 (see SBOF, 'Isa.') seems to misunderstand the passage in Gen. 3. Dust is also said to be the food of the shades (Descent of Ishtar, obv. 1:8); this too may be a hyperbole.

SERVANT OF THE LORD

SARUG, between Hoz. 17 on the Tigrates, N. of Carchemish, and the two cities just N.E. (Erla, 2:2, Edessa), and S.E. (Harran) from it, both on the river Balih (cp. Di. Gen. 1, loc. cit.), and Tell i. Glaser and Hommel (AHT 209f) connect the name with the Aram. district Birta (birtosa) ኩርዳስ (cp. AHT 211 f.). E. N.

SERVANT. The words are -

1. סֵרֻג, 'šōd (סַיִס, פַּאדַרְמִון, סַאָטַס, תְּהַרְפָּוֹן, דֹּאֵלוֹס); (a) slave, Gen. 12:15 30:17 Ex. 21:2, etc.; (b) with reference to a king, a royal official, Gen. 40:20 2 S. 10:24; or even a common soldier, 2 S. 21:2 ff. 2:22 2:7.

2. סֵרֻב, 'šōb (מַסְבֻּחִים, מַסְבֻּחִים) 'Israel servant', Ex. 12:15 1k. 17:17 19; 'hiredling', Job 7:12, 14. Mal. 3:5 Eccl. 7:20, Job. 10:12 f.

3. סֵרֻב, סֵרֻב (סַיִס, פַּאדַרְמִון, תְּהַרְפָּוֹן, דֹּאֵלוֹס), properly 'boy', 'hol'; hence 'attendant', 'retainer' (BHD); see Nu. 22:22 2 S. 20:5 2 S. 21:4, etc.

4. סֵרֻב, סֵרֻב (אֲשֵׁר־עָרְוֹת, דִּיאָוֹס, תְּהַרְפָּוֹן), better rendered 'minister', 2 S. 13:17 f. 2 K. 14; also Job 19 2:17 (of the priest).

5. סֵרֻב [Aram.] (אֲשֵׁר־עָרְוֹת), Eccl. 7:24.

EV weakens the sense of סֵרֻב and דֹּאֵלוֹס by constantly rendering 'servant.' Only six times is the word 'slave' found in EV. In four passages it renders דֹּאֵלוֹס, viz., Judith 5:14 1:1 1 Mac. 3:4. In Jer. 24 'home-born slave' is given for סֵרֻב דֹּאֵלוֹס, and in Rev. 18:11 'slaves for σώματα.

The use of סַיִס and פַּאדַרְמִון for סֵרֻב hardly needs comment; it is a natural extension of the meaning of terms which are more strictly equivalent to סֵרֻב. In Mt. 8:9 we find דֹּאֵלוֹס, but in Mt. 6:8 13 סַיִס, s. above in 1k 7:7, cp. 7:7. Of special interest are Acts 1:29 because AV there renders סַיִס by 'child,' in spite of the undoubted reference to passages in H. Isaiah where the 'Servant of the Lord' is spoken of in סֵרֻב by the title סַיִס, corresponding to סֵרֻב. RV correctly substitutes 'Servant'; the phrase is 'thy holy Servant Jesus.' See SERVANT OF THE LORD. It is also noteworthy that where 'Servant' (סֵרֻב) is used to express the special relation of Moses (Ex. 11:4 Nu. 12:7 f.) and of Job (Job 1:8 [A; but B8 סַיִס] 2:1) to the true God, סֵרֻב renders by תְּהַרְפָּוֹן—a more honorific term than דֹּאֵלוֹס. Nevertheless, in a similar case the translator of Isaiah, as we have seen, adopts a different course. Note also that Joshua, the סֵרֻב (Ex. 24:13, EV 'minister') of Moses, is called in סֵרֻב דֹּאֵלוֹס תְּהַרְפָּוֹן אִי־עָוֹן. On דִּיאָוֹס and אֲשֵׁר־עָרְוֹת see DEACON, MINISTER.

SERVANT OF THE LORD

Use of title (§ 1). State of text (§ 5).
In Jer., Ezek., H. Isa. (§ 2 f.). Jeremiahite theory (§ 6).
In Is. 42:49 50:53 (§ 4). Literature (§ 7).

The phrase 'servant (servants) of Yahwe' (or 'of God') is applied to various persons and groups of persons.

It is applied to Abraham (Dt. 9:27 Ps. 105:42); to Isaac and Jacob (Dt. 9:27); to Moses (Dt. 34:5 Josh. 1:1 Ch. 6:40 2 Ch. 34:9 Neh. 10:29 Dan. 9:11); to Joshua (Josh. 24:29

1. Use of title. Judg. 2:6); to David (Ps. 48 and 36; titles); to the prophets (Jer. 7:25 25:4 etc.); to Isaiah (Is. 20:3); to Job (Job 1:8 2:12), and even to Nehemiah (Jer. 12:9) 27:6 43:10); of the usage in passages of Ezekiel and Is. 40:55 and in cognate passages of Jeremiah we shall speak presently (§ 2).

That the phrase is honorific and not disparaging, is obvious. Precisely so, Mithraism in the Koran (Sur. 2:31) is called 'our (God's) servant'; plainly the highest honour is thereby supposed to be conferred upon him. There is, however, a lower degree of this honourable estate. A 'servant' of God is primarily a worshipper of God. By sacrifice, members of the clan or the people were brought into the family of the protecting

1 [Upon the theory (see Crit. R.) that the geography of the Hebrew documents was to a large extent misunderstood and misstated by the redactors, 'Serug' will represent a clan or place of residence, not in the N., but in the far S. Just as by transposition אֲשֵׁר־עָרְוֹת seems to have become Heres (and, in MT of Is. 19:18, Heres), so 'Geshur' (the southern 'Geshur') may have become 'Serug.'—T. K. C.]

SERVANT OF THE LORD

God, and a relation was established which might almost equally well be called that of servants¹ and of sons (cp 2 K. 16; Mt. 3:17, and note, with Mozley, the sense of ownership which pervades Abraham's conduct to Isaac in Gen. 22). To be advanced to a higher degree of service, a worshipper of Yahwe must receive from him some special mission. This could also be the lot of a whole people. A time was doubtless coming when all mankind would become the worshipping servants of the true God; but there would still be one people which was Yahwe's servant by election for a special object (cp Is. 49:1-6), viz. Israel. In the olden time, the people of Israel was God's servant only through its highest representatives—patriarchs (typically), prophets, and the idealised David. But in the post-exilic age the modest portions of the people assimilated more and more the elevating idea that Israel itself was in the highest sense Yahwe's servant. See ISAAH n., § 18; ep MESSIAH, §§ 3 ff.

None of the passages containing the phrase *'Ebed Yahwe* (Servant of Yahwe) presents any special difficulty except Jer. [25:1] 27-43, and

2. Jer. 27-43, some of those in Is. 40-55. These passages we have now to consider. (a) As to those in Jer. relative to Nebuchadnezzar (the phrase in 27:1 has been interpolated),² there is of course nothing peculiar in the idea that the movements of the great conquerors known to the Israelites were fore-ordained by Yahwe (cp Is. 10:5 ff. 15:37-38). There is, however, some strangeness in Nebuchadnezzar's being called by Yahwe 'my servant,' considering that whatever else the phrase 'Yahwe's servant' may mean in any special case, it means everywhere, except apparently in these passages of Jer., Yahwe's worshipper. It is possible for moderns to find good points in Nebuchadnezzar;³ but there is no evidence that the Israelites were ever tempted to do so, and in particular that they ever looked forward (cp Is. 15:16) to Nebuchadnezzar's becoming a convinced worshipper of Yahwe; indeed, the narratives of Daniel and of Judith appear to make this king a symbol of the opponent of the God of the Jews, Antiochus Epiphanes. Besides this, it is probable that when Jer. 27 (in its present form) and 41 were written, the title 'my servant' was already a standing appendage to 'Israel' (cp Jer. 40:1-46:27 ff.). Are we prepared to reconcile the double assignment of this title to Nebuchadnezzar and to Israel by the assumption of Duhm that the title 'my servant' was conferred, according to Hebrew thinkers, on Nebuchadnezzar for the period during which Israel's claim to be Yahwe's earthly representative was in abeyance? There surely ought to be some more satisfying theory than this.⁴

(b) As regards the passages, Ezek. 28:25-37:25⁵ Jer. 30:10-16:27 Is. 41:8-42:19 ff. 43:10-14 ff. 44:1-45:4 48:20, there is no doubt that the title 'my servant' is here applied to the people of Israel (Is. 41:8-14:21) or—the synonymous term—Jacob (Ezek. Jer. Is. 44:1 ff. 45:4-48:20). It is also plain from the passages in Is. 40-55 that the title suggested this idea that Israel was not only devoted to the worship of Yahwe, but also 'chosen' by God to receive certain unique marks of favour (cp Jer. 18:43:20-45:4⁶ 'called,' 'formed,' 'made' are also used), beginning with the deliverance from Egypt and the journey under divine guidance into Canaan and closing with the

¹ On the use of *'Ebed* or *'Ebed* in Hebrew, and *'Abd* in Arabic in the formation of proper names, cp NAMES, § 17; *W. Heid.* 2 ff.

² See Gesebrecht's commentary.

³ See Rogers, *Babylonia and Assyria*, 2:352 ff.; *Ch. O.P.* 296.

⁴ See *Crit. Bib.* on Jer. 27:6.

⁵ In the same passage occurs the phrase 'my servant David' (i.e., the first of a new line of Davidic rulers, as 34:23).

⁶ So in Gen. 15:22-27:72 is a synonym for '722'. Cp Sellin, *Studien zur bibl. arch. u. d. vol. Geschichte* 1:15.

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deliverance from Babylon (?) and the wonderful events which were to follow. Did the title also suggest the idea of a mission entrusted to Israel? It is true that in 41:1-6 Israel is described as a conqueror; that in 41:17 it is promised that Yahwe's spirit (*ruah*) shall be poured out upon Israel's offspring, and that even foreigners shall aspire to become adopted members of Israel, all that in 43:10 ff. the servants of Yahwe whom he has chosen (read 772) are called upon to act as witnesses of the prophetic veracity of their God. But these statements can only be said to contain germs which may develop into the idea of Israel's mission; upon the whole the Israel of these passages (and of the cognate ones in Ezek. and Jer.) has to manifest Yahwe's glory (cp Is. 43:7) rather by being than by doing, and to receive God's blessing for itself rather than to make them fruitful for other peoples, though certainly the passages, 41:1-6 *Plus* ff. and 43:1-5, if read in the light of other passages, seem to suggest that a second stage in Israel's renewed life may be preparing, characterised by earnest activity and the exercise of moral influence.

Israel, then, as it passes out of the furnace of captivity, receives honourable titles from its God. We must not, however, exaggerate the merits of the heroes of these high titles. Israel is highly favoured; but the description of Israel in Is. 40-55 is by no means altogether idealistic. First, as regards the past, it will be necessary to leave out of account the strong statement in 42:24b.

'Was it not Yahwe—he against whom we sinned, And in whose ways they would not walk, And to whose law they were not obedient,'

and also the stern, damning clauses of chap. 18, inasmuch as all these are certainly later interpolations, and are therefore only interesting for the history of the expansion of the prophetic writing. But we may and must refer to 40:2-42:22 ff. 43:23-28 47:6 50:1-51:2, as implying grievous failures on the part of Israel. In fact, the prophet of consolation could only carry out his object by making the calamities of Israel intelligible, i.e., by reminding Israel of its earlier infidelity towards its righteous God.

Not is this description idealistic as regards the present. According to the Second Isaiah, its weakness of faith that is Israel's chief fault, and since faith is the strict-est out hand which receives God's blessings, it is necessary for the heralds of deliverance to arouse men out of the torpor of despondency by rebuking their distrust of God. To Israel at large 'it seemed as if Yahwe's recent action had been ambass, as if he had begun by spending great pains on the education of Israel, and then forgotten Israel's right to protection (40:1-49:1 63:11-14), and as if the source either of Yahwe's compassion or of his heroic deeds had been dried up—'that he tamely "gave his glory to another god" (42:48:11 63:15).'¹ Kindly and persuasive instructions were therefore essential to prepare the exiled Israelites for their high destiny. Idealism was permissible in promises of future salvation, but not in descriptions of the state of Yahwe's people either in the past or in the present.

It may be doubted, however, whether such kindly persuasiveness would have been consistent with calling the whole body of exiled Israelites 'blind' and 'deaf.' The commentators seem here to have fallen into error. They tell us that the words (42:18-20, RV),

'Hear, ye deaf; and look, ye blind, that ye may see. Who is blind, but my servant? or deaf, as my messenger that I send, who is blind as he that is at peace with me, and blind as the Lord's servant? Thus seest many things, but thou seest not; his ears are open, but he heareth not.'

refer to the Israelites, whom Yahwe reproaches for the spiritual insensibility (chap. 29:18). And this is supposed to be confirmed by 43:8, where we read (EV),—

'Bring forth the blind people that have eyes, and the deaf that have ears,—'

¹ *Int. Is.* 243.

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a difficult passage certainly, as the differences of the commentators show. It must be remarked, however, that in 42:6 the Israelites are called 'blind' in quite another sense; what is meant there is simply (to use Skinner's words) that the travellers cannot see their path. It is surely not very likely that the Second Isaiah would have applied the same epithet to the same people in two different senses within a few lines.

It has been lately pointed out (*SBLP* 'Isa.' [Heb.] 1317) that 42:6 forms, properly speaking, no part of the discourse, but is a gloss. On the words 'deal' and 'blind' in 7: 13. But the text still appears to require some criticism in the light of fresh researches into the history of the Exile. Very probably the gloss or glosses already recognised should run thus:—

Who is blind but the Arabian, and deaf as the Jerahmeelite? Who is blind but the Ishmaelite, and deaf as the Arabian?

These glosses are not merely an attempt to save the credit of the Israelites; they involve a correct interpretation of 7: 18. The persons addressed are most probably the N. Arabian captors and oppressors of the Israelites (cp. *PROPH.* 1, § 27) together with those false Jews who had gone over to their side, and the prophetic writer bids them learn the right lesson from the history of Israel—viz., that those who disobey Yahweh's law one of the chief parts of which was a prohibition of idolatry—(cp. 7: 17) are on a way to ruin. As for 43:3, a comparison of Ps. 115 f. 133:16 f. suggests that the 'blind people that have eyes,' etc., is an ironical description of the idols of Israel's oppressors, which the speaker commands to be brought up to the tribunal in order that their claims may be considered (cp. 41:21). The peoples referred to in 43:3 are probably (as in the former case, and in 41:21) those of N. Arabia. But we will not omit to warn the reader that these criticisms form part of a connected radical revision of the text which is here made use of under the pressure of grave exegetical difficulty.

It is only necessary to add that the strange word עֲבָדָיו (*ebadim*), rendered variously in RV 'he that is at peace [with me]', 'made perfect', and 're-compensed,' occurs as a proper name in 2 K. 22:3 and elsewhere, and has already been recognised as a distortion of the Hebrew ethnic meaning 'Ishmaelite' (see MICHIELE).

(1) We now turn to another group of passages (Is. 42:1-4, 49:1-6, 50:4-9, 52:13-53:12) in which, according to some critics, the interpretation of the phrase 'Servant of Yahweh' as a title of Israel is inapplicable, or, if applicable at all, only in a restricted sense with reference to the true Israel. These critics are of opinion that the characteristics of the personage called the Servant in these passages differ in some important respects from those of the Servant (*i.e.*, Israel) spoken of in the passages already considered. Some of them go so far as to hold that the Servant of Yahweh being sometimes apparently distinguished from Israel, and sometimes, especially in 52:13, 53:12, being described as only an individual could be, we have to look into history for some great religions hero who might conceivably be intended in these striking descriptions. Sellin,¹ Winkler,² and Kautzsch³ have selected Zerubbabel; but Sellin has himself abandoned Zerubbabel, and substituted the exiled king Jehoiachin up to Kollmann, *The General. d. Jehoiachin*, whilst Bertholet⁴ explains 53:1-12 with reference to the martyred scribe Eleazar (2 Macc. 6:18-21). Duhm, however (*Is.* 377; ² 367), holds that the problem which engages the critics is insoluble, and that Jewish history (so far as it exists) knows nothing of such an individual.

4. The four great Servant-passages: Duhm or Budde?

¹ *Zerubbabel* (1893). See ZERUBBABEL.
² *Is. 42*.
³ *Die Prophetie des A.T.* (1890) 2, 'Jesaja 53 und der leidende Messias im A.T.'
⁴ *In Israel* 1: 'ein Erklärungswort' (1890). Bertholet's theory is that the passage 52:13-53:12 is made up of two small poems of different origin, (a) 52:13-15, 53:11-12, in which the typical sufferer of the Torah is glorified, and (b) 53:1-10, which refers to Eleazar.

But, he adds, this is much less surprising than that it tells us nothing of an Amos, an Hosea, or a Micah, and that we do not know the name of the Second Isaiah. His own view is that the hero of the group of passages referred to was a teacher of the Torah, who lived probably (not certainly) between the Exile and the arrival of Ezra at Jerusalem, and devoted himself to true pastoral work among his people, but was seized by a terrible sickness, and after death shared the ignominious burial of criminals.¹

It may be noted in passing that, according to HAN EZRA, Saadia interpreted the whole section 52:13-53:12 of Jeremiah, a hypothesis which HAN EZRA finds attractive (Driver and Neubauer, *The Fifty-third Chapter of Isaiah*, 'Translations,' 43), while not a few moderns suppose that the colouring, at least, was derived from the idealised life of Jeremiah. Also that Kautzschmar thinks that Ezekiel may be the historic model of the suffering and glorified servant, referring to Ezek. 4, where Ezekiel, by divine command, bears the guilt of his sinful people, and suffers grievously in consequence (*Der hebraische Text des Knecht*, 1896). The present writer has supposed that the last of the passages in question was largely modelled on the Book of Job (*Hebrew Bible*, 1896, p. 110).

It will be clear that, from the point of view represented above, the passages in question differ in essential respects from the other passages of Is. 40-55 relative to the 'Servant of Yahweh.' If this is a fact, it is alike important for the criticism and exegesis of II. Isaiah and for the history of religion. Of late, however, there have been signs of a growing reaction against Duhm, whose theory had at first won considerable favour. Elsewhere (ISATAH [Book], § 18, col. 2203), a view has been taken akin to that of this able critic, but fairness requires us now to take account of an earnest protest (*Memorials-relatum*) raised by Budde² against Duhm's theory—a protest with which Marti in his commentary, Gesebacht (*Der Knecht Jahwe*), and König (*The Exile's Book of Consolation*) more or less completely agree. It will then be our duty to enquire whether there is any way of approaching the subject which will enable us to remove some of the chief causes of perplexity in earlier investigations.

1. Is. 42:1-4. The Servant is here entrusted with a mission to the heathen world. The method which he employs (so Duhm expands 7: 2) is radically different from that of the prophets; he is even unlike the Second Isaiah in his avoidance of loud, emphatic, exciting declarations. His task is simply to expound the Law of Yahweh to all who seek it, whether Jews or heathen, in the school or the private chamber, at Jerusalem, especially to those who are bowed by trouble. He is destined to become a recognised international authority, and as such his highest aim will be the establishment of the true religion on the whole earth. Duhm thinks that in order to be just to this description we must suppose the poet to refer to an individual, the greatest and most influential of the teachers of the Torah. With this result, Sellin (though he differs from Duhm in important details) agrees, in so far as the reference to an individual is concerned. Budde, however, protests: 'We ask in vain how such things could be stated of an individual; Is. 42:1-4 alone is sufficient evidence of the existence of the conception that Israel has a mission of instruction to the heathen.' Budde thinks, too, that the following verses (42:5-7) confirm this interpretation.

For, however we explain the difficult עַבְדֵי יְהוָה ('servants of the people') in 42:5, it is plain that it can only apply to the people not to an individual, and in spite of Duhm's few will

¹ *Das Buch Jesaja*, 'Einf.' xviii.

² Seineske, *Der Evangelist des A.T.* (1875), and Hoekstra, *Th. T.* 1871, pp. 156, invert the relation. Cp. Kuenen, *Th. T.* 1871, pp. 402-542; Davidson, *Book of Job* (1874), introd. pp. lxxi-lxx; Che. *Proph. Is.* (1884), pp. 265-267.

³ The so-called 'Ebed Yahweh Songs,' and the Meaning of the Term 'Servant of Yahweh' in Isaiah, *Chaps.* 40-55, *Amer. J. of Theol.* 1890, pp. 400-545. (Also published in a German form, whence the phrase is quoted above.)

⁴ See Billm. *Kl. N.B.T.* (Heb. 203 (46)), and Marti, *ad loc.*

⁵ Duhm's explanation of עַבְדֵי יְהוָה in 42:5, 'a pattern of the other states,' has not found supporters. (During the correction of

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doubt that the phrase in the parallel line, אֲנִי נֹרָא, 'a light of the nations,' also refers to the Jewish people as a teacher, as in 46:14. It should be observed that 45:7 and 51:4 are, on Duhm's own showing, the work of the Second Isaiah. How, then, can it be said that there are in Is. 40-55 two inconsistent views of the Servant, which must have come from different writers, one much deeper religiously than the other? Such is Budde's argument.

2. Is. 49:1-6. The Servant of Israel summons the distant peoples to hear something in which they are specially concerned. From his very birth he has been singled out and endowed with a sharp, incisive speech, such as befits the expounder of Yahwe's word (cp Jer. 23:20). Till the right moment for his appearance shall come, he has been carefully hidden from the world that he may ripen in seclusion. Such was the honour put upon him; such the strength which was at his disposal as Yahwe's Servant. But his recent experience has been so sad that he has seemed to himself to have lived in vain and to be near his end. But whenever these thoughts have plagued him,¹ tokens have come to him from above that his God both justifies and is rewarding him. And now a fresh revelation visits him. The God who had originally given him a mission to Israel alone, now extends that mission to the Gentile world. It is Yahwe's purpose, not only to restore Israel as a people, but also to save or deliver the other peoples through the Servant's instrumentality. The restoration of the twelve Tribes will be the work of Yahwe, but not a purely miraculous work (as the Second Isaiah² thought), and the Servant of Yahwe can co-operate with him by persuading as many Jews as possible to migrate to the Holy Land. And the illumination or instruction of the 'peoples' devolves upon the Servant. They are to be saved from destruction by becoming converted to the true religion—that of Yahwe. This is the highest function of the Servant (note the significant עָבַד), and it is entirely his—except, of course, that Yahwe himself has trained and equipped his servant for his noble work.

There are two points in Duhm's 'extended discussion' of this passage to which Budde takes special exception: (1) the omission of 'Israel' in 7:3 as an interpolation,³ and (2) the explanation of עָבַד (7:5) as meaning a spiritual bringing-luck of the Israelites to God by instruction, exhortation, consolation. On the first point, Budde remarks that 'the Servant is here addressing the heathen (7:12), to whom he is under obligation to state his name, as would not be the case were he an Israelite, addressing his own people'; עָבַד is therefore simply the second predicate of אָנֹכִי.⁴ On the second, he points out that in Ezek. 39:27 Jer. 50:19 עָבַד means the physical restoration of Israel from exile, precisely as עָבַד. He also emphasises the fact that the active and the passive conceptions of the Servant are combined in this monologue of the Servant, just as they are in the undisputed work of II. Isaiah. It is a mistake to say that the Servant in II. Isaiah plays only a passive, and in the 'Songs of the Servant' only an active part. 49:4 f. shows that the Servant in the 'Songs' was not and could not be free from a 'wise passiveness'; he had to wait for Yahwe to recompense him, and his restoration to his home was to be Yahwe's work. And not less clear is it from 49:7 f., where Yahwe informs the Servant (i.e., unquestionably, Israel) of the honour which he shall receive as the result of his successful mission to the nations.

th; proofs appeared. Duhm's second edition, in which he comes over to the more natural view, that the phrase means 'a teacher of the nations.' The parallel phrase, he thinks, is עָבַד עַל-יְהוָה, 'a redemption of the (Jewish) people.' See, however, § 5 (1).

¹ According to Duhm, 7:44 is the protasis to 7:45. Most, however, e.g., Budde, suppose the meaning to be that the Servant had been attacked by despondency, which he overcame by calling to mind the faithfulness of Yahwe (cp 40:106).

² Duhm quotes Is. 43:5 f. 49:22.

³ Marti also retains the word.

⁴ Budde not only keeps עָבַד here, but inserts עָבַד and עָבַד in 42:1 from 5:33).

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3. Is. 50:4-9. The Servant (whose title, however, is not expressly mentioned) describes the persecution which he has suffered, and his sure confidence that Yahwe will soon appear to put down his enemies. In the passage to this monologue he represents himself as one who expounds Yahwe's word (i.e., the Torah?) to the weary, in accordance with the revelations which come to him afresh every morning. The collectivistic interpretation appears to Duhm plainly impossible.

To this Budde answers that what the Servant says of himself in 50:7-9 agrees with what Yahwe utters in 51:7 f. as an encouragement to the people, while, he might have added, the language of 7:6a resembles that in 51:23 Is. 129:3. And even if the monologue of the Servant makes no mention of a mission to the heathen, who are, indeed, so far as they are enemies of Israel, to be destroyed, yet the experiences described in 50:4 f. are just those which would be necessary for mission work among the heathen. The passage is, therefore, not inconsistent with the other passages, and Ley and Löwe do wrong to omit it from the series of passages.

4. Is. 52:13, 53:12. Wondrous is the contrast between the Servant's future exaltation and his past humiliation. See the kings paying reverence to him whose distorted visage once struck all observers with horror! But who can believe¹ the marvels revealed to us? Only those who can see the invisible operation of God in history (53:1). Mean were the circumstances in which the Servant grew up, nor had his person any external attractions. For society apart from his daily vocation he cared not (cp Jer. 15:17); he was despised and, as it would seem, in the latter part of his life afflicted with sickness and with pain. It was the punishment for sin, and the sufferer not only knew it but inwardly gave full assent and consent to it. He himself was innocent; no sins of speech or of act could justly be imputed to him. But his fellow-Jews (including the poet) assumed that such sins he must have committed, for was not sickness the punishment of sin? And this man's affliction was nothing less than leprosy (7:50 is metaphorical); how great, then, must his sin have been! But the strange truth was that for high reasons the punishment deserved by the Jews in general was diverted to this willing substitute. Before this, afflictions may have fallen on those guilty ones; but they had no moral effect. The time came, however, when the eyes of men's understandings were opened to the meaning of the sufferings of the innocent one, and so 'by his stripes we were healed.' But while the sad spectacle was before them, the poet and his companions confess that they lived purely selfish lives, like wandering sheep. The sufferer, too, was like a sheep, but in another sense—he bore his lot without a murmur, even though by the manifest judgment of God he was cut off. His dishonoured body was laid apart with the wicked and the deceivers,² but he himself was graciously released—'taken' by God to some unknown place of sojourn. For very different in this case were God's thoughts from those of man. For the servant himself, whose sufferings were a purification. He was to come back to the world, to reach a good old age (cp Job 42:10-17), and see his children prolonging their days. Having had his innocence recognised, he should live in the light of joy and prosperity.³ As a reward for his atoning work he should 'inherit among the great, and divide spoil with the strong'—a proverbial phrase meaning 'he shall hold intercourse as an equal with the mighty ones of the earth.'

¹ אֲנִי מִי? Duhm, 'who can believe?' The imperfect was impossible; it would have denied that anyone would believe Marti, more plausibly, 'Who would have believed cp עָבַד יְהוָה, Gen. 21:7). See also Giesebrecht, *Beiträge zur Jesu-Kritik* (1890), p. 159, and cp Dr. Tennessen, *ib.* 10.

² Duhm reads the Aramaic עָבַד for the difficult עָבַד.

³ Duhm's radical corrections are partly based on ὁ καθαριστὸς βολεται καθαρῶς αὐτὸν and δεῖται καθαρῶς.

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To this exegesis Budde objects that it covers over the variety of expressions in the picture of the Servant's sufferings. As in the case of certain psalms, this variety seems rather to point to a metaphorical description of the distress of the nation in exile or post-exilic times. Still more conclusive is the statement in 27: 8 ff. of the death and revivification of the Servant. Such statements are common in the later literature, beginning with Ezek 37. On the other hand, if we try to make the description fit the case of an individual, we shall find ourselves hopelessly baffled. Who, for instance, are the long-lived descendants (27) whom the revivified martyr, himself very old, is to see? Are they literal or spiritual children? Both solutions have insuperable difficulties. Surely the children are those of the nation personified. It is true, the atoning character ascribed to the sufferings of the martyr seems to most to imply that the martyr is to be distinguished from the mass of the Jewish people. Budde, however, affirms this to be impossible. With Hitzig,² Giesebrecht³ (especially), Wellhausen, König,² Marti, and [in 1899, but not in 1893] Smend, he takes up the tradition of rabbis such as Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Kimhi, that the confession in chap. 53 is uttered by the 'nations' referred to in 52:15; the martyr, therefore, both can and must be the people of Israel. One important part of his argument may be quoted here; he is meeting Dillmann's objection to Giesebrecht's view that II. Isaiah always makes the sin of Israel the cause of its sufferings (42:24 f. 43:27 f. 47:6 50:1; cp 42:13 49:25 f. 51:23, etc.).

Whatever justifying grounds Yahwé may have had for the chastisement of Israel, as respects the heathen, who are here the speakers, not these grounds, but Yahwé's purpose, comes into consideration. Though Israel may have sinned, yet in the conscience of the heathen the only worshipper of the true God appears as the only innocent one. But, further than that, it is a well-known fact that, compared with other prophets, II. Isaiah has very little stress upon Israel's trespass, that the tone of sympathy predominates throughout and strongly. Nor does he fail to state expressly that Israel has suffered more punishment than its sins have deserved. He begins his entire book with the statement (40:2) that his people, that Jerusalem, has received a double retribution for its sins. This is not, as Duhm thinks,⁴ an allusion to Jer. 16:18, where a doubling of the punishment is announced, only, however, for renewed offences. On the contrary, II. Isaiah distinctly says that half of the punishment is undeserved, and on the basis of general prophetic premises we have a right to ask what may have been the occasion of this second undeserved portion; and when we find the figure of Yahwé's Servant already introduced in 41:9, and his mission—that of carrying the true religion to the heathen—stated in 42:1, we cannot avoid the conclusion that even here the prophet already has reference to the suffering which was indispensable to the fulfilment of that mission. The problem of theodicy is for the entire century the really vital one. The people solve it, not without a feeling of bitterness, by applying the doctrine of suffering for the sins of the fathers—*et cetera*, for the sins of Manasseh (Ezek. 18:2 etc.)—while Ezekiel tries to solve it by enormously exaggerating his accusations in an endeavour to balance guilt and punishment. II. Isaiah alone finds a really satisfying solution by associating with the cause of the punishment its purpose, and we can understand all the more readily that this solution was beyond the comprehension of the masses of the people, as well as of most of its leading spirits, because his hopes and predictions were not realised. The glorious restoration of his people did not come to pass, neither were its sufferings or its teachings able to lead the heathen to Yahwé.⁵

It is a part of Budde's theory that the 'we' in chap. 53 is not a collection of individual men but of individual nations. This, according to him, makes the marked individualisation of the people of Israel more intelligible; the same individualisation of peoples underlies the 'we.' It is no doubt at first sight fatal to his theory that in 53:3 we find the phrase *וְעַמְּךָ*, 'for the rebellion of my people' (which Kimhi has to explain as referring to

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each of the nations which will unite in this confession); but Budde has a remedy—he cleverly emends the text.¹ It may be added that he also emends the text of 52:13, where for *וְעַמְּךָ* he proposes to read *וְעַמְּךָ*,² 'behold, Israel my servant.'

According to Budde, then, there are points of contact between 52:13-53:12 and the undisputed II. Isaiah which forbid the assertion that two different views of the Servant are represented in these two writings, and the individualistic interpretation of the Servant is hardly more tenable in chap. 53 than in other parts of the prophecy.

See also Giesebrecht, *Beiträge zur Jesaïakritik* (1899), 146 ff.; a 'fundamental work' (Budde), and his *Der Knecht Jahwés*; König, *The Exiles' Book of Consolation* (1899), 54-56 etc.; Smend, *AT Kel.-gesch.*,² 355; and, against the nationalistic theory, Sellin, *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der jud. Gemeinde* (1901), 134 ff.; Smend, *AT Kel.-gesch.*,¹ 257 f.

The differences of interpretation which we have been considering are largely due to the manifold obscurities of the text, not only of the four passages,

5. Text. but also of many other parts of Is. 40-66. These obscurities may in turn be traced, not so much to *lacunae* in the Hebrew lexicon or to the disturbing effect of the grandeur and novelty of the ideas on the mind of the writers, as to corruption. In the four passages corruption is, according to Duhm, specially marked in 50:4 52:14 53:10 f. Budde also fully grants that 'the second half of chap. 53 has suffered serious corruption of text'; but this critic impairs the value of this concession by the statement that 'the only corruption which interferes with a proper interpretation is the *וְעַמְּךָ* ('my people') in 2:8'; this, he says, 'admits of no explanation whatever' (510). It is to be feared that any considerable approach to agreement among critics will be impossible as long as this comparative confidence in the MT continues, and as long as sounder principles of textual criticism are not recognised both in theory and in practice. It is not that a large number of acute exegetical suggestions have not been made, but a decision of the important points at issue seems out of the question until a more thorough and more methodical examination of the text of the whole of Is. 40-66 has been carried through.

We have perhaps been so long accustomed to read Isaiah in the light of commentaries that real obscurities may not always strike us.

1. Who that reads Is. 42:1-4 with a fresh mind will say that this passage is easy? What is the meaning of 'he shall not cry nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard without' (1:2)? W. E. Barnes³ explains the first part, 'he shall not cry (his war-cry), nor lift up (his battle-shout)'; G. A. Smith⁴ thinks that the prophet 'cannot be referring to the means and art of the service, but rather to the tone and character of the Servant'; Sellin (*Studien*, 185) sees an allusion to the loud publication of royal edicts; Duhm, to the vehement denunciation of prophets; Marti, however, finds the renunciation on Israel's part of a political rôle among the nations. Not less obscure is the next statement (2:3).

The broken reed he breaks not off,
The falling wick he quenches not.

We all know how this is explained; the commentaries with one voice refer to the Christian ideal of the pastoral office. But what place has this here? and why did not the poet express himself distinctly? And why should any reference be made in 2:4 to the circumstance that

¹ Reading *וְעַמְּךָ*. *וְ* was dittographed; *וְ* became *וְ*, and *וְ* was transposed. Giesebrecht's emendation (cp G. A. Smith, *Isa.* 2:34) is less plausible.

² Marti approves. But an emendation at once more obvious and more favoured by parallelism is *וְעַמְּךָ*, 'shall have success,' Duhm (*Jes.* 2) unfortunately adheres to *וְעַמְּךָ*.

³ *Exp. T.S.* (1896) 20; the whole passage is applied to Cyrus. Sellin, however (*Studien*, 185), thinks it a designed contrast to the description in 42:9 ff., which is usually applied to Cyrus.

⁴ *Is.* 2:304 (so Delitzsch, Dillmann, Marti). Against this, however, see Sellin, *op. cit.* 24.

¹ See III. Ki. *Jes.* 456 (cp 461, foot), 'such as are brought by him to righteousness' (ix. 11 60 21), 'the numerous citizens of the new Zion' (51 f. 49 10 f.).

² Hitzig and König, however, assign 53:1 to the prophetic writer.

³ *Beiträge*, 146 ff.; *Knecht Jahwés*, 50 ff., 71 ff.

⁴ *Jes.* 204. But in his comm. on Jeremiah (foot, p. 141) Duhm maintains that the writer of Jer. 10:13 lived long after II. Isaiah.

⁵ *Amer. Jour. of Theol.*, 1890, p. 500 f.

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the Servant himself will never pass through the sad experience of the persons described in 7:3?

With regard to 42^a, the difficult *עַבְדֵי* (E.V. 'a covenant of the people') should almost certainly be *עַבְדֵי* . . . ; the uncertain word which begins the phrase should most probably be *אֲנִי*; thus the line becomes, 'for an ornament (glory) of the peoples, for a light of the nations'; cp 13 vs 46:13 62:7. See *Crit. Bib.*

2. In 49:5 what is the meaning of 'to bring back Jacob unto him'? Why 'unto him'? And how can 'Israel' (7:3) have been 'formed' to bring back Israel? And how can the restoration of Israel be referred to with equal elaborateness twice over in successive stanzas? Budde (521) proposes, as an explanation of 7:5, 'in that he brought Jacob again (out of Egypt) to him, and drew Israel to him (into the desert)'. This at any rate is better than omitting the words altogether as Giesebrecht does. It is difficult, however, to interpret *אֲנִי* ('to bring back') differently, so far as grammar goes, from *אֲנִי* in 7:5, and the reference to Egypt and the desert, if intended, would surely have been at least hinted. The grammatical objection also applies to Marti's rendering of 7:52, 'but now has Yahwè resolved, etc., to bring back Jacob to himself, and Israel will I gather.' Next, why this extraordinary side remark, 'and I was honoured (pointing *אֲנִי*) in the eyes of Yahwè, and my God became my strength'? The words are clear enough, but not their sense in this context. Lastly, what is the meaning of 'too insignificant for thy being to me a Servant' (*אֲנִי עַבְדֵי*)? A most awkward and improbable construction! To excise *אֲנִי עַבְדֵי* as a gloss, is hazardous. So-called glosses often arise out of genuine readings of the original text.

3. In 50:4-9 the difficulty is almost entirely confined to 7:4 f., where neither the language nor the thought is at all clear. At first we seem to catch a glimpse of a beautiful thought, and the phrase 'he wakens mine ear' pleases the fancy. But the plural 'disciples' (*תַּלְמִידֵי*) is strange, and the phrase so pleasing to fancy becomes insecure through the manifold disorder of the text and the obviously corrupt *אֲנִי*. Above all, the opening stanza, which refers apparently to the vocation of a prophet, is not a satisfactory preface to the description of persecution which follows.

4. In 52:12-53:13 the easy passages are the exception, not the rule. Emendation of the text has been tried, not without excellent results. But the passage as a whole, even as explained by Marti, is not clear. There is, perhaps, no better proof of the extreme corruptness of the text than the obscurity of 53:12 as the context at present stands, and the vehement controversy which it has called forth. In spite of all the acuteness of Budde and (especially) Giesebrecht, it remains highly improbable that a Hebrew poet of the late exile or early post-exilic period should have accounted for the sufferings of Israel on the ground that they were the atonement for the sins of the heathen.

As Skinner justly remarks: 'That the idea of Israel suffering for the good of the world is foreign to the OT is not perhaps a decisive argument against it, for there is a truth in the idea (see Rom. 11:17). . . . But the insuperable objection to this explanation is the unnaturalness of the assumption that the makers of 53:12 ff. are the heathen. There is nothing in the language to suggest this; and the religious attitude expressed in these verses is such as no prophet could have attributed to the heathen world.'

If another proof of deep-seated textual corruption is required, we may justly refer to 7:6. The theory that the great sufferer is an individual rests ultimately (putting aside 53:1) on this passage, and the difference between critics is perhaps simply this—that while some say, the burial so emphatically stated in 7:9 proves that an individual is meant, others say, 7:9 cannot mean what it at first sight appears to mean, because the more natural explanation (viz., that in chap. 53, as elsewhere,² 'Servant of Yahwè' is a title of Israel) presents no difficulty apart

¹ Is. 40:66 (Cambr. Bible), 274.

² To assume that the nationalistic interpretation has been proved for the three preceding passages on the Servant.

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from this passage. It may be doubted, however, whether either position is sound. On the one hand, very little importance can be attached to the traditional text of any part of 7:7:8-11 (or 12) because of the manifold obscurities and the more than probable corruption of this passage. And on the other, the parallelism between 53:12 and Ezek 37:12 f. is incomplete. In Is. 53:9 (if correct) the point is not so much the burial of the Servant as his burial with the wicked; but in Ezek. 37:12 f. the phrase 'cause you to come up out of your graves' is simply an equivalent for 'cause you to come up out of Sheol.'

We have said 'apart from 7:1,' because since (as we have seen) the confession in the following verses cannot be assigned to the heathen nations, and since the parallelism between the chief expressions in the confessions and a number of psalms which cannot reasonably be made to refer to an individual forbids us to adopt Duhm's theory, it follows that the speakers in 53:1-9 must be the Israel within Israel. This theory is indeed impossible, according to Budde, who thinks that the whole of Israel suffered equally, and that the exaltation of the Israel within Israel could not make an impression on the heathen world. A fuller consideration, however, of this theory in the light of a keener criticism of the later history of Israel, shows that the whole of Israel did not share the same lot, and so removes the apparent ground for Budde's objection. We have therefore a right to set aside 53:1, and to refer to 7:9 as the only solid textual basis for the individualistic interpretation of the Servant in this notable passage.

How, then, shall we proceed in order to restore a text sufficiently correct to admit of large exegetical inferences?

6. Jerahmeelite theory.

The methods of the most progressive textual criticism are good enough for our purpose, but there are many textual possibilities to which we could not open our eyes without

the clue furnished by a critical examination of a very large group of passages outside of II. Isaiah. In fact, it is only the 'Jerahmeelite theory' which will enable us to detect the readings that underlie many obscure and some apparently clear passages of II. Isaiah. The result of a renewed investigation of the text of II. Isaiah closely resembles that to which we are perhaps being driven by the textual phenomena of other prophetic writings (see PROPHET, §§ 35-45)—*i.e.*, the original text in many passages had a different historical and geographical setting from that which now appears, and our exegetical results are correspondingly modified. The truth is, according to this theory, that the influence of N. Arabia on Jewish history has been greatly under-estimated. In particular, it was in N. or NW. Arabia that the mass of the Jewish exiles languished, and even after the fall of the Babylonian power (commonly supposed to be the great source of trouble to the Jews) N. Arabian oppression continued to be the chief subject of complaint to Jewish poets.

The four passages on the Servant, in their original form, would seem to have lacked almost all that we are wont to admire in the adaptation of them which both MT and G present to us. The ardent universalism which distinguishes them in their present form is due to a later editor, who had before him a text which was already corrupt, and which, apart from this, did not answer to his own spiritual aspirations. Let us continue to read them as they stand in MT and G as monument of the loftiest pre-Christian Jewish piety. When such a purely academic thinker as Vatke can say that 'the intensest the sufferings and glorification of the Servant of Yahwè forms the most remarkable presentiment of redemption in the OT, and so is a prophecy, not a prediction, of Christ,' academic critics who would find he also meant of the people may surely use the same expressions, for the people see in chap. 53 a prophecy of the Jesus of the

¹ Cp Ezek. 37:12 ff. On the close connection between the conception of Sheol and that of a burial-place, see F. S. HATCHER, § 10; Suend, *AT Rel.-gesch.*,² 152.

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evangelic tradition, and we would gladly go with the people, as one of them, so far as we may. Nor need we—from this point of view—any longer trouble ourselves to translate these passages with an extreme exactness.

An exact translation is in fact often difficult and sometimes impossible, owing to the fact that the old Jewish editor has had to work upon an already existing corrupt text. But let us also be just to the claims of critical history, the results of which, when fully mature, must be for the good of the religion of the many as well as of the few. This requires us to trace out, so far as we can, the original form of these familiar but, in parts, very obscure passages, and of the rest of Is. 40-66, not as a mere exercise of ingenuity, but for this important reason—that if we can but read this work as a monument of its own special time or times, we shall understand the course of Jewish history as we could never have done before. This need not make us unappreciative of those pious and most unselfish editors of old time, who ventured to treat their Bible as a living plant, still capable of sending out fresh shoots, and of putting forth not dreamed-of flowers, and who, as some will say, almost transfigured the original conception of the servant of Yahwe.

For the original text (see *Crit. Bib.*, 1881) gave a much less advanced conception of the Servant of Yahwe. The title here is a personification of the body of Jewish exiles in N. Arabia, who were by no means semi-Christians, but had higher religious ideas and ideals, and correspondingly greater material and moral hardships to bear, than their brethren in Palestine. The poet looks forward to the time when these exiles will be delivered from their misery and privations and become the recognised leaders of the regenerated Jewish people. He calls (49:1) on the Arabians and Jerahmeelites to take warning while there is yet time (cp Is. 2:6, rounded text). Like some, at least, of the psalmists, he has no desire that all Jerahmeelites should be blotted out of existence, but wishes that under Jewish rule and in the practice of the true religion they may still live in the expanded land of Israel, and be saved from the judicial destruction which will fall upon all irreclaimable foes of Yahwe. At present, the Servant still suffers persecution; he has borne it without a cry or a murmur as God's appointment. But he knows that his 'justification' or redress is at hand (50:8); indeed, before now, under prophetic inspiration, he has announced (52:13-15) the coming change in his fortunes—an announcement which his kinsmen in Palestine (those 'rebellious ones' of whom the poet speaks) received with contemptuous incredulity (53:1). He can already imagine those unworthy Israelites confessing their blindness and folly, their wickedness and selfishness (53:2-9). And again a prophetic vision comes to him. He sees exiled Israel rescued from its oppressors, according to that earlier prophecy. The light of joy—a joy in the establishment of the divine rule with Israel for its earthly organ (cp 42:1-4), the sight of an offspring 'prolonging its days,' and enjoying the inheritance of Jerahmeel and Ishmael—these are the varied but closely connected rewards granted to him (53:10-12).

Into the changes of critical positions which this view necessitates this is not the place to enter. Nor need the reader be assured that no claim to an innuinity from error is put forward by the present writer. Details may doubtless be improved; but the general theory, when fully assimilated, will be found to stand the test of prolonged consideration. Would that the spade of the explorer might bring to light some hidden record of an age so little known and so largely misinterpreted by legend!

Besides the works named in col. 2207 *L.*, the following recent treatises on the criticism and exegesis of Is. 42:1-4, 49:1-6, 50:4-9, and 52:13-53:12 (or some one of these passages)

7. Literature. See here mentioned: Scléan, *Die Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder in Is. xl. lxxi.* (1895); Laue, *Die Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder in II. Theil des Jesaja exegetisch-erwählend und biblisch-theologisch untersucht* (1898); Füllkrug, *Der Gottsbenehmer d. Dt. Test.* (1890); Laue and Füllkrug have a certain similarity in that both maintain the Servant to be an individual; Füllkrug, however, does not, like Laue, identify the Servant with the Messiah, and he does not separate the four 'songs' from the Prophecy of Restoration; Kraetzschmar, *Der Ebed-Jahwe d. Jesaja* (1899); Ezekiel the historic model of the suffering and glorified Servant, see chap. 4. Bertholet, *Zu Jes. lxxi.*; Budde, *The So-called Ebed-Jahweh Songs*, etc.;

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Kittel, *Zur Theologie des AT.*, see § 4; J. Ley, 'Die Bedeutung des Ebed-Jahwe im 2ten Theil des Propheten Jesaja,' in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1899, pp. 163 ff.; Sellin, *Servant d. L.* (1899), pp. 144 ff.; *Studien zur Entstehungsgesch. der jüd. Gemeinde*, 1. *Der Knecht Gottes bei Dt.-jes.* (1901); Giesebrecht, *Der Knecht d. Dt.-jes.* (1902); the Servant-passages originally meditations written down for disciples by the second Meah; the Servant himself, a personification of Israel; Rothstein, *Die Genealogie d. Kain, Jechiachim* (1902); appendix on the Messianic reference of the Servant; C. H. H. Wright, 'The Pre-Christian Jewish Interpretation of Is. 52-53,' *Expositor*, 3rd ser., 7 (1902), 3-4 ff., 401 ff.; Palmira, *Jesaja 53 das Prophetenwort vom Sühndiener als Heilsmittler*, (1891); cp also Koster, *Th.T.*, 1903, pp. 391 ff. T. K. C.

SESI (סעסע[B]), 1 Esd. 9:34 = Ezra 10:40 SHASHAI.

SESTHEL (סעסחא [BA]), 1 Esd. 9:31 = Ezra 10:30, BEZMEEL, 2.

SETH, rather **SHETH** (שֵׁט; שֵׁט; שֵׁט), son of Adam, father of Enos, and grandfather of Cainan or Kenan, according to the Sethite genealogy (Gen. 5:3-8 [P]), with which, so far as his relation to Luosh is concerned, Gen. 4:26 (J) entirely agrees. In Gen. 1:25 (JK), it is stated that 'Adam knew his wife again, and she bore a son, and called his name Sheth; for (so he said) God has set for me another seed instead of Abel, for Cain killed him.' S, however, does not recognise שֵׁט, 'again, and inserts שֵׁטָה, 'and she conceived,' which suggests the possibility that in an earlier form of the text the birth of Sheth was related without inference to the existence of Cain. Budde (*Urgesch.*, 154 ff.) thinks that the text originally ran, 'and Adam knew his wife, and she bore a son, and named him Sheth, for "God has set for me a seed." ' There are, however, three difficulties in this view; (1) the unnatural use of שֵׁט, 'posuit'; (2) the use of שֵׁטָה, 'Elohim,' instead of שֵׁטָה, 'Yahwe' (contrast Gen. 4:1, though here S has διά τοῦ Θεοῦ); and (3) the improbability that Adam's grandson should have been called Enosh, 'man,' or 'frail man' (cp ENOS), assuming, of course, that 'Adam' and 'Enosh' are the two familiar Hebrew terms for 'man.' There is only one way of surmounting these difficulties, viz., to criticise the traditional readings of the names, אָדָם (Adam) or אָדָם (hā-adām) and שֵׁטָה (Sheth) have probably arisen out of יֵרָחְמֵל (Jerahmeel) and שֵׁטָה (Sheth) = יֵרָחְמֵלִית (Jerahmeelith) respectively. (cp PARADISE, § 12c). These parallels suggest that 'Sheth' and 'Enosh' are also corruptions of ethnic names. I conjecture that אֶנוֹשׁ (Enosh) is a fragment of אֶשְׁתָּא, which will surprise no one who has had experience of the shifting phases of 'Ishmael' and other ethnic names, and it is only slightly less probable that שֵׁטָה (Sheth?) is a fragment of שֵׁטָה (= Eshtaal), which the narrator connected with שֵׁטָה, 'plant, shoot' so that שֵׁטָה is miswritten, by metathesis, for שֵׁטָה. It is a part of this theory that אֶנוֹשׁ and אָדָם together represent יֵרָחְמֵל. The passage will then become, 'And Jerahmeel knew his wife, and she bore a son, and named him Shethāōl, for (he is) a shoot (shēthāōl) of Jerahmeel.' And Shethāōl in turn begot a son, and named him Ishmael; it was he who began to call upon the name of Yahwe' (see ENOS). Shethāōl is possibly the eponym of the population called in MT ESHTAOL and ESHTAOLITES, whose seat was certainly not confined to the lowlands of Judah. The etymology is, of course, quite 'popular'; a truer connection may perhaps be supposed with the widely-spread clan-name שֵׁטָה, Shā'il (see SAUL). Even if the explanation here given of the strange name Sheth be in some degree doubtful, the discovery of the true name of Sheth's son at any rate appears on

¹ See Stade (*Z.ATH.*, 1894, p. 262 *L.*), Holzinger (*KHC* 'Gen.' 57 [1898]); Gunkel (*HA* 'Gen.' 49 [1903]).

² To these corruptions there are abundant parallels throughout the OT literature.

³ שֵׁטָה is here taken to be an insertion of JK necessitated by the corrupt readings, already in existence, שֵׁטָה and שֵׁטָה.

⁴ In 1 Ch. 2:53 the Eshtaulites are connected with Kirjath-jearim—i.e., not improbably Kirjath-jerahmeel.

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critical grounds to be nearly certain. Thus understood, the name supplies another beautiful Israelitish commentary on the name Ishmael (cp Gen. 16:11). It is as if the narrator told us that the first prayer was as great an epoch in the history of man as the building of a city. See SETHITES.

Later post-anonical writers knew much more about Seth. His wife's name was Azura (Jubilees, 4:11; ed. Charles, 32). Both he and his descendants, who were extremely good, had that heavenly wisdom specially connected with the name of ENOCH (17:21); see Jos. *Ant.* 1:23 (§§ 68-71). On the gnostic sect of the Sethians, see Hippol. *Philosophumena*, 5:19; Epiphani. *Adv. her.* xxvii.; Lips. *Der Gnosticismus, sein Wesen, Ursprung und Entwicklungsgang* (1866), 154; Smith-Wace, *Dict. of Christian Biography*, 487f.

We have ventured to reject the plausible conjecture of Frd. Delitzsch and Fritz Hommel referred to in the next article. That the theory connecting Seth with Suteh, 'the god of the Hyksos,' no longer needs criticism, is obvious; see Lenormant, *Les origines*, 1 [1880] 217f., and on the other side, Kö. *PRE* 163. For the facts relative to Set and Suteh see EGYPT, § 52, n. 2, and cp § 16.

On the gradual transference of the functions and achievements of Enoch to Seth, as a consequence of the later tradition making the Sethites the representatives of goodness and the Cainites of wickedness, see Charles's note on Jubilees, 4:15. T. K. C.

SETHITES, the name given to the descendants of Seth mentioned in Gen. 5 (P). We shall deal with this subject almost entirely as one belonging to the history of early Hebrew beliefs respecting primitive humanity; the intricate study of the later exegesis on Gen. 5 f., to which R. H. Charles has recently made such valuable contributions, lies too much apart to be treated here.

We venture to begin with a criticism of the term 'Sethites,' which presupposes that there are two separate genealogies of the patriarchs—i.e., of the heroes of the primitive age. Now, we may readily grant that, as the text now stands, this presupposition is not destitute of plausibility. Gen. 4:25 f. is obviously the link between two genealogies (Gen. 4:17-24 and 5), one of which, as it now stands, starts from a son of Adam named Cain, the other from Adam and a son of Adam named Seth or Sheth (שֵׁת, שֵׁתִּי). The two linking verses, in their present form, appear to account for the double genealogy by stating that Seth was born to fill the place of Abel. When, however, we look into the genealogies we quickly see that there is a strong affinity between them, and a critical examination of the two 'linking verses' shows that the passage is no longer in its original form, but has undergone both corruption and editorial expansion. We have also found reason elsewhere to suspect that the story of Cain and Abel and the Cainite genealogy came from separate traditional sources (see CAIN, § 4; CAINITES, § 2); if this is correct, the Yahwist (J) cannot have represented Seth as a substitute for the murdered Abel. Instead of 'Cainites' and 'Sethites,' therefore, it would be better to speak of the members of the two parallel genealogies due respectively to J and to P.

It is the genealogy in Gen. 5 that is mainly to occupy us. We may assume that it is parallel to, and in its present form later than, the genealogy in Gen. 4. We may also regard Stade's view (*Urad. Reden*, 247) as fairly probable, that in its original form the genealogy in Gen. 4 was Sethite as well as Cainite, that i. e., in a simpler form, including the words, 'and Enos begot a son, and called his name Cain,'¹ once stood before 4:17, also that in the original Yahwistic genealogy, of which we possess only an extract, the tenth place was occupied by Noah.² If this be so, the

¹ It may be presumed that this represents Stade's meaning, though he only says that '4:25 f. once stood before 4:17 f.'

² Stade's reconstruction of the genealogy, however, which makes it begin with Enos and close with Jabel and Noah, has this against it—that there are very strong reasons for holding that 'Adam' (rather *hi-idim*) and 'Enos' are not the forms which originally stood in the genealogy, and therefore not to be treated as synonyms meaning 'man,' or, as Stade expressed it, that Adam and Enos are 'doppelgänger.'

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Israelitish circles represented by J had a genealogy of primitive heroes which agreed in all essentials with the genealogy given by P. We may put the two lists harmonised as proposed in CAINITES, § 12, and without any attempted emendation of the names, over against each other.

J.	Adam	P.	Adam
	Sheth		Sheth
	Enosh		Enosh
	Cain		Kenan
	Enoch		Malahalel
	Irad		Jared
	Mehujael		Enoch
	Methushael		Methuselah
	Lamech		Lamech
	Noah		Noah

Even if we doubt whether the genealogy of the Yahwist in its original form contained as many as ten names, it is a fact that that of the Priestly Writer (P) has come down to us with ten, and it is natural (when we consider that P, as often as he can, uses old material) to connect this with the fact that Berosus places ten antediluvian kings at the head of the history of Babylonia. The names of these kings (see Müller, *Histor. Gr.* 2490 f.) are Ἄλωπος, Ἀλάραπος, Ἀσηλαρ Ἀμυλέων, Μεγάλαρος, Δάωπος, Ἐθεδώραχος, Ἀμυλέων Ἰριάρης, Σισοίθρος. Now the solidarity of the early Oriental culture, under Babylonian influence, was such that we could not be surprised to find some of the names given by Berosus, in their original forms (when these forms can be traced), underlying names in the two Hebrew genealogies which lie before us. The idea suggested by the coincidence of number between J's list and that of Berosus, but, of course, we have to compare the names in both the Hebrew lists, so far as they seem to be akin.

It is remarkable, however, how extremely few of the Hebrew names can even plausibly be connected with names in the Berosian list. To compare Ἀσηλαρ with שֵׁתִּי, 'Enosh' (S. Delitzsch, Hommel, and even Gunkel) seems plainly wrong: (1) because such a name as 'man,' as the proper name of a primal hero, is in the highest degree improbable; (2) because, if שֵׁתִּי is correct, and means 'man,' it is not likely that an older name in the list also means 'man'; and (3) because, if Ἀσηλαρ is correct, analogy justifies us in supposing that it is a mutilated theophorous name (Amil-šr). But we may at least provisionally compare (1) Ἀσηλαρ with Mahalalel (= Mehijael), assuming the final syllable (של) to represent some Babylonian divine name, and (2) Ἀμυλέων (= Amil-Sin, 'liegeant of Sin') with Methuselah (= Methasael), assuming Selah (שֵׁלַח) to be a Hebraised form of *šarhu*, which is an epithet of various Babylonian gods (see *Ass. Mon.* 1869, CAINITES, § 7). Two names out of ten in the respective lists, plausibly but not certainly combined, are perhaps scarcely a sufficient basis for a theory that the Hebrew list in its earliest form was borrowed from Babylonia.¹

It is, however, still important to ascertain, if possible, whether statements made in either of the Hebrew lists respecting any one of the primitive heroes are derived from Babylonian lore. That Noah who, as the text stands (both in J and in P passages), is the hero of the Hebrew Deluge-story is, in virtue of his connection with that story, parallel to Nisuthras, cannot be doubted (Zimmern (*Beitrage*, 116, n. a) and Gunkel (*Gen.* 121 f.) however, add a comparison of Enoch, who walked with God and was taken to God, with the Ἐθεδώραχος of Πανθήβια (= Sippur) in Berosus (i. e., Enmedur-anki,² a mythic king of Sippur, to whom the guild of Babylonian *hiru*-priests traced its origin). The king is designated 'the favourite of Ann, Bel, and Ea' and said to have been 'called (?) by the gods Suma and Adad into their fellowship,' also to have been initiated into the 'secrets of heaven and earth' (*Ritualet.*, no. 24). Now it is true that both Enoch and Ἐθεδώραχος occupy the seventh place in the respective lists. This, however, is not important; in J's list, as

¹ Gunkel (*JH* 'Gen.' 121) omits Methuselah but includes Kenan (= Cain), which, with Delitzsch and Hommel, he regards as a translation of שֵׁתִּי = Bah. *ummina* (cp text *Gen.* 1:26). The number two therefore remains.

² Dur-anki is the name of a mythic locality (Zimmern); cp Jastrow, *RB.* 1:334.

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¹ Gunkel of the first father of Kenites.
² See Ca

it now stands, Enoch comes third, and even in the hypothetical expanded form of the list given above he only fills the fifth place. In opposition to Zimmer's learned and ingenious theory we would point out (1) that the initiation of Enmeduranki into the 'secrets of heaven and earth' is by no means as distinctive a feature as the deliverance of Nisuthrus from the perils of the Deluge. For other mythic personages besides Enmeduranki enjoyed this initiation, and among them Nisuthrus himself, as his name (Atra-hasis, 'the very wise') implies, and as his fortunes also sufficiently indicate. It was, in fact, the highest form that the divine favour could assume, and it is only natural that the feature or 'motive' of temporary or permanent translation to the abode of the gods should characterise different myths both in Babylonia itself and in the various countries where Babylonian mythic germs were deposited. And (2) we may further remark that probably Enoch, not Noah, was the hero of the Hebrew Deluge-story as written by J (see § 3, and cp NOAH, § 1, DELUGE, § 17). If this be so, there is scarcely even a superficial appropriateness in the comparison of Enmeduranki with the Hebrew Enoch.

Whilst therefore we do not deny the possibility that those who (at some Hebrew sanctuary?) shaped or re-shaped the Hebrew story of the primitive heroes may have been led to reckon them as ten (P certainly made ten, and J, too, may perhaps have done so) under Babylonian influence, we cannot say that there is any strong necessity for such a view, and all must admit that it is much more important to comprehend the statements of the Hebrew narrators. One of the chief obstacles to such a comprehension is the apparent duality of some of the heroes mentioned. At first sight, there seem to be two Cains, two Lamechs, two Noachs; and if Balde's theory respecting Gen. 4:17 (see col. 623, n. 3) be correct, two Enochs.

The grounds for supposing that there are two inconsistent pictures of Cain, or in other words, two Cains,¹ are given elsewhere (CAIN, § 2). It is clear that the passage, Gen. 4:1-16, which accounts for the custom of exacting blood for blood, implies that Cain is a nomad, and with this the statement in

3. **Duality of Cain, Lamech, Noah.**

1:16¹ partly agrees, for it states that Cain (after hearing the divine sentence) dwelt 'in the land of wandering (Nod), eastward of Eden.' In Gen. 4:17, however, this hero is represented as a city-builder, in other words, as a leading promoter of a settled form of life and of civilisation, and if we criticise the text of 1:16¹ in accordance with the results attained elsewhere (see PARADISE, § 6) we shall have to correct the enigmatical Hebrew text of MT and G, so as to read 'and [Cain] dwelt in the land of Eden-jerahmeel' (עֵדֶן יְרַחְמֵל [יְרַחְמֵל] יָשָׁב בְּאֶרֶץ עֵדֶן)—the district in which as we have seen Gen. 11:2

places us. We need not, however, deny (cp CAINITES, § 3) that even in 1:17 'Cain' (יָקֵן) is the eponym of the Kenites (יְקִינִי); there were both more and less advanced branches of the Kenites and Jerahmeelites; hence sometimes these tribes are spoken of as nomads, sometimes as having 'cities' (1 S. 30:26).

Are there also two Lamechs? There is a song ascribed to Lamech, in which the far-reaching sweep of tribal vengeance for blood is eulogised² (Gen. 4:23 f.). But we find his three sons taking important steps forward in civilisation; can they possibly have been represented as the offspring of a fierce nomad? The truth is, however (as comparative textual criticism assures us in holding) that 'Lamech' (לִמְךָ) is one of the popular distortions of 'Jerahmeel.' Lamech is

¹ Gunkel (*loc. cit.*, 49) actually makes four Cains: (1) the son of the first man, (2) the brother and murderer of Abel, (3) the father of Enoch and city-builder, and (4) the eponym of the Kenites.

² See CAINITES, § 8; Nestle, *Marg.* 59.

therefore a tribal eponym,¹ and represents both the more and the less advanced sections of the Jerahmeelite race. It is remarkable that in P's genealogy Lamech appears as the father of Noah, who, not less than Jabal and his brothers, is a 'hero of culture' (see NOAH).

For certainly there are two Noachs—there is Noah the first vine-planter, and there is Noah the head of the one family that was rescued from the Deluge, at least if we are content to follow the traditional Hebrew text. That the unplesant story of what happened to Noah the vine-planter was ever told of Noah the hero of the Deluge, whose earthly history was bound to cease with his marvellous deliverance, is incredible (see NOAH), though certainly it can hardly be called very probable that it was said of two of the traditional Hebrew heroes that they 'walked' or had close converse 'with the Godhead' (Gen. 5:22-24 69).

How to remove this difficulty we have seen already (§ 2), and before the end of this section we shall return to the subject. At present we would

4. **Why sporadic Babylonian influence?**

seek to account for the singular fact that there is no distinctively Babylonian material in the account of the

primæval heroes (after Adam) except in connection with Enoch and Noah. It will be observed that while Enoch the city-builder and Noah the vine-planter are certainly tribal heroes (Noah should probably be עֲנֹךְ or עֲנָךְ, cp יְהֵכֵן, Gen. 5:29, and Enoch [Hanoek] appears as a son of Mehan, Gen. 25:4 1 Ch. 1:33),² the hero of the Deluge-story in its present form is obviously not a mere hero; he is in the fullest sense an individual. How is this to be accounted for?

To understand the bearings of this question we must remember that, with the possible exceptions of Mahalalel and the latter half of Methuselah (see CAINITES, § 7), all the names in the genealogies of J and P are demonstrably of non-Babylonian origin, and with the increase of evidence for the great frequency of references to N. Arabian ethnics in the OT it becomes possible and even highly probable that 'Mahalalel' is a corruption of 'Jerahmeel' and 'Methuselah' of 'Ishmael.' Thus the names in the Sethite and Cainite genealogy,³ when restored to their original form, become—

- Jerahmeel (יְרַחְמֵל)
- Eshtael (אֶשְׁתָּאֵל)
- Ishmael (יִשְׁמָאֵל)
- Kain - Kenites (יָקֵן)
- Hanoek (חֲנוֹךְ)
- Arvad (אַרְבַּד = עִיר - עִיר)
- Jerahmeel (יְרַחְמֵל)
- Ishmael (יִשְׁמָאֵל)
- Jerahmeel (יְרַחְמֵל)
- Nahman (נַחְמָן)

The probability of most of these restorations is very high. Both P and the Chronicler in their lists often repeat the same name in different forms. Even if one or two of the restorations be doubtful, the present writer cannot doubt that the Sethite-Cainite names have a N. Arabian reference. How, then, came the notices of Enoch and (?) Noah to be enriched with Babylonian

¹ It is of course very possible that the tribe called Lamech or Jerahmeel really took its name from a deity. This deity was probably the moon-god Jarham (— with the Arabic 'imitation'). The non-Semitic divine title Lamga (doubtfully referred to in Job, 6:26) need not be relied upon.

² Enoch also appears as the eldest son of Reuben (Gen. 46:9 Ex. 6:14 Nu. 26:5 1 Ch. 5:3). But we can hardly doubt that Reuben was originally a S. Palestinian tribe.

³ If we prefer to hold that Lamech-Jerahmeel's son in J's version was originally Tubal-cain, we are still constrained to admit that the last member of the list bears a N. Arabian ethnic name. 'Jabal' and 'Jubal,' like 'Abel,' are perhaps also most naturally viewed as corruptions of the widely-spread ethnic name 'Jerahmeel.' 'Zillah' (צִילָה) may come from חַלְסִיב (Halisah) = צִילָג (Ziklag); Na'amah, of course, = Na'ami or Na'amani. Adah (אֲדָה) is obscure; perhaps it may come from עֲדָה.

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material, as if they were individuals? What claim had Enoch and Noah to be treated with more respect than other N. Arabian tribal heroes, and raised to the rank of individuals, whose wonderful fortunes gave them a place by themselves which only Elijah in a later age was privileged to share with them? The question is greatly simplified if we identify Enoch and the greater of the two Noachs as proposed already (CAINITES, § 6; NOAH) — i.e., if we read in Gen. 6:8 (H). 'But Enoch (727) had found grace in the eyes of Yahweh,' and in 6:9 (H). 'Enoch was a righteous man . . . and Enoch walked with God.'

The theory here maintained is that the Hebrew legend of primal evil times, as told by the writer or writers known as J₁, had no Deluge — i.e., they accepted the Jerahmeelite legend as their basis, but without a Deluge-story.¹ When, however, the Deluge-story was adopted from the Jerahmeelites, and converted (under direct Babylonian influence?) into the story of the universal Deluge, it had to be provided with a hero who was not a mere tribal eponym, and (for a reason suggested below) 'Enoch' was selected to be converted into an individual, and even to assume something of the appearance of a solar hero, as was fitting for the hero of a story which in its origin was most probably an ether-myth (DELUGE, § 18). But a misfortune happened to him. At an early period (perhaps after the Deluge-story

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probably is that the Enoch-tribe was a branch of the Jerahmeelites, and like the Jerahmeelites had a high reputation for wisdom. From Ezek. 28 (see *Crit. Bib.*) we gather that 'Jehoiachin' was supposed to have derived his wisdom from Enoch, 'in whose sacred garden he had dwelt; now from Ezek. 14:14 we learn that Noah (i.e., Enoch), Daniel (i.e., Jerahmeel), and Job were classed together for their extraordinary righteousness. This exceptional goodness implies exceptional wisdom. The first Jerahmeelite is commonly known to us as Adam (see PARADISE, § 12), but it is very possible that the first Jerahmeelite was also in some sanctuaries spoken of as Enoch (Harrak) and that his wisdom (cp Job 15:7f.) was specially eulogised in the legend.

If P does not tell us much about the fortunes of the patriarchs — 'the youthful world's gray fathers' (H. Vaughan) — he is at least fully acquainted with their ages.

5. The numbers. The chronological principle which underlies the numbers in P's genealogy has not, however, been found. There is much that is very peculiar about them. The Babylonian addition only gives the number of years that each king reigned; e.g. the first king, Alorns, reigned for six sari = 36,000 years, and so on. The enormous numbers assigned arise from the astronomical training of the scholars of Babylon. The Hebrew system in P gives the years of the life of each hero, first those which he lived before, and then those which he lived after the birth of his eldest son. Unfortunately, the three great authorities, the Hebrew, the Samaritan, and the G

	MT			Sam.			LXX		
Adam	130	800	930	130	800	930	230	700	930
Seth	105	807	912	105	807	912	205	707	912
Enosh	90	815	905	90	815	905	190	715	905
Kenan	70	840	910	70	840	910	170	740	910
Mahalalel	65	830	895	65	830	895	165	730	895
Jared	162	800	962	62	785	847	162	800	962
Enoch	65	300	365	65	300	365	165	200	365
Methuselah	187	782	969	67	653	720	187	782	969
							(L 167)	(L 802)	
Lamech	182	595	777	53	600	653	188	565	753
Noah	500		(950)	500		(950)	500		(950)
To the flood	100			100			100		
Total	1650			1307			2262		(L 2242)

had been committed to writing, 727 became corrupted into 72, which in turn was editorially altered (under the influence of a desire² to work the story of Noah the vine-planter into the legend) into 72 (Noah) or 727 (Naham?). Thus Enoch lost his connection with the Deluge, unless indeed we care to recognise the statement of Jubilees 4:23 that Enoch, in Paradise, wrote down all the wickedness of men, on account of which God brought the waters of the flood upon all the land of Eden. But at any rate he retained his superhuman wisdom, and in later years attracted to himself more and more mythical elements (see Enoch, § 2). Nor were the earlier traditionists unkind to him. When the list of ten heroes was constructed, he was placed (probably) at the end of the first pentad, while Noah (or Naham, his supplanter in the Deluge-story), was placed at the end of the second.

The reason why Enoch, alone among the Hebrew heroes — was raised to the rank of an individual whose fortunes were such as to mark him off from all the rest of mankind, is plain. It is not enough to point to the fact that the Hebrew root of Enoch (727) means 'to train, instruct, initiate.'³ The real reason

texts differ considerably, as the accompanying table will show.¹

It will be noticed that G agrees with MT, except in the case of Lamech (where G and Sam. show an affinity in the totals of the several ages, but differs from MT (except as to Jared, Methuselah, and — almost — Lamech) as regards the age of the heroes at the birth of their first son. G is peculiar at Methuselah. The result is that in G the Deluge is given as in the year of the world 2262 (G) 2242, but in MT as in 1656. It can hardly be doubted any longer that MT is nearer to the original than G.

Geiger has expended great learning and earnestness in defence of the numbers of MT. But most critics, since Berthman, agree in preferring the Sam. numbers (with which *Jubilees* agreed even to those of MT, as the calculation is simpler, and the deviations of the texts are more easily explained on the hypothesis of the priority of Sam. See especially Bible, 1865, 65 ff.

Comparing the Sam. numbers with those of MT we find that for the first five patriarchs they agree. MT, that Sam. partly adopts much smaller numbers, leading the Deluge into the year of the world 1307. Biddle thinks that we may draw detailed inferences from the (see above), possibly alludes to a popular etymology connecting 727 with 77, 'favour' (Philo actually explains the name as 727 600, cp OS 164 16).

The first column on the left gives the age of the patriarch at the birth of the first son; the second, the number of his remaining years; the third, the total.

¹ It has been already pointed out (DELUGE, § 12) that according to G the duration of the Deluge was 365 days (solar year), corresponding to the 365 years of the life of Enoch.

² See Biddle, *Urgesch.*; cp NOAH.

³ Nahum (727) probably belongs to the same group of names (see *Crit. Bib.*).

⁴ There is no allusion to this in the fragments of the Hebrew legend preserved to us. Gen. 6:8, if we may replace 727 for 72

SETHUR

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numbers of Sam. For instance, Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech die in the year 1307, i.e., probably, not in the 14 months of this year before the flood, but in the flood; therefore they are sinners. Enoch is translated in 887, because he walked with God—i.e., was not a sinner. The age of the first five patriarchs and of Noah is about 900; the earlier deaths of Jared, Methuselah and Lamech are punishments for wickedness. That two men—Enoch and Noah—walked with God in the midst of sinners, is due to P's religious optimism. It is also noteworthy that in Sam. all the earlier patriarchs are witnesses of the translation of Enoch. Bunde even finds this theory confirmed by the names of the patriarchs, at least so far as Mahalalel, Jared, Methuselah, and perhaps Lamech are concerned; but in this he goes too far. He also conjectures that the numbers of MT (according to which only Methuselah dies in the Deluge) were substituted for the original ones from the presupposition that the Sethites were the holy line, which represented the theocratic tradition, as opposed to the Canite. These glimpses at possible speculations in Jewish schools (from P onwards?), which are somewhat in the style of the Book of Jubilees, are of great interest. From a text-critical point of view the evidence supplied by Sam. of the late date at which alterations were made in the Hebrew text is even more striking.

See Bertheau, JDT 23 657 ff.; Bunde, Urezeitliche, 89-116; the commentaries of Dillmann, Holzinger, and Gunkel; Klostermann, Year Kirchl. Zt. 5 208 ff.; Dillmann, Beiträge aus dem B. der Jubilien zur Kritik des Pentateuch-Textes (SAR, 1893, pp. 321 ff.); and for specimens of Jewish speculative additions to the biblical traditions, Charles on Jubilees, chap. 4, in his commentary (19-2).

T. K. C.
SETHUR (שֵׁתוּר), § 56; see also below; καθουρ [BAF]. θασουρ [L.], an Asherite spy; Nu. 13 13 [14] [L].

'Sethur' or [L.] Thesur may come from 'Pathros' (Παθρος), which is most probably a corruption of 'Zarephath' (Ζαρεφθ), a place-name of the Negeb (cp ΠΑΤΙΚΟΣΙΜ). Sethur's father is MICHAEL—i.e., Jerahmeel. Cp Sihhi [ZITURA]. T. K. C.

SETTLE, meaning in English a seat, bench, or ledge, is employed in Ezek. 43 14, etc., to render שֵׁתֵּי, 'setritik', which in the prophet's description seems to denote the two ledges, 'the smaller' and 'the larger,' between the base and the hearth. See SHOT 'Ezek.', Eng. ad loc.

SEVEN. See NUMBER, § 5. OATH, § 1, and cp BEERSHEBA, § 3, and WI. G/2 221.

SEVENEH (סוּנַה), Ezek. 29 to 306. RV, AV, RV^{sup} ME. SEVENE.

SEVEN STARS. See STARS, § 36.

SEXTARIUS (ΣΕΚΤΗΡΟΣ), Mk. 7 4 AV^{sup} ME; EV 'pot.' See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, § 3.

SHAALBIM (שְׂאֵלְבִים), a corrupt place-name, see below. A site in the territory of Dan, mentioned Josh. 19 42 between Beth-shemesh and Ajalon.

1. In Josh. 19 42 [10] [11] ἀλωπεκες [B], [12] [13] ἀλωπεκες [L], and ἀλωπεκ [B; om. AL], a corruption of σα. [Ar], Σαμ, Thiel. See Moore, ad loc. 1 K. 40 Βηθαλαει [B], εν σααβαμ [M], σααβαει [L], but in Josh. 19 42 Shaalabbin [L], σααλαβαει [L], μεν [AD]; whence the patronymic Shaalbonite (שְׂאֵלְבִים) 2 S. 23 32, σααλαβωνιτης [BA], σααλαβαει 1 1 Ch. 11 33, σααλαβαμ [AL], ομεν [B], σαμει [K]. See HANSEN.

Some (including Comber and Stenemann) identify 1 Cp Jubilees, 4 20, 'And he (Adam) lacked seventy years of one thousand years; for one thousand years are as one day . . . and therefore was it written concerning the tree of knowledge, he did not complete the years of this day, for he died during it.' 2 From this rendering it has been inferred that Heb. like Ar. had a noun שָׁבַע (= fox) as well as שֵׁבַע. So evidently W. R. Smith (l. Jub. 202) who compares the Ar. tribe-name Thālabat. It is a little troubling, however, whether, even if we assume that שָׁבַע read שְׂאֵלְבִים, we ought not to explain ἀλωπεκες on the analogy of Gen. 17 4 where אברהם apparently = אַבְרָם אֲבִי.

with Saltit, 3 hrs. SE. from Ramleh towards YMO (Ajalon); the situation suits, but not the phonetic phenomena (see Kampffmeyer's article, ZI/1 157.). As in the case of MAKAL [g.v.], between which place and Beth-shemesh Shaalim is mentioned in Kings, corruption is highly probable. We have the place-names Sh'ul (in Gibeath-sh'ul), Sh'ul, Sha'alim, and Shalsha, and it is difficult not to class Shaalim with these. In 1 K. 49 6 gives Βηθαλαει, which may have arisen, not out of a misapprehension of 2 in עֵשֶׂת (which 6 takes as a preposition), but out of a true sense that the name began with שָׁ. It, as the present writer thinks, Beth-shemesh, wherever it occurs, is a distortion of Beth-enshim (= 'a Cushite settlement'), it is reasonable to explain Shaalim, not as 'place of foxes,' but as Beth-sha'alim ('place of Sha'alim'), or Beth-yishme'elim ('place of Ishmaelites')—surely a better explanation.

T. K. C.
SHAALIM (שְׂאֵלְבִים), 1 S. 9 4 RV, AV SUALIM (g.v.).

SHAAPH (שָׂפָא; סאφαε [B], -ראפ [L], סאפ [L]) occurs twice in the Calebite genealogy: (1) as name of a son of Jahid (1 Ch. 2 47), and (2) as name of a son of Masah (1 Ch. 2 49). In the latter passage he is called father of Madmamah.

SHAARAIM, AV Sharaim (שָׂרַיִם), as if 'two gates,' or 'place of a gate'; see NAMES, § 107, and cp the expanded ethnic SHEARAIM.

1. A city in the lowland of Judah (Josh. 15 36, סακαρεμ [B], σαργαρ [L], σεφαρ [L]), which Conder, on the assumption that it is mentioned in 1 S. 17 52 (so Di., Dr. [?], H. P. Smith; but 1 S. 17 52 πικλιν) and was therefore situated W. of Socoh and Azekah (see 1 S. 17 1), has identified with Tell Zatkarya, a huge conical hill which must be passed by any one escaping to Gath. The site of GATH (g.v.) has yet to be determined, however, and the names have no resemblance (but cp 6). Perhaps Shaaraim has arisen by mistake; 1 S. 17 52 should close with 'and the mortally wounded of the Philistines fell in the way' (the rest is ditigraphed). See Exp. T. Aug. 1899, and cp SOCOH. H. P. Smith, however, retains 'Shaaraim.' 2. See SHARUBEN. T. K. C.

SHAASHGAZ (שָׂאשְׂגַז), Esth. 2 14. See HEGAL.

SHABBETHAI (שַׁבְּתַי), cp Sin. 'שַׁבְּתַי' (Est. 370), Pahl. שַׁבְּתַי, אַשְׁבַּתַּי; σαββα, Jos. Ant. xv. 7 10, σαββατος, ib. xiii. 3 4, and παρ-σαββας (see Dalman, Jüd. Paläst. Gramm. 143, n. 10); a Babylonian name Sabbath'a is reported from Nippur by Hilprecht, 5th century B.C.

As the name stands, it might mean 'one born on the Sabbath' (§ 72). (Most probably, however, Shabbethai, like SHAPHAI and SHEPHATHAI, is a modification of the ethnic Zephathi, 'Zephathite' (= Zarephathi, Zarephathite.) Meshullam and Jozabad, with which the name Shabbethai is combined, both originate in ethnics (Che.)

1. A Levite who helped Ezra in the matter of the foreign marriages, Ezra 10 15 (σαββαθαβ [FRL], σαββ. [A]) = 1 Esd. 9 14 'Levis and SABBATHITES' (RV SABBATHITES; λευιταις και σαββαταιος [σαββθ. I]). He is probably the same as the Shabbethai who was present at the reading of the Law under Ezra (Neh. 8 7; BBA one, σαββαθατος [L]); in 1 Esd. 9 45 SABAULAN, RV SABAULAN (αβραιος [B], σαββαταιος [A], σαββαθατος [L]).

2. 'Of the chief of the Levites,' an overseer, possibly identical with no. 1 (Neh. 11 16; om. BBA, συββαθατος [Roc. mg sup] σαββατος [L]).

SHACHIA (שַׁחִיָּא [Ba., Ginsb.]; some edd. שַׁחִיָּא or שַׁחִיָּא, also שַׁחִיָּא and שַׁחִיָּא; the last form, i.e., Shabia, is favoured by 6B; σαβια [B], σεβια [A], but 6C σεβια), and is perhaps to be preferred; perhaps 'Yahwe has forgotten,' cp שַׁחִיָּא, Sab. שַׁחִיָּא and see NAMES, § 33, though names of this type may quite well be expanded ethnics (Che.). Pesh. reads R for B or K, a name in a genealogy of Benjamin (g.v. § 9 ii. 5); 1 Ch. 8 10. See JAW 11 107, § 6.

SHACKLES (שִׁנְיָן), Jer. 29 26 RV, RV^{sup} COLLAR (g.v. 3).

SHADDAI

SHADDAI (שָׁדַי); for renderings, see NAMES, § 117), a divine name of disputed interpretation, given in RV^{ms} wherever *El Shaddai* (EV 'God Almighty') occurs in MT, and also in 1s. usage. 116 Joel 1:15 (EV 'Almighty').¹

In MT *Shaddai* occurs more frequently than it does in RV^{ms}—viz., in Gen. 17:1, 28:13, 35:11, 48:3 (all P); Ex. 6:3 (P); Gen. 48:14 (E); 49:25 (Blessing of Jacob); Nu. 24:16 (Balaam); Ezek. 1:24, 10:5, Ruth 1:20, 21; Ps. 68:15, 134:1, 131:1, Job 5:17 (and thirty times besides). In the first six passages and in Ezek. 10:5 *El (God)* is prefixed; שָׁדַי יְהוָה should also be read in Gen. 49:25 (Ges., Ew., Di., Kau., Ball. with Sam., Pesh., Vg., and some MSS).

If we examine these passages, we shall find that only two of them are commonly regarded by critics as pre-exilic²—viz., Gen. 49:25, and Nu. 24:16 (originally no doubt 27, 4 and 16 were identical)—and of the remaining references all but those in Ps. 91:1 and the four prophetic passages (where the text is disputed³) may be accounted for by an archaizing tendency in the writers; e.g., the author of Job means to describe a primeval as well as a non-Israelitish society, and takes the divine name שָׁדַי from P (in its present form). To ascertain the original meaning of *Shaddai* we must therefore confine our attention to the two pre-exilic passages. In Gen. 49:25, which is more certainly pre-exilic than Nu. 24:16, *El Shaddai* (?) is evidently the God of the land of Israel, viewed especially as the giver of fertility; in Nu. 24:16 (see 7:10) he is, in addition, [El] Elyon, 'the most high God,' who compels a foreign soothsayer to bless Israel, and will make Israel victorious over its foes. What sense can שָׁדַי bear, so as to make it a suitable name in these contexts? We must of course remember that the oracles of Balaam are Israelitish poems.

Passing over plainly inadequate explanations (see NAMES, § 117), we may mention three as at any rate not implausible; it is the third which seems to be present writer preferable. (a) A connection was suggested by Frd. Delitzsch (*Hebr. Lang.*, 48) with *šadu* = *šaku*, 'to be high' (see 5 R., 28, 82 h), and *šadu*, *šaddu*, 'mountain.' Delitzsch also quoted the phrase, *Bel šadu rabu* ('Bel the great rock'), and *Ilu šadu'a*, 'God my rock.' In *Prosl.* 96, retaining MT's pointing, he suggests the meaning 'the exceedingly high' (cp S in Psalm); but the sense now given by Delitzsch to the divine title *šadu rabu* (see *Ass. III* 642), viz., 'great lord,'⁴ is apparently more defensible, and certainly more suitable to the biblical passages. It may be possible that *šadu* in the sense of 'lord' (or 'mountain'?) is cognate with the Hebrew divine name Šādō ('Lord'), Šādī ('my Lord'). Frd. Delitzsch in Job renders שָׁדַי 'Allherr' ('All-lord'). (b) However, it is not less possible, with Noldeke and G. Hoffmann (see NAMES, col. 3325, n. 2), to read שָׁדַי *šadi*, still rendering 'my Lord'; the pronoun would refer to the people worshipping the divine 'Lord'; cp Baal (Hos. 2:16 [13]). (c) Lastly, it is possible (and in conformity with the present writer's estimate of P's proper names elsewhere) even probable, that שָׁדַי is corrupt. To restore the true name with certainty is impossible; but it is plausible to correct שָׁדַי (MT *Shaddai*) into יִשְׂרָאֵל 'Israel' (cp Gen. 49:25, שָׁדַי יְהוָה יִשְׂרָאֵל). We may suppose that this was originally written by the Presby. Writer יִשְׂרָאֵל.

2. Three plausible explanations.

¹ S omits in Gen., Ex. unless the genit. of the pers. pron. is taken to represent it (Gen. 5: 6 ἑμός, Gen. 49:25, θεός in Nu. 24:16 1s. 135; in Joel 1:15 S reads שָׁדַי for שָׁדַי; in Ruth 1:20 ὁ ἰσχυρός (S omits in 7, 20, A in 7, 20), in Ezek. 1:24 S om. S ἰσχυρός (so Fleck., in Q), 10:5 *shaddai*; in Ps. 68:15 ὁ ἐπουράνιος, 91:1 ὁ θεός τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; in Job κίριος nine times, παγκράτωρ sixteen times, κ. πατρ. once, ἰσχυρός three times, ὁ τὰ πάντα ποιήσας once.

² The pre-exilic date, however, of the oracles of Balaam is questioned by Diehl and von Gall.

³ On Ps. 91:1 (and 135:1) see *Cle. Ps.* 2. In 1s. 136 Joel 1:15 שָׁדַי יְהוָה should, in the opinion of the present writer, most probably be יִשְׂרָאֵל יְהוָה, 'like destruction wrought by Ishmael.' In Ezek. 1:24 10:5 also the present writer believes that שָׁדַי comes from יִשְׂרָאֵל (in 1:24 יִשְׂרָאֵל, i.e., יִשְׂרָאֵל). See *Crit. Bib.*

⁴ Cp Hommel, *AHT* 110. The word *šadu* has come now and then to mean "lord" or "commander."

SHAHARAIM

and that an editor misunderstood this, and corrected it into שָׁדַי. That in all the passages where שָׁדַי occurs the writer is directly dependent on our P, is a perfectly defensible proposition. It is equally plausible to hold that *El-elyon* at any rate in Gen. 11:22 (see SONNET, § 6 [2]) and *El-olam* in Gen. 21:33 are corruptions of *El-gerahmeel*, 'the God of Jerahmeel.' Cp also *El-ebor* (Gen. 31:13, 35:7), originally perhaps *El-tihal*; *El-ely*, (7:7) is an ethnic and place-name of the Negela.

The names supposed to be compounded with *Shaddai* are שָׁדַי יְהוָה, שָׁדַי יְהוָה, etc. It is doubtful, however, whether this widely accepted theory is correct. See SHADDAI, *EL-EL*, SHADDAI.

Hommel (*AHT* 109 ff.) confirms the second view given above by comparing the Babylonian names Anni-satana, Samu-satana (dynasty of Hammurabi) and the Assyrian names Marlik-sadān, Bel-sadān, Bel-Harran-sadān. That one of the two former words is the first plur. suffix seems highly probable (Jensen compares Old Bab. *suhra*na). I. K. U.

SHADES (סְדָמָה), see DEAD, § 3, and REPHAIM.

SHADOW OF DEATH (תַּלְמוּד מוֹת); *σκια θανάτου*, *umbra mortis*, or, as RV, 'deep darkness,' a title of SHEOL (7:7) in the Book of Job (6:2, 10:27, 'the land of the Shadow of Death,' Γῆ ὑποφωγῆς and Γῆ σκοτεινῆς ἀθανάτου; 38:17, 'the Gates of the land of the Shadow of Death,' Ἡ πύλωσις ἀθανάτου). Probably, too, passages like Job 33:24, 17 (cp Ps. 114:1) should also be classed with these passages, and, by probable correction of the text, Ps. 91:17, 115:5 (see below). The didactic explanation 'shadow of death' proceeds from a very old but probably incorrect tradition. It suits the preceding passages, however. Elsewhere (e.g., Am. 5:8 Ἡ σκία without θανάτου; Job 34:10, 107:10, 14 1s. 9:1, 2) 'deep darkness,' or rather 'gloom,' is perhaps more favoured by the context.

On the pointing סְדָמָה, or סְדָמָה, see Barth, *NB* 206; on the traditional reading סְדָמָה, *Nöhl*, *OG* 11 (187) 436; *OG* 17 (1897) 182 ff. On the emendation סְדָמָה for סְדָמָה (conjecturally rendered 'silence') in Ps. 94:17, 115:17, see *Cle. Ps.*

SHADRACH (שְׂדַרְחַךְ); *σεδραχ* [ΣΒΑΡΧ] *Shadrach* and *Meshach* (שְׂמֵשַׁךְ); *ἀσέμεχα* [ΣΒΡΧ] Theod. [AK [A]], names given at Babylon to two of Daniel's Jewish companions, otherwise called Hananiah and Mishael (Dan. 1:7, 2:49, 3:12 ff.). Very un-Babylonian-looking names. The termination can hardly be Aka, a name of the moon-god (so Frd. Del. formerly, but see now *Cutler Bl.* 575 b), but might be the Elamite name Šadrak (Lenormant; Jensen). If, however, we admit that the story of Daniel, like so many others in the O.T., has been altered by a redactor, and that the scene of part of it at least lay in the land of Jerahmeel, we may conjecture that *Shadrach* is a distortion of Asshur, *Meshach* of Chisham, and for completeness let us add, comparing *Rab-shakeh* from 'Arab-ensh, and *Rab-saris* from 'Arab-asshur, *Abed-nego* from 'Arab-negeb—i.e., the Arabia of the Negeb. Cp NISROCH. I. K. U.

SHAFT. 1. שֵׁף, *šaph*, lit. 'thigh'; *καλαμῶς*, Ex. 25:31, 37:17 AV; Nu. 8:4 'base' RV. See CANDLESICK, § 2.

2. שֵׁף, *šaph*, *καλαμῶς*, Ex. 25:31, 37:17 RV; 'branch' AV, see CANDLESICK, § 2.

3. שֵׁף, *šaph*, *βελός*; 1s. 49:2. See WEAPONS, § 2.

SHAGE (שָׂגָה), var. שָׂגָה; *σωλα* [SN] *σαθ* [M] *GAMMA* [L], 1 Ch. 11:34f. See JONATHAN (5) and SHAMMAI (4).

SHAHARAIM (שְׁהָרַיִם); *σαδραῖ* [B], *-ρημ* [M] *CEWPEIN* [L], a Benjamite name (1 Ch. 8:5). Either a corruption, through *Ahishahar* from *Aher* (so Marq.), see BENJAMIN, § 6, n. a, b, or, much more probably, a corruption, equally with *Ahishahar*, of *Ashhur*, a name which, modified as *Ashshur*, designates the N. Arabian population of the Negeb. Cp SHUTOR. *Shaharaim*

1 The present writer, however, believes that שָׁדַי again and again represents יִשְׂרָאֵל, 'Jerahmeel.'

SHAHAZIMAH

home was in 'the field [highland] of Moab, or rather of Missur'; his wives are named Hushim and Ikara—i.e., Cushim and Arab.

T. K. C.

SHAHAZIMAH שְׁחָזִימָה, Kr., but שְׁחָזִימָה, Kib., whence RV Shabarumah, a place on the border of Issachar towards the Jordan—if the text is correct (Josh. 19:22; CALEIM KATA THALACCAN [B], CACEI-MAH K. Θ. [A], CACEIMA [L.]; schesima [Vg.]; sasmā, aram [OS¹⁰ 30:13 152:21]).

Hillmann supposes a place-name Shahazim, which is usually connected with שָׁחַץ, 'to be high' (Ges.-Lin. 134; cp Gray, HPS 95). Analogy, however, favours the view that either שָׁחַץ is a misspelled form of the following word שָׁחַץ or שָׁחַץ in שָׁחַץ is a corruption of the name which underlies שָׁחַץ. Now שָׁחַץ in MT is sometimes a corruption of שָׁחַץ or שָׁחַץ (e.g., probably Ps. 72:5 [21]), שָׁחַץ of שָׁחַץ (Ps. 70:7 [4]), and שָׁחַץ of שָׁחַץ (Is. 66:20, Crit. Bib.). שָׁחַץ may therefore come from שָׁחַץ, either directly (שָׁחַץ), or through the form שָׁחַץ. Similarly Beth-shelesh comes from 'Beth-cushim'; in r. 38 it is grouped with Migdal-el and Horein, both of which names come from 'Jeralmeel' (virtually a synonym of 'Cush'). 'Old Cushite or Jeralmeelite settlements are meant.

T. K. C.

SHALEM (שָׁלֵם); ΕΙΣ ΣΑΛΗΜ [ADEL]; so Pesh., Vg.; Job. 30:1 gives 'to Salem . . . in peace'; Sam., שָׁלֵם; 'in peace' RV, Gen. 33:12. Accepting the MT and AV's rendering, we must look for a place called Shalem near Shechem, where in fact Robinson found a village called Salim, in the hilly region to the E. of the Vale of Shechem. No such place, however, is mentioned elsewhere, and many prefer to render 'safe and sound' (Tlg., Saad., Rashi, Ges., Di. Del.; cp Sam.). The truth, however, is quite different. It is probable that the geography of the original narrative has been altered by the redactor. See STEPHEN M. 2.

'Came in peace' is not natural. Wellhausen (CH¹⁰ 317), Kautsch-Sackin (Gen. 78), and Ball suspect corruption. שָׁחַץ, however, is not a plausible emendation of שָׁחַץ. T. K. C.

SHALIM, RV Shaalim, Land of (שְׁחָלִים); THE GRC ΘΕ ΓΕ ΕΣΑΚΕΜ [B], Τ. Γ. ΣΑΛΕΙΜ [A], THE GRC ΣΑΛΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΡΑΛΕΙΜ [L.], 1 S. 9:4f. According to Ewald (Hist. 319), Wellhausen (TBS 70), Driver, and Lohr, 'Sha'alim' should rather be 'Sha'alabim' (a Danite place). The account of Saul's route is, however, by no means clear, and 'Sha'alim' may be a corruption either of Shalishah or of Shaul (with which SHAL [? r.] may also be connected; cp H. P. Smith); in this case the second clause in v. 4 disappears.

T. K. C.

SHALISHA(H), LAND OF (שְׁחָלִישָׁה); THE GRC ΣΑΛΙΣΑ [B], Τ. Γ. ΣΑΛΙΣΣΑ [A], mentioned in the description of the route taken by Saul, after leaving his home, to the 'land of Zuph' in the hill-country of Ephraim (1 S. 9:4).

The name Shalisha(h) also occurs in the compound place-name BAAL-SHALISHA and possibly underlies the corrupt words ZELAR and ZELZAR (pp. 3), BAZILLAI (see MEPHIBOSHETH), and also L'VISH and LAISHAH; on the affinities of the name (cp ASHC. § 4, ii., end).

The district referred to in 1 S. 9:4 would seem to be that in which the headquarters of Saul's clan were situated—i.e., probably Beth-gallim (cp GALLIM) or Beth-gilgal, or (originally) Beth-jerahmeel.¹ It must also have contained the place called Gibeah of Saul, which might probably with equal accuracy be called Gibeah of Shalisha, the names of Saul (Shaul) and Shalisha being perhaps connected (see SAUL, § 1, MEPHIBOSHETH). If, therefore, 'Gibeah of Saul' is rightly identified with Tell el-Fūl, 2½ m. N. of Jerusalem, we know the situation of the Land of Shalisha.

The geography of 1 S. 9:4 has caused much perplexity. The difficulty lies not only in the position of the clause, 'And he passed through the hill country of Ephraim,' but also in the final clause referring to שְׁחָלִישָׁה (RV, 'the land of the Benjamites'), שְׁחָלִישָׁה must be taken to, ther with שְׁחָלִישָׁה in 1 S. 27:1. In both passages שְׁחָלִישָׁה is very probably a corruption of

¹ In explanation, see MEPHIBOSHETH, ROGELIM, ZELZAR.

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שְׁחָלִישָׁה, and the last member of the sentence in 1 S. 9:4 is to be regarded as a correction of the carelessly written first clause, so that the whole verse becomes (cp SHALIM) 'And he passed through the Jeralmeelite land (i.e., the district of Beth-jerahmeel), but they found the man not, and passed through the land of Shalisha (i.e., the district of Gibeah of Saul), but they found them not.' For a parallel to the emendation of שְׁחָלִישָׁה in clause 1, see Josh. 24:33, and cp PHINEHAS; and for another view, see Mart. *Ann.* 12, n. 1.

BAAL-SHALISHA (2 K. 4:42) has been considered elsewhere, and the identification mentioned will still perhaps be the most plausible one, even if we explain the second part of the name and also the 'Gilgal' in 2 K. 4:13¹ on the analogy of the 'Gilgal' and 'Gallim' disclosed to us in 2 S. 9:4 f. 17-17 B 12, and the 'Shalisha' of 1 S. 9:4. We may also provisionally hold that Shalisha is a less correct form than Shaul (cp SAUL, § 1).

T. K. C.

SHALLECHETH, GATE OF (שְׁחָלֵחֶת), apparently one of the gates of the temple, 1 Ch. 26:16f. See HOSAH II. That it is a synonym for the 'dung-gate' (cp RV¹⁰), is very unlikely. Cp, however, Thenius on 2 Ki. 26:16.

SHALLUM (שְׁחָלִי), either from a clan-name akin to Ishmael, or = 'retribution [of God]', cp § 56 and see MESHULLAM; analogous are שְׁחָלִי, שְׁחָלִי, and Ph. שְׁחָלִי, שְׁחָלִי, שְׁחָלִי, Palm. שְׁחָלִי [ΣΑΛΛΗΜ] and שְׁחָלִי, the Nab. שְׁחָלִי and Sab. שְׁחָלִי, etc.; cp Berger in *Rev. d. Assyriol. et d. Archéol.* 1895, p. 78; ΣΑΛΛΟΥΜ [BAI].

1. Son of Jabesh (EV), or rather 'a Jabeshite' (see THSATH), who killed Zechariah b. Jeroboam, the last of the dynasty of Jehu, in HULAM [? r.] and usurped the throne of Israel. After one month's reign he was killed by Menahem 12 K. 15:10-15; ΣΑΛΛΟΥΜ [L.]. McCurdy (HPL 137) sees a reference to this in the statement of Zech. 11:8 that Yahwé 'cut off the three shepherds in one month.' It is difficult, however, to justify this theory (which is that of Hitzig and Ewald) in all points from the Hebrew records, and the view that Zech. 9-11 is pre-exilic is unsatisfactory (see ZEPHANIAH [B¹⁰ K.], § 5). It has been thought that Shallum's hold deed may be referred to in Hos. 10:14 (see BETH-ARBEI, but cp SALMAM).

2. b. Tekoa (MT TIKVAH, q. r.), i.e., a Tekoite, 'keeper of the wardrobe' and husband (Ph¹⁰ 'son') of the prophetess Huldah (2 K. 22:14 ΣΑΛΛΟΥΜ [BI.] 2 Ch. 34:22 ΣΑΛΛΟΥΜ [BAI.]); see below, 14.

3. b. Sismai, a descendant of Sheshan (1 Ch. 2:49 f.) ΣΑΛΛΟΥΜ [BAI.]. Kitei (SBOT ad loc.) illustrates the combination of שְׁחָלִי and שְׁחָלִי by (ΣΑΛΛΟΥΜ) שְׁחָלִי בן שְׁחָלִי in a Ph. inscription from Larnax Lapethus (CZS 195); but cp SISMAI.

4. b. Josiah (Jer. 22:11, ΣΑΛΛΟΥΜ, 1 Ch. 3:15 ΣΑΛΛΟΥΜ [BAI.], generally known as JEHOIAHAZ [? r.]).

5. b. Shaul, of SIMKON (§ 9), 1 Ch. 4:25 (ΣΑΛΟΥΜ [BAI.] ΣΑΛΛΟΥΜ [L.]; ΣΑΛΛΟΥΜ [Vg.]).

6. b. Zadok, in the genealogical list connecting Eleazar with Ezra, 1 Ch. 6:12 f. [? r.] (ΣΑΛΟΥΜ [BI], ΕΖΡΑ 2, ΣΑΛΟΥΜ [BI] = 1 Esd. 8:1 ΣΑΛΟΥΜ, RV ΣΑΛΟΥΜ ΣΑΛΟΥΜ [BAI.] a diminutive?) = 4 Esd. 11 ΣΑΛΟΥΜ, RV ΣΑΛΟΥΜ. In 1 Ch. 9:11 Neh. 11:11 his name appears as MESHULLAM (q. r., no. 7).

7. b. NAPHTALI (§ 6), 1 Ch. 7:13 (ΣΑΛΟΥΜ [BI], ΣΑΛΛΟΥΜ [L.]). He and his brother are called 'the sons of Billiah' (the mother of Naphtali and Dan); possibly some of these were Danites (see Be. *Chron. ad loc.*). According to I. ΒΑΛΛΑΟΥ (for Billiah) was the son of Shallum. The name appears also under the form SHULLEM 2 (Gen. 46:24, ΣΑΛΛΟΥΜ, RV Sam. Nu. 26:40, ΣΑΛΛΟΥΜ, ΣΑΛΛΟΥ [BI], ΣΑΛΛΟΥ [AF] ΣΑΛΛΟΥΜ [L.]), whence the family of the Shillemites (Nu. loc. cit. ΣΑΛΛΟΥΜ, RV Sam. 6 ΣΑΛΛΟΥΜ [BI] [BAF]).

8. The line Shallum were one of the six groups of the 'children of the doorkeepers' (1 Ch. 2:42 ΣΑΛΟΥΜ [BI] Neh. 7:45, ΣΑΛΟΥΜ [BIN] in 1 Esd. 5:28 ΣΑΛΟΥΜ [A] [? om.]). Of these, three (Shallum, Akkub, and Talmon) are mentioned as individuals in a list of doorkeepers (1 Ch. 9:17, ΣΑΛΟΥΜ [BI] twice, A once), ΣΑΛΟΥΜ [A once]. In Neh. 12:25 his name appears as MESHULLAM (q. r., no. 20, and see below, no. 11). 'Door-

¹ On Ph¹⁰'s reading, see RACHEL'S SEPULCHRE.

² As the versions show (here and in nos. 4 and 10), ΣΑΛΛΟΥ and ΣΑΛΛΟΥ are very closely related, cp MESHULLANOTH (1).

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keepers' In Ezra 2:42 Neh. 7:43 should probably be 'Asshurites,' or rather N. Ar. dialect ethnic. (H. 1.)

2. Shallun the Karamite (C. Ch. 9:13, *σαλαμων* [B], *σαλωμ* [A]), see MESSIAH SALU.

3. An Ephraimite (2 Ch. 28:1, *σαλαμ* [B], *σαλ* [A]).

4. A den keeper (or Asshurite) (Heb., Ezra 10:24, *σαλαμ* [B], *σαλαμ* [A], *σαλαμ* [A], see [L] & [E], 2:25; SAMU 1:10; *σαλαμων* [B], *σαλ* [A], *σαμ* [B], 7:1. From the fact that Teliun (cp. [E], 10:1) sits beside his name, it is probable that he is to be identified with one of the above.

5. One of the 11, Heb., Ezra 10:42 (*σαλαμ* [B]) = SAMUEL (Esd. 9:31) *σαλαμ* [B].

6. A HATHUMITE (*שׁלֹוֹן*), one of the repairers of the wall at Jerusalem (Neh. 3:12, *שׁלֹוֹן* [B], *שׁלֹוֹן* [B]).

7. The father of HATHUMI and HUBI (*שׁלֹוֹן*) of Jeremiah (Jer. 32:30, *שׁלֹוֹן* [B], *שׁלֹוֹן* [B], *שׁלֹוֹן* [B], *שׁלֹוֹן* [B], possibly the same as 2, above).

8. Father of Marseiah (Jer. 35:12, *שׁלֹוֹן* [B], *שׁלֹוֹן* [B], *שׁלֹוֹן* [B], *שׁלֹוֹן* [B]).

SHALLUN (*שׁלֹוֹן*), b. COL-HAZELI (2:1), ruler of the district of Mizpah, who repaired the fountain gate and part of the pool of Shihah (Neh. 3:15; *שׁלֹוֹן* om., *שׁלֹוֹן* [L]).

SHALMAI (AV in Neh. 7:43 = Ezra 2:46; *שׁלַמַּי* [SALMAI] in RV) in Neh. with no var. (except *שׁלַמַּי* [S]) against *שׁלַמַּי* (D), *שׁלַמַּי* (A), *שׁלַמַּי* (L), and in Ezra, Kr. [B]; the usual text being *שׁלַמַּי*, cp. *שׁלַמַּי* (A); *שׁלַמַּי* in Ezra, Kr. [B]; the usual text being *שׁלַמַּי* [SALMAI] (RV), *שׁלַמַּי* (B), only in the phrase 'the children of Shalmā,' a family of the NEPHTHALI (see EZRA VII, § 10). The name suggests a foreign origin. In (Esd. 5:2) the corresponding name is *שׁלַמַּי* [SALMAI], *שׁלַמַּי* [L]. Cp. SHELUMIEL.

SHALMAN (Hos. 10:14). See BELTH-ARRUL.

SHALMANESER (*שׁלַמַנְסַר*): *ΣΑΜΕΝΝΑΚΑΡ*, *ΣΑΛΜΑΝΑΚΚΑΡ* [B]; *ΣΑΛΜΑΝΑΚΑΡ* [A]; *ΣΑΜΑΝΑΚΚΑΡ* [L]; in Tob. 1:2, 13, 15 *f.*, *Enemessar*, *ENE MECCAROC*, *ΑΡ* [BNA]; in 4 Esd. 13:4 *SALMANASAR*, *Salmanassar*, named as king of Assyria in 2 K. 17:36 18:9-11, is obviously the king who succeeded Tiglath-pileser and preceded Sargon. Hence he must be identified with Sulmānu-šard IV., successor and possibly son of Tiglath-pileser III. He was king of Assyria, 727-722 B.C. He seems to have left no monuments, probably because his reign was so short. He was succeeded by Sargon II., who appears to have founded a new dynasty. Very little is known of him. The Babylonian Chronicle, *KB* 2:270, narrates that 'he sat on the throne, 25th of Tebetu [727 B.C.]. The city Samara'in (or Sabara'in) he destroyed (cp. SAMARIANS, § 2). In his fifth year Sulmānu-šard, in Tebetu, met his fate. Five years had Sulmānu-šard reigned in Assyria.' The existing copies of the eponym emons give the names of the eponyms for the five years of his reign, and the additional information that in the first two years there was no military expedition, but that there was one in each of the years 725-722 B.C. Unfortunately the objective of these expeditions is not known. Some of the standard lion weights found at Kalah bear this king's name, *KB* 2:3 *f.* A boundary stone inscription, published by Peller (*Keilschriftliche Aktenstücke*, 7 *f.*), refers to private transactions in the second year of this reign, at Dur-ih, which town was then under his rule. For another private transaction of this reign, in or near Nineveh (?), see *KB* 1:52. Sargon, in one of his inscriptions, accuses Shalmaneser of forcibly dispossessing the old capital Assur of its ancient rights and immunities (see *Wi. AOF* 1:402 *f.*). It seems certain also that, before he came to the throne, his father (?) Tiglath-pileser had placed him as his lieutenant over the city and district of Šimarra, conquered in 738 B.C. (see *Wi. AOF* 2:4). That he actually took Šimarra is rendered doubtful by Sargon's claim to have done so, see SAMARIANS, § 2. See HOSEA for his relations with that monarch.

The Shalman of Hos. 10:14 has been identified (c. e., by Wellhausen, who regards 7:10 as an interpolation)

SHAMGAR

with Shalmaneser IV.; against this see BELTH-ARRUL, *ibid.*

SHAMA (*שָׁמַי*): *ΣΑΜΑΘΑ* [B]; *ΣΑΜΜΑ* [A]; in 1:10, in the Aramaic, one of David's heroes (1 Ch. 11:4, cp. Elishama = c. e., probably Ishmael (1 Ch. 11:4), brother of Jehu = c. e., Jerahmeel (1 Ch. 11:4)).

SHAMARIAH (*שָׁמַרְיָהוּ*), 2 Ch. 11:16. See SAMARIAH (2).

SHAMBLES (Old Eng. *scamcl*, from the Lat. *macellum*, a small bench), though now generally used in the sense of a slaughter-house, formerly signified a bench or stall on which goods, and particularly meats, were exposed for sale, and then a meat or flesh market (*κροστώλειον*). In this sense shambles is used in our later English versions to render *μακαλαριον* (1 Cor. 10:25), the Lat. *macellum*,² or provision-market, which earlier translators have 'market' (King James), 'fleshe market' (Coverdale and others). 'Shambles' appears in the Rheims version of 1582. The English colonists who founded the Corinth of Paul's day (see CORINTH) in all probability brought the name with them.³ The salesmen were named *macellarii* and were not only in the flesh of domestic animals but also in venison and other game, as well as in the various secondary articles of diet classed by the ancients under the head of *δψων*, *δψωνία* (references in *Mineralog. Privatleben d. Romer*, 450 [1879]).

¹ Dio Cassius defines *το μακαλαριον* as *την αγοραν των σφαγων* (41:14). In Athens the provision-market (*δψωνιαριον*) was divided into sections, termed *σκαλαι* (tables), and named after the wares offered for sale, *εις το ψωνον*, *εις τον οϊνον*, etc. (1:10, 10:3).

² In 1 Cor. 10:25 the Corinthian Christians are advised to purchase whatever is offered for sale in the provision market of the city, asking no question on the account of conscience, 'for the earth is the Lord's and the things thereof.'

SHAMED, RV *SHEMED* (*שָׁמַי*), b. ELIPHAZ in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (2:1, § 9, ii. 8), is perhaps same as Ishmerai in 1:18, see *JOB* 1:18. Recent editions (Ba., Gmsb.) read *שָׁמַי* in preference to *שָׁמַי* (final *i*, not final *r*); the latter, however, is followed by ordinary Hebrew Bibles, Pesh. and *Σ* (*σημα*) [L], *σημ*. [A], *σαμα* [L].

SHAME, SHAMEFUL THING (*שָׁמַי*), Hos. 1:9, Jer. 3:24 11:13. See *Isot.*, § 3.

SHAMER (*שָׁמַר*), 1 Ch. 7:34, AV *SILMER* [L].

SHAMGAR (*שָׁמְגָר*): *ΣΑΜΓΑΡ* [B]; *ΣΑΜΓ* [A]; in BA in Judg. 5:6; Jos. *ΣΑΜΓΑΡΟΣ*, *ΣΑΜΓΑΡΟΣ* [L]. 1. Judg. 3:31. Judg. 16:11, see Moore, 'Judges, 5:6' [Heb.], 59). An early Israelite hero, Judg. 3:31, 5:6, or, as others think, a foreign oppressor of Israel, or of some part of Israel whom the writer of Judg. 3:31 mistook for a misunderstanding of the allusion in Judg. 5:6, rather for a patriotic warrior. The notice in Judg. 3:31, however, is, according to the most recent comment (see a very late insertion, later not only than the deuteronomic elements in Judges, but also than the editor of the chronological system of judges in its present form). It stands altogether outside that system, and is as a rule unknown to the author of Judg. 4:1, which concerns the oppression of Jabim with the death of Ehud. The author of the notice was poorly provided with suitable legends for a fictitious story; he takes a hint (it may perhaps be held) from Judg. 15:14 *f.*, where a similar exploit is

¹ [For other references see Lehmann, 'Menander u. Josephus (ib. Salmanassar IV. pt. 1, 'Beiträge zur Alterthumskunde', 2:125-140 (1892)).

² *Macellum* was also adopted into the Hebrew of the Talmud and Midrash under the forms *שָׁמַי*, *שָׁמַי*, etc. (see the lexicons of Levy and Eastrow).

³ For the *macella* of Rome see art. *macellum* in Smith's *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Antiq.*

SHAMGAR

assigned to Samson.¹ When we consider that the legend (2 S 23:17) of Shammoth ben Aggei, one of David's heroes, has also been influenced by the Samson-story, such license would not be surprising. Note also that these names begin with שׁ (*sham*). The chief object of the insertion of Judg. 3:17 would be to explain the obscure phrase 'in the days of Shamgar ben Anath' in Judg. 5:6.

This critical theory can only be right in part.² Certainly Shamgar ben Anath comes from the text in Judg. 5 (in a corrupt form so far as 5:6 is concerned). But the late writer of 3:17 vented on no account of Shamgar's exploits. I gloss our experience elsewhere is altogether different, the passage (3:17) has suffered both by corruption and by editorial manipulation, in the analogy of similarly corrupt passages, we have to restore it thus: 'And after him arose Shamgar ben Anath; he smote the Philistim [Ishmaelites, Jerahmeelites]; he also delivered Israel.' The corrector of the MS evidently felt that 'Philistim' inserted too early; he wrote in the margin 'Ishmaelites'; Jerahmeelites, as alternative corrections for 'Philistim'; 'Ishmaelites' seems to be the right word; the preceding narrative in its original form probably closed with the words, 'and the land had rest from the Ishmaelites', just as the narrative of Jabin or Sisera probably closed with the words, 'and the land had rest from the Arabians.'³

But who was the true 'Shamgar' (Judg. 5:6)? Moore (Judges, 106) and Marquart (Fund., 3) have suggested that he may have been a Hittite king.

2. Judg. 5:6. Sangara was the name of a (Hittite) king of Car-hemish in the time of Am-nasir-pal and Shalmaneser II. Moore also refers, in illustration of 'Sisera,' to the numerous Hittite names in -sira (e.g., Hissira, WAM *U. u. Eur.* 332), whilst Marquart compares the name *Pi-urri* (5), borne by the last king of Carchemish (cp *Del. Par.* 270), and Ball⁴ refers for 'ben Anath' to Bur-anati, the name of the king of Yashuk whom Shalmaneser II. mentions as an ally of Sangara (*AB* 152); cp ISHBAK. The song, however, is so often corrupt that the question of the names Shamgar and Sisera needs to be re-examined in connection with a thorough critical revision of the text of Judg. 5. The main historical result of such a revision appears to the present writer to be that the foes by whom the Israelites were oppressed were N. Arabians, variously called Jerahmeelites, Ishmaelites, Cushites, Asshurites, and Kenizzites, and that 2:6 should run thus:

In the days of Jerahmeel son of Anak,⁵
In the days of Cushan and Ishmael.

'Shamgar' (?), is in fact a scribe's mixture of שׁמג and שׁמג , and the scribe himself corrected his error,⁶ while שׁמג is a corruption of the ethnic name שׁמג , 'Asshur,' a collateral form of which was probably שׁמג , 'Geshur' (see GESHUR, 2). Now perhaps we can see how 'Iabin' and 'Sisera' both appear in the story. 'Iabin' (עב), twice (Amn) is one of the corruptions of 'Jerahmeel,' so that the king of Kenaz (177, not 1722), whose capital was Karkesh [*karneš*], might equally well be called 'Jerahmeel' and 'Asshur.' That 'Sisera' represents a N. Arabian ethnic name may also be presumed from its occurrence in the list of the families of

¹ Moore points out (*SBOT*, *loc.*) that in some forms of שׁמג the name of Shamgar stands after the story of Samson, and concludes that this was the original place of the brief account.
² Wepfeler (*loc.* 2:124), 100, expresses dissatisfaction with the present theory; but he has no right to throw either on 3:17 or

³ There are quite sufficient parallels for these and the preceding nomenclatures. שׁמג frequently springs out of שׁמג , and etymological statements have several times (e.g., Nu. 14:33 Am. 2: 172), arisen out of misread ethnic names. See MOSES, § 11. The filialities arising out of שׁמג (p. 5), and out of the six hundred men, who 'have always tamed the credulity of the commentators' (Moore); cp Wade, *Old Test. History*, 193, n. 1), now disappear.

⁴ Smith's (*IBZ*, *loc.*) 'Ishbak.' 'Bur' may have been taken by the scribe to be בן ('son') cp the reading proposed in *col.* 152, n. 1.

⁵ And שׁמג confounded. But cp ANATH.

⁶ שׁמג in שׁמג represents שׁמג ; שׁ stands for שׁ . The rest of שׁמג is supplied by the following word שׁמג which resembles שׁמג . Line 2 now appears in a much altered form in v. 76. See *crit. Bib.*

SHAMMOTH

the Nethinim (=Ithamm, men of Ithan = N. Arabian region). See SISERA and *crit. Bib.*

cp G. L. Moore, *Judges*, 105 f., 112 f.; and 'Shamgar and Sisera' in *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, 1911, 227; *W. J. B. J.* 1918, 106, 107, two divine names.

SHAMHUTH (שׁמח), 1 Ch. 27:2, in 2 S 23:4 SHAMMAH (5).

SHAMIR (שׁמיר), 1. a city in the highlands of Judah (Josh. 15:42, שׁמיר [H], שׁמיר [M]). It may possibly be identified with *Samir* *S. mir*, 2000 ft. above sea level, 2 m. N. from An-hejor, and 3 m. S.W. from Hebron. See on this point *ibid.* But note שׁמיר of שׁמיר .

2. A place in Mt. Ephraim, the seat of the clan of Toth, in Issachar; see ISSACHAR § 7 (Judg. 10:17, שׁמיר [H], שׁמיר [M]). A site to the extreme N. of the hill-country seems possible (Moore). But see Toth A, where it is suggested that we should transfer the tradition of Toth to the Negeb. Observe, too, that Shimron (7: 11) is both a name of Issachar, and, according to the present writer's theory of Josh. 11 and Am. 3:9, etc., the Negeb.

SHAMIR (שׁמיר Kib. שׁמיר), b. Ezzel, a Levite (1 Ch. 24:4; שׁמיר [H], שׁמיר [M]).

SHAMLAI (שׁמל), Kib. שׁמל , b. Salmal [B], שׁמל [M]. Ezra 2:6 = Neh. 5:4; שׁמל [M].

SHAMMA (שׁמא), b. Zophai, in a genealogy of ASHER (2 S. 2: 4, 5), 1 Ch. 7:37 (שׁמא [H], שׁמא [M]).

SHAMMAH (שׁמח), § 51; abbrev. from SHAMMAHAI).

1. Son of Reuel b. Esau, and a 'thick' son of 'Ilan' (?) of Edom; Gen. 36:17, 1 Ch. 1:37 (שׁמח [H], שׁמח [M]), but 1 Ch. 1:37 שׁמח [M], שׁמח [M], and Gen. 36:17 שׁמח [H]. See EDOM, § 4.

2. Son of Jesse (see DAVID, § 14, n.); (2 S. 19: 3, שׁמח [H], שׁמח [M], שׁמח [M]; but 1 Ch. 2:13 RV (AV SHIMMA), 20:7 SHIMKA (שׁמכ); 2 S. 13: 3 שׁמח [H], 2 S. 21:21, Kt. SHIMMA

(שׁמכ); *ib.* Kib. and RV SHIMM, שׁמח [H], שׁמח [M]. His sons were JONADABAH and JONATHAN (2 S. 21:21). See no. 5, below.

3. b. Avie (2 S. 23: 17), one of David's 'first three' (2 S. 23:17); שׁמח [H], שׁמח [M], שׁמח [H], a HAKKITE (2 S. 23:17) or perhaps an ARCHITE (2 S. 23:17), for שׁמח calls him שׁמח , שׁמח , שׁמח . The exploit attributed to him in 2 S. 18, with slight variations, is also in 1 Ch. 11:32, to Eleazar, another of David's 'first three.' In 1. he appears as 'son of Eli,' which may imply identifying him with Shimli, son of Eli (1 K. 4: 3; RV; see ELI, 6). He had a son named Jonathan. See JONATHAN (Ben Shage) and SHAMMAI, § 1.

4. A Hararite (שׁמח [H], שׁמח [M]; see also JONATHAN b. Shage), who appears in 2 S. 23:13 as one of David's thirty, and as a distinct person both from Shammoth b. Aggei the Hararite one of the 'first three,' and from Shammoth the Hararite also one of David's thirty, is really to be identified with Shammoth b. Aggei, and comes into the list in 2 S. 23:13 merely as father of JONATHAN (Ben Shage) (2 S. 23:13).

5. The HAKKITE (2 S. 23:13), another of David's thirty (2 S. 23:13; שׁמח [H], שׁמח [M], שׁמח [M]). In 1 Ch. 11:27 the name is SHAMMOTH (שׁמח ; שׁמח [H], שׁמח [M], שׁמח [M]), the

Hararite (שׁמח , שׁמח [H], שׁמח [M], שׁמח [M]), and in 1 Ch. 27: SHAMMOTH (שׁמח ; שׁמח [H], שׁמח [M], שׁמח [M]), the 'Zerahite,' which, according to Marquart (*Fund.*, 10), stands for שׁמח שׁמח שׁמח , 'Shamhuth, the Hararite, belonging to the Zerathites'; see ZERAH (1).

SHAMMAI (שׁמאי), § 52; cp SHEMAHAI).

1. A Jerahmeelite; 1 Ch. 2:22 (2 שׁמאי [H], שׁמאי [M]) 'brother of Shammoth,' 2: 32 [H], שׁמאי [M]; שׁמאי [M]. See JERAHMEEL, § 2.

2. 'Son' of REKEM (2 S. 23: 17) b. Hebron, and 'father' of Maon, 'father' of Beth-zur; 1 Ch. 2:44 f. (שׁמאי [H] only once [1], שׁמאי [M] once).

3. Son of MERED (2 S. 23: 17) of Judah, by his 'Egyptian' (more probably 'Misrite') wife; 1 Ch. 4:17 f. (שׁמאי [H], שׁמאי [M], שׁמאי [M]).

SHAMMOTH (שׁמח), 1 Ch. 11:27 = 2 S. 23:25, SHAMMAH (5).

1. The fortress Sînûr, with which some have identified BETHULIA (2 S. 23: 17), has been thought of by Schwarz for Shamir, but can hardly have come within Issachar. Cp Moore, *ad loc.*

SHAMMUA

SHAMMUA (שמואל), perhaps 'heard,' § 56, but cp SHAMMAI, which might be an expanded clan name.

1. A chief of Reuben, § 17, end; Nu. 134 (שמואל [B], שמואל [A], שמואל [E], שמואל [F], שמואל [G]).

2. Son of David (1 Ch. 14); see SHIMEA (2). In 2 S. 5:14 SHAMMUA (A).

3. A Levite; Neh. 11:7 (שמואל [B], שמואל [C], שמואל [D], שמואל [E], שמואל [F], שמואל [G]).

4. A priest, contemporary with Joiakim, Jeshua's successor; Neh. 12:11 (שמואל [B], שמואל [C], שמואל [D], שמואל [E], שמואל [F], שמואל [G]).

SHAMSERAI (שמשר) = ΣΑΜΣΑΡΙΑ [B], ΣΑΜΣΑΡΙΑ [A], ΣΑΜΣΑΡΙΑ [C], ΣΑΜΣΑΡΙΑ [D], ΣΑΜΣΑΡΙΑ [E], ΣΑΜΣΑΡΙΑ [F], ΣΑΜΣΑΡΙΑ [G].

SHAPHAM (שפחם) = ΣΑΒΑΤ [B], ΣΑΦΑΜ [A], ΣΑΦΑΜ [C], ΣΑΦΑΜ [D], ΣΑΦΑΜ [E], ΣΑΦΑΜ [F], ΣΑΦΑΜ [G].

SHAPHAN (שפחן), either an animal name, or the name of a district, borne originally by a clan and subsequently by individuals [see below]; ΣΑΦΑΝ [B], ΣΑΦΑΝ [A], ΣΑΦΑΝ [C], ΣΑΦΑΝ [D], ΣΑΦΑΝ [E], ΣΑΦΑΝ [F], ΣΑΦΑΝ [G].

1. A Gathite, 1 Ch. 5:12. Perhaps originally a name of the Nizeth (where Gath once dwelt); see SHAPHAT, SHAPHATH (C).

2. A Gathite, 1 Ch. 5:12. Perhaps originally a name of the Nizeth (where Gath once dwelt); see SHAPHAT, SHAPHATH (C).

3. A Gathite, 1 Ch. 5:12. Perhaps originally a name of the Nizeth (where Gath once dwelt); see SHAPHAT, SHAPHATH (C).

SHAPHAT

theory. He grants that in the late regal period superstitions and practices which were originally derived from totemism survived, and that this accounts for the three strange personal names referred to; this is all, Jos. Jacobs (*Studies in Bible, Jewish, 84 ff.*) and Zaphiel (*Der Totemismus und die Religion, Leipzig, 1907, p. 71*) take a different view of the name Shaphan, which, especially in Ezek. 8:14, is pronounced to be a contemptuous invention (as if 'Jaazaniah ben-shaphan' meant 'Yahweh is a rock-badger'), uniting, with a bitter irony, the discrepancy between those bad practices and Israel's true religion. The director of the ceremony is named after Yahweh, and yet he is bringing himself to offer worship to the figure of an animal, the prophet, therefore, calls him a 'ben-shaphan,' as one might say 'ben-kemoš' (*i. e.*, a worshipper of Chemosh). All these scholars presuppose the ordinary text and the usual explanation of terms ending in שפח.

Of the inconsistency of supposing that a man whose family cultivated totemistic superstitions with such animosity as to call some of its members by the name of the totem and others by names which not only contain (as is held) the name of Yah or Yahwe, but even express a true moral conception of the name of the Deity, they appear to have no satisfactory explanation. (2) A second theory (the present writer's) stands upon a more certain ground. A second theory (the present writer's) stands upon a more certain ground. A second theory (the present writer's) stands upon a more certain ground.

(3) A second theory (the present writer's) stands upon a more certain ground. A second theory (the present writer's) stands upon a more certain ground. A second theory (the present writer's) stands upon a more certain ground.

(4) A second theory (the present writer's) stands upon a more certain ground. A second theory (the present writer's) stands upon a more certain ground. A second theory (the present writer's) stands upon a more certain ground.

(5) A second theory (the present writer's) stands upon a more certain ground. A second theory (the present writer's) stands upon a more certain ground. A second theory (the present writer's) stands upon a more certain ground.

(6) A second theory (the present writer's) stands upon a more certain ground. A second theory (the present writer's) stands upon a more certain ground. A second theory (the present writer's) stands upon a more certain ground.

(7) A second theory (the present writer's) stands upon a more certain ground. A second theory (the present writer's) stands upon a more certain ground. A second theory (the present writer's) stands upon a more certain ground.

(8) A second theory (the present writer's) stands upon a more certain ground. A second theory (the present writer's) stands upon a more certain ground. A second theory (the present writer's) stands upon a more certain ground.

(9) A second theory (the present writer's) stands upon a more certain ground. A second theory (the present writer's) stands upon a more certain ground. A second theory (the present writer's) stands upon a more certain ground.

at the end of the clause should perhaps be 'and Jeshua' (a corruption of Shua or Sheba). Rendar, therefore, 'Tubal, and . . . and Jerahmeel, and Jeshua' (Sheba) sent saying, 'etc. . . But what is the name underlying Sarezzer? We see from Zechariah's answer (Zech. 7:3) that he was in some way a leader and representative of the people. Wellhausen (KZ, Pr.) suspects that he may have been Zerubbabel. This cannot be correct: elsewhere Zechariah calls the governor by his usual name. It has therefore been suggested (col. 574) that [Bel]-sarezzer may be the same as Belsar (an impossible name till we add -serez = Bab. ušar), one of the twelve (?) 'heads' of the Jews of Judaea (see GOVERNMENT, § 29), according to a well-attested reading (on Ezra 2:2 Neh. 7:7 see BISHAN). Plausible as this view is (cp. M. L. ZAKS), the conjecture reached elsewhere that the principal captivity was really a N. Arabian and not a Babylonian one, makes it prudent to revise it. Just as SISERA [7:3] comes most probably from Asshur, so Sarezzer may be a corruption of Asshur or Asshur. A later editor, imperfectly informed, may well have Assyrianised it, as W. M. Müller supposes an editor to have Assyrianised 'Adrammelech.' On the objects of the deportation to Zechariah, see Nowack, and cp. Jer. Kel. Life, 10, 17. See also REGEM-MELECH.

SHARON (שָׂרֹן) with art.; Is. 33:9 ο σαρων

[BAC] [AQ], σαρων [M], ο σαρων [Q], Sharon; Is. 35:2 ο ομ, Sharon; Is. 65:11 εν τω θρησκω [BACQ], canisferia; 1 Ch. 27:29 εν τω νεκρω [B], σαρων [A], σαρων [L]; Cant. 2:1 του πεδου [BAC], σαρων; Acts 9:15, τον σαωνα; gentile שָׂרֹן, ο σαρων [BAC], ο σαων [L], the Sharonite.

A plain of Palestine, extending from the Nahr Zerka, 44 m. southward to the mouth of the Nahr Ribon, by which and by the Ramleh Hills (Abū Shūsheh, 756 ft. m height) it is divided from the Philistian Plain. It was famous for its pastures (1 Ch. 27:29 Is. 65:13) and for its luxuriant vegetation (Is. 35:2, Cant. 2:1). In describing the desolation of Judah a prophet of woe exclaims, 'Sharon is like a desert' (Is. 33:9). The name Sharon signifies 'level country,' but this only implies the absence of conspicuous heights (cp. NAMES, § 99 [δ]). Undulating hills occur over a large part of Sharon. Some are well wooded, and there is a long extent of park-like scenery in the neighbourhood of Mikhāhid in the very N., where groups of sirdan, the ordinary oak of Palestine (Quercus infecta; see TEREBINTH) are dotted over the rolling plateau of red semi-consolidated sand' (Conder, PEFQ, 1875, p. 92). These groups of oaks are the representatives of large oak groves. There is Egyptological evidence for a forest in Sharon, and only an extensive woodland would justify the phrase in Is. 35:2, 'the magnificence (שָׂרֹן) of Carmel and Sharon.' The otherwise strange expression of S in Is. 65:11 (δ θρησκω = שָׂרֹן), which agrees with the phraseology of Greek writers, including Josephus, is thus to be accounted for. Nor must we overlook the statement of the Itinerary of King Richard (414) respecting the forest of Assur, S. of the Salt River, through which the Crusaders passed in 1191 A.D. to meet Saladin in battle.

The 'Plain of Sharon' is divided into three distinct river basins—those of the Nahr Zerka (with its wild moorland and marshland), the Nahr el-Mufjir, and the Nahr Iskänderūnūch (the Crusaders' Salt River). The southernmost portion, which receives the Wādys Budrus and Salmān, is the most cultivated and attractive; the

1 See Ezra 2:2, and note Zechariah's answer 'to the priests.'
2 See paper by Masp. Etudes . . . dédiées à M. le Dr. C. Lermans (1935).
3 See Strabo, 16, θρησκω μέγας τις; and especially Jos. Ant. xiv. 133, θρησκω δε το χωριον καλεεται; Bf. 132, τον καλουμενον θρησκω . . . το χωριον. Josephus (Ant. xiv. 52) also speaks of a fino grove (θρησκω) near Antipatris.
4 Cp. Archer, The Crusade of King Richard, 146.

view of it which the traveller obtains in springtime from the Tower of Ramleh is highly enjoyable. Spring, indeed, works a miracle in the aspect of this region. The richest grass and the brightest flowers adorn the landscape. Even in the marshlands the tall and graceful papyrus (with which Friedr. Delitzsch too fondly identifies the Rose of Sharon) is, in its autumnal flowering time, pleasant to behold. There can be no doubt that but for the encroaching sand the Plain of Sharon would give a rich reward to the agriculturist, and the words of Is. 65:13 would be verified, 'Sharon shall be a fodder for flocks.'

Eusebius and Jerome describe our Sharon as extending from Caesarea on the sea coast to Joppa; they give it the name of Saronus. They also mention a Sharon between Libanus and Tiberias, which they imagine to be referred to in Is. 33:9 (Is. 29:5, 134). Later writers have supposed references to the N.E. Sharon in Josh. 12:15 (see LASHAROS) and Cant. 2:1 (cp. 2:2). A district between Mt. Libanus and Tiberias, as Dehmel and Oelh think (Cant. 2:1, 'rose of Sharon'), but erroneously, though the name Saron, attached to a village in the region called Arj el-Hamma (see Rob. BR 3:247), confirms the statement of Oelh. (see 1) that a second Sharon really existed. Delitzsch's view is connected with the theory that the name Cant. was a Galilean milder (see CASTLES, § 6). Wellhausen decides against it because the 'rose' (see ROSA) mentioned in Is. 35:1 f. as blooming in the better-known Sharon (see Che. Proph. Is. ad loc.). 'Rose of Sharon' was apparently a proverbial phrase.

3. A region (?) on the E. of Jordan, occupied by the line Gad (Is. 13, begin), 1 Ch. 5:1 f. שָׂרֹן אֲשֶׁר, but שָׂרֹן אֲשֶׁר, Kittel (SBOT Chron.) deduces שָׂרֹן אֲשֶׁר, Sirion. Stanley, G. A. Smith, and Buhl, however, suppose that the שָׂרֹן or tableland of Gilead generally (Josh. 13:17-20) is meant. A place called שָׂרֹן is mentioned in Mesha's inscription (L. 13). But that, as Nöldeke points out, is probably farther to the S. The truth, however, probably is that 1 Ch. 5:11-17 comes from a document relating to the Negel, so that שָׂרֹן may very well represent שָׂרֹן (miswritten SHARHES).

SHARUHEN (שָׂרְהֵן); οι αβροι αυτων [BA], 1

Simeonite city in Judah (Josh. 19:6), generally thought to be the SILLIUM (שִׁלְיִם); צֶלְהַי [B], צֶלְהַי [M]), and SHAA'RAIM (שָׂאֲרַיִם); Sam. [1:17:5] טָוֶן פְּיָלֹן [BA]; Ch. צֶלְוֶרַעַם [BA], צֶלְוֶרַעַם [L] of the corresponding lists in Josh. 15:32 (not 30) and 1 Ch. 4:1. It is plausible to suppose that Sharuhēn, not Hebron, is the place opposite which, on a hill-top, Samson, according to legend, deposited the doors and posts of one of the gates of Gaza (Judg. 16:1). Certain a spot in the SW. of Palestine is more likely than Hebron, and Sharuhēn has this recommendation: it had for a second name (if 1 Ch. Lc. is correct) Shaaraim—i.e., 'the place of a gate.' The legend was perhaps to account for the name. We cannot point out the locality intended; but it is tempting to identify Sharuhēn (שָׂרְהֵן, Sharhōn?) with Šarahan, a name which, in the Egyptian inscriptions, designates a fortress of some importance on the road from Egypt to Gaza. For a time Šarahan was occupied by the Hyksos, and that brave warrior Aahmes, whose tomb has furnished an account of the war of liberation, took part in the siege of it (Kl. 1963, Renouf, Brugsch, G. I 232, cp. 255). The place is also mentioned in the Annals of Thutmose III., at the opening of the campaign, which was distinguished by the great battle of Megiddo (WMM, Ac. u. Eur. 158 f.; in KP 2:28 the names are wrongly read). Cp SHARON, 3. See also WMM, MITG, 1893 ('Studien zur vorderen Gesch. p. 23).

SHASHAI (שָׁשַׁי), § 58; צֶעֶעִי [BNA], צֶעֶעִי [B], h. Ithai, a layman, temp. Ezra (Ezra 10:4). In 1 Ch. 4:4 SESHIS (שֶׁשִׁישׁ) [BA], שֶׁשִׁישׁ [L]. Parallels suggest tracing this name to שָׁשׁ, Cushite.

SHASHAK (שָׁשַׁק), § 58; צֶעֶחַק [A], צֶעֶחַק [L]; צֶעֶחַחָ [B, v. 14], צֶעֶחַחַ [B, v. 25]. A Benjaminite clan-name. 1 Ch. 8:14:25 (see BENJAMIN, 9, 11 f., QR

1 Die Inschrift des Kön. Mesa, 1870, p. 20.

2 The letters of שָׁשַׁק were misarranged, and an ill-written שָׁ confounded with or altered into שָׁ. Cp Ezek. 22:25, 22:27.

SHAUL

11:23 § 1). Perhaps a distortion of שָׁשׁוּ, Cusham, which suits the related names. Cp Hishimi (Cushman), son of Aher (Jerahmeel) in 1 Ch. 7:12.

T. K. C.

SHAUL (שָׁאוּל; סΑΟΥΛ), the same name as SAUL (q.v.).

1. Name of a clan of SIMON (שֵׁם; Shaullites (שְׂאוּלִים) שְׂאוּלִים, סαουλι(ם) [BAFLD], Nu. 20:13, where the equivalence of 'son' and 'clan' is evident. In Gen. 46:16, Ex. 6:15, 1 Ch. 4:24, Shaul is Simon's son; the two former passages told, by a woman of Canaan (Σαουλοῦ υἱὸς τῆς Χαναανίτιδος [AM]), סαουλ υ. ב. א. [D], Gen. 46:16; ο υἱὸς τοῦ Σαουλ [BAFLD], סαουλ υ. ב. א. [L], Ex. 6:15), or rather perhaps of Kenaz (קנז for קנז, as in Jud. 4:2, cp SHAMBAK, § 2, and often). The name is S. Canaanish and N. Arabian (cp SAUL, SHALISH, SHEMII and Saul are both Benjamite names, and another 'son' of Simon is JAMIN (one of the best established modifications of 'Jerahmeel' [3, 5c]).

2. A Kohathite, and ancestor of Samuel, 1 Ch. 6:24 [9]. In 1 Ch. 6:25 [20] the name is יואל.

3. (Gen. 36:37, 1 Ch. 1:48-50). See SAUL, 2.

SHAVEH, VALE OF (שֵׁבַח הַבְּרָכָה; ΤΗΝ ΚΟΙΛΑΔΑ ΤΗΝ ΔΑΥΜΗΝ [A], ... ΔΑΥΜ [D]), the place where the king of Sodom met Abraham after the latter's victory over CHEDORLAOMER (q.v.), Gen. 14:17. An appended notice explains it as 'the king's vale' (see MELLICHAMPE, § 3). Shaveh can hardly mean 'the level' or 'plain' (on 7:5, where שָׁוִי again gives שָׁוִי, see SHAVEH-KIRIATHAIM). Hommel (LIT 151, n. 1) would amend שָׁוִי into שָׁבַח. The Vale of Shaveh then becomes the Vale of the King (Ass.-Bab. Sarri). More probably we should read שָׁבַח הַבְּרָכָה 'the highland of Maacath,' and the following gloss, 'that is, Maacath-jerahmeel.' Cp SODOM.

T. K. C.

SHAVEH-KIRIATHAIM (שֵׁבַח קִרְיָתַיִם; ΕΝ ΔΑΥΜ ΤΗ ΠΟΛΕΙ [AEL]), generally explained (e.g., EVMS) 'plain of Kiriat-haim' (see KIRIATHAIM). Gen. 14:5. It was the residence of the EMIM (q.v.). שָׁבַח, however, occurs again only in Gen. 14:17, where it is corrupt (see SHAVEH, VALLEY OF). C. J. Ball (Gen. 118) suggests here שָׁבַח. Read probably שָׁבַח הַבְּרָכָה 'the highland of the Rehobothite.' See SODOM.

T. K. C.

SHAVSEA (שָׁבְשָׁא; § 58; 1 Ch. 18:16; ΣΑΒΣΑ; Σαβσα [AEL]) also called, less correctly, SHISHA (1 K. 13, שִׁישָׁא; σαβα [B], σισσα [A], Ση, however, σαβα), and SHEVA (2 S. 20:25, שָׁבָא; Κλ. Ση, Κτ.; ησηου [B], σσηου [A], σσησα [L]), and SERATAH (שֵׁרָטָה; being inserted in the form שָׁרָט, 2 S. 17, σαα [B]).

Shavsha was David's scribe or secretary. His name is either = Bab. samsu = samsu, 'sun,'² so that Babylonian series were still in request (Marg. Fund. 22) or (cp SHESDAD) is a corruption of שָׁרָט (final κ as in שָׁבַח, ZIM). Driver, Wellhausen, and others agree in rejecting S-Elishah. The question is of some historical importance; which country influenced David most—Babylonia or N. Arabia?

T. K. C.

SHAWL, RV for שָׂמֶלֶט, AV 'wimple,' Is. 3:22. See MANTLE, § 2 [3]. VEH.

SHEAL (שָׂאֵל; ΣΑΛΟΥΙΔ [BN], ΣΑΛΑ [AL]), b. Bami, a layman, temp. Ezra; Ezra 10:20 = 1 Esd. 9:20 (σαλαος [BM], σαλαα [L]), RV JASAEI, RV JASAEIUS.

SHEALTIEL (שְׂאֵלְתִּיאֵל [but in Hag. 1:12-14 2 S. 1:17]), as if 'I have asked God,' §§ 34, 56, 79, but this is doubtful, since שָׂאֵל in names formed on this model may be formative; we expect, according to this theory, a gentile, and 'Eshtauli' [see ESHTAULI] suggests itself as the genuine name instead of Shealtiel;

1 Wellhausen (TBS, 202) suggests אֶשְׂרָה, Asherah, as the origin; he connects this view with a very difficult explanation of 2 S. 18:17, where he makes Absalom take 'the pillar (of the Asherah) in the King's Vale,' and set it up in his own behalf. Cp an old Aram. bilingual שִׂישָׁא (CIS 255) = Ass. 41:14041.

SHEBA

ΣΑΛΑΘΙΗΛ), b. Jeconiah 'the captive' (see ASSIR), or perhaps Asshur (שָׂשׁוּר; see Crit. Bib.), according to 1 Ch. 3:17 ff. the uncle, but elsewhere the father, of ZERUB BABEL [q.v.] (Ezra 3:2 [S. om.] § 52 Hag. 1:1, etc.).

In accordance with S the name is spelt SAULATHI by EV in 1 Esd. 5:4 (cp 6:2, and by AV in 1 Ch. 3:17 Mt. 1:2 and 1 K. 3:27. In 1 K. he is called 'the son of Neo,' on which see GENEALOGIES II, § 2. In 2 Esd. 5:16 SALATHIEL, RV PHALATHI, the 'captain of the people,' is an American reading; Pesh. reads 'Psaltiel.' See, further, Ball, *1 Chr. 3:17-18*.

T. K. C.

SHEARIAH (שְׂעָרְיָה; ΣΑΡΑΙΑ [BV], ΣΑΡΙΑ [BN]), Σαρια, σαρια [L], b. Azel in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (q.v., § 9, n. 8); 1 Ch. 8:24 = 9:44. On the name cp SHARAIM.

SHEARING HOUSE (בֵּית הַשִּׁבְרָה; 2 K. 10:12-14; Hch. BETH-ERED (q.v.)).

SHEAR-JASHUB (שְׂאָר יֵשׁוּב; 'a remnant shall return,' § 23). One of Isaiah's sons (Is. 7:3). See ISMAEL, PROPHET, § 4.

SHEBA (שֵׁבַע; ΣΑΒΒΑ [B], ΣΑΒΕ [A], ΣΑΒΕ [L]), a Simeonitish town, Josh. 19:2 (SIMON, § 10).

It is omitted in a very few MSS, and in the parallel passage, 1 Ch. 4:28. Its inclusion makes the reckoning in Josh. 19:2 inaccurate, unless for שֵׁבַע we there read שֵׁבַע with S (see SHAVSHA). For a possible way out of the difficulty see JOSHUA.

SHEBA (שֵׁבַע), perhaps from Lishiba [§ 50]; otherwise explained as a clan-name = Shema [שְׁמָא, SIMON, § 2]; or a name of the moon-god [W. G. 2:221]; cp בַּת-שֵׁבַע, BATH-SHEVA, and perhaps Nab. שֵׁבַע, CIS 2:115; but cp SOLOMON, § 2; ΣΑΒΕ [L].

1. Called b. Bikri (Bicht)—i.e., a member (like Saml probably) of the Benjamite clan BETHUR (cp BENJAMIN, § 9, n. 3).

For the story of his revolt see 2 S. 20 (after 1A, 27:1, 7); L. Σαββα υἱὸς βελουδῆ ἀπέχρησεν [Arl. hite?].

David was on his return to Jerusalem after Absalom's death, and a fierce quarrel had arisen between the men of Judah and the men of Israel. Sheba who 'happened' to be near, saw his opportunity, and called upon the latter to secede from David and claim their independence. The spark burst into a flame. All Israel took the side of Sheba; 'but the men of Judah from Jordan² as far as Jerusalem clave to their king.' There is reason, however, to think that the description is influenced by that of the great secession under Jeroboam (1 K. 12:16). Sheba's revolt was, no doubt, the result of some of the disintegrating influences which afterwards had such disastrous effect, but David who had just made his peace with Israel and Judah would surely have been able to prevent a revolt on such a large scale as 2 S. 20:2 indicates (see 19:41-43 [42-44]).³ Unless we adopt a conjecture made elsewhere (SAUL, § 1), the statement of 2 S. 14:22 (where BERTHE [q.v.] should certainly be emended into 'Bikrites') shows that the original opening of the narrative has been lost. What we know for certain is that Sheba, a kinsman of Saml, supported by his clan, made a bold attempt to revive the Israelitish kingdom. He sought in vain to stir up the northern tribes, and was besieged in the ancient city of ABEL-BETH-MAACAH (q.v.) by Joab. The walls were on the point of giving way to the attacks of the besiegers when a 'wise woman' (cp Eccles. 9:14, 1) made an arrangement with Joab, and saved the city. Sheba's head was

1 Most probably שְׂשַׁרְיָה, like the proper names שָׂשׁוּר and שָׂשׁוּר in 1 Ch., and שָׂשׁוּר (cp S in 1 S. 9:1), comes from שְׂשַׁרְיָה — T. K. C.

2 From the context, the S. border of Judah must be intended. It is probable that we should take שָׁרָט here to be the *nahal Mizraim* (see EGYPT, RIVER OF, and cp W. G. 1:741, 10:134, and Marg. Fund. 74).

3 The Bikrites joined Sheba, just as in a similar revolt the Benjamites joined Abner (cp 2 S.). The passage (20:12) however, is in some disorder. Perhaps we should read (transposing a and b), 'and all the Bikrites assembled and came after him, and they passed through' (שָׂשׁוּרִים), etc.

SHEBA

cut off and thrown out to Joab.¹ Thus the revolt was crushed.

Cheyne, however, maintains (SAUL, 1) that 'Abel-beth-maacah' is an editorial attempt to make sense of a corrupt passage, and that the true text of 2 S. 20 14 only states that 'Sheba passed on to Beth-jerahme'el, and was there besieged by Joab.² Beth-jerahme'el (= Beth-gilgal) is, on his theory, the centre of Saul's clan, where Sheba, like Mephibosheth, naturally sought refuge in distress.

The story of the revolt is contained in 2 S. 20 1 f. 6 f. 14-22. Verse 3 seems to be a parenthesis, introduced to connect the story more closely with the episode of Absalom. It is just possible, however, that this connection is a mistake, and that Sheba's revolt and that of Absalom happened in different parts of the reign of David (similarly Wi. *GT* 1 173 2 102). Verses 4 f. 8-13 contain a confused account of Amasa [7.7.], 1], interspersed with notices of the pursuit of Sheba (cp 10^b, 13^b with 7^b). The precise relation between the stories of Amasa and Sheba is not clearly indicated,³ and it is not at all certain that the account of Amasa's death formed part of the earliest narrative.

2. A Gadite, : Ch. 5 13 (σεβει [B], σοβαθε [A]).

S. A. C.

SHEBA (שֶׁבָא), usually שֶׁבָא [B.A. etc., L.], once or twice שֶׁבֶן [B.A. etc.], שֶׁבֶן [E], שֶׁבֶן [A], שֶׁבָא [B]; in Job 9 1, שֶׁבֶן [B.M.C.], שֶׁבֶן [A.], שֶׁבֶן [B.M.C.]; in Ps. 72 15 ἡ ἀραβίας [B.M.C.]; on Job 1 15, see below; Syr. *shebi*; Ar. *shabi*, in Sabaeen inscriptions 𐩦𐩣𐩪, Assy. *shu*; name of people 𐩦𐩣𐩪, Joel 3 8 [48]—unless with Merx we follow 𐩦𐩣𐩪, ἀιμαλωσιαν [B.A.] in reading '𐩦𐩣𐩪, 'captive'.⁴

One of the sons of Joktan, Gen. 10 28 [12], 1 Ch. 1 22. He is the eponym of the well-known Sabaeans (in SW. Arabia) who are mentioned also, with different genealogical connections, in Gen. 10 7 [P] and 25 3 [J.E.?] = 1 Ch. 1 32. Whether Jokshan be the same as Joktan or not (see JOKSHAN), we need not suppose two Shebas, a N. and S. Arabian, connected or distinct, still less three (so Knobel), as the three ethnographical classifications (Gen. 10 7 10 28 25 3) are probably drawn from three, certainly from, two sources. It is doubtless these Sabaeans from whom Tiglath-pileser III. reports that he received tribute, and to some of whose settlements Sargon refers as being tributary (*KA T*² 1 45 f.). Their queen came to visit Solomon, with camels, gold, and precious stones (1 K. 10 1 4 10 13 = 2 Ch. 9 1 3 9 12); cp 'kings of Sheba and Seba,' Ps. 72 10 (𐩦𐩣𐩪, but cp Che, ² *ad loc.*); in Is. 60 6 'they from Sheba' bring gold and incense, cp Jer. 6 20; in Job 6 19 they appear in caravans, and in Ezek. 27 22 (so 7. 23, but Co. with 𐩦𐩣𐩪 omits) they are traders in spices, jewels, and gold, cp Ezek. 38 13 Ps. 72 10 Is. 60 6 (barred with a gloss, see *SBOT*). In Joel 3 8 [48] they (plur. 𐩦𐩣𐩪) are 'a people far off,' to which the sons and daughters of Tyre and Sidon are to be sold by Judah, in judgment. Job 1 15 represents them as plunderers;⁵ but elsewhere they are unknown in this character. It is to this people that the Sabaean inscriptions are due; the name is 𐩦𐩣𐩪 in Sabaean (cp *CUSH*, 2).

On the recent discoveries of Glaser, and his historical inferences, see his own account, *Skizze*, 2 357 ff.; Sayce, *Crit. Mon.* 39 f.; Sprenger, *ZDMG*, 1893, 501 ff. On the story of the

¹ This story has scarcely a mythological basis in spite of Winckler (*GT* 2 240) and Stucken (*Uralmythen*, 67); cp Winckler's theory (above) of the meaning of 'Sheba.'

² Winckler also (*GT* 2 240) thinks it strange that Sheba should be as far as Abel-beth-maacah.

³ 𐩦𐩣𐩪 in 7. 7 (καταγγελοι: οτισα αυτου A. 7^b λαφ) might suggest that Amasa, when ordered to collect the warriors of Judah, took a number of men, and threw in his lot with Sheba. Otherwise we might assume that his death was simply the result of a private feud between him and Joab. The wording of 20 12 reminds us of that of 2 S. 2 23 (murder of Asahel). For a criticism of the whole narrative see *JVL*, 16 156 159 (1900).

⁴ On the name cp WMM, 'Die Sabaer in hieroglyph. Texten,' *Mitteil.*, 1908, pp. 15 ff.

⁵ 𐩦𐩣𐩪 and Pesh., however, find no proper name here (αιμαλωσιαν, 725 [B.A.], αιμαλωτισσαστες [M.], 𐩦𐩣𐩪); cp above on Joel 2 2.

SHEBNA

Queen of Sheba cp Stade, *GT* 1 309, n. 2; Ki. *Hist.* 2 102; Wi. *GT* 2 20 f.; Keane, *The Gold of Ophir*, 112 f. 1. 1.

SHEBAH, RV SHIBAH (שֶׁבִיחָה), 'seven'; perhaps taken as equivalent to שֶׁבִיחָה, 'oath'), the original name of Beer-sheba according to J (Gen. 26 33; OPKOL [ADEL.]). See BEERSHEBA.

SHEBAM (שֶׁבֶם), Nu. 32 3, RV 'Sebam'; in 7 33 SHIBMAH.

SHEBANIAH (שֶׁבְנִיָּהוּ and שֶׁבְנִיָּהוּ) either for שֶׁבְנִיָּהוּ, 'Yahweh has brought me back': see NAMES, § 30, or an early error, found also on seals [cp *PEF* 2, 1902, pp. 263 f.] for SHIBANIAH.

1. A Levite (Neh. 9 4 f.; B.A.M., σεβανιας [L.—i.e., Shebaniah]; in 7. 5 the σεβανιας of L. (but σεβανιας occurs as well) seems to represent rather HANSHANIAN [7.5.]).

2. Priestly signatory to the covenant (see EZRA 1, § 7); Nu. 10 4 [5] [שבנאיע [B.], שבנאיע [M.—i.e., שבנאיע [A.], שבנאיע [L.], cp 12 14, σεβανιου [M.—orig. inf. om. B.M.A.], σεβανια [L.], and see SHIBANIAH (1).

3, 4. Two names offered among the signatory Levites (Neh. 10 10 שבנאיע [B.], שבנאיע [M.], σεβανιας [L.], 10 12 שבנאיע [B.M.A.] שבנאיע [L.]).

5. A priest of the time of David (1 Ch. 15 24, שֶׁבְנִיָּהוּ, שֶׁבְנִיָּהוּ [B.], שבנאיע [M.], שבנאיע [A.], שבנאיע [L.]).

SHEBARIM (שֶׁבְרִים; *Sabarim*). The point to which (שֶׁבֶר) the Israelites were chased from the gate of Ai (Josh. 7 5). Apparently it was not far from A. for it is added that they were 'smitten on the saps' (descent), RV^{mc} gives 'the quarries'; 'the haggments (of rock)' might be better (Di.). But surely there must be an error in the text. 𐩦𐩣𐩪's συνέτριψαν αὐτοὺς (similarly Pesh. Tg.) presupposes שֶׁבֶר; cp Boudet in *SBOT*. Gratz suggests אֶתְּרֵם אֶתְּרֵם אֶתְּרֵם אֶתְּרֵם 'and they chased those who were left from before the gate.' But cp SHEBER.

SHEBAT (שֶׁבַת), Zech. 17, AV SEBAT; see MONTH.

SHEBER (שֶׁבֶר; שֶׁבֶר [B.], CE. [V.], שֶׁבֶר [L.]) one of the sons of CALLEB (7.7.) b. Hezion by his concubine Maacah (1 Ch. 2 49). Cp SHEBERIAH, which may be an expansion of Shirbi = Shibri, and may be a Negeb name (see *JVL*, 5 435).

SHEBNA (שֶׁבְנָה; § 51 [but שֶׁבְנָה, 2 K 18 18] where RV has SHEBNATH), possibly Aramaic [Di. Ki. etc.], or rather for שֶׁבְנָה = שֶׁבְנָה [Del.]; שֶׁבְנָה but COBNAE [B.] in Is. 36 3], a chief secretary or chancellor under Hezekiah (2 K. 18 18 19 2 Is. 36 3 22 37 2). Tradition identified him with the *sikēn*, or 'high officer' (AV 'treasurer,' RV 'steward'—both renderings are guesses), whose arrogance is so severely denounced by Isaiah in the only passage of personal invective which has come down to us (Is. 22 15-19 cp Am. 7 10 11). The fact that the last five words of Is. 22 15 have demonstrably been inserted by a later hand renders this identification doubtful. So at least Duhm puts the matter. But the strong probability is that שֶׁבְנָה (so read) or שֶׁבְנָה and שֶׁבְנָה both come from שֶׁבְנָה, 'Cushanite.' Shebna was certainly a foreigner, and most likely a N. Arabian. Hezekiah seems to have sent an embassy to Pir'u, king of the N. Arabian Musri, to whom Hanuni, king of Gaza, had fled for refuge. It may be conjectured that שֶׁבְנָה 'this Cushanite,' as Isaiah disparagingly calls him, came to Jerusalem in connection with these negotiations. Isaiah predicts his punishment. He was found to fail at last; but, according to the traditional theory, he only fell to a lower post in the king's service—that of chief secretary. This is certainly not inconceivable. Though the man had no family connections at Jerusalem, he may have been too useful to his party to be neglected, and the Arabian party may have been still powerful enough to dictate the choice of a chancellor. (See, however,

¹ In this case one would expect the Hiphil שֶׁבְנָה.
² A Phoenician inscription (*CIS* 1 4, p. 25) speaks of a *shebna* of the new city—i.e., Tyre.

SHEBUEL

SHECHEM

ASL 544.) The next point to mention is one on which, until quite lately, critics have been agreed. If Is. 22:20-23 is the work of Isaiah, it follows that the prophet hoped great things from a change in the grand viceroyship. The day when a king would reign righteously and princes would rule justly (Is. 32:1) seemed, if we accept this view, about to dawn. Hence the strong language, almost Messianic in its tone, with which Isaiah hails in spirit the elevation of his disciple Eliakim.¹

Further criticism has convinced the present writer that Is. 22:20-23 is a late addition, or rather, 22:20-23 form an additional passage, and 22:24-25 another. The second of these insertions is in the highest degree prosaic, and even the first is both in tone and in style un-Isaianic. The writer of 22:20-23 probably knew no more than we know; he built upon the very scanty material contained in Is. 36:3 and the related passages. That Isaiah presumed to nominate a grand vizier is improbable; that he would have expected great things from a change in the viceroyship is, to those who have followed recent criticism of other parts of Is. 1-33, still more improbable. Lastly, that Eliakim's career was cut short in the way described in the second insertion, is, though possible enough (cp Che. *Proph. Is.*, on Is. 22:25), neither affirmed nor contradicted by any evidence such as a historian can receive. Cp Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* 1:308 n. 4, and on the Shebna question, Kamphausen, 'Isaiah's Prophecy against the Major Domo,' *ASL*, Jan. 1901; Cheyne, *ibid.*, July 1901. T. K. C.

SHEBUEL (שְׁבֻעַל; § 31; COYBAMA), a Gershonite (1 Ch. 23:16, שׁוּבְעַל [L]; 26:24, שְׁבֻעַל [B], שׁוּבְעַל [L]); also a son of Heman (1 Ch. 25:4). ¹ reads שׁוּבְעַל—i. e., שְׁבֻעַל, SHEBUEL (q. v.).

SHECANIAH (so RV; and AV in 1 Ch. 24:11 2 Ch. 31:15, שְׁכַנְיָהּ, and twice שְׁכַנְיָהּ, perhaps [see § 35]) Yahweh dwells [among his worshippers], or, if s whence incorrectly is] is formative, a gentile, by transposition from שְׁכַנְיָהּ [Cushaite], so Che. [see STEBNA]; CEK-ENIA [C] generally.

1. A priestly clan in post-exilic times (Neh. 12:3 שְׁכַנְיָהּ [L], שְׁכַנְיָהּ [L]), whose name appears incorrectly as SHEBANIAH, 7:14 (an. B. A. אֶשְׁכַנְיָהּ [L]—log. inf. cp 10:4), with Joseph at its head. The Chronicler transfers him to the times of David, when he holds the tenth priestly course (1 Ch. 24:11, שְׁכַנְיָהּ [L], שְׁכַנְיָהּ [L]); he appears again in the times of Hezekiah (2 Ch. 31:15; שְׁכַנְיָהּ [L]). It is notable that the three names Shebaniah, Mijamin, and Jeshua are common to the three lists in 1 Ch. 24:1-12 2 Ch. 31:15, and Neh. 12:7. His name should probably be read in Neh. 12:7, in place of ZEPHANIAH (q. v.).

2. A descendant of Zerubbabel (1 Ch. 32:17, cp Ezra 8:3 [שְׁכַנְיָהּ B, שְׁכַנְיָהּ A] 1 Esd. 8:29 [B om.], SHECANIAH); see HATTUSI.

3. b. LAHAZIEL (5), of the sons of ZATTU (Ezra 8:5, om. II, שְׁכַנְיָהּ [A], שְׁכַנְיָהּ [L], 1 Esd. 8:22, SHECANIAS).

4. b. Iehiel, of the line of Eliam, who encouraged Ezra in his marriage reforms (Ezra 10:2); in 1 Esd. 8:22 [59], his name is given as IUDONIAS (שְׁכַנְיָהּ [B], שְׁכַנְיָהּ [L]). The difference in the readings rests on a substitution of s for g, which is conceivable in an older alphabet.

5. The father of SHEMAIAH (q. v.) (Neh. 3:20, שְׁכַנְיָהּ [B]).

6. b. Arab (2), father-in-law of TOBIYAH (Neh. 6:18).

SHECHEM (שֶׁכֶּם; CYKEM [esp. in B] CUKAMA [esp. in A], *Shechem*), now *Nablus*, a city of Palestine. Eleven hours from Jerusalem on the great north road the traveller finds himself in the broad upland plain of Mihna (1600 feet above the sea), with Mount Gerizim on his left; skirting the base of the mountain he reaches the traditional well of Jacob (see SYCHAR). Here the road divides: the caravan route to Dimasens continues northward by the village of Askar (Sychar), and so to Beisan (Beth-shan) and Tiberias; but the way to Samaria turns westward into a fertile and well-watered side valley between Gerizim (2840 ft.) on the S. and Ebal (3077 ft.) on the N. This is the Vale of Shechem or Nablus; it is in fact an easy pass between

the Mediterranean and Jordan basins, and at the watershed (1870 ft.), where the city stands, 1½ m. from Jacob's Well, is not more than 100 yds. wide. Thus Shechem commands both branches of the great north road, and several routes from the coast also converge here and connect with the ancient road from Shechem eastward to Kerāwa (Archelais) and es-Salt, the capital of the Bekā. Cp EPHRAIM, § 4. The name of Shechem (shoulder, back) accords with the position of the town on the watershed, and the native name in Josephus's time. (Mabortha [Nabe] or Malabatha [Niese] *RV*, 8:1; [Pliny, *IV* 56], has Mamortha, means simply: the pass.) The situation of Shechem at the crossing of so many great roads must have given it importance at a very early date, and it is still a busy town of some 20,000 inhabitants, with soap manufactures and considerable trade. On the other hand, the position is equally favourable under weak governments for brigandage. It was about their practice of brigandage that the Shechemites fell out with AUMELI CII (Judg. 9:25), who, however, with his own mercenaries proved too strong for his adversaries (cp GAAL). Canaanite Shechem was utterly destroyed; its place was taken by a Hebrew city, and the Canaanite sanctuary of El-berth was transformed into a holy place of the God of Israel. The great stone under the famous sacred tree¹ at the sanctuary (see MOREH, MEONENIM) was said to have been set up by Joshua (Josh. 24:26; in Josh. 24:25 ² has Σηλω, and Joseph's grave was shown there.³ All this indicates that Shechem was once the chief sanctuary of Joseph, and so we understand why Rehoboam went to Shechem to be crowned king of Northern Israel and why [if the traditional text is correct—see § 2] Jeroboam at first made it his royal residence (1 K. 12:25, ² τὴν σάκκον). Politically Shechem was supplanted by Samaria; but it appears to have been still a sanctuary in the time of Hosea (6:6). It survived the fall of Ephraim (Jer. 41:5) and ultimately became the religious centre of the SAMARITANS (q. v.); cp Ezech. 5:6, which runs, according to the Hebrew text, 'The inhabitants of Seir and Philistia, and the foolish nation that dwelleth in Shechem.'

The Greek name Neapolis, known to Josephus, indicates the building of a new town, which, according to Eusebius and Jerome, was a little way⁴ on the old Shechem, or at least did not include the traditional holy sites. The coins give the form Flavia Neapolis. Neapolis was the birth-place of Justin Martyr, and became the seat of a bishopric. Five Christian churches destroyed by the Samaritans in the time of Anastasius were rebuilt by Justinian (Procop. *De Ed.* v. 7). Remains of one of these seem to survive in the crusaders' church of the Passion and Resurrection (1167), now the great mosque. Neapolis had much to suffer in the crusades; it was finally lost to the Christians soon after Saladin's great victory at Hattin.

Shechem (Nablus) is highly favoured by nature. Nestling between the two sacred mountains, EBAL and GERIZIM, and embowered in luxuriant vegetation, it cannot fail to charm the traveller approaching it from the S. The atmosphere too is more pleasant; all forms of life rejoice in the best natural 'gift of God' in the East—running water. Truly it was not in search of fountains that any woman of Shechem would come to Jacob's well, for fountains seem to break out in all directions, and water from some of them runs through the streets of the city (Robinson, *Later Researches*, 131). A map of the Shechem valley, with topographical details, etc., will be found in *PEEL*, vol. II.

There has been much resultless discussion of that singular narrative in Gen. 34, which usually serves as an authority for the early history of Shechem. The whole story (even if distributed between two writers) is so improbable that to extract a historical element from it is just as difficult as to suppose it to be a pure fiction. The problems raised by critics (see DINATIARE, however,

¹ Euz. gives the tree (terebinthus) of Gen. 35:4 (שְׁכַנְיָהּ [L] B) a place in *Onom.*; and from it probably the bishop Terebinthus in Procop. *De Ed.* 5:7 had his name.

² In Josh. 24:25 Kue. and Di. read שְׁכַנְיָהּ for the difficult שְׁכַנְיָהּ.

¹ On the authorship of this prophecy, see ISMAEL [BOOK], § 20, 2 Ch. *Proph. Is.* 1:18; cp *ASL*, *Isaiah*, 1:12.

² A number of the names with which Shecaniah is connected in the list will confirm this.

SHECHEM

not insoluble; they settle themselves as soon as we apply a methodical criticism to the text. The whole story of the circumcision has arisen, as in the case of the Gilbeath ha-ardoth¹ (Josh. 5.3), from an early corruption of the text. That a city was attacked and plundered by the Simeon and Levi clans, may be admitted; but the name of the city was probably not Shechem but Cusham-Jerahmeel, i.e.—it was one of the chief cities of the Jerahmeelite portion of the N. Arabian territory called CUSH or CUSHAN (=CUSHAM)—not improbably Halūshah (see ZIKKAM), if it is right to identify this city with the 'Lairsh' of Judg. 18.27, which afterwards (for a time) went by the name of Dan.²

We can now explain two obscure passages in Genesis, viz. (a) Gen. 48.22, where Jacob says, 'I have given to thee one portion (שָׁמַר עִיר); וְשֵׁמִי אֶפְרַיִם' (cp. Jn. 4.5) above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow.' This should almost certainly be, 'I give thee Cusham-Jerahmeel, which thou shalt take from the hand of the Jerahmeelite.' Here we have a divine promise of success (to Simeon and Levi) in the war against the Jerahmeelites, for which no place could be found in the transformed story now found in Gen. 34.³ (b) 49.6, where שָׁמַר probably means 'hyenas,' and the second line should run, 'They have rent (שָׁמַר, cp. Ass. *akūlu*) Cushan-Jerahmeel.' Cp. SWOKIT.

It is true, there was another form of the legend of the acquisition of Cusham-Jerahmeel. It is preserved in Gen. 33.18-20, where it is possible that it is originally ran, 'and Jacob came to Halūshah (corrupted into שָׁרָה, and then into שָׁרָה=שָׁרָה), a city of Cusham, which is in the land of the Kemizite, [when he came from Harran,] and encamped before the city, and bought the piece of ground, etc., of Cusham-Jerahmeel for a mina of Carchemish; and he erected a massabah there, and called it Bethel of the Jerahmeelites.' Cp. KESITAH, LXX, ZIKKAM. For a slightly different form of the enunciation see *Crit. Bib.*

3. Other supposed references.

There are yet two other cases in which Shechem has increased its reputation at the expense of the almost forgotten city of Halūshah in 'Cusham.' The first is in the history of Rehoboam's accession (see REHOBOM). The second, in that of Jeroboam, who, as MT suggests (see § 1), made Shechem his royal residence. There is evidence, however (see JEROBOAM, § 1), that his usual residence was at 'Tirzah' (see TIRZAH), and it does not seem likely that he moved for a time to Shechem. In fact, 1 K. 12.25 does not fit in at all well with vs. 26-33.

Probably (see *Crit. Bib.*) the original reading was as follows, —'And Jeroboam built Cusham in the highlands of Jerahmeel, and offered sacrifices, and the children of Israel presented themselves (there). And he made two golden calves, and said, Enough of your going up to Jerusalem: behold thy deity, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt. And he set them in Bethel of the Jerahmeelites [in Dan of the Jerahmeelites]. And this thing became a sin, for the people went to commit adultery (שָׁמַר) even to Dan.' Cp. Am. 8.14, 'Those that swear by the sin of Shimron (שָׁמַר שִׁמְרוֹן), and say, As thy god, O Dan, liveth; and, As thy *numen* (either שָׁמַר or שָׁמַר), O Beersheba, liveth,' etc., and see further *Crit. Bib.*

It was not with Shechem, therefore, but with Cusham that Jeroboam's name is linked in true history, and

¹ The true name was doubtless Gilbeath-Jerahmeelim. The second part of this compound name became *Jerahmeel*, owing to the effacement of part of the original word. Parallels are the erroneous reading 'uncircumcised (Gileam) Philistines' (for 'Jerahmeelites Philistines,' where one of the two words is a gloss on the other), and the strange stories in Ex. 4.24-26 and 1 S. 18.25-27 (see MOSES, § 7, with n. 2).
² The theory is that Halūshah was first attacked by the Itanites, who, however, sank into the condition of a protected clan (Gen. 34.11, 'as a harlot'); cp. Josh. 2.16, Rahab the harlot, and ultimately became extinct. The disappearance of the Danites is thus expressed in the most probable form of the text of Gen. 35.9. 'And Dinah, Jacob's eldest daughter, died, and was buried below Bethel'; the southern Bethel is meant, another name for which was Dan (this supplies the key for 1 K. 12.29, see ZIKKAM). 'Dinah' is a collateral fem. form to Dan.
³ 'I took' (שָׁמַר) is clearly wrong, for how could Jacob say that he had conquered the city in the persons of his sons Simeon and Levi? Wölffinger (*Gen.*, 255) aptly remarks that v. 22 'refers to a lost version of the legend, of which E. gives a transformation in Gen. 34.'

SHEEP

Cusham may mean Halūshah (or Dan) and Bethel, Bethel with its sanctuary and citadel being of course adjacent to the city of Halūshah. The Negeb, therefore, or at any rate the greater part of it, cannot either in Jeroboam's time or in that of Amos have been in the possession of the kingdom of Judah.

Nor can we even venture to assert that Shechem was the place where the great national assembly was held which determined the fate of the people of Israel for all time. It was only afterwards through the Samaritans that it advanced a claim to be the religious centre of the land. We may regret these results; but at least the reader will admit that if the fame of Shechem has here been curtailed, an almost forgotten place in the true Holy Land of the Israelites (see PROPHECY, § 6) has been restored to its ancient dignity.

See Vogelstein, 'Shechem and Bethel,' *JQR* 4, 1892, 191 ff. W. R. S.—T. K. C., § 1; T. K. C., § 2 f.

SHECHEM, TOWER OF (מִגְדַּל שֶׁחֶמ)

Migdal-shechem. As the story of Abimelech now stands, Migdal-shechem was an unvalled town in the neighbourhood of Shechem, which owed its name perhaps to a tower (*migdal*) that stood there, and would appear to have had a temple dedicated to El-berith (Judg. 9.46 f. 47). But the original story, in which Abimelech's city was probably not Shechem but Cusham, may, it seems, very possibly have had, not שָׁמַר שִׁמְרוֹן but [שָׁמַר] שְׁמֵחָה—i.e., 'Jerahmeelites [gloss, Cushites].' Observe that in the MT of vs. 6 and 20 the 'men of Shechem' and the 'house of Millo' (see MILLO) are co-ordinated.

The original story probably had in lieu of these corrupt phrases 'the men of Cusham' and 'the house of Jerahmeel,' the latter phrase is equivalent to 'Jerahmeelites' in Judg. 9.46 f. 47. 'The house of El-berith' (=Ibal-berith) has perhaps come from 'the house of El-rehoboth' (i.e., of the divinity of Rehoboth); it was probably very near Cusham or Halūshah, just as Peniel was close to Succoth (GIDEON, § 2). See SIMEON.

SHEDEUR (שֵׁדֵי עֹר; εὐδαίον [BFL], εἰδαίον [A]), father of the Reubenite 'prince' Elizur: Nu. 13.21 to 7.30 (εὐδαίον [B^a], εὐδαίον [B^b], εἰδαίον [A]), 35 (εὐδαίον [A and in 10.18]); all P. See PENHAZUR.

Apparently compounded of the divine name שָׁדַי (Shaddai) and עֹר, 'fire' (§ 43; Nölde, *ZDMG* 18 [1866] 809, n. 1; Nölde, *Ergänz.*, 46); Frd. Delitzsch (*Prot.*, 96) explains 'dayoak,' from Ass. *had ur*, but improbably. Rather perhaps miswritten for שֵׁדֵי עֹר, 'Suriel,' a variant to שֵׁדֵי עֹר, 'Suriel' (see ZIKKAM NAMES WITH).

SHEEP. The large part played by this animal in the life of the people of Palestine is evinced by the very many references to it contained in their literature. The sheep was domestic and later than the ox. Mariette found no trace of sheep amongst the Egyptians during the fifth dynasty, when oxen were common. The avirum of rams at Karnak is attributed to the eighteenth dynasty, about 1750 B.C., by which time they were probably domesticated. The origin of the domestic variety of sheep, usually known as *Ovis aries*, whether 'from any one of the existing wild species or from the crossing of several or from some now extinct species, is quite a matter of conjecture.' The sheep of Palestine at the present day are according to Tristram usually pie-bald or skew-bald. 'They fall into two different breeds, of which by far the commonest and in many places the only one, is the broad-tailed sheep (var. *laticaudata*). This remarkable animal is distinguished by an enormous deposit of fat in the tail (שָׁמַר, Ex. 29.22 Lev. 3.9 etc.; for 1 S. 17. see Dr.), which sometimes accumulates to such an extent

¹ The question of the introduction of sheep into Egypt has been recently advanced through the researches of Thémis (Maspero, *Rec. de Travaux*, 22 199-212), and, more especially, of Lur-1 and Gaillard (*op. cit.*, 244-77).
² White as snow, e.g. Ps. 147.16; brown, Gen. 30.33 (P. COLOURS, § E); flecked and speckled, v. 32 (*ib.*, § 1.).

SHEEP

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that the appendage has to be provided with a small sledge on which it is borne. Such tails have been known to exceed 50 lbs. in weight, and are esteemed a delicacy by the Arabs. In S. Palestine a horned variety similar to the Merino is now found; but it is not certain whether it was there in the time of the Israelites. On the sheep of Arabia see Palgrave, *FN⁹* 242b, Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1426.

From a consideration of the various names for sheep (cp below, § 2), Hommel (*Saugthiere b. d. Sem. Volk.* 250 f.) concludes that among the earliest Semites the sheep did not occupy so important a position as the goat, that it does not belong to their oldest domesticated animals, and that it came to them from Central Asia by way of Mesopotamia. In this connection it is interesting to observe that among the Indo-Germanic races, on the other hand, the sheep appears to have been the first animal to be domesticated, and that its position is more important than that held by other cattle (O. Schrader, *Indogerm. Altertumsk.* 27, 'Schaf').

The Hebrew words which have to be recorded are:

- 1. *šān* (שָׁן), coll. for small cattle, sheep, and goats: *שׁוֹמְרוֹן*, cp below no. 15.
- 2. *šeh* (שֶׁה), Dt. 14 etc., any single member of the above. The Egyptian derivative appears to be used of the fat-tailed sheep, *šeh* (C. Z. 4109).
- 3. *šayil* (שַׁיִל), 'ram', as opposed to *ayyal* HART (q.v.); on the two words see esp. *OLZ.* 1908, col. 202 f.
- 4. *šehil* (שֶׁהִל), Gen. 31:38 32:15 1s. 387, Cant. 6:6, 'ewe', the Ar. *rikhal*, *rikhal* (mod. *rikhal*, Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1429) is used of the lamb.
- 5. *šayr* (שַׁיִר), Dt. 32:14, 1s. 101 etc. (*ἄρνός*, *ἀρνός*), 'young lamb', perhaps from idea of skipping or dancing. Also 'battering-ram', see SHEAR?
- 6. *šehel* (שֶׁהֶל), also *šehel* (שֶׁהֶל), a lamb of one or two years, esp. used with reference to sacrifices. On the Heb. words see Hommel, *op. cit.* 215 n. 241.
- 7. *šeh* (שֶׁה), 1s. 40 11 65 25 (*ἄρνός*), an older lamb (mod. *šeh*, a yearling, see Doughty, 1429 249); see TALITHA.

For the sake of completeness we should add—
8. *šeh*, whence *šehel*, a sheep-raiser or dealer, 2 K. 8:4 Am. 11 (also 7:14 with We., Now., Dr.). Cp Ar. *shahad*, 'a kind of small sheep with very abundant wool' (BDB), and see MESHIA, col. 3942, n. 7.
9. *šeh*, 'lamb', known in B. Aram. (*Ezra* 7:17), Ar., Ass., and Phen. (*CS* 1:195, f. 6; — the Marseilles sacrificial tariff)—not in Heb. Phen. also 18—
10. *šeh* (*CS* 1:18), the Canaanite equivalent of the common Aram. *šeh* 'sheep, lamb'.
11. 'lamb of the flock,' *Eccles.* 4:7 *בְּנֵי בֶשֶׁת*, lit. 'sons of Bashan' (*ἀρνῶσι προσβαίρων* [BBA]); cp Dt. 32:14, and see BASHAN, § 2 end.

- 12. *šehel*, Gen. 33:10 (AVmg. 'lamb'); see KENITAN.
- The Greek words are familiar:
- 13. *sheph*. In 1:20, etc.; used in *ἄ* esp. for nos. 4, 6.
 - 14. *sheph*, Ik. 10:3, etc.
 - 15. *sheph*, Rev. 5:6 etc.; used in *ἄ* for no. 6.
 - 16. *sheph*, Mt. 9:35, etc.; in *ἄ* esp. for nos. 1 and 2.

The wealth of a pastoral and nomadic people consists largely of their flocks, and the very large number of sheep which the ancient Hebrews possessed is shown by the numbers, perhaps exaggerated, which the Hagrites (1 Ch. 5:21) and Mechanites Nu. 31:21 are reported to have lost in their contests with Israel, and by the prodigious numbers which were sacrificed at the dedication of the Temple and on other occasions (1 K. 8:63, etc.). See SACRIFICE, §§ 33, etc. Except on such occasions the sheep were seldom slaughtered to provide food, though a lamb or kid was the usual dish offered for the entertainment of a stranger (cp *Lev.* §§ 8, 14 f., CATTLE, § 8). The best pastures were in S. Palestine (the Negeb, Carmel [1 S. 25], Gerar [Gen. 10:14], Timnath [*ib.* 38:13], and the plain to the E. of Jordan; see CATTLE, § 3, and cp GORDAN, col. 1748).² The sheep were valued chiefly for the wool, the shearing of which was the occasion of an annual festival (see WOOL).³ The ewe's milk was also con-

sumed (see MILK). The horns of the Syrian ram are as a rule large and curved backward; they were used as musical instruments (*Josh.* 6:4) and as receptacles for oil, etc. (1 S. 16:1); cp HORN. The skins were also used as coverings for tents, etc. (see TENT) and probably for clothing (*Heb.* 11:37).⁴ The sheep were constantly moved about in search for new pasture, and it is customary in the East for the shepherd to lead his flock (*Jn.* 10:3 f.) and to know, and often name, every member of it.⁵ At night the sheep are gathered into natural or roughly-made folds (see CATTLE, § 5 f., GOAT, § 3). Sheep-dogs are used less for herding than as a protection against wild animals (*Decc.* § 1).

¹ Cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1402; Herod. 3:113, with Rawlinson's notes, and above, col. 1314, n. 2. According to Thilenius (*op. cit.* 2), it was introduced into Upper Egypt from Asia by the twelfth dynasty.
² Other references are to Shechem (*Gen.* 34:26), the 'sons of the East' (*ib.* 29:2 ff.), Uz (*Job.* 1:3, 42:12), and Egypt (*Gen.* 12:16 Ex. 9:3).
³ Sheep-shearing. It may be noted, does not go back to primitive times: the earlier custom is to pluck the wool with the hands (O. Schrader, *op. cit.* 'Schaf', Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Hausti.* 6:593).

For further general remarks on small cattle, see CATTLE, GOAT.
For Sheep-fold, see CATTLE, § 4, and for Sheep-gate (*Jn.* 5:2 AV 'sheep-market'), see JERUSALEM, §§ 24 (col. 2424 col.), 30.
For Shepherd, see CATTLE, § 6; on the figurative use of the word ('pastor' = bishop, see MINISTRY, §§ 306, 477; and for the non-canonical 'Shepherd of Hermas', see CANON, §§ 65, 72, PROPHETIC LIT., § 31, and SHEPHERD OF HERMAS.

A. E. S. S. A. C.
SHEERAH (שֶׁרָה), 1 Ch. 7:24 RV, AV SHEERAH (q.v.).
SHEET. 1. שֶׁטֶף, *šadin*, *Judg.* 14:12. See MANTLE, 4.
2. שֶׁטֶף, *šepeth*, *Ruth* 3:15 AVmg. See MANTLE, 3: 3. שֶׁטֶף, Acts 10:11 15. See LINEN, 1 and 9.
SHEHARIAH (שְׁהַרְיָה); שְׁהַרְיָה [SH.], שְׁהַרְיָה [A], b. Jeroham in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (q.v., § 9, ii. 3), 1 Ch. 8:26.
The name may mean either 'Yahwè is the dawn' (שֶׁ 35, 44) or 'the Shahrute.' Parallel is ZERADIAH (q.v.). שֶׁ occurs as a place-name in *Josh.* 13:3, etc. (see SHUR), and, with *sh* prefixed, as a clan-name in 1 Ch. 2:24 45. Of the latter form (Ashhur) AUSHARAK may be a late and artificial expansion, just as Shehariah is a late and artificial expansion of Shahr. Cp also HODESH (= Shahr, Ashhur) in 1 Ch. 8:9, and the non-biblical Hebrew name Sheharfor (see ZERADIAH, 2-4). All these names are southern.
T. K. C.

SHEKEL (שֶׁקֶל), cp *šehel*, 'to weigh'; σικλος, σικλος signifies either a weight or a coin. As the invention of coinage dates from the seventh century B.C., and no coins were issued in districts from which they would be likely to penetrate to Palestine before the time of Darius Hystaspis (522-485 B.C.), all biblical references to shekels or any kind of money before the return from the exile must be understood of uncoined metal, for which the scales were used (cp *Gen.* 23:16). The metal was usually cast in ingots (cp the meaning of *šehel*, a round, cake-like disc) or bars, of a fixed weight (cp 1 S. 9:8), or may have taken the form of ornaments of which the weight was known (e.g., Rebekah's ornaments, *Gen.* 24:22). Any such piece of metal, if stamped with the recognised mark of the government, guaranteeing its quality and weight, so that the scales could be dispensed with, would rightly be called a coin; but the custom of stamping the smaller pieces of precious metal in this way and for purposes of exchange was not, so far as we know, systematised before the date mentioned.
Of the many weight-systems employed in antiquity, only three can seriously claim to have been in use in Palestine in early times (see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, § 4). These are known as the gold-shekel standard (Ridge-way's ox-standard), the Babylonian, and the Phoenician respectively, the Phoenician being a

- 1. Uncoined metal.
2. Palestinian weight-systems.

¹ Gr. *σηλαση*, which in OT renders שֶׁקֶל, see DEBS, § 8.
² On the shepherd's life cp also Doughty, 1428; 'there is none will take up the herdsman's life, but it be of bare necessity.' The statement in *Gen.* 46:14 is not directly supported by the evidence of the monuments, 'but the keepers of oxen and swine were considered in Egypt to follow a degrading occupation. They are depicted as dirty, unshaven, poorly clad, and even as dwarfs and deformed' (Driver, *Antiquity and Archaeology*, 59 f.).
³ A list of the passages where the word occurs is given by Madden (see below, § 7), 15.

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derivative of the Babylonian. The chief denominations were the talent ($\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\nu$, $\tau\alpha\lambda$, $\alpha\lambda\gamma\alpha\rho$, Jos. *Ant.* iii. 67), the mina ($\mu\omicron\nu\nu\alpha$, $\mu\omicron\nu$, MASEH [$\mu\omicron\nu$], cp Ezek 45:12; translated 'pound' in 1 K 10:17, Ezra 2:69, Neh 7:71 f.; the word 'pound' is also used for *Asra*, the Roman *libra* of 5053.3 grs. troy, in Jn. 12:10, and the shekel.¹ For ordinary purposes the talent was divided into 60 minas, and the mina into 60 shekels; but for weighing gold a mina of only 50 shekels and a talent of 3000 instead of 3600 shekels were used. The shekel was the same in both. Further, payments to the royal treasury in Babylonia were calculated on a slightly higher scale (the 'royal norm') than ordinary payments (for which the 'common norm' was used). This difference is probably alluded to in 2 S 14:26: Absalom's hair weighed 'two hundred shekels after the king's weight.' Schrader [*A. V.* 17²⁶:142] supposes that the trade-shekel weighed more than the money-shekel, and that the heavier is here referred to; but there seems to be no reason for identifying the trade-norm with the royal-norm. Next, since it was desirable to be able to exchange a round number of shekels (minas, talents) of silver against a shekel (mina, talent) of gold, and since the ratio of value between gold and silver was inconveniently $13\frac{1}{2} : 1$, a new shekel (mina, talent) had to be established for the weighing of the less precious metal. Finally, there were two systems, the heavy and the light, in the former of which the denominations weighed twice as much as in the latter.

The evidence of extant Babylonian weights, checked by the weights of coins struck in later times on derived standards, enables us to obtain the following series of weights used for the precious metals:—

	ROYAL NORM.		COMMON NORM.	
	Heavy.	Light.	Heavy.	Light.
	grs. troy.	grs. troy.	grs. troy.	grs. troy.
Talent . . .	777.780 ^a	483.891 ^b	757.380 ^c	378.690 ^d
Mina . . .	12,961 ^e	6,411.5 ^f	12,623 ^g	6,311.5 ^h
Shekel . . .	250.3 ⁱ	129.63 ^k	252.5 ^j	126.23 ^m
Value of the gold shekel in silver	3,457.3	17,88.4	3,356.6	1,684.3
(i.e. ten pieces of silver of	345.73 ⁿ	172.8 ^o	336.6 ^p	168.4 ^q
Or fifteen pieces of silver of	230.5 ^r	115.2 ^s	224.4 ^t	112.2 ^u

By adopting silver units of the weights given in the last two rows, a round number of units of silver (10 or 15) could always be exchanged against a single unit of gold, provided the two belonged to the same norm and system. The standard according to which ten pieces of silver corresponded to one of gold is known as the Babylonian or Persian, because silver coins which agree with this standard were struck by the Persian kings (who adopted it from its Babylonian source) and by their immediate subordinates; the standard reached the Greeks overland through districts, such as Lydia, which were under Persian influence. On the other hand, the standard equating fifteen pieces of silver to one of gold was adopted by the great Phœnician trading cities, and reached the Greeks directly by sea; hence it is known as the Phœnician standard.

What evidence, then, have we for the use of either or both of these systems in Palestine? A certain number of extant weights (see **3. Evidence for Palestine.** WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, § 4) seem to suggest that a low form of the Babylonian shekel was in use in Palestine. On the other hand, the literary and numismatic evidence points to the Phœnician standard having been used, at least in post-exilic times, side by side with the other system.

¹ [See also, KESITAM.]

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In the first place, we know (by calculation) from Ex 38:25 f. [1¹] that the Hebrew talent contained 3000 shekels. Again, Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 71) equates the mina used for weighing gold to 2½ Roman pounds—i.e., 12,633.3 grs. troy—which is very near to the heavy gold mina of the common norm (gr.). The same writer (*op. cit.* iii. 67) speaks of a sum of '100 minas, which the Hebrews call $\alpha\lambda\gamma\alpha\rho$, which being translated into Greek means $\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\nu$.' If we take the mina here mentioned to be the gold mina (gr.) of 12,623 grs. (heavy) or 6,311.5 grs. (light) (H), we obtain a talent of 1,262,300 grs. (heavy) or 631,150 grs. (light). The 3053 part, or shekel, of this talent would be 420.73 grs. (heavy) or 210.36 grs. (light). These weights are somewhat lighter than the normal weights of the heavy double shekel and shekel (7) of the Phœnician standard (common norm); but it is noticeable that the earliest coins (double staters and staters) of Sidon and Tyre (issued in the 5th cent. B.C.) seldom rise to the normal weight of 448.8 grs. and 224.4 grs., the effective weight being usually much nearer the amounts just arrived at, and rarely rising above 426 grs. (213 grs.). Again, various metrological authorities of ancient though late date (see Hultsch, *Metrolog. Script. Kelt.*, Index, under $\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\nu$, 17) equate the Hebrew talent to 125 Roman lbs.—i.e., 631,665.3 grs. The shekel of this talent would be 210.55 grs. Finally, Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 82) equates the Hebrew coin called $\sigma\iota\alpha\delta\omicron\varsigma$ —i.e., the silver shekel—to four 'Attic drachms,' 'Attic drachm' in his day was equivalent to the Roman denarius, which was fixed by Nero at $\frac{1}{16}$ lb.—i.e., 52.62 grs.; the Hebrew $\sigma\iota\alpha\delta\omicron\varsigma$ was therefore 210.48 grs. in weight.

We thus see that the Hebrew shekel weighed from 210 to 210.55 grs., or, on the heavy system, 420 to 421 grs. It can be nothing else than the shekel of 224.4 grs. (7), or its double, in a slightly degraded form. It is clear, therefore, that the shekel of the Phœnician standard was in use in Palestine at a comparatively early period. The weight of the heavy gold shekel of the common norm (7) being taken at 224.4 grs. troy, its value (at the present rate of £3:17:1½ per oz. of 480 grs. pure) by the Mint for gold) would be very nearly £2:1:0, and the light shekel would be worth about £1:0:6. The Hebrew-Phœnician silver shekel and the Babylonian-Persic silver shekel, being reckoned as $\frac{1}{15}$ and $\frac{1}{10}$ of the gold shekel respectively, work out as follows:

	Heavy.	Light.
Phœnician	£ 2:1:0	£ 0:11:4
Babylonian	£ 1:4:1	£ 0:12:5

The values of the talent and mina of gold and silver in all these systems are:

	HEAVY.		LIGHT.	
	Talent.	Mina.	Talent.	Mina.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Gold . . .	£ 15:0:0	102:10:0	£ 7:5:0	51:5:0
Phœnician silver . . .	410:0:0	6:10:8	205:0:0	3:14:4
Babylonian silver . . .	615:0:0	10:5:0	307:10:0	5:2:0

It is curious that, although the mina was known as such, it does not occur in any pre-exilic writings and large sums are expressed in talents and shekels (Kempster, 420). A parallel is afforded by the Attic method of reckoning in talents and drachms.

Early in the (conventional) post-exilic period the Persian coinage of gold and silver was introduced by Darius Hystaspis. His gold shekel, struck on the royal norm (7), was known to the Greeks as $\delta\alpha\rho\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ (*daric*). The derivation of this word from the king's name has been disputed, on the ground that it could not be formed from the Persian *Dārayavahsh*; but there is no reason why it should not be formed in Greek fashion from $\delta\alpha\rho\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$. Of other derivations, the only plausible one is from the Assyrian *darīku*, a word found in

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contract-tablets of the time of Nabonidus and Nehuchadnezzar. But the evidence that this word is the name of a weight or measure is not satisfactory; Tallquist (*The Spr. der Contr. Nabū-nā'id, 66*) with more probability regards it as an agricultural product. The word *darkemon* (see DRAM) has until recently been connected by many writers with the word *daric*; but there can be little doubt that the *darkemon* is a weight, and possibly the same word is found in the Greek *δραχμή* (see DRAM, and with the spelling *δραχμή* of the Phœnean inscription ep the Cretan dialectical form *δραπέα*).

The Greek derivation of *δραχμή* from *δρασσομαι* is probably a popular etymology. What, however, are these 'drans' of gold mentioned in Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah? Remembering that in the Greek system the drachma was as a rule the *πλάσιον* part of the talent, we should suppose that half-shekels were meant by *darkemonim*. Now the weight of the *daric* (*δ*) is as a matter of fact the half-shekel of the light system (*l*), and since the Hebrews, in weighing both gold and silver, used the heavy system (see the quotations from Josephus discussed above, § 3), they would naturally regard the gold *daric* as a half-shekel of the heavy system. It follows that although the words *darkemonim* and *daric* have in all probability no etymological connection, the actual pieces of gold meant by *darkemonim* were as a matter of fact *darics*, or pieces of the same weight as the *daric*.

The silver coin of Darius was known to the Greeks as the *σίγλος* (*σίγλος*) *Μηδικός*, and weighed 86.4 grs., being really a half-shekel of the light Babylonian system (royal norm). The gold *daric* was worth twenty of these silver coins. The value of the *daric* in modern money works out at about one guinea, and that of the *siglos*, accordingly, at a little over one shilling.

The Persian governors who preceded Nehemiah in his office exacted from the people 40 shekels of silver (Neh. 5:15). It is hardly possible to decide whether

these were *σίγλοι* *Μηδικοί* (which as we have seen were really half-shekels) or whole shekels of 172.8 grs.; but the probability is in favour of the former, as being the official coins of the Persian Empire at the time.



Fig. a.

Both *daric* (Fig. a) and *siglos* (Fig. b) are alike in types. On the obverse is a figure of the Great King,

wearing the Persian head-dress (*kidaris*) and robe (*kandyb*), and holding in his right hand a spear, in the left a bow; the half-kneeling posture is meant, according to the convention of early art, to represent



Fig. b.

The reverse bears only the impression made by the irregular punch used in striking the coin.

The phrase 'shekel of the sanctuary,' or rather 'sacred shekel' (*σίγλος ὁ ἅγιος, σταθμὸς ὁ ἅγιος*) is used in P in connection with gold, silver, copper (?), and spices. (For this subject, besides Kennedy 422, see Zucker-

5. Phœnician standard.

mann, *Talmud, Gewicht*, 4f. 15.) In spite of the fact that the sacred shekel was used for gold, as well as silver there are serious difficulties in the way of accepting Ridgeway's theory (*Origin of Metallic Currency*, 273f.) that it was the shekel of 130-135 grs. We know from the Mishna that sums of silver money mentioned in the Pentateuch are to be regarded as reckoned in 'Tyrian money'—i.e., in money of the Phœnician standard. We know further that the temple tax was half a shekel, and the tax for two persons could be paid by a tetradrachm or stater (2*z.*) of the Phœnician standard (Mt. 17:24f., where the collectors of the tax are called *οἱ τὰ δίδραχμα λαμβάνοντες*). It follows that

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the sacred shekel was a shekel of the heavy Phœnician standard (common norm) of 224.4 grs. (1). This conclusion is confirmed by the statement (Ex. 30:13, etc.) that the shekel was twenty gerahs, which *G* translates '20 obols.' The obol meant by *G* was presumably the Attic obol of the time ($\frac{1}{2}$ of the drachm of 67.28 grs.—i.e., 11.21 grs.); and twenty of these make a weight of 224.2 grs. Any shekel of this weight, whether struck by a foreign king, or struck by a city like Tyre, could



Fig. c.

therefore be used for the payment of the tax for two persons; or the corresponding half-shekel (Phœnician didrachm of 112.2 grs.) for a single person. The half-shekel here illustrated (Fig. c) was struck at Tyre in the year 102 B.C. On the obverse is the head of Melkarth, the Tyrian Hercules, crowned with laurel; on the reverse an eagle standing with one foot on the prow of a galley, and a palm-branch over its shoulder; in the field are a club (the symbol of Melkarth), the numerals ΔΚ (the year 24 of the local era), and the monogram of the official of the mint responsible for the coin; around is the inscription ΤΥΡΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΥΑΟΥ—i.e., 'coin of Tyre, the sacred (city) and inviolable.' The weight of this specimen (106.9 grs.) is a little under the normal (*u*). The name 'sacred' applied to the shekel of this standard is due presumably to its being used for the temple tax, for which shekels of any other standard were not accepted. Hence the presence of money-changers in the outer court of the temple. The third part of the shekel of Neh. 10:32 is probably the third of the Phœnician shekel; the third is indeed a more usual denomination, both in the Phœnician and in the Babylonian standards, than the half.

The Jews were, as a rule, content or obliged to use silver coins of foreign origin, and the two series of silver coins issued by them belong to

6. Silver coins. periods of revolt against their rulers. A famous series of shekels and half-shekels issued during a period of five years has been most usually ascribed to the time of Simon the Hasmonean; the tendency of recent criticism, however, is to give them to the time of the first revolt against Rome (66-70 A.D.).



Fig. d.

The best summary of recent arguments about this question, which does not properly concern us here is given by Kennedy, 429; still more recently, however, Th. Reinach has stated his inclination to revert to the older view (*Rev. des études grecques*, 1321). A specimen of the shekel of the fourth year is given in fig. d. On the obverse is a chalice, above which is the date *Ϡ* (the year 4); around is the inscription *Ϡ* *Ϡ* *Ϡ* ('Shekel of Israel'). On the reverse is a flowering lily and the inscription *Ϡ* *Ϡ* *Ϡ* ('Jeru-

SHELAH

salem the Holy'). The weight of this specimen is 220 grs.

The second series of silver coins of the Jews belongs to the second revolt; they are shekels and quarter-shekels issued by Simon Barcochba and Eleazar the High Priest' from 132-135 A.D. These coins are really Roman denarii, or tetradrachms or drachms of the mints of Caesarea (in Cappadocia) and Antioch (in Syria), which have been used as denarii on which to impress Jewish types (Kennedy, 439 f.).

Both these series are, as we have said, exceptional, and the ordinary coinage of the Jews, from the time of John Hyrcanus, if not from that of Simon the Hasmonean, onwards, consists merely of bronze.

F. W. Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881; F. Hultsch, *Gr. u. Röm. Numismatik*, 1882; W. Ridgeway, *The Roman Coins of the Jews*, 1887; A. K. S. Kennedy, in Hastings' *DB* 2:417 f.

7. Literature. *Origin of Metallic Currency*, 1892; Th. Reinach, *Les monnaies juives*, 1887; A. K. S. Kennedy, in Hastings' *DB* 2:417 f.

SHELAH. שֶׁלָּח, a name closely resembling SHILOH (שִׁילֹחַ) [BADEF] (1A) [L.], the youngest of Judah's sons by the daughter of the Canaanite Shua (cp Stade *GTZ* 1:53, and see JUDAH L. § 2; Gen. 38:1-14 [J], 46:12 [L]; Nu. 26:30 שְׁלֹחַ בן [BAL, but -וֹמָ ל. v. 19], 1 Ch. 2:1 שְׁלֹחַן [BL]). The clan is associated with Chezai in the Shephelah of Judah (cp Cozela below, and see AVTAIB [L.]), and, apart from Gen. 38, occurs only in post-exilic writings. The further divisions of this clan are given in 1 Ch. 4:21-23 (שְׁלֹחַן [L.]). The passage is extremely obscure and appears to represent the attempt of a scribe to get some meaning out of an already corrupt genealogy.

Leads in v. 202 may be a corruption for Lachish, but the latter half of the verse is unintelligible. A reference to Bethlehem in v. 202 is not improbable, see JASCH-LEHEM. The reading, 'men of Cozela . . . had dominion in Moab,' is doubtful; that of שֶׁלָּח, or קַמְרֵשָׁרָא . . . ('who dwell . . .'), is much more reasonable. Netaim (נְטַיִם) and Gedorah, v. 23, seem to have arisen from Etam (עֵתָם) and Gedor; and the recurrence of both names in v. 31 f.—a list which in its present condition is fragmentary—makes it probable that in v. 32 we should read 'Shelah, the father of Etam' (correcting the difficult עֵתָם בְּרֵחַ).¹ See ETAM, 2. A pre-exilic reference may safely be rejected; the 'ancient' matters spoken of need not, from the Chronicler's point of view, be pre-exilic. The patronymic is **Shelanite** (שְׁלֹחִי, Nu. 26:29, בְּשֵׁם שְׁלֹחִי [BAF] A, which in a list of Judahite inhabitants of Jerusalem is twice written **Shalonite** (Neh. 11:5, שְׁלֹחִי [B], בְּשֵׁם [B], 9:44 [A], שְׁלֹחִי [L.]; AV SHILOH, 1 Ch. 9:5; יְרֵמְיָהוּ; שֵׁם שְׁלֹחִי [L.], see Ezek. 11, § 5 [L], § 15 [L.]). The former pointing with *l* seems better (cp Be. Ke.). Maaseiah or Asaiah, to whom the patronymic is here applied, appears as the representative of Shelah b. Judah, just as Athaliah (Neh. 11:4) represents the Perezite division. [Cp *Crit. Bib.*] S. A. C.

2. (שָׁלַח). SALAH AV in Gen. and SALA AV Lk. 3:35, the son of Arpachshad and father of Eber in the old genealogy of the Hebrews (Gen. 10:24 [R?], 11:13 f. [L.], 1 Ch. 1:18 [B om.] 24, סֹלָא, סֹלָאס [L. in Gen. 10]).

The key to 'Shelah' is of course Arpachshad. If the latter name contains Chabdea, Knobel may be excused for seeking 'Shelah' in NE. Mesopotamia. If, however, Arpachshad comes from 'Arab Kadesh' or 'Cush' [see UR OF THE CHALDEES], we must suppose 'Shelah' to represent some clan in the Negele. In accordance with JUDAH, § 2, we may assume the existence of a Jerahmeelite clan called Shelah (see SHELAH, 1), of Kemzite (not Canaanite) affinities, and related to Shail, of which Shelah is a modification. The name Methuselah is similarly related to Methushael; both these names are probably modifications of Michael = Ishmael. It now becomes not impossible that Eber (= עֵבֶר) in Gen. 10:24 may be miswritten for 'Arab' (= עֵרָב).

To derive Shelah from 'to send,' and suppose it to refer to the *departure* of a portion of the tribe of Arpachshad previous to their 'passing over' (see EBER) the Tigris, is absurd. Ⓢ (in Gen.), on which Lk. 3:35 is based, inserts Cainan before Shelah to make Ab in the tenth after Shua (see Dt. 10:1, 2:9).

T. K. C.

¹ עֵתָם (v. 23) may spring from Beth-zur or perhaps rather צִוְרַיִם (Zior lay to the SE. of Gedor).

SHELUMIEL

SHELAH, POOL OF (בְּרֵכַת הַשֶּׁלָּח), Neh. 3:13 RV, AV 'pool of SHILOH.' See SHILOH.

SHELANITES (שְׁלֹחִי), Nu. 26:30; see SHELAH (1).

SHELEMIAH (שְׁלֵמְיָהוּ, שְׁלֵמְיָהוּ), either compounded with שֵׁם = הַיְהוָה, or an expanded form of a clan name borne by an individual [Che.], see SUALEM, SHELEMIEL, and note the N. Arabian character of the names with which Shelemiah is associated. To illustrate the latter (?) view of the name, cp Palmyr. שְׁלֵמְיָהוּ [for שְׁלֵמְיָהוּ a compound of the goddess al-Lat]; cf. אֵלֵּי מַלְאִכָּי. See SELEMIA.

1. G. Casli, an ancestor of JEREMI (g. r.) Jer. 36 [S 4], 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

2. J. Mesele, one of the men sent by Jehoiakim to take LADAN and JEREMIAH after Baruch had read the roll in the king's presence (Jer. 36 [S 43] 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100).

3. The father of JEREMIAH or JUCAL (g. r.), temp. Zedekiah (Jer. 37 [41] 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100).

4. Hananiah, the father of [JUDAH] (g. r.) (Jer. 41 [37] 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100).

5. 1 Ch. 2:14; see MISHLEIMIAH.

6. One of the b. Han. Ezra 10:39 (שְׁלֵמְיָהוּ [B], 40 [L.], 41 [A], 42 [B], 43 [L.], 44 [A], 45 [B], 46 [L.], 47 [A], 48 [B], 49 [L.], 50 [A], 51 [B], 52 [L.], 53 [A], 54 [B], 55 [L.], 56 [A], 57 [B], 58 [L.], 59 [A], 60 [B], 61 [L.], 62 [A], 63 [B], 64 [L.], 65 [A], 66 [B], 67 [L.], 68 [A], 69 [B], 70 [L.], 71 [A], 72 [B], 73 [L.], 74 [A], 75 [B], 76 [L.], 77 [A], 78 [B], 79 [L.], 80 [A], 81 [B], 82 [L.], 83 [A], 84 [B], 85 [L.], 86 [A], 87 [B], 88 [L.], 89 [A], 90 [B], 91 [L.], 92 [A], 93 [B], 94 [L.], 95 [A], 96 [B], 97 [L.], 98 [A], 99 [B], 100 [L.]).

7. Another of the b. Han. Ezra 10:41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100).

8. The father of HANANIAH (g. r.), Neh. 3:30 (שְׁלֵמְיָהוּ [B], 31 [L.], 32 [A]).

9. A triest, a keeper of the storehouses (Neh. 12:13, שְׁלֵמְיָהוּ [B], 14 [L.], 15 [A]).

SHELEPH (שְׁלֵפָה, in pause, סֹלֶפֶת [AEL]), a son of Joktan (Gen. 10:26, om. B 1 Ch. 1:24), has not yet been identified; but similar names are not uncommon in S. Arabia. Instances are *Sulaf* or *Sulbi*, a tribe in Yemen; Osiander, *ZDMG* 11:153 f.; *Sulf*, Hal. *AB* 86; *Salf* [many]; Glasser, 425; cp also a district *Sulaf*; Niebuhr, *Arabien*, 247; and see other refl. in *DL*, *OG*, [Cp SEPHAR, and on 'Joktan,' see *Crit. Bib.*]

SHELESH (שְׁלֵשָׁה), זֶמַח [B], סֶלְמֶס [A], אֶלְמֶס [L.], a name in a genealogy of ASHER (g. r.), § 10, 1 Ch. 7:35 f.

SHELOM (שְׁלֹמֹה), father of Ahihud, a 'prince' of Asher (Nu. 31:27; סֶלְמֶס [B], סֶלְמֶס [AEL]). See SHILOMIEL, and cp ASHER, § 1.

SHELOMITH (שְׁלֹמִית, interchangeable with שְׁלֵמִית) [see below §]; cp the fluctuations between Meshillemoth and Meshillemoth. The vocalisation is doubtful (cp SOLOMON, § 1), and the name being evidently southern, a connection with either Ishmael or Suhmah may be assumed [Che.].

1. bath Dura [g. r.], who had married an Egyptian (or, perhaps, rather, Mصرية, i. e., N. Arabian woman), and whose son was stoned for blasphemy (Lev. 24: 1; סֹלְמִית [BAF], סֹלְמִית [B], סֹלְמִית [L.]).

2. Daughter of Zerubbabel (1 Ch. 3:19; סֹלְמִית [B], 6, V, 10 [L.]).

3. A son of Rehoboam (2 Ch. 11:20; עֲמֹם [B], סֹלְמִית [A], סֹלְמִית [L.]).

4. A Josephite one of the Five Bassi [g. r.], 2; read in Ezra 2: 61. And of the sons of Bani; Shelomith, son of Asaph (from סֹלְמִית [B], 61, בָּנֵי סֹלְמִית [A], 70, 71, סֹלְמִית [L.], 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100).

Among the Levites we find (6) a Shelomith b. Shime, a Gershonite Levite (1 Ch. 23:9, Kt. שְׁלֹמִית, RV Shelomoth, אֲשֶׁרֶם [B], סֹלְמִית [A], 10 [L.]); (6) a chief of the Lev. Ichab, a Kohathite Levite (1 Ch. 23:11, סֹלְמִית [L.], 12, 13, סֹלְמִית [A]), whose son was JAHATH (g. r.) (1 Ch. 24: 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100).

SHELOMIEL (שְׁלֹמִיָּהוּ; סֹלְמִיָּהוּ [BAF]), b. ZURISHADDAI, a 'prince' of SIMON (§ 6, v. 1), Nu. 16:2, 12, 7:36 (סֹלְמִיָּהוּ [F]), 41, 10:19 f. [all P]. In Judith

SHEM

his name appears as SAMAR, RV SALAMIEL (σαλαμιελ [BA], σαμαριη [S]).

Apparently the name means 'I is my health' (cf. 17, 30); really, however, it may come from שָׁמַר; שָׁמַר Shalom is the name of a N. Arabian tribe allied to the Nabataeans (see SAMAR, SALAMIA).

T. K. C.

SHEM (שֵׁם; שָׁמַר; *sem*), the eldest of the three sons of Noah, and therefore always mentioned first (Gen. 5:12-32; 7:1; 9:18-10:1; 1 Ch. 1:1); the rendering of Gen. 10:21 in AV and RV¹⁹ is certainly wrong (cp JAPHETH).

If an appellation, Shem will mean 'name'—i.e., renown. In this case, if in Gen. 9 it is really equivalent to Israel, it may conceivably denote the ruling or noble class (cp Gen. 6:4; Nu. 16:1; 1 Ch. 5:24) in antithesis to the aborigines, who are called in Job 30:1, 'sons of the napkins, you, sons of the nameless, beaten out of the land' (so We. [17] 13, Bn. [17] 4, 328 f.).

There is a strong presumption, however, that the name of this important patriarch has a longer history and a more recondite meaning. In short, the legends in the early part of Genesis being, according to the most plausible view, Jerahmeelite (see PARADISE, §§ 6, 9), and 'Ishmael' being used as a synonym for Jerahmeel, it is very probable that 'Shem' is a modified fragment of the ethnic name Ishmael.

To derive (with Goblitz) from שָׁמַר 'to be high,' and explain 'the high one' or even the 'Heaven-god,' has no indication in Hebrew. More probably, Shem is a shortened form of a name like SHEMUEL (q.v.), or rather, if we suppose that שָׁם (Ham) is a fragment of שָׁמַר (Jerahmeel), שָׁם (Shem) has arisen out of a fragment of שָׁמַר (Ishmael).

That the reflector, who here as elsewhere emended 135 (Kenaz) into 137 (Canaan), supposed שָׁם to mean 'Israel' is possible enough. But critically, such a view is highly improbable. See Gunkel (*Gen.*, 2^d ed. 74 f. [1907]), whose attempt, however, to bring what is said of Canaan in Noah's oracle into connection with the historical situation in the second millennium B.C. seems on the whole premature, in the absence of a thorough textual criticism.

The special blessing by which Shem was rewarded is now often read thus: 'Bless, O Yahwe, the tents of Shem' (Gen. 9:26 J₁).

2. Traditions. O Yahwe, the tents of Shem (Gen. 9:26 J₁).

It is more plausible, however, to think that r. 26 a should run, יְהוָה בְּרַכְךָ אֶת אֹהֶל שֵׁם. The Jerahmeelites were, in fact, (see MOSES, § 14) the early tutors of the Israelites in religion. Here and in r. 27 the underlying original text apparently spoke of Noah's eldest son as 'Ishmael.' The subjugation of Kenaz (not 'Canaan,' as the traditional text) refers to matters beyond our ken (cp KENAZ). Another writer thinks to explain 'Shem' to his readers by identifying 'Shem' with 'Eber' (Gen. 10:21). Here it is necessary to transpose *h* and *r*, and read Arab; in fact, Ishmael (S^h ea) and 'Arab' are nearly synonymous. On all these subjects, as well as on the use of 'Shem' in P (Gen. 10:21-11:10, cp 1 Ch. 1:17-21) see *crit. Bib.* The reference in Eccles. 19:19 is no doubt to Shem's important genealogical position. A late Jewish tradition (adopted by Selden and Lightfoot) identified Shem with MELCHIZEDEK (q.v.). Cp SETITES.

T. K. C.

SHEM, NAMES WITH. Two Hebrew names have been brought under this head—Semuel (Samuel) and Semida (Schemida). The former of these is compared by Winckler (*GH* 119, n. 3) with Summabi and Sumulabi, the names of two Babylonian kings of the third millennium B.C., whom this scholar considers to belong to a dynasty of western Semite or rather Canaanitish conquerors. According to Hommel, Sumulabi means 'Samu is my father,' and *sumu* is a contraction of *sumu* (*sumu*)—i.e., 'his name,' a periphrasis for 'God' (*GH* 185 f. 88 f.). He considers that Semuel and Semida may safely be explained as containing this element *sumu*. It seems very improbable, however, that the periphrasis 'name' for 'God' should have been of such remote antiquity among the Israelites, when we

! So Schott, Grätz, and recently Hall, Holzinger, Gunkel.

SHEMAIAH

recall that (see NAME, § 7) it is specially characteristic of the latest biblical Hebrew writing, and we may venture to follow Jastrow (*JBL* 19:103), who is of opinion that *sumu* in the names quoted by Winckler and Hommel is an entirely different word from the Hebrew *sum*.

Perhaps a closer criticism of these ancient names, the Baby. loan as well as the Hebrew, may lead to the conclusion that etymologies which have the most superficial plausibility are generally fallacious. See, further, SETITES, SHEMAIAH.

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SHEMA (שֵׁמָא; שָׁמַא [BA]), one of the cities in the extreme S. of Judah towards Edom (Josh. 15:26; CALAMAA [B]). Cp the clan-name SHEMA. It is not included in the list of Simeonite towns either in Josh. 19:6 or in MT of 1 Ch. 4:2 (but see r. 28 C), but in the former of these passages (Josh. 19:2) we find SHEMA, plainly a mere variant (שָׁמַא [B]); but שָׁמַא [A] [VI], and in C 1 Ch. 4:2 we find שָׁמַא [B]. The connection of Shema with שָׁמַא [B]—[A] [V]. The Shema in Josh. 19:2 was probably introduced as a supplement from 15:26 after the calculation 'thirteen cities' (r. 6) had been made; RV's 'or Shela' is too bold. See further JEMTHA, SIMEON, § 10.

SHEMA (שֵׁמָא; § 50). 1. A Calebite clan which, like Korah, Tappuah, and Rekem, traced itself to Hebron, and is represented as the father of Raham, the 'father' of Jorkeam, 1 Ch. 2:41 f. (שָׁמַא [BA], the latter omits in r. 43; שָׁמַא [I]). Note the accumulation of 'Jerahmeelite' names, and the place-name SHEMA.

2. A clan of REUBEN (r. 10); 1 Ch. 5:2 (שָׁמַא [BA], שָׁמַא [I]).

3. b. Hushim in a genealogy of BETHSALEM (r. 9 ii. β); 1 Ch. 8:13 (שָׁמַא [BA], שָׁמַא [I]), obviously the same as Shimei in r. 26. See (q.v.) 1011. See SHEMA (q.v.).

4. In list of Ezra's supporters (see EZRA II, § 13 [C]); Neh. 8:4 (שָׁמַא [BA]).

SHEMAAH (שֵׁמָא; whence AV¹⁹ HASMAAR), a Gileathite, father of AHEZER (1 Ch. 12:1); AMA [B]. CALAMAA [A], ACMA [I], see DAVID, § 11. The Pesh. presupposes here the name of a separate hero, שֵׁמָא הַגִּלְעָדִית 'Shemaah the Gileathite.'

SHEMAIAH (שֵׁמַיָּה; also שֵׁמַיָּה; see below, either a religious name 'Yahwe hears,' or a late (?) expansion of the old clan-name שֵׁמָא, SHEMA [r. he.]; note the frequency of the name among priests, Levites, and prophets, whose historical connection with the southern border-land is certain CALAMAA [C]). It is impossible always to differentiate accurately or (as the case may be) to identify the various bearers of this name.

1. A prophet temp. Rehoboam, who deprecated war with Israel (1 K. 12:22-24 [12:11-12] [12:11-12]), and prophesied at the invasion of Judah by Shishak (2 Ch. 12:7; שָׁמַיָּה [B]). He is mentioned as the writer of the history of Rehoboam (1 K. 12:24; cp also in C¹⁹ 1 K. 12 [24], ed. Sw.).

2. A false prophet who for endeavouring to hinder his work was sternly rebuked by Jeremiah (Jer. 29 [C 30] 24:2 [שָׁמַיָּה R 27: 24, 31 f.]; cp JEREMIAH [BOOK], § 17, in r. 24 [שֵׁמַיָּה]).

He is styled the Nehelamite (שֵׁמַיָּה הַנְּהֵלַמִּית [B]).

שָׁמַיָּה [BAQ], which reminds us of *τον ελαμει* applied to SHEMAIAH (1) in C¹⁹ [B in I, ελαμειτη] addition to 1 K. 12 (r. 24). Probably both ελαμειτη and ελαμει point to שָׁמַא = שָׁמַא 'Jerahmeelite' [r. he.] (cp שָׁמַא = שָׁמַא, 2 S. 10:6 [r. he.]; see also SHEMAIAH). The prophet Ahijah the Shilonite in 1 K. 11:29, it has elsewhere (see SHILOH, 2) been suggested by Cheyne, is most probably a man from the Negeb. So, too, in the intention of the writer, is this Shemaiah.

3. Father of Urijah of Kirjath-jearim, a prophet (Jer. 26 [C 33] 26: [שֵׁמַיָּה הַיְרֵמְיָהוּ]).

4. Father of Helaiah, a prince temp. Jehoiakim (Jer. 36 [C 43] 36: [שֵׁמַיָּה הַיְרֵמְיָהוּ]).

c. b. Shechaniah, a descendant of Zerubbabel (1 Ch. 3:22 שָׁמַא [B] onel. שָׁמַא [I]). This is also the name of one of those who repaired the temple (Neh. 3:29, שָׁמַא [I]).

SHEMARIAH

- 6. In Jos. of REUBEN (4:1) (1 Ch. 5:4, שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [H], שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [A], שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [L]). See 11.
7. b. Hassub, a Merarite Levite (1 Ch. 9:14; cp. Neh. 11:15, שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [L]). See 11.
8. Father of Ithiah, a Levite belonging to Jehothan (1 Ch. 9:15, שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [H], שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [A], cp. Neh. 11:17-18). See 11.
9. Chief of the line Kiziphah, comp. Ithiah (1 Ch. 15:9, שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [H], שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [A], cp. 11:15-16, שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [H], שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [A]).
10. b. Nathanael, a Levite with G. Ch. 24:28, שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [A], cp. 11:15, שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [H], שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [A].
11. b. Obadiah (1 Ch. 26:4, שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [A], cp. 11:15, שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [H], שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [A]). See 11.
12. A Levite, temp. Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 17:8, שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [H], שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [A]).
13. A son of Jehothan (2 Ch. 20:14, שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [A]). Cp. 7, 8, 11, and see GENIACOUSIS, § 7 (b, c).
14. A Levite house-temp. Hezekiah (2 Ch. 31:15, שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [H], S.A.L.). Probably the same as the name in Neh. 10:12 (S.A.M.), where Jehothan is the head, 12 is (where one Jonathan b. Shemariah is named).
15. A Levite of the time of Josiah (2 Ch. 35:9, cp. perhaps SIMON, 31:12; in both cases Goshish precedes as the name of a brother). In 1 Esd. 1:2 SAMARIAS (שְׁמַרְיָהוּ).
16. One of the line Abinukim, a post-exilic family who came up to Jerusalem with Ezra, Ezra 8:13 (שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [A]), in 1 Esd. 8:39 SAMARIAS.
17. A teacher, Ezra 8:15 (שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [A], שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [H]), in 1 Esd. 8:41 MARIAN, RV MARIAN (שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [A], שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [H]), repeated in 1:44 MARIAN, RV SAMARIAS-GOH. I.
18. One of the line Harim, the priestly family of Ezra 10:21, in 1 Esd. 9:21 SAMIUS, RV SAMIUS (שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [H], שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [A]).
19. One of the sons of HARIM 'of Israel' (Ezra 10:11, שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [H], שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [H]), in 1 Esd. 9:22 SABBREIS (שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [H], שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [H]).
20. b. Dehiah b. Mehabes, a prophet temp. Neh., bribed by Sanballat to hinder the Jews from building the wall (Neh. 6:10 שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [H], שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [A]).
21, 22, two men present at Ezra's dedication of the wall (Neh. 12:34, שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [H], שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [A] 36).
23. RV but AV SAMIATAS, 'the great,' kinsman of Tobit (Tobit, 5:12-13, שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [H], שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [A]), the Heb. Vx. ed. Neubauer has שְׁמַרְיָהוּ.

SHEMARIAH (שְׁמַרְיָהוּ) and (1 Ch. 12:5) שְׁמַרְיָהוּ; usually [§ 30] explained 'whom Yahweh guards,' but probably rather a modification of the ethnic SIMRI [§ 7-]; CAMARIA[C]. 2 Ch. 11:15 AV [by printer's error?] gives SHAMARIAM. All the occurrences suggest N. Arabian origin. T. K. C.
1. One of David's heroes, 1 Ch. 12:5 (שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [H]). See DAVID, § 11, 60 (iii), col. 1020.
2. A son of Rehoboam, by Mahalath (= Jerahmeelith (Ch. D., 2 Ch. 11:19).
3. Contemporaries of Ezra, who had taken foreign wives, Ezra 10:32 (שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [H], שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [A]); cp. 41 (שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [H], שְׁמַרְיָהוּ [A]).

SHEMEBER (שְׁמַעְבֵּר), Gen. 14:2. See SHINAB.

SHEMED (שְׁמֵד), 1 Ch. 8:12 RV, AV SHAMED.

SHEMER 1. (שְׁמֵר): CEMHP. CAMHP[B], CE [A]. CEMHP [L]. According to T. K. 16:24 Shemer was the owner of the hill which Omri bought, whence the place received the name of Samaria (שְׁמֵר). See SAMARIA.

2 and 3. AV SHAMER (שְׁמֵר), properly a clan-name (see Stade, ZITP 5:66), but applied to real or supposed persons: a Levite, 1 Ch. 6:45 [1] (שְׁמֵר); and ben Heber in a genealogy of ASHER [§ 4 n.], 1 Ch. 7:34 (שְׁמֵר [H], שְׁמֵר [A]); in 7:32 he is called SHOMER [§ 7-].

SHEMIDA (שְׁמִידָה), a Gileadite clan belonging to MANASSER (§ 6) (Nu. 26:12, CYMAEP; Josh. 17:2, CYMAEPA [B], CYMAEPA [A], CAMIDAE [L]); 1 Ch. 7:19 AV Shemidah: CYMEIPA [H], CYMEIDA [L]), after whom the Shemidaites were called (Nu. 26:12, הַשְׁמִידָיִם; CYMAEP[eh] [BAFL]).

May we venture to hold that שְׁמֵר here is a divine appellation? See NAMES, § 43, SHEMA [NAMES WITH]. The alternative is to suppose a corruption שְׁמַרְיָהוּ.

SHEMINITH. UPON, RV 'set to the Shemith' (שְׁמִינִיתִי); שְׁמִינִיתִי in Pss. υπερ της οργανης CYMA in 1 Ch. 1:21; επι της οργανης [A], P.S. 61, pro organa [P.S. 121]; επι της οργανης [A], P.S. 61, περι της οργανης [S] in 1 Ch. 1:21; 1:21 'on the lyre with eight strings', a technical phrase

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relative (according to the ordinary view) to the mis-performance of certain psalms (Pss. 8:12, cp. 1:15, 15:24) Ewald, Olshausen, Winkler, explain 'in the eighth mode, or key'; Gesenius and Ditzsch, 'in the bass'; Gratz agrees with the Liturg. It is admitted, however, that these explanations are guesses and the most plausible view of older psalmists favours the assumption that the text is corrupt. Most probably שְׁמִינִיתִי is a corruption of שְׁמִינִיתִי, of the 'Ethanites,' or better of שְׁמִינִיתִי of the Ishmachites. We thus obtain an adequate explanation of Shemith in the titles of Pss. 8 and 12, and probably also of Gath-Neginath, and Sheshnamim (see P.S. MS. Book of 3:2, but cp. Altst., § 9). We also find שְׁמִינִיתִי in 1:21, 15:24 where it seems to correspond to שְׁמִינִיתִי in the end of 1:25. Here, however, it is not all probability a corruption of the name SHEMIRAM: טו 17 11, just as 'Azarah,' which Benzinger (Ktt. ad Isr.) rightly pronounces suspicious, is virtually a misplaced repetition of the name 'Azal.' These two proper names occur close by, in 1:25.

It may also be noticed, since the commentaries give no very defensible explanations, that קָנָה (שְׁמֵר [שְׁמֵר] [H]; RV 'to lead'), which follows שְׁמִינִיתִי in 1 Ch. 15:21 should be read קָנָה; it is a synonym of קָנָה, 'continually,' which occurs in a similar context; see P.S. MS. Book of 1:1, col. 104, n. 4. The other mysterious phrase שְׁמִינִיתִי (RV 'set to Amanah') comes from שְׁמֵר, a mutilated and corrupt form of שְׁמִינִיתִי 'psalteries.' Cp. Ps. 20:46, where שְׁמֵר is a corruption of שְׁמִינִיתִי 'impious.'

SHEMIRAMOTH (שְׁמִירָמוֹת), a Levite name, 1 Ch. 15:18 20 16:5 2 Ch. 17:8 (here Kt. שְׁמִירָמוֹת; variantly CEMEIPAMOTH, CAMAR[em], CEMEIPAM, CEMIP). According to Schrader (A. 173, 360) equivalent to the Ass. name Sammiram, which occurs as a woman's name on the monuments, especially on the statues of Nebu from Nimrud. G. Hoffin, however (Sprüche Asten, 137), thinks that Shemiramoth was originally a place-name meaning 'images of Shemith' (= Name of Ram or 'the Exalted One'), just as Anathoth may mean 'images of Anath.'

'Shem-b'ah' (name of Isaac) was a name of form of A. 173 (see Inscr. of Eshnunazar, 7, 42) and the story of the conquest of Semiramis in Upper Asia is a translation into the language of political history of the diffusion and victory of her worship in that region.' The main centre of this diffusion was Babylonia or Hierapolis (WRS, 'Ctesias and the Semitians' in Eng. Hist. Rev., April 1887, p. 317).

But what probability is there in either of the above explanations? None at all, if the analogy of other Levitical names in Ch. is to be trusted. In 2 Ch. 17:8 it is specially plain that the names among which this strange form occurs are ethnics (cp. GENIACOUSIS, § 75). It so happens too that the form which appears in that passage suggests the true explanation: it is not שְׁמִירָמוֹת (Shemiramoth?), but שְׁמִירָמוֹת, where שְׁמִירָמוֹת is presumably a corruption of a dittographed שְׁמִירָמוֹת and may safely be disregarded. SHIMRI (7:7) is a good Levitical name, according to the Chronicle (in 2 Ch. 20:1 it occurs just before Jehiel or Jiel, which name (i.e. Jiel) is apparently a mutilated form of Israel (see 1 Ch. 15:13 18:5). שְׁמִירָמוֹת, too, is, in 2 Ch. 31:13, worn down into 'Jerimoth (= Jerahmeel)' (on 'Shemiramoth' in 1 Ch. 15:25, see further SHIMIRAM).

SHEMUEL (שְׁמֹוּאֵל, CEMOMMA) 1. 1 Ch. 13:1 [L] RV SAMUEL, the prophet (see SAMUEL).

2. b. Amihud, a chief of SIMON (§ 8) (see last note), Nu. 31:25; (שְׁמֹוּאֵל).

3. b. Tola, of ISSACHAR (§ 7) (1 Ch. 7:2, שְׁמֹוּאֵל) [B, a dittographed n].

The name is difficult. For discussions see NAMES, § 42, where 'bearing the name of God' is suggested; Ditzsch, Ps. 1:1, 1:2, 1:3, 1:4, where Gesenius's explanation 'name of God' is pronounced 'as obvious as it is natural' (B. 106).

1 שְׁמֵר is several times (e.g. Ps. 92:11) miswritten for שְׁמִינִיתִי.

SHEN

ALT, 100 ('his name is God'); *Jastrow*, *JBL* 19 (1900) 92 ff. [*Sham*] = son of God'. But is the final -el really = שם, 'God'? See *SALT*, I, 3, 218 ff., where the possibility of a connection between שם and Semuel, and between Semuel and Samuel is referred to, and two other names are indicated, belonging perhaps to the same group, Ishmael and Sionat (*ibid.*). *SALT*, however, in 2 (also *ALT*'s *Sionat* [p. 13]). *SALT*, however, in 2 (also *ALT*'s *Sionat* [p. 13]). *SALT*, however, in 2 (also *ALT*'s *Sionat* [p. 13]). Note that 'Amihud' (see 2), or rather Amihud, very possibly, like the shorter form *Ami*, comes from Jerahmeel. Father and son both seem to have ethnic names. T. K. C.

SHEN (שֵׁן), a locality, between which and Mizpeh Samuel set up the stone Eben-ezer (1 S. 7:12). But שֵׁן means merely 'the rock' and one expects to find some known and specific place mentioned. *CHAL* (1901) 244a and Pesh. point to the reading שֵׁן (cp 2 Ch. 13:14), which is accepted by Wellhausen, Driver, II, p. 130, and others. See *JERUSALEM*.

SHENAZAR [RV], or [AV] SHENAZAR (שֵׁנָאזָר), a son of Jeconiah (Jehoaichin), and uncle of Zerubbabel (1 Ch. 3:18; *אזאזאר* [BA], *אזאזאר* [L], *שנאזאר*, *שנאזאר* [Vg]). His name is variously explained as a mutilation of שֵׁן-אֶזְרָא (so Marq., see *SIN-SHIBAZZAR*) and as = Sin-usur, 'Sin (the moon-god), protect' (cp on an Ass. seal שֵׁן-אֶזְרָא, Sin-er-usur, 'Sin, protect the king!'; *CS* 283, where the same incorrect Assyrian pronunciation [ש for ע, see *SANBALLAT*] is presupposed). He was plausibly identified by Howarth (*Hebr.*, 1803, p. 175), and then by Koster (*Herstel*, 47), Ed. Meyer (*Ent. des Jhd.* 77), Marqart (*Fund.* 55), with Sheshbazzar. Neither of the Assyriological combinations, however, is quite satisfactory, and the other names of sons of Jeconiah are explained elsewhere as representing gentiles of the Negeb. This suggests that שֵׁנָאזָר may be a corruption of שֵׁן-אֶזְרָא, i.e., the S. Geshur. See *SHESHT-BAZZAR*. T. K. C.

SHENIR (שֵׁנִיר), Dt. 39 AV, RV SENIR.

SHEOL (שְׁאוֹל). The origin of the Hebrew term for the world of the dead is not a mere question of archaeology; we cannot but expect it to throw light on the early religion, or superstition, of the Hebrews. Possibly, if not probably, it has an Assyrian origin. According to Frd. Delitzsch formerly (*Par.* 121; *Prot.* 47-48; *Heb. Lang.* 20) the Assyrian word corresponding to Sheol is Šu'alu; he was followed by A. Jeronimus (*Bibl.-av.* *Vorstell.* 62) and Gunkel (*Schoff.* 154). Jensen, however (*Kosmos* 222 ff.), denies the existence of such a word as Šu'alu, and Zimmern (in Gunk. *Schoff.* 154, n. 5) says that certainty has not yet been attained. Delitzsch himself omits Šu'alu in his *Ass.* *HWB.* and Schwally (*Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 89, n. 2) assents to the decision of Jensen. A critical re-examination of the four relevant passages in Assyrian vocabularies was urgently called for. This has been given by Jastrow (*USZ* 14 165 ff.), who comes to the conclusion that Jensen's position is untenable, and interprets the Ass. Šu'alu as 'the place of inquiry'—i.e., the place whence oracles can be obtained.¹ Provisionally we may be content with this at any rate possible explanation, remembering that one of the Babylonian terms for 'priest' is šu'alu (lit. inquirer), and that the Hebrew Šal is frequently used of consulting an oracle (e.g., Judg. 11; Hos. 4:2; Ezek. 21:1 [2] etc.). We may venture therefore to hold that when the primitive Hebrews used the name Sheol they may have thought of the power of the dead in the underworld to aid the living by answering their inquiries. In course of time the priestly representatives of the established religion would naturally succeed in checking this practice. Of primitive Hebrew religion, however,

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we have in fact very little direct evidence, survivals of it may be found in later superstitious usages, and this is nearly all that we know. Nor must we suppose that all the dead had power to furnish oracles to the living. This power was an element of divinity, and it was probably only heroes like La-bani, who appears to Gilgamesh (Jensen, *Mythen und Epen*, 293; Jastrow, *KBL* 1 511; Maspero, *Deuxième*, 380), and like Samuel (1 S. 28:7 ff.), who were consulted for oracles.

To the later Hebrews Sheol appeared like a monster which 'enlarged its greed, and opened its mouth without measure' (Is. 5:14; cp Hab. 2:17—27:30 15/1). Its leading characteristic is darkness (Job 10:21/2; it is the land of dust—שֵׁן אֶדְמָה—and it is used as a synonym for *Suz* (Sheol) (Job 17:16-20; Ps. 30:10). Like the Babylonian *Aru* (see *ARU*) it is in the earth (Job 11:26; cp *HWB.* 1 282, 283) and אֶדְמָה (pit) sometimes represents the underworld (Is. 38:10; *HWB.* 1 282). Sheol and Sheol are the farther side of the river (Job 17:13-16; *HWB.* 1 330). Silence as a characteristic of Sheol (Job 17:13-16; Is. 14:10). It is a land where the dead are silent (Job 17:13-16), so too the Babylonian *Aru* (see *ARU*), 'the land without return' (see *ARU*), *HWB.* 1 282, *Accord.* 215-225). Sheol is a city with gates (Job 17:13-16; *HWB.* 1 330), and both in the *gosp.* (Mt. 16:11-12; *HWB.* 1 330) and in the Talmud the same is found. On the state of the dead in Sheol, see *DEAD*, *ESCHATOLOGY* references (under *DEAD*), *HWB.* 1 330 on the whole question see Jastrow, *Religion of Israh.* and *Av.* 560, 600 ff.; Charles, *Exegetical*; Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 59-60; A. Jeronimus, *Bibl.-av.* *Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, 106-126.

The following is the description of the Babylonian Hades at the opening of the 'Descent of Israh' (*ARU*, p. 61):—
To the land without return, the earth . . .
The daughter of Sin 'set' her ear,
To the dark house, the dwelling of Irkalla,
To the house, from which he who enters never emerges,
To the way, going on which has to turning back,
To the house, into which he who enters is without light,
When dust is their nourishment, clay their food,
They see not light, they sit in darkness,
Dust (trusts) on door and bolt.

SHEPHAM (שֵׁפְחָם), 'a bare height'—*HWB.* 2 99), in the text of Nu. 34:10 f. stands, is the name of a point on the ideal eastern border of Canaan, mentioned with HAZAR-ENAN [2:7] and RIBBATH [2:7]; like Riblah, it is unmentioned in the passage, Ezek. 47:15-18. Van Kasteren's identification of it with *Ofani*, on the upper course of the *Nahr er-Rakkad*, SE. of the lake called *Birket Ram* (Baed. 266), is not one of his best (*Verz.* *Bibl.*, 1895, pp. 23-36), and his argument to prove that the 'Aphaima of Sam. and Targ. Jerus. is derived from Shepham is more ingenious than convincing. This and similar names are, according to the present writer's theory, distinctively 'Jerahmeelite' or S. Canaanitish names (Shephuphani [1 Ch. 8:5 Shephuphan] and Shuphamite, Nu. 26:39; Siphmoth, 1 S. 30:28; Shuppim, one of the sons of Aher = Muram = Jerahmeel, 1 Ch. 7:12; Shuphite, 1 Ch. 27:27). This confirms the view that the geography of Nu. 34:1-15 and of Ezek. 47:15-20 has been edited, with the view of expanding the limits of the region referred to. This editing, for which many parallels can be given (e.g., Gen. 16: Nu. 13:21-25; Dt. 34:1-3; Josh. 11:28, 24:6-9), would not have been possible if some of the names in the original document were not found in more than one part of the country. A Riblah and a Hamath for instance doubtless existed in the far N., but it is not at all likely that a Shepham was to be found there. The real Shepham was apparently on the E. border of the land of Kenaz (the original document must have spoken of 'the land of Kenaz' [1:2], not 'the land of Canaan' [1:22]), between Hazar-enan (Hazar-elam =

¹ The provenience of this seal is unknown. Cp also the parallel formation שֵׁן אֶדְמָה (Marqart, *ibid.* 250), 'Assur, the land of the king'—S. A. C. 1.
² For Jastrow's views on the stem *Šal* (whence both *Šu'alu* and *Šal*) see his article in *JBL* 19 (1900), pp. 22 ff.

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

have reference to the necessity for repentance while yet the building of the tower, symbolising the church, is still unfinished, or rather suspended for a while, in other words while yet God allows the opportunity to repent, an opportunity which ere long will cease with the coming of the last great persecution. After these revelations (*Vis.* 1-4) Hermas relates how the angel of repentance appears to him in the form of a shepherd, as previously (*Vis.* 2, 4, 8) in that of a young man, and bids him write down 'commandments and similitudes' (*Vis.* 5). The twelve commandments which follow relate to faith in God; a life void of offence, full of compassion, love of truth, chastity; long suffering; our attendant angels, good and bad; the fear of the Lord; abstinence from all that is evil; prayer without ceasing and with unwavering confidence; two kinds of sickness; two kinds of spirit; two kinds of desire (*Man.* 1-12). The eight similitudes which follow teach us how here we have no remaining joy; how the rich can be helped by the prayer of the poor; how the righteous and the wicked cannot at last be discriminated, but will ultimately be separated (*Vis.* 1-10); how useful fasting is; how good it is to keep far aloof from luxury and temptation; how indispensable is chastising; how many are the varieties of sin and sinners (*Vis.* 5, 8). Next, by way of appendix, is set forth in new images that which the Holy Spirit had spoke with Hermas in the form of the church had showed him. They are revelations on behalf to him by the Shepherd, the angel of repentance, with reference to those who are saved (*Vis.* 9). To round off the whole, yet a further earnest admonition is given by the angel who had sent the shepherd; a last exhortation to repentance in accordance with the precepts of the now completed work (*Vis.* 10).

The form in which the whole is clothed, far from being simple or natural, is artificial in the highest degree. It sets out, apparently, with the intention of relating what has passed between two known persons, Rhoda and Hermas.

4. The form artificial.

The names are reminiscent of a Christian woman (Rhoda), mentioned in Acts 12:1, and of a Christian slave at Rome, Hermas, mentioned in Rom. 16:14. Here they become representatives, the one (Rhoda) of the church in various successive forms, the other as one devoted to her service, and one of her followers and members. 'Hermas' soon goes on to speak with poetic freedom like a Paul, a James, a John, a Barnabas, a Clement, an Ignatius, a Polycarp, in the epistles handed down to us under their names, as if he were the recognised elder and faithful witness addressing himself with words of warning and admonition to his 'house,' his 'children.'

The original unity of the work in its present form, although frequently called in question since Hase (1844), cannot be denied. Even less, however,

6. Unity and composition.

can the existence of inconsistencies and contradictions and other marks of interpolation, adaptation and relation be disputed. These point to it having been a composite work made up from earlier documents. Not in the sense (so Hilgenfeld, 1881; Hansleiter, 1884; Baumgartner, 1899; Hamack, 1897) of its being a combination effected in one way or another, of two separate works, entitled respectively 'Visions' and 'Commandments' and 'Similitudes,' by one author, or by more than one; nor yet (so Johnson, 1887; Spitta, 1896; von Soden, 1897; Völsch, 1900; van Babel, 1906) in the sense of its being the outcome of repeated redactions of an originally few sheet writing. Rather in the sense of being a second edition of the original *Shepherd*, a bundle of 'Commandments' and 'Similitudes' from the pen of but one writer who obtained on the whole independently yet at the same time frequently borrowed from the books which he had before him. It is not possible to distinguish throughout between what he borrowed from others and what we ought to regard as his own.

The writer, who comes forward as if he were an older Hermas, the contemporary of Clement (*Vis.* 2), must not be identified with him (Rom. 16:14)

6. Author.

nor yet with a younger one, brother of Pius I., bishop of Rome (p. 185, who is referred to in the Vatican fragment). The real name of the author remained unknown. From his work it can be inferred that he was an important member, perhaps even a ruler, of the Christian church, probably in Rome. A practical man. No Gnostic, nor yet a Judaiser in the Talmudic sense, but rather a professor, little interested

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in the dogma of the Christianity that was already in process of becoming Catholic, in the days when it was grappling with the ideas and movements that had originated with Montanism. One who attached much value to revelations and yet was very particularly in earnest about the need for quickening, for the spiritual renewing of the church, for which reason he laid peculiar stress upon the possibility of a second conversion. This possibility would ere long come to an end, if the close of the present period, even now many were shewing it as regarded those who once had received baptism, though others hoped to be able continually atresh to obtain the forgiveness of their sins. There is nothing that indicates the method suggested by Hermas Hilgenfeld.

In date the author is rather than Lucianus, Athanasius, Origen, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria,

7. Date.

Hermen, but later than the apostles and their first followers, the martyrs and leaders of the church, such individuals as Hermas, and Clement (*Vis.* 2, 4). Later than the first great and flourishing time of the church (the history of which can already be divided into different periods, and the spiritual renovation of which, in conjunction with the revived expectation of Christ's second coming is regarded as imperatively needful); in the days when the spiritual life of Christians was being stirred by Montanistic movements. Therefore, certainly earlier than 180 A.D.; yet not much earlier, nor yet much later, than about the middle of the second century. Perhaps some chronological truth may underlie the tradition that 'Hermas' was a 'brother' of Pius I. (c. 143 A.D.).

The work was from the first intended for reading aloud at the assemblies of the church whether in larger or in smaller circles (*Vis.* 2, 4).

8. Purpose and value.

Its value, at first placed very high from the point of view of the interests of edification, but afterwards almost wholly lost sight of in Christian circles, has in recent years in spite of the diffuseness of its contents come anew to be recognised. Not to be despised as a piece of unimportant production in the field of edifying literature it is still more to be prized as a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Christianity that was widely spread and held as orthodox about the middle of the second century.

A. Editiones. F. X. Funk, *Patres Apostolici*, 2^a with prob. go. meta and notes, p. 160; also in shorter form *Apost. Patres*, 1902; U. de Luchbach and A. Hamack, 1907; *Patres Apostolici*, *Apoc. Apoc.*, iii., 1907, with introduction and notes; also in smaller edition, 1906. Cp. above; also *Patres*, 1906, 72; *Patres Apostolici*, 1907; Hermas.

9. Literature.

B. Translations. English: Roberts, Donaldson, and Cook, in *Apostolic Fathers*, in Ante-Nicene Fathers, 1907; Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 1902; German: E. C. Mayer, 1906; Dutch: Diker and van Maanen, *Oude kerkel. Lekt. Gephyronische ap. Lettere*, with introduction and notes, 1904.

C. Dissertations. Introduction, those already referred to; see G. Krüger, *Gesch. d. Kirche*, i. 1. 2. 3, § 17, and 'Nachträge', 1907, p. 12; Th. Zahn, *Gesch. d. Kirche*, 1907; also *Ant. v. A. v. L.*, 2^a ed., pp. 208, 408, 213, 214, 215; J. M. S. Baljon, *Gesch. d. K.*, 2^a ed., 1901, p. 11; G. Uhlenhuth, 'Hermas' in *Paläst. 71* (1902) 241-245; E. Taylor, *The Witness of Hermas to the Church*, 1902; 1892; van Maanen, *Th. L.*, 1906, pp. 61-124; A. Hilgenfeld, 'Hermas Pastor' *Neues Testamentum etc.*, 1901, pp. 189-193; P. Baumgartner, *Die Urkünde des Hermas*, 1899; van Maanen, *Th. L.*, 1906, pp. 119-121; F. Spitta, *Die Urkünde des Hermas*, 1906, pp. 10-117; A. Hamack, *Christen.*, 1897, 1907, pp. 117-119; Völsch, *Christen.*, 1900, pp. 117-119; H. A. van Babel, *Die Composition der Hermas' Briefe*, 1906.

W. C. M.

SHEPHO (ΣΕΨΘ), ἱ. Shēdōl, ἱ. Sēpē, Gen. 29:24

(ΣΟΨ Α), ΣΟΨΑΝ [24], ΣΟΨ [1] ἱ. ἱ. Ch. 1:2

Shephi (ΣΕΨ), ΣΟΨ [13], ΣΟΨΑΡ [A], ΣΑΠΦΕΙ [1], ΣΟΨ

ΣΟΨ's reading in Gen. suggests comparison with SHEPHI PHAM (A), Cp. also SHEPHIM, SHAPIAN.

SHEPHUPHAM, AV Shupham (ΣΕΨΕΨ) ἱ. Sēpē-

PHI PHAN, a son of BETHAMIS (ἱ. ἱ. [1] in Nu. 26:14),

with patronymic SHEPHAMITE (2:1, 10:27), ΣΟΨΑΝ.

SHEPHUPHAN

ΔΗΜΟΣ Ο ΣΩΦΑΝΕΙ [B] . . . ΣΩΦΑΝΙ [AF]. ΣΩΦΑΝ . . . ΣΩΦΑΝΙ [L].

SHEPHUPHAN (שִׁפְחָן) § 75; Gray, *HPV* 95, but the suggestion 'serpent' may be as fallacious as that of 'rock-budge' for SHAPHAN; another form is SHEPHUPHAN, i.e. BETH, b. BENJAMIN (J 12), 1 Ch. 85 (ΣΩΦΑΡΦΑΚ [B], ΣΩΦΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΡΑ [A], ΣΕΠΦΑΜ [L]). Cp. AHIRAM, SHEPHO, SHUPHAN, SHUPHIM, SHAPHAN.

SHERAH, or rather, as RV, SHEERAH (שֵׁרָה), ΣΑΡΑ [A], ΣΑΡΑ [L]; ♂ [ἐν ἐκεῖνοις τῆς καταλήψεως] and Pesh. connect with שָׂרָה, Niphal 'to be left', a 'daughter' of EPHRAIM (J 12) (1 Ch. 7:24) who 'found' the two Beth-horons and UZZEN-SHERAH (1 Ch. 7:24b, שֵׁרָה וְזֶעַן בְּתֵי הָהָרִים). In v. 24b ♂ gives ἡσασαρά (for ἡσασαρά?). ♂¹⁹ makes Sheṭa (σέρτα) and Rephat (ῥ. 24) sons of ὤσαν (Uzzen).

Conder suggests, as the site, Bêt Sirâ, a village 2 m. SW of the Lower Beth-horon (*HEM* 316). But can we implicitly trust the name? [The name Ephraim fixed itself not only in central but also in southern Palestine, where it is perhaps more original, and some of the names in the genealogy have an unmistakable N. Arabian affinity. Sheerah may, therefore, be a corruption of שִׁשְׁרָה 'Ashûr,' which turns out to be a N. Arabian tribe-name (cp Geshur). Heres in 'Ir-heres' (see HERES, MOUNT) seems to have the same origin (*Crit. Bibl.*, I-K.C.). For זֶעַן (Uzzen) we should probably (cp ♂) substitute זָרַע 'city,' and refer to Judg. 1:5. Cp. EPITRAIM, § 12. Beth-shemesh or Ir-shemesh is a curiously parallel name, if 'shemesh' comes from 'shum' (see SHALUM). See, however, NAMES, § 99, where 'ear (= earlike projection) of Sheerah' is suggested as the possible meaning of Uzzen-sheerah; cp AZNUTH-LABOR.

SHEREBIAH (שֵׁרֵבְיָה) § 39, but form seems doubtful, סαραβιας), a post-exilic priest and family (Ezra 8:19 ἀρχιερεὺς [B], ἐκ ἀρχῆς σαραβια [L], 7:24 σαραβια [B], Neh 8:7 ἀραβια [B], where סαραβια represents ΣΑΡΒΑΝΙΑ, סαραβια [A], 9:11 ♂¹⁹ סרביא, 10:12 [A] סרביא [B], Σαραβια [ῥ. 11], 12:9). In 1 Esd. 8:47 the name appears as ΣΕΡΒΕΛΙΑ, RV ΣΕΡΒΕΛΙΑΣ (Σαραβιας) [B], ἐκ ἀρχῆς σαραβια [L], cp HANANIEL, 7: in 7: 64, ΕΣΕΡΒΙΑΣ RV ΕΣΚΟΒΙΑΣ (Σερεβιας) [B], and 1 Esd. 9:49, ΣΑΡΒΙΑΣ, Σαραβιας [A]. Many of the companion-names on the lists are obviously ethnics (Ch.). See SAREER.

SHERESH (שֵׁרֵשׁ): ΣΟΥΡΟΣ [B], ΣΥΡΟΣ [A], ΦΥΡΟΣ [L], a Machite name in a genealogy of MANASSEH (§ 9 [B]); 1 Ch. 7:16. f. See PRESH.

SHEREZER (שֵׁרְעָזֵר) Zech 7:24 RV SHAREZER, 2.

SHERIFFS (שֵׁרֵפִים). ♂ τοῖς ἐπ' ἐξουσιῶν κατὰ χώραν, οἱ ἐπ' ἐξουσίᾳ [also Theod.], EV's rendering of a Bêl-Atam, official title (such as the prevailing opinion in Dan 3:2). It has been generally connected with the Ar. *ashf* 'to advise' (whence the participial 'mult'), and accordingly translated 'counsellor' (cp RV¹⁹ 'lawyers'). A still more far-fetched suggestion is to read שֵׁרֵפִים = שֵׁרֵפִים (remissus); for the η instead of ϵ Gratz (*MGH* IV 19 (47) compares שֵׁרֵפִים $\phi\alpha\lambda\eta\eta\mu\sigma\sigma$). Another scholar says, 'possibly a mutilated form of a Pers. title in *pat* "chief" (Bleau, *Dan*, 801, and Andreas Marti, *Gram. Bibl.-Iran.*, Glossary) suggests שֵׁרֵפִים *deplorative*, 'chiefs of religion.' Nor does this exhaust the list of theories.

Can no step in advance be taken? Only by those who recognise that many narratives in the OT have been remodelled, so far as the geographic and historical background is concerned. It will be only probable to any who adopt the present writer's theory that the supposed official titles in Dan. 3:2 are really N. Arabian ethnics. One of these ethnics (שֵׁרֵפִים Ashûrite, miswritten (שֵׁרֵפִים) passed, under the editors' hands, into שֵׁרֵפִים (see SADRASA). Another (שֵׁרֵפִים Rehal-dite) appears three or four times in corrupt variants. The last of these variants שֵׁרֵפִים has probably come from שֵׁרֵפִים through the intermediate form, which occurs earlier in MT's list, שֵׁרֵפִים. All the rulers of the province, is, of course, an editorial insertion, the incorrectness of which is shown by 7:4, where the herald addresses 'peoples, nations, and languages' (cp SADRASA).

SHESHAN

SHESHACH (שֵׁשַׁח), as if 'humiliation,' cp שָׁשַׁח 'to crouch' is generally explained as a cypher-form of 'Labe' (Babylon), which indeed is given instead of 'Sheshach' by Ig. (Jer 25:26 בִּלְבָבִי). In Jer 25:26 the whole clause, and in 51:41 'Sheshach,' is omitted in ♂ (Q¹⁹ adds in 25:26, καὶ λατρεύει Σησαχ πᾶσαι ἐθνογενεαὶ αὐτῶν, and in 51:41 inserts ὁ ἱσασα). Cornill follows ♂, and so too Giesebrecht in 51:41, whereas in 25:26 this scholar retains 'Sheshach,' but regards 25:26 as an interpolation. But would a late glossator assimilate with the Athash cypher (in which שֵׁשַׁח, שֵׁשַׁח, etc. are used in interpolating a prophecy ascribed to Jeremiah) and what reason was there for using a cryptogram? 'Explication desespérée-assurance' (Renan, *Annuaire annuel de lit. sci. asiatique*, 1871, p. 209). As to 51:41 there can be no doubt that 'Sheshach' should be omitted; it mars the beauty of the elegiac metre (see LAMENTATIONS). To prove this let us put 50:2 and 51:41, both elegiac passages, side by side:—

- (a) How is cut asunder and broken the whole earth's hammer?
How is become a desolation Babylon among the nations?
(b) How is [Sheshach] taken and surprised the whole earth's praise?
How is become a desolation [Babylon among the nations?]

As to Jer. 25:26, we must view the passage in connection with the whole list of peoples in 27: 12-23, and carefully criticize the text. The list begins with Lath. Next comes Misrim (so read; cp MIZRAIM, Arabia, Zarephathim, . . . , Fahim, Moab, Ammon, Misraim, repetition, but under 'Tyre and Zidon'), Dedan, Tema, Buz, Zarephathim, Arabia (three), Cushman, Zim, (= Zimran), Jerahmeel (Elam and Madai, Zaphan, Jerahmeel, Cush-jerahmeel (repetitious); then at the close something which by editorial manipulation became 'and the king of Sheshach (2) shall drink after them.'

The view of Lath that 'Sheshach' is a Hebraism for Siska, a Babylonian district which gave its name to an Assyrian-Babylonian dynasty, according to Pinches' reading of the Ptoch's himself, *TSB* I, 1881, p. 49, is untenable. We have *CR* I 67 f. 323; *APOL* 175 ff. and Sayce (*KEF* I, 1886, Urartzagga. The Athash theory is equally wrong (for this and on similar cyphers see Hal. *JHJ*, 245 (his theory is possible) and cp LEUKAMAL).

SHESHAI (שֵׁשַׁי) § 58, cp SHASHAI, ♂ (שֵׁשַׁי) [BFL], one of the Bêl-Anak, perhaps an old Hebrewite clan-name (Nu 13:22 צְעַמַי [A], Josh 15:11 צְעַמַי [L], יֵשׁ [A], Judg. 1:34 צְעַמַי [A]); see ANAKIM. Sayce (*Crit. Mon.* 204) combines the name with שֵׁשַׁח (the Egyptian name for the Syrian Belem). But ♂ in Josh 15:11, and the fact that שֵׁשַׁי is 16 points miswritten שֵׁשַׁי may suggest 'Cushi' (שֵׁשַׁי = Anak itself may come from 'Analek' = 'Jerahmeel' (Ch.). See, however, SHESHAN, JERAMEEL, § 23.

SHESHAN (שֵׁשָׁן) § 58; some MSS שֵׁשָׁן [Klein, פֻּזְאָן, פֻּזְאָן [B], פֻּזְאָן [A], פֻּזְאָן [L] whose daughter married his servant FARHA (cp 7:14b) and he the head of an interesting genealogical list (1 Ch. 2:24-42). See JERAMEEL, § 27. The names may contain an echo of tradition (Gray, *HPV* 234 f.); at all events, independent of the (possibly tribal) genealogy in 1 Ch. 2:24-42 (cp 7: 14b), where Sheshan appears as the son of Shand father of Abhi (v. 41). The natural presumption that ABHI was his daughter has no evidence to support it. Indeed, since it is probable that Farha was not so much an 'Egyptian' as a Musrite, and since the name Sheshan is reminiscent of the old Hebrewite SHASHAI [q r], it may be conjectured that we have here an allusion to the introduction of Hebraism into Musrite blood into the Jerahmeelites (see JERAMEEL). As other

That is to say, the fact that the Jerahmeelites adopted the older inhabitants of Hebron, is expressed in a certain fashion by saying that Farha married a 'daughter' (cp DAVANIK, 1 Ch. 2:10 p. 1, § 1). It is probable that Sheshan (in spite of the philological difficulty) may be connected with *Sissa* (שֵׁשַׁח), the Egyptian goddess (cp *Leukam* (p. 188), § 2).

SHESHBAZZAR

indeed, 'Jarha' was supposed to be etymologically akin to Jerahmeel (as a hypocoristic) is a matter for conjecture.

S. A. C.
SHESHBAZZAR (שֶׁשֶׁבַצַר, § 83; ΣΑΒΒΑΖΑΡΑΡΙΟΝ
A in Ezra 4: 10; σαββαρρη [I]; but B in Ezra 4: σαβαρ-
σαρ. 114 Βαγασαρ (i. e. σαββαρρη). In 1 Esd. 2: 15 ΣΑΒΒΑ-
ΖΑΡ. Κ. σαββαρρη. σαμνασσαρρη [II]; σαββασσαρρη. σαμα.
[Α]. σαββαρρη. σαμνασσαρρη [I]; 16 ΟΥΣΑΡΡΗ. ΣΑΒΒΑΣΑΡΡΗ. ΣΑΒΒΑ-
ΣΑΡΡΗ [B in 1: 15]; Βασσαρρη. σαμνασσαρρη. Β. 7: 20, Α. Γ.
σαββασσαρρη. 96) the first governor of Judah under the
Persians, Ezra 4: 11-14, 11 f.

Van Hoonacker (Leant., Jan 30, 1892 Nouvelles
Études, 94 f.) acutely explained the name as=Bab.

1 Name. Samaš-bālor (-bāl) 21-usur (i. e., 'O Sin-god
protect the son!'; cp Σαοδορυχιος (see
ABRAMMELECHI. See The Acad., Feb. 6, 1892, Well-
hausen (1894), and doubtfully Gûthe (1899). But the
Greek forms point to the name of the Moon-god Sin as
the first element in the name. The only difficulty in
this view is the 6 for Ass. r; but this is hardly insuper-
able. Accepting 6's form Samabassar for Sheshbazzar
we are enabled to accept the very plausible identification
of Samabassar with Shenazzar (1 Ch. 3: 12), first proposed
by Imbart (1888-89), and accepted by Sir H. Howarth,
Renan, and Ed. Meyer (Ent. der Jud. 77 ff.). Upon this
hypothesis Samabassar was not identical with Zerub-
babel (so van Hoonacker, Wellhausen), but his uncle
and predecessor. That SANNALAT (q. v.) and the first
governor of the Jews should have had names com-
pounded with Sin would be a striking coincidence. But
though this may have been the learned redactor's mean-
ing it is doubtful whether the original narrator intended
it. The chief captivity may have been in N. Arabia.
In this case the first part of the name Sheshbazzar would
represent 62 (Cush in N. Arabia); the second part
might possibly come from 627 (Zarephath). Cp
SHENAZAR; ZERUBABEL.

In Ezra 1: 2 Sheshbazzar is called loosely 'prince of
Judah' (שֶׁשֶׁבַצַר מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה); in 5: 14 he is called 'governor'

2 Notices. (שֶׁשֶׁבַצַר), the same title which is given to
Zerubbabel in Haggai (1: 14 2: 20). He
is said to have received from Cyrus's official the sacred
vessels which Nehemiah had taken away with a
charge to deposit them in the temple at Jerusalem when
it had been rebuilt. In 7: 16 TALLENAI (q. v.) mentions
that the foundations of the temple had been laid by
Sheshbazzar. Koster (Herbel, 33) admits that he is
probably a historical personage, and that he bears a
Babylonian name, but thinks that he was a Persian,
and that the Chronicler introduces a Shenazzar into the
genealogy of Zerubbabel from interested motives. That
Sheshbazzar brought back the sacred vessels, and laid
the foundations of the temple, Koster denies. On the
two latter points see Intr. I., pp. xxv, 281 f., but
bearing in mind the possibility that different views of
the land of the captivity and of the circumstances attend-
ing the gradual lightening of the burdens of the Jews
may have been taken by the narrator and the redactor
respectively. But cp Meyer, Ent. der Jud., pp. 75 ff.;
Gûthe (17 245; Winkler, K. I. 173, 287, with refer-
ences; Sheshbazzar a son of Jehochaim); and see EZRA
AND NEHEMIAH [BOOKS], § 7.

The identification of Sheshbazzar and Shenazzar (Shen'assaz) is
suggested by Leht (Theol. Rundschau, 1897), but justified
by E. Meyer (Z. N. W. 18 143 f.), who refers to the different
pronunciation of the syllables in Assyrian and Babylonian, and
explains the differences in the reproduction of these names by
differences of pronunciation. F. K. C.

SHETH (שֶׁת) 1. Nu 21: 1, regarded by
AV RV. 6 Vg. Pesh., as a proper name, on the
assumption that Seth the son of Adam is intended; this
is in fact the old Jewish tradition: 'the sons of Sheth'
is the 'sons of men' (Gen 1), the 'armies of Yeg'
(Gen 14). The assumption is untenable, but at any
rate Sheth must be a proper name. The scripture of
Gen 1: 1 (id. ch.) enumerates the temples of Meah,
the 'sons of the head of all the sons of Sheth'

SHEWBREAD

The name might come from the Suti, the Syrian Bedouins
mentioned in the Amarna Tablets. But in the parallel
passage, Jer. 18: 45, we find 627 for 62, and this suggests
627. 'Cushan' (cp Crit. Bib. on Am 2: 1). For 627.
'Moab,' read probably 627. 'Assur' (cp Moab, § 14).
The Mishrites or Cushites were among Israel's chief foes.
Must, however, with Dillmann, interpret 627 (627?) in
the sense of 'tumult' (so RV).
2. 1 Ch. 14, RV SEBU (q. v.). F. K. C.

SHETHAR (שֶׁתָר), in Esth. 1: 14, MT, one of the
'seven princes' at the court of Ahasuerus. 6's
ΣΑΒΒΑΖΑΡΙΟΝ [I. N. B. ΣΑΒΒΑΖΑΡΙΟΝ Α] seems to re-
present both SHETHAR and TARSHISH. According to
Marquart (Fund. 60), Shethar comes from 627, with
which, however, compare the D. Pers. 627 'joy.'
This presupposes the accepted view that the scene of
the Esther-story was always laid in Persia, and that
consequently the names may be expected to have a
Persian appearance. For another explanation see
P. KIM, § 3, and cp TARSHISH.

SHETHAR-BOZNAI, RV SHETHAR-BOZENAÏ (שֶׁתָר
בּוֹזְנַי. ΣΑΘΑΡΒΟΥΖΑΝΑ. -AN [B]. -NAÏ. -NE [A]. ΘΑΡ
ΒΟΥΖΑΝΑΤΙΟC [L.]). The name of a Persian (?) official
mentioned with Tattenai, Ezra 4: 16 627 1 Esd. 6: 3
(σαθαρβουζανης [BA], 627 [L.]) 7 (6-βουζης [B], 627
[A], 627 [L.]) 627 7 (6-βουζης [BA], 627 [L.]). AV
SATHIRBUZANUS. Four explanations may be men-
tioned, the fourth assumes that underlying the present
narrative there is an earlier story of the relations between
the Jews and the N. Arabian governors.

(1) Shethar-boznai may be a corruption of 627 =
Μητροβουζανης. Old Pers. 'Mithro-buzana' (i. e., 'having
redemption through the Mithra'). (2) Marquart takes a
different view (Fund. 53 f.). He equates 627 with Old
Pers. 627 'seed,' 'brilliance' and quotes names com-
pounded with this word. (3) Winkler (Ahat. Semitic
Studies, 34 f.), however, considers that 627 may be
the title of an official (e. g., chief clerk of the chancery),
and compares the inscription on a weight from Abydos,
where 627 is attested as such a title. In this case,
for 627 we must read 627. But the second part of the
title seems incorrectly transmitted. Winkler's reason
is that 627 is not followed, as we should have expected,
by a description of the office of the person so called.
(4) Upon the theory mentioned above, it is at any rate
possible that 627 comes from 627 (TARSHISH [q. v.]),
the original of which may be 627, and 627 from
627. 'Asshurite' and 'Cushite' are two N. Arabian
ethnies, used perhaps as personal names. See Crit.
Bib. F. K. C.

SHEVA (שֶׁבָע). 1. D. Caleb D. Hezron, the 'father'
of MACCHENA (1 Ch. 2: 49; 627 [B]. -A[M], 627 [L.]).
2. 2 S. 20: 25 (Kth. 627); see SERAIAH (1).

SHEWBREAD (שֶׁתֶּר הַפָּנִים), lithem hup panim, lit.
'bread of the face' or 'presence-bread' (RV 627). See
SACRIFICES, §§ 14-349; RITUAL, § 2; TEMPLE, §
16; and ALTAR, § 10 (18).

627 (where 627 occurs alone), 1 Ch. 1: 10, α. 7 627 (EX.
4: 24), α. 627 (Ex. 25: 30) Vg. panes propositionis.
With the exception of 1 K. 1: 2 Ch. 3: 6, and 1 S. only in P.
Other expressions are: 627 (1 Ch. 1: 10), 627 (1 Ch. 1: 10),
627 (Nu. 1: 17) (P. as 627 or 627), 627 (1 Ch. 1: 10),
627 (1 Ch. 1: 10), 627 (AV 627, 'bread of orderment'),
627 (1 Ch. 1: 10), 627 (RV 627, 'bread of orderment'),
627 (1 Ch. 1: 10), 627 (RV 627, 'bread of orderment'),
Zimmern (Beitrage zur Kenntniss der Bib. K. 1, Kittel 2).

1 S. Andreas, in Marti Bibl. Lat. Graec. Cassin. 8; F. Meyer,
Ent. d. Jud. 12. Μητροβουζανης occurs in Art. 1, l. 164, Th. 1,
21 22.

2 In the address of the letter of 'Tattenai the governor beyond
the river and Shethar-boznai' (Ezra 5: 3), the verb in MT is in
the 3rd and the suffix is 627 is also sing. Marquart
suggests that Shethar-boznai may have come in from the
subscription.

SHIBAH

tafeln, 94) includes among the constituent parts of a Babylonian sacrifice 'the laying of loaves' (akku) before the deity. It was usual to present either 12 or (1 x 12) 36. The loaves were of some fine meal, perhaps wheat. They were called akal mishi, 'sweet loaves' - i.e., unleavened.

SHIBAH (שִׁבָּה), Gen. 26, 33 RV, AV SHEBAU (q. v.).

SHIBBOLETH (שִׁבּוּלֵת), the word which the fugitive Israelites mispronounced, so falling into the trap set for them by the Philistines (Judg. 12, 6).

SH renders שִׁבּוּלֵת by σιββωλεθ. Being unable to reproduce the sh in שִׁבּוּלֵת, the translator chose σιββωλεθ, where σι was found rather difficult to pronounce. ('And he said, Sibboleth,' remains untranslatable.)

So the French betrayed themselves by their pronunciation of casr and caest in the Sicilian vespers, 13th March, 1282 (Berthelin). An analogous story is related by Doughty (Le Des., 1355). When the Druses came on to slay Ibrahim Pasha's troops, a grace was accorded to the Syrians in the force. 'O man, say Gamel.' Every Syrian answered, Jemel (j as in French, whilst in parts of Egypt j is pronounced as G). So the Damascus soldiers were saved.

On the phonetic point involved in the narrative see Marquart ZHW 8 (1855) 151 ff., and cp G. A. Cooke in Hastings' Dict., v.

SHIBMAM (שִׁבְמָם), Nu. 32, 39 AV, RV SHIMAM (q. v.).

SHICRON, RV SHUKKERON (שִׁכְרֹן); (אֵי) סוֹכְרוֹן [B], (אֵי) אֶקְרָוֹנָא [A], (אֵי) סוֹכְרוֹןָא [L]; Sockhron [Vg.], at the western end of the N. boundary of Judah, Josh. 15, 11, apparently between Ekron (אֶקְרֹן) and Jabneel.

SHIELD The most ancient defensive piece of armour was the shield, buckler, roundel, or target. The weapon varied greatly in make, form, and size, therefore bore a variety of names.

1. שָׂמֶשׁ, שָׂמֶשׁ ('preserve,' 'protect'); most commonly rendered θυρεός, θυραῖος, but also, some five times, σκασίον, in the sense in which that word is used by the Greek

1. Terms. Historical writers; cp σκασίον; Vg. scutum, but also, less properly, scyphus. This was a large shield which is commonly found in connection with spear, and was the shelter of heavily-armed infantry (1 S. 17, 41 etc.); it is also used figuratively of Yahwe's favour and faithfulness. We learn of this shield being borne in front of the warrior by a shield bearer (שָׂמֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר לְפָנָיו; 1 S. 17, 7 RV).

2. מִגְדָּן, מִגְדָּן ('cover,' 'defend'); most commonly rendered سپهر, but also occasionally سپهر and سپهر, a scutum. This word, for a larger, or smaller shield, which, from a similar juxtaposition with sword, bow, and arrows, appears to have been the defence of the light-armed infantry and of chiefs; it is used figuratively also of the scales of justice of Yahvah, a metaphor for a king's ruler (Ps. 112, 11; Hos. 4, 18 Ps. 45, 10), etc.

3. שִׁבְרֵת, שִׁבְרֵת (Ps. 91, 4). A doubtful word. A second word for 'shield' in the same line of the stanza is improbable. SH reads סוֹכְרוֹןָא, i.e., סוֹכְרוֹןָא, which Whitehouse and Che. have adapted.

4. מִגְדָּן, מִגְדָּן. The derivation and meaning of this word are both obscure. It is שִׁבְרֵת (reading שִׁבְרֵת?) and in 1 Ch. 12, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

5. מִגְדָּן, מִגְדָּן. The derivation and meaning of this word are both obscure. It is שִׁבְרֵת (reading שִׁבְרֵת?) and in 1 Ch. 12, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

6. Form, etc. The shields were no doubt at first made of wicker.

7. The shield of a king (Baithgen, Kirkpatrick), should be added. שִׁבְרֵת, 1 Ch. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

8. He has broken the quiver of the enemy. The shield and the bow.

SHIELD

work, wood, or hide. The leather coverings would vary in thickness; a single hide, if suitably prepared, sometimes serving as well as a double. At a later date the wooden framework was bordered with metal. The partial employment of metal would soon suggest the discarding of wood almost (or quite) entirely.

In Egypt the shield was most commonly covered with bull's hide, having the hair outwards, like the fashion of the Greeks, sometimes strengthened by one or more rims of metal, and studded with nails or iron pins, the inner part being probably wickerwork on a wooden frame, like many of those used by the Greeks and Romans, which were also covered with hide' (W. A. Mac. Egypt, 1192 f.).

We may infer that the early Israelites—or at any rate the Canaanites—borrowed the forms in use in Egypt. Their common shields would therefore be of a kind of parallelogram, broadest and arched at the top, and cut square beneath. They were of wood and with leather, a late prophet (Ezek. 39, 9) speaks of them as easily burned.

The shield was most likely what in the foudra would have been called a pavis, for such occurs in the Egyptian monuments. Sometimes such a weapon was above 5 ft. high. An example of an Egyptian weapon of the kind is to be seen in Erman's picture (Anc. Egypt, 524; see also Wilk. Anc. Egypt, 120). The body was protected by other armour—a fact which suggests that in ancient times the shield was large in proportion as other defensive armour was lacking. This shield resembles a Gothic window in shape. Shields of small dimensions must have been made of light material. During a march they were, at any rate in the time of Rameses II., hung over the soldiers' heads (see Erman, 540). At a later date the Assyrian warrior carried an enormous shield, sometimes round and convex, sometimes arched at the top and square at the bottom' (Masp. Struggle of the Nations, 627 f.). The Assyrians had shields of all sizes. Layard, Nineveh and Babylon, p. 193 f.) found bronze shields at Nimrud. They were 'circular, the rim bending inwards and forming a deep groove round the edge'. They had iron handles, fastened by six bosses or nails, the heads of which form an ornament on the outer face of the shield. The diameter of the largest and most perfect was about 6 inches.

The lighter shields may perhaps have been seen in 1 Ch. 12, 13, but see col. 2334 and cp 1 Ch. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

9. In a picture of a Philistine ship of war (see Masp. Struggle of the Nations, 627 f.) the combatants carried round shields. In the picture of the storming of Hapur fortress of the Kheta, given in Erman (Anc. Egypt, 120), shields of various shapes and sizes are well illustrated. Cp Hewitt, Ancient Armors in Europe, p. 100. In Northern shields, we sometimes find a large opening to cover the whole person. It is probable that the same kind of shield is to be seen in Egyptian Assyrian and Indian monuments (75), and that the same shield (12) is a large round shield of cane-wicker (6) now

SHIHOR-LIBNATH

above. (12) Is. 23₁, as it now stands, is fairly rendered by RV —

'And on great waters the seed of Shihor, the harvest of the Nile (שִׁיחַר), was her revenue; and she was the mart (סוּר) of nations.'

With the exception of Duhm all commentators have admitted that Shihor here means the Nile, though Dillmann noticed the awkwardness of the style here and elsewhere in the poem, which, together with the occurrence of 'Kasim' (חַלְדָּאִים) in 7. 13, suggested his theory that the original work (777. 1-13) was recast by a later hand (cp *Inte. Is.* 130-143). Duhm, however, thinks that the writer means the Shihor on the S. border of Asher (see SHIHOR-LIBNATH), which, according to Gen 49₂₀ (Ezek. 27₁₈), supplied Zidon with corn and the libbe.¹

He regards שִׁיחַר (no tin ש) as an incorrect gloss. Duhm speaks of 'Zidon' rather than 'Tyre, because 22 in 777. 13 is, in his opinion, miswritten for שִׁיחַר. Marti assents to this, but thinks that the gloss (שִׁיחַר) is correct, and that 'Shihor,' after all, does mean the Nile. If, however, it is highly probable (see PLOMER, § 35 ff.) that the geographical names have been transformed by an editor in very many of the prophecies, it becomes at once probable that here, as elsewhere, שִׁיחַר should be שִׁיחַר, and שִׁיחַר either שִׁיחַר or perhaps שִׁיחַר. In this case we can hardly doubt that שִׁיחַר (Shihor), which is not understood by ש to be the name of a river, or even a proper name at all, should be either שִׁיחַר, 'merchants' (so ש), or rather שִׁיחַר, 'Ashhur,' which in 777. 13 has the same origin (see TAKSINON), whilst שִׁיחַר presumably comes from שִׁיחַר. At any rate, the presence of שִׁיחַר and שִׁיחַר close together points to the existence of much uncertainty as to the right reading of the word which underlies both words.

(b) In Jer 23 the prophet reproaches the Jews for being continually on the road to שִׁיחַר, 'to drink the water of Shihor,' and to Asshur 'to drink the water of the river.' Most think that שִׁיחַר means 'Mizraim'—i.e., Egypt—and that 'Asshur' is the great kingdom whose capital was Nineveh. But in the context (7. 16) we only read of the 'sons of South and Lahapanes,' Father then 'Asshur' is superfluous, or it denotes the same country as שִׁיחַר. In the latter case שִׁיחַר must mean the N. Arabian Musri, and שִׁיחַר (Noph and Lahapanes) must be corrupt.² Clearly this is preferable; the quatrain in 7. 17 must not be mutilated. 'Shihor' and 'Asshur' are ultimately the same name, but 'Shihor' has already become differentiated from 'Asshur,' and means the שִׁיחַר (Gen 15₁₈).³ That ש in 7. 17 reads שִׁיחַר (Gihon) instead of 'Shihor' is hardly of importance for textual criticism.

It does, however, prove that the Greek translator did not understand Shihor, and therefore substituted for it a name which, owing to a misinterpretation of Gen 24 (where 'Osh' becomes 'Ethiopia'), he supposed to be a Hebrew name for the Nile. It is not due, then, to our excesses that in 7. 6 שִׁיחַר is represented as distinct from שִׁיחַר, for in 7. 18 the right reading probably is, not שִׁיחַר (Asshur), but שִׁיחַר (Ashur).

The above is written independently of Hommel's later investigations (*Uebersetz.* 34 ff.). As well as of Winkler's more recent writings. Hommel holds that in Josh. 13 and in 1 Ch. 13 'the Shihor' is inaccurately put for the 'nahal Mesar.' He derives 'Shihor' from 'Shihon,' which he identifies with Sühon, the Arabic name of one of the rivers of Paradise. The 'Gihon' is the river (שִׁיחַר) of Ashur (so he points it, Ashur, *Leb.*, Ebon), this he identifies with the Wady Sühon (reckoned with the Euphratean stream region), the Hiddekel (as he thinks) of Gen. 24. Hommel's statements are criticised unsympathetically by König, *Uebersetz. arab. hebr. Lexik. Aufsätze* (in *J. L. hebr. u. ar. Stud.*), 1. 1.

SHIHOR-LIBNATH שִׁיחַר לִבְנַת; צֵיטוֹן [B]. צֵיטוֹן [VL.] και ΛΑΒΑΝΑΘ; *Shihor et Libnath*, apparently near Carmel on the S. boundary of Asher (Josh 14_{6,7}). The ancients, including Eusebius and Jerome (ON 275. 136) distinguished two places called respectively Shihor and Libanath. Since, however, SHIHOR [7. 1] occurs elsewhere only as the name

¹ Read, perhaps, suggest, as N. J. G. ...

² Even if the Wady of Ashur and the Wady of Musri were, strictly speaking, distinct, some laxity in a Hebrew writing is intelligible.

SHILOH

of a river, the moderns prefer to take Shihor-libnath as a compound phrase meaning 'the Shihor of Libnath.' There may have been a place near called Libnath, and Hommel (*AHT* 243) ingeniously conjectures that the Asherites, who originally dwelt between Egypt and Judah (cp ASHER, § 1), called the stream which marked the S. boundary of their territory by the name of Shihor in memory of the Nile. 'SHIHOR' [7. 1], however, does not mean the Nile. It is more probable that just as שִׁיחַר (Carmel) comes (according to the present writer's theory) from שִׁיחַר (Jerahmeel), so שִׁיחַר (Shihor) in Josh., as well as elsewhere, comes from שִׁיחַר (Ashhur), and that both names indicate that the sites called 'Carmel' and 'Shihor' had been originally occupied by Jerahmeelites and Ashhurites (thisinction without a difference?) respectively. There are probably other places called Ashhur (Ithres, for instance [see HIKKES, *Monist*]); one of them was near Libnath or belonged to a Latin or Libnath clan. See SHIHOR.

From the earlier point of view, Dillmann's identification of 'the river' Shihor of Libnath' with the Nahr ez-Zer, i.e., 'the dark blue river, a little to the S. of Caesarea, appeared plausible (but cp Buhl, *Zat.* 103). J. J. Michaels and Gesenius (*Thes.* 139) thought of the river Belus (now Nahr Namias, of Akka) from the fine sand of which, according to Pliny, 5. 24 (532), 'transparens' (?) was made.

SHIKKERON (שִׁיכְרוֹן), Josh. 15₁₁ RV, AV SHIKKORON (7. 7).

SHILHI (שִׁילְחִי), § 521, apparently the name of the father-in-law of king Jehoshaphat, 1 K. 22₄₂ (שִׁילְחִי [B]. Ἰσαάκ [A]. Ἰσαάκ [L. in 16. 80]. 20. 29. 21. 1. 2. 4. 1. [B]. Ἰσαάκ [L.]), but really, as the 11 vetu of שִׁילְחִי in 1 K. 22₄₂ (from Ἰσαάκ SHILHIM [7. 7]) shows, the name of the birthplace of Azubah, the king's mother. The majority, if not all, of the names of Jehoshaphat's brothers, together with his own, suggest a family connection with the Negeb. Cp HALLISTON.

SHILHIM (שִׁילְחִים). A city of Judah 'towards the border of Edom,' Josh. 15₁₁ (שִׁילְחִים [B]. Ἰσαάκ [A.]). Perhaps the same as SHARADEN (see also Shaaram (Buhl, *Zat.* 185). Azubah, 109. Shilhi (7. 7), was probably a native of Shilhim (see SHILHIM).

SHILEM (שִׁילֵם), Gen. 46₂₄. **SHILLEMITES** (שִׁילְמִיִּתִּים), Nu. 26₄₀; in 1 Ch. 7₁ SHILLEMIM.

SHILOAH. WATERS OF (מֵי הַשִּׁילֹחַ), 1 S. 8. 13. SHILOAM.

SHILOH (שִׁילֹחַ), Judg. 21₂₁ Jer. 7₁₂, שִׁילֹחַ, Judg. 21₂₁ 1 S. 12₄ 3₂₁ Jer. 7₁₂ 14. 26₇ 41₅, but here שִׁילֹחַ, שִׁילֹחַ, שִׁילֹחַ, שִׁילֹחַ, cp SALEM; Ps. 78₆₀ שִׁילֹחַ thirteenth time, שִׁילֹחַ, שִׁילֹחַ; Jos. σαλοῦς and σαλω).

A town of Ephraim, where the sanctuary of the ark was, under the priesthood of the house of Eli.

1. Ephraimite town. According to 1 S. 3. 11, the sanctuary was not a tabernacle, but a temple with doors.

Josh. 18₁ [1. 1], he ... that the tabernacle was set up there by Joshua after the conquest. In Judg. 21₁₉ the yearly festival appears as of merely local character. Since the ark has been destroyed by the Philistines after the battle of Ebenezer (cp Jer. 7₁₂ 14. 26₇ 41₅), § 11). The position described in Jer. 7₁₂ 14. 26₇ 41₅ gives certainty to the identification of the modern *Selun* lying some 2 m. E. S. of Beth-lebanath, on the road from Beth-lebanath to Hebron (there is a ruined village, with a flat-topped hill behind it, offering a strong position, which that place was a stronghold as well as a strong and fertile landscape surrounding it).

Cp PROBST, § 2; *OTTC* 262 263; 1. W. SANCTUARY at Shiloh, *JBL* 19 (1900) 206 211; *Arch. Aegyptiaca*; and Aug. Köhler, *RH*, *Gen.* 11.

SHILOH

SHILOH

That there was a Shiloh in the territory of Ephraim, is undeniable. It is probable, however, that there was neither place with at least a similar name, in Benjamin, which was confounded by later writers (Jer. 15) with the northern Shiloh.

שִׁלֹה, שִׁלְוָה, and שִׁלְוָה, are all regarded by the present writer as connected with שִׁלְוָה (Shaloh) and שִׁלְוָה (Shalishah), names of Edomite, or rather Jerahmeelite, origin, which were not confined to one part of the country. He sees reason to think that the names, both of Eli and of his two sons, connect Eli's family with the Jerahmeelites, and there is evidence in the genealogy of Samuel connecting his family with the same N. Arabian stock; indeed the name of Samuel (see S. V. 1, 10) may appear identical with the Jerahmeelite name of Saul.

It is very possible that the sanctuary of the ark was in the Benjaminite not in the Ephraimite Shiloh (or rather Shalishah?); also that in the original narrative from which Josh. 18 (esp. 19) 21-22 (22) is derived, the place intended was Shalishah in Benjamin. We can now probably understand aright the statement in Judg. 18 that the shrine containing Micah's graven image remained 'all the time that the house of God was in שִׁלְוָה.' Lash or Dan was not improbably the famous city of Halisah in the Negeb (see MICAH, § 2), and of course shared the fortunes of the sanctuary in Benjamin which contained the ark. The question also arises whether the equivaocal statement about the 'daughters of Shiloh' in Judg. 21 19 ff. does not really refer to a southern city. In 21 19 ff. it has been argued that in a probability שִׁלְוָה (E.V. Shiloh) in Gen. 49 10 has been corrupted out of שִׁלְוָה (Lushah), which in turn is a popular distortion of Halisah. It is possible that the place near which, according to the narrative, the capture of wives was effected by the Benjaminites was really Lushah—i.e., Halisah. The transformation of names in Judg. 21 19, which this theory presupposes, is not stranger than similar transformations which we have assumed elsewhere. Bethel is the southern Bethel—containing the sanctuary of Halisah. Shechem should be Gusham (see SHECHEM), and Lelcaah is a southern Lelcah (cp Nu. 33 20 f.). Cp also MULLERZEDER.

Nearly the names Eli, Hophni, Phinehas, but also Ahinuh, though favoring the view that the family of Eli was Jerahmeelite, and to some extent make it natural to place the sanctuary of the ark in one of the territories known as Jerahmeelite. For שִׁלְוָה in accordance with types of corruption which we have seen assumed) is probably from שִׁלְוָה, 'Rehoboth,' or שִׁלְוָה, 'Rehoboth,' a view which is somewhat confirmed by the famous saying of Job in 1 S. 1 21, שִׁלְוָה אֶתְּנֶה לָּךְ, if we may take it literally We. i. col. 2 (4) as אֶתְּנֶה לָּךְ 'Alas, Rehoboth!' It can be shown improbable (cp 1 S. 11 3 (see below) shows) that שִׁלְוָה (Halisah) and שִׁלְוָה (Moluth) are ultimately the same name. The corruption of שִׁלְוָה into שִׁלְוָה is not worse than many assumed corruptions, while the other corruption שִׁלְוָה אֶתְּנֶה לָּךְ could be suggested by poetic sentiment. Both corruptions, it will be noticed, imply the dropping out of ש from what we may assume as the original name i.e., שִׁלְוָה אֶתְּנֶה לָּךְ, 'O Shiloh.' May we then assume that there was a Rehoboth, as to the Shalishah in Benjamin where the sanctuary of the ark may be best supposed to have been? It is better to hold that 'Rehoboth' and 'Jerahmeel' were used as synonyms. A N. Arabian origin might indifferently be called 'Rehoboth' and 'Jerahmeel' (see REHOBOTH). Thus an Edomite site for the sanctuary of the ark, though believed in by some, becomes more and more improbable.

שִׁלְוָה אֶתְּנֶה לָּךְ, on versions see below), a proper name. It is a variant of שִׁלְוָה, which would be in accord with the warning Passages.

SHILOH שִׁלְוָה, on versions see below), a proper name. It is a variant of שִׁלְוָה, which would be in accord with the warning Passages. Text and versions: The sceptre shall not depart from the lawgiver from between his feet until and into him shall the gathering of the into which rendering of AV, however,

RV introduces the alterations 'the ruler's staff' for 'a lawgiver' (transferred to RV's 'obedience' for 'gathering,' and 'peoples' for the archaism 'people' RV's also gives, 'Till he come to Shiloh, having the obedience of the peoples,' and records the ambiguous reading שִׁלְוָה. The Hebrew of AV is:—

אֵל שִׁלְוָה אֶתְּנֶה לָּךְ
וְשִׁלְוָה אֶתְּנֶה לָּךְ
וְשִׁלְוָה אֶתְּנֶה לָּךְ
וְשִׁלְוָה אֶתְּנֶה לָּךְ

Ginsburg gives as Kie שִׁלְוָה, which is a rare spelling of the place-name Shiloh, if it is not rather meant to signify 'his son,' see note.

A critical conspectus of the diverse interpretations of this passage would require many pages (for this we may refer to the special monographs). We can only give such references to ancient or modern hypotheses, as may save the student from committing himself to untenable or precarious views, and justify the offering of a new interpretation based upon a critical examination of the text, and confirmed by the study of some important historical passages elsewhere. It is not enough to rest in interpretations, however widely prevalent, which have an insecure textual basis; we are bound to attempt to lift the exegesis of this much disputed passage to a higher level, and to free it from the uncertainties of theological or semi-theological controversy.

The ancient renderings that chiefly concern us are:— 1. B (and Theod.): οὐκ ἐλεύσει ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰουδα καὶ ἰσχυμενος ἐν τῶν μητρῶν αὐτοῦ εὐσὶ ἀπ' ἐλθῆ τα ἀποσειμενα αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκῶν ἔθνη. Several MSS have ὁ ἀποσειμαί, a few ὁ ἀποσειμαί αὐτῶν or ὁ ἀποσειμαί. The rendering ἐν τῶν μητρῶν αὐτοῦ is one of the signs that the interpretation of the passage was influenced by 10: 28 27. προσδοκῶν suggests the reading ΠΡΩΤ. On τα ἄποσ. αὐτῶν, see below. 2. Aq. οὐκ ἀναστήσεται σκεπηταὶ ἀπὸ Ἰ. καὶ ἀρριβαζόμενος ἀπὸ μεταφ ποδῶν αὐτοῦ εὐσὶ ἀπ' ἐλθῆ . . . καὶ αὐτῶ σὺστήμα Ἀπόσ. ΣΥΝ. οὐκ ἀρριβαζόμενος ἐξουσία ἀπὸ Ἰ. . . 3. Pesh. (4).

لا يلحم محفلها جمع بين
صه قرحهص حبصا بللا فجم
صه بصره فحقصا

'The staff shall not depart from Judah, nor the interpreter from between his feet, until he cometh to whom it belongs, and for him do the peoples wait.' (b) Aphraates (ed. Wright, 320) instead of last three words.

صه صه فحقصا بعدصه
(to whom belong) the kingdom, and for him do the peoples hope.

4. Tg. Onk. אֵל יְהוָה עֹמֵד בְּיַמֵּי מְשִׁיחַ וְעַד שֶׁיָּבֹאוּ בְּנֵי מְשִׁיחַ לְעַמּוּתוֹ וְעַד שֶׁיָּבֹאוּ בְּנֵי מְשִׁיחַ לְעַמּוּתוֹ

'The wielder of power shall not pass away from the house of Judah, nor the scribe from his sons, sons for ever until that the anointed one come to whom belongs the kingdom and to him shall the peoples submit themselves.'

We have first to ask (can Shiloh be a proper name, as the Reformers in AV seem mostly suppose? As Driver has well observed 'no ancient version, and indeed no known authority for several centuries after the Christian era, implies the Massoretic reading, or even in the passage a proper name. It is true that it was generally interpreted in integrity of the Messianic

2. Shiloh not a proper name.

1 Chr. Werlun, De Auidibus Jude (Havniae, 1705); S. R. Driver, Gen. 49 10, an exegetical study, Journ. Phil. U. (1883) 128. The former takes Shiloh to mean 'power-bearer' i.e., Solomon; the conclusion of the latter scholar is given in the text in his own words. These monographs may be supplemented by the notes of Delitzsch, Dillmann, Gunkel, and Ball, in their works on Genesis. Cp also J. Hart, Gen. 49, der Alttest. Wissenschaft (1861), 227-260.

2 Driver traces this (connecting to Seb. Münster (1514), who gives 'monsiepsie venit Silo.' Pagninus (1528), 'ave Messias'; Luther (1534), 'der Held.'

SHILONI

SHIMEON

the true text perhaps said that Jeroboam had just come from Mesirum, or rather Ishmael, where he was 'found' by the prophet Ahijah the Shilonite. Was Ahijah really an Ephraimite prophet? It is more natural to suppose that he was of a place much nearer to the N. Arabian land from which Jeroboam had come, viz., of Laishah (i.e., Hahisah), a name which we have found to have been altered by a scribe's error into Shiloh in Gen. 49:15.

The literature of Gen. 49:15 is extensive. See the works of Schler, Schulz, Smetel, Kielm, Dehtsch, and Briggs, on Isaiah's religion, and the commentaries of Tuch, Dehtsch, Kaibsch, Dillmann, Holzinger, Gunkel; the *Gen. 49* (Heb. text) of J. Ball in *SBOT*; Pusey, *Daniel the Prophet, 254-255*; Cheyne, 'A disputed prophecy in Genesis,' *Theolog. Review*, 12 (1874); *Disputed Prophecies*, 11 (1881); 2 (1876); Briggs, *Isaiah's Prophecy*, 44 ff. (1886); and especially the three discussions (Werlin, Driver, Bau) already mentioned.

T. K. C.

SHILONI (שִׁילוֹנִי), 1 Ch. 9:5. See SHELAH, 1.

SHILONITE (שִׁילוֹנִי, שִׁילוֹנִי, and שִׁילֹנִי [Neh. 11:5]; שִׁלְוֹנִי [1 Mch.]).

1. Gentile from שִׁילֹח Shiloh, used with reference to the prophet Ahijah (temp. Jeroboam I.), 1 K. 11:29 12:15 2 Ch. 9:20 10:15. See SHILOH n. (cont).

2. In a post-exilic list, miswritten for שִׁלְוֹנִי (1 Ch. 9:5) and שִׁלְוֹנִי (Neh. 11:5) — i.e., 'Shelamite.' See SHELAH.

SHILBAH (שִׁילְבָּה); ΣΑΛΒΕΙΣ [BA], ΣΕΛΕΜΒΑΝ [L], b, Zophah, a name in a genealogy of ASHER (1 Ch. 7:34 11:1), 1 Ch. 7:37. Cp SHILBA, 2.

SHIMEA (שִׁמְעָא, § 51). 1. Brother of David. See SHAMMAH.

2. Son of David (1 Ch. 23:11), (1 Ch. 3:2) ΣΑΜΑΡ [B], ΣΑΜΑΡ [L], but 2 S. 5:14, 1 Ch. 14:1 ΣΑΜΑΡΙΑ, ΣΑΜΑΡΙΑ; ΣΑΜΟΥΕΛ, ΣΑΜΑΡ [B]; ΣΑΜΟΥΕΛ, ΣΑΜΟΥΟΥ [A] respectively; ΣΑΜΑΡ [L, BA]; 1 Ch. 14: ΣΑΜΑΡΙΑ [L].

3. A Merarite Levite; 1 Ch. 6:34 [15] (ΣΑΜΕΑ [B], ΣΑΜΑ [A], ΣΑΜΑ [L]).

4. A Bethshonite Levite; 1 Ch. 6:39 [24] (ΣΑΜΑΡ [BA]).

SHIMEAH, 1. (שִׁמְעָא [kt], § 51), brother of David. See SHAMMAH.

2. (שִׁמְעָא), b. Mikloth in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (1 Ch. 8:12 [ΣΑΜΑ [B], ΣΑΜΑ [A], ΣΑΜΑ [L]), but 1 Ch. 9:10 [ΣΑΜΑ, Shimeam, ΣΑΜΑ [B], ΣΑΜΑ [A]. See /QK (1101), § 1012.

SHIMEATH (שִׁמְעָת [B, G]), ep שִׁמְעָת and SAM, § 78, ΣΕΜΥΑΘ [BA], father of Joazabab (2 K. 12:24 [21]) called by the Chronicler, according to ME and BA, 12 Ch. 21:5; 1 SAM [B]; ΣΑΜΑΘ [A]; ΣΑΜΑΘ [L], an Ammonite (ep SHIMEH). In BA however, it is Shimeath's son that is Ammonite. Possibly 'Ammonite' stands for 'Jerahmeelite' (i.e.). See SHELA, SHIMRITH.

SHIMEATHITES (שִׁמְעָתִימ; ΣΑΜΑΘΙΕΙΜ [BA], ΣΕΙΝ [L]), 1 Ch. 2:5. See JARZ.

SHIMEI (שִׁמְעִי), a gentilium of שִׁמְעִי [see WRS, *Iran. Parl.* 9:2]; ΣΕΜΕΙ [B]. 1. b. Gera of BATHKIM (1 Ch. 2:49), a Benjamite of the house of Saul who cursed David as he fled from Absalom (2 S. 16:5-13). On David's return after the death of Absalom Shimei is said to have been the foremost of the 'house of Joseph' to follow with a thousand Benjamites, to welcome the king. On return he begged for forgiveness (2 S. 19:16-20). In David's last words, however (1 K. 2:27 f.), the king charges his son to put Shimei out of the way, in requital of his wisdom (see DAVID, col. 1031 n. 1; 2 S. 19:16 1 Ch. 2:49). Upon his accession to the throne Solomon permits Shimei to dwell at Jerusalem on certain conditions (see KIDRON, § 2), which, however, Shimei violates, ostensibly in order to recover two slaves who had fled to Achish king of

Gath (rather, of Rehoboth). He is slain by Beniah at the royal command (1 K. 2:26 f.). The exact course of events is not free from doubt, but this at least is clear: Shimei was a leader of the Benjamites who was politically dangerous, and it is likely that he really sought to draw Nahash, king of Rehoboth, into his schemes. Nahash may in fact very possibly have been displeased at the *comp. p. d. d.* which had made Solomon his suzerain. On the 'legend' of Shimei, cp Winckler (*GL, l. c.*), and see below nos. 2 and 19.

2. Shimei and Rei and the *gibborim* who belonged to David are enumerated among those who did not join Adonijah in his attempt on the throne (1 K. 1:2, ΣΑΜΕΙΑΣ [L]). It seems best to assume with Winckler (*GL, l. c.*) that Shimei is intended, while Rtt (1 Ch. 1:2) may be Irai, a *β. k. n.* or perhaps *β. k. n.* ('numster') of David, mentioned in 2 S. 20:26. Stade, however (*GLT 129*, n. 1), thinks that they were two officers of David's bodyguard; the fact that the two names do not occur elsewhere in 1 K. 1 only shows the fragmentariness of our knowledge of the times. Some think that one of David's heroes, SHAMMAH (3) or Shimei, may be meant; Ewald's suggestion that David's brother Shammah (or Shimeah) is intended is unlikely (see RADDAD).

3. b. Elah, high officer of Solomon in Benjamin (1 K. 4:14; om. B, ΣΑΜΕΙ [A], ΣΑΜΑ [L]). See SHAMMAH, 3.

4. 2 S. 21:21, ΣΑΜΑ [L] AV SHIMAH, see SHAMMAH, 2.

5. b. Pedahai; brother of Zebubabel (1 Ch. 3:19 om. B), perhaps the same as SHAMMAH (7, 22).

6. b. Zaccur, of SIMEON (1 Ch. 4:7 f.) (1 Ch. 4:7 f.), who had sixteen sons and six daughters, and is described as the father of an important clan (*gens*) which overlapped all others, but did not equal the line Judah (within whose territory it was settled); cp perhaps Shemalah, 7, 17.

7. b. Joel, of REUBEN (1 Ch. 5:4) (ΣΑΜΕ [L]); cp 1 Ch. 5, Shimea (ΣΑΜΕΙ [L]) b. Joel.

8. AV Shimal, a Benjamite, the father of Ashlah, Shimeath, and BERAIAH (1 Ch. 8:21 ΣΑΜΑΙ [B], ΣΑΜΑ [A], in r. 13 called ΣΗΜΑ [1 Ch. 10:3]). See AHAJAH.

9. A Ramathite, or man of Ramah (ΣΑΜΑ, b. *in* ΣΑΜΑ [B], b. ΣΑΜΑΘΙΟΣ [A]), one of David's officers who was 'over the vineyards' (1 Ch. 27:27). Which of the southern Ramas is meant, is unknown. ΣΑ's ΣΑΜΑ may spring from 'Jerahmeel' (Che.).

10. b. Kish, a Benjamite, an ancestor of MURDUCAI (Esh. 2:5 . . . τὸν ΣΑΜΕΙΟΥ [B], . . . τὸν ΣΑΜΕΙΟΥ [A]); in the apocrypha of Esther (1:2 ΣΑΜΕΙΟΥ [B], ΣΑΜΕΙΟΥ [A], ΣΑΜΑ, RV ΣΑΜΑΙΣ. Shimei is here evidently, like Kish, a clan-name; a reference to the person who 'cursed David' is out of the question.

11. Shimei occurs frequently in the later writings as a son of Gershon b. Levi (Ex. 6:17 [AV Shim] Nu. 3:16, 1 Ch. 6:17 12). He appears in 1 Ch. 6 as the son of Jahath, 7: 42 (7), with which contrast (1 Ch. 23:6 f.) where he is the father of Jahath; again in 2:14 (ΣΑΜΕΙ [B] Ithai, who elsewhere is his brother, appears as his son, and both are Merarite Levites. He is the founder of the Shimites (AV) or more correctly (with RV) Shimoltes (Nu. 3:21: ΣΑΜΕΙ; τὸν ΣΑΜΕΙΟΥ [B], om. B, . . . ΣΑΜΕΙ [A]). What is meant by the 'Shimoltes' (so RV; AV 'Shimei,' ΣΑΜΕΙ; but Σ and Pesh. have 'Simeon') in Zech. 12:11, Nowak pronounces to be unknown. Baudissin (*Palästina*, 248), however, thinks that the above-mentioned Shimoltes of Gershon are meant. For a revision of the text of the whole passage, without attempting which probably no single detail can be understood, see *Crit. Bib.*

12. One of the sons of Jehuthan (1 Ch. 25:17; ΣΑΜΕΙ [B], ΣΑΜΕΙ [L]), whose name should be inserted in r. 3 with ΣΑ (but Σ 16590) to make up the full number six.

13. A son of Haman (2 Ch. 20:14).

14. A Levite, Ezra 10:21 (ΣΑΜΟΥ [BA], ΣΑΜ [L]); in 1 Esd. 9:23 ΣΑΜΟΥ, RV ΣΑΜΟΥΣ (ΣΑΜΟΥ [B], ΣΑΜΟΥ [A]).

15. One of the b. HATHUM (Ezra 10:3); in 1 Esd. 9:2 ΣΑΜΟΥ.

16. One of the b. BANI (Ezra 10:3); ΣΑΜΟΥ, however, for BANI, ΣΑΜΟΥ, reads 'the sons of Shimei,' but Σ 16030 ΣΑΜΟΥΣ. In 1 Esd. 9:34, ΣΑΜΟΥ, RV ΣΑΜΟΥΣ (ΣΑΜΟΥ [BA]).

S. A. C. — 1. K. 1

SHIMEON (שִׁמְעוֹן). Ezra 10:31 = 1 Esd. 9:32 ΣΑΜΟΝ (C) ΣΑΜΕΛΣ (C) ΣΑΜΟΝ ΛΑΟC ΣΑΜΑΟC [B], . . . ΣΑΜΑΙΟC [A].

1. [Note that Achish is called 'ben Maachiah.' Maachiah, like Ahiham (which ΣΑ has instead of 'Maach' in 1 S. 27:1) is probably to be taken as a popular corruption of Jerahmeel. Achish, then, was connected with N. Arabia. (Achish, however, should perhaps be emended into 'Nahash.' See NAHASH, 2. Tradition seems to have varied.)

1 In 1 K. 2:4, however, no mention is made of David's being a fugitive on account of Absalom.

SHIMMA

SHIMMA (שִׁמָּא), 1 Ch. 2:13 AV, RV (better) SHIMEA. See SHAMMAH

SHIMON (שִׁמְעוֹן), cp § 77; CEMELION [BX], EAMI [L], a name in the Judahite genealogy (1 Ch. 4:2-4).

SHIMRATH (שִׁמְרַת), § 78; CAMARATH [BX]; PEI [L], of HESJAMIN (§ 9), assigned to the line SHIMEI (1 Ch. 8:21f.).

SHIMRI (שִׁמְרִי); CAMAR(ע) [AL], a N. Arabian and S. Palestinian ethnic; the original seat of the clan seems to have been called Har-shimron, according to a very necessary emendation of Am. 6:1, 'Woe unto the secure in Ishmael, the careless in Har [mountain of]-shimron'; cp PROPHECIES, § 35, SHIMRON.

1. OF SHIMRON (§ 9 n.) [cp MEUSIM], 1 Ch. 4:37 (שָׁמַר [H], see [A]).

2. Father (or clan?) of Jehiel (from Jerahmeel?), one of David's heroes, (1 Ch. 11:4 (שָׁמַר [H])).

3. AV SHIRI, a Meronite, eponym of one of the 'courses' of the door-keepers, (1 Ch. 26:13 (שִׁמְרִיָּהוּ [H], שָׁמַר [L])).

4. A Levite, one of the sons of Elzaphan [cp ZELIANSI], 2 Ch. 29:13 (שָׁמַר [H], שָׁמַר [M]). See also SHIMRI, SHIMRITH.

T. K. C.

SHIMBITH (שִׁמְבִּית); CAMARITH [A], COMALOTH [B], CAMIPALOTH [L]. As the text stands, the mother of one of the murderers of Joash, described as 'the Moabitess, אִשְׁתֵּי בְּנֵי מְרִיָּהוּ וְיִצְחָק בְּנוֹת מְרִיָּהוּ, 2 K. 12:12 [2] has SHIMRI [L]. More probable than either reading is SHIMRI [L].

Similarly read שִׁמְרִי, or rather (the confusion between שִׁמְרִי and שִׁמְרִי being so frequent) שִׁמְרִי. The 'Shimrite' clan was in fact located in the Jerahmeelite Negeb (cp Am. 6:1, see SHIRI, ad loc.). S. however, reads שִׁמְרִי, applying the title to Jehozabab. Cp SHIMRATH.

T. K. C.

SHIMRON (שִׁמְרֹן); CUMMOTAN [H], a place in Zebulun, mentioned between Nabhal and Hlahah and

1. Name; Bethlehem (2), Josh 19:15 (שִׁמְרֹן [H], [M.]) Hlahah (שִׁמְרֹן [H], Jerahmeel) may be only a variant to Bethlehem (i.e., Beth-jerahmeel). At any rate, if possible, we need a site between Ma'lot (NARHAL) and Bethlahm (BETHLEHEM, 2). Such a site we have in Semimiyeh, the Simonia of Josephus (Hist. 2:4), the Simonia of the Talmud (Neub. Glosz. 189); according to Tomkins, the Simonia of Thotmes III, nos. 18 and 35 (Kl. 2:444), with one of which (35) E. Meyer (Glosz. 7:3) identifies the Samhuna of Ant. Tah. 220:4.

As the text of Josh 11:7 now stands, we are led to assume that Shimron (שָׁמַר [AL]) was anciently a royal city, and that its king, together with those of Hazor, Madon, and Achshaph, was defeated by Joshua beside the 'waters of Meron'. The same royal city is evidently referred to in Josh 12:23 as Shimron-meron (שִׁמְרֹן מְרוֹן [K]); שִׁמְרֹן; Σασιλία Συμωων, β. μαυρωθ [B]; β. שארων, β. פארגא, β. מארון [A], β. [ש]מארון [L].

S. however, does not recognize a compound name; certainly Meron must be wrong. Either it has simply arisen through dittography or (S. A. Cook) it is a variant of 'Madon' in 7:13 (see MADON) which has found its way into the text. If Josh 11:7 is to be our guide in locating Shimron, Muhlman's identification of it with es-Semurveh, about 1 hr. N. from Aecho (Klein, HEB. Ral.-Soem) deserves attention, though the

1. 'Ishmael' here = 'Jerahmeel'—i.e., the Jerahmeelite Negeb. See loc. cit. on Am. 6:1.

2. The proposal of Frl. Delitzsch (Zur. 25) and Halévy (KEI, 1851, p. 12) to emend the name into שִׁמְרֹן מְרוֹן—i.e., Samsonimonia, a place whose king is mentioned by Sennahech at the head of the Canaanite tributaries (cp MEUSIM), fails to take account of the easy development of glosses, etc.

3. In support of this view we may refer to the treatment of the second part of the name in S and Vg. S. V. om. Madon, 7:13, and read שָׁמַר or מארון (for Meron), 7:13, as a separate name. S and Vg. read only 'Shimron' in the latter verse, and evidently found 'Madon' (Σαμουα) in 7:13. There seems to be, therefore, an identity between 'Meron' and 'Madon', which latter name, as shown under MADON, should probably be read with β instead of γ.—S. A. C.]

SHINAB

modern form rather suggests Shāmir (Sta. ZATW 5:107).

The question, however, has been raised in loc. cit. whether the textual problem is not more fully stated than critics have supposed. As the result of a close examination of the text of Judg. 4:5 and Josh. 11:11 it is here held that the original scene of the events related was most probably in the S. of Palestine. The names throughout having become corrupted, they were editorially emended under the influence of a later historical view respecting the conquest of Canaan.

Jahin, it is held, comes from Jaml, a popular district of Jerahmeel, a suitable name for any Kl. 'cazor.' 'Ishmael' in Judg. 4:5 is, as in Gen. 10:6, a number of passages was originally 'Kenaz' (קנז); by 'Achshaph' (11:11) was probably meant 'Cushan' (see CUSH, 2), 'Shimron' the 'Shimron' referred to in Am. 6:1 (see SHIMRI, 'Madon' or rather 'Meron' (Eus. μαρων) can equally well be accounted for on this hypothesis. It is the place referred to in the phrase שִׁמְרֹן בְּיַד כְּנָז (Judg. 5:19). Both these phrases, if the scene of the war was in the S., come from the 'waters of Magdol' (or rather [cp SUENAZAR, Towns of Jerahmeel], a phrase parallel to שִׁמְרֹן בְּיַד כְּנָז, 'the border of Cushan.' So Crit. Bib. Cp, however, MERON, WATER, loc. cit. 1: K. C.)

SHIMRON (שִׁמְרֹן), § 10; properly a place-name; see, however, SHAMIR, 2; שָׁמַר [BAF], one of the three sons of ISSACHAR (§ 7), Gen. 49:11 (שָׁמַר [M], see [L], שָׁמַר and שָׁמַר [L]). Nu. 26:24 (שָׁמַר [M], see [L], 1:2, 2:1 (שָׁמַר [H], שָׁמַר [L]) Shimron, but AV שִׁמְרֹן 'Shimron'). The patronymic Shimronite (שִׁמְרֹנִי; שָׁמַר [H], שָׁמַר [H], שָׁמַר [L], שָׁמַר [M]) occurs Nu. 26:24.

SHIMSHAI (שִׁמְשַׁי), on meaning see below; TAWA [A], CAMAIA [L], a state official (secretary) who, with REITHUM [L] and others, sent a letter to Artaxerxes to induce him to stop the rebuilding of the temple (Ezr. 4:3; שָׁמַשָּׁא [B], 7:9; שָׁמַשָּׁא [B], 17; שָׁמַשָּׁא [B], 21; שָׁמַשָּׁא [B]). In 1 Est. 2:17 he is called SHIMSHAIUS, RV SAMUELUS (שָׁמַשָּׁא [B], שָׁמַשָּׁא [L], or שָׁמַשָּׁא [A], שָׁמַשָּׁא [L]; cp Jos. Ant. 11:2, שָׁמַשָּׁא [L]).

A right explanation of the name would be one of the result of a thorough critical examination of Ezra-Nehemiah. F. Meyer (Hist. 14) claims it as Syriac. At any rate, it looks as if it were derived from שָׁמַש, 'the sun' (cp § 76). But there are still two possibilities: (1) שָׁמַשָּׁא may be a Hebrew form of an Aramaic abbreviation of such a Persian name as שָׁמַשְׁמַשְׁמַשְׁ (see Rawl., Beck. Rev., and cp Marti, Rev. 1:10, 1:10). (2) The forms in 1 Est. suggest as the origin either שָׁמַשָּׁא or שָׁמַשָּׁא. This view is probable. It may naturally be combined with the theory (see REITHUM) that the geographical and personal names in Ezra-Neh. have been systematically altered; but independently of this theory, Maqarrah (Zur. 62) decides in favour of שָׁמַשָּׁא. Kohnke probably a similar origin.—T. K. C.]

SHINAB (שִׁנָּב); Sam. שִׁנָּבָר; CENNAAB; king of ADMAH [L], Gen. 14:2. He is mentioned with SHIMON [L], SAKAR [L], SAMARIS; Σασιλία [L], Σασιλία [L], king of ZEBULON [L]. The tokens of corruption are so evident that many moderns decline the attempt to explain these names. If, however, we feel sure that there is a historical substratum to the story, we may be inclined to equate Shinab with Sanaib, the name of an Ammonite king in the time of Tiglath-pileser III (Frl. Del. Par. 204; cp KATZ, 1:1; KATZ, 1:1 with the Ass. Sin-sar-usur [cp SUENAZAR], and Shem-er with the Ass. Simm-ala (so Sayce, J. O. L. S. 86; cp SHAM NAMES WITH). The reading of the Sam. suggests that an editing comment (a name has perished) has taken the place of the true name, שִׁנָּבָר. The Midrash (Ber. Rab. 42) explains Shinab as שִׁנָּבָר, 'one who draws money (whenever he can), and Shem-er as שִׁמְרֹן, 'one who makes to himself a prison (in the search of treasure)'. If, however, the narrative in Gen. 14 only owes its appearance of historicity to an editor who had before him a corrupt text, and if by

1. Ball's suggestions ('Shinab' [rather שִׁנָּבָר] Aram. שִׁנָּבָר, 'sea'; 'Shem-er' [rather שִׁמְרֹן] 'name lost,' a marginal gloss) lack probability.

SHINAR

SHIP

applying the right key we are able to restore the original... applying the right key we are able to restore the original authentically to understand it aright, it becomes probable that only one king was mentioned on either side of the contest, viz. the king of Geshur or Ashur and the king of Sodom (2), and that just as 'Jerahmeel' occurs apparently no less than six times (five times in variants) in 1 K. 16, 'Ishmael' occurs five or six times (owing to variants) in 1 K. 2. Among the variants referred to are שִׁנְאֵר (Shinar) and שְׁמֵיבֵר (Shemeber). See further SODOM AND GOMORRAH.

T. K. G.

SHINAR (שִׁנְאֵר), according to the prevalent view a name of Babylon (cp ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑΠΟΛΙΣ, § 132). It is mentioned eight times in all: Gen. 10:10-11; 14:9 Josh. 7:21 Is. 11:11 Zech. 5:11 Dan. 1:2. In Ann. Tab. 2549 we find the king of Sagar mentioned as an ally of the king of Ham, and in the Egyptian inscriptions a king of Sagar often appears (cp WMM, Ac. n. Eur. 279). Ed. Meyer (Egyptica, 63 f.) argues that both these forms are equivalent to Karlamas, the Kassite name for Babylonia, thus, however, is not more than plausible (cp Henders Byrie, Syria and Egypt, 180). The older views explaining Shinar as 'the land of two cities' (sum-er, A 170) 340, or as = sutter in the phrase sum-er and Accad = S. Babylonia, are untenable. Probably the identification of Shinar with Babylonia, though an early theory, is erroneous, and except in Josh. 7:21 Dan. 1:2, we should everywhere read Geshur. NIMROD (נִמְרוֹד) was a N. Arabian, not a Babylonian, hero; and originally the great Tower (Gen. 11:4) was probably placed not in Babylonia but in Jerahmeel.

In Josh. 7:21, however, a different emendation is necessary. The 2-syllable name (see MVS III, § 2) in the spell of Jericho, noted by Achan, came neither from 'Shinar' nor from 'Geshur'.

שִׁנְאֵר (EV Shinar) is most probably a corruption of שִׁנְאֵר, a coat of mail (see, however, MVS III, § 2 [3]); this word probably died in the margin as a corruption of the common שִׁנְאֵר (EV sedge), for which it has been elsewhere (see Gen. 11:4) proposed to read שִׁנְאֵר. On the other passage see Crit. Bib.

In Josh. 12, שִׁנְאֵר gives שִׁנְאֵר נִמְרוֹד for שִׁנְאֵר נִמְרוֹד, disregard- ingly (שִׁנְאֵר נִמְרוֹד); cp. פִּלְמוֹנִים, פִּלְמוֹנִים (double name), generally שִׁנְאֵר נִמְרוֹד; but in Zech. 5:11 שִׁנְאֵר, unless שִׁנְאֵר comes from שִׁנְאֵר; cp Is. 11:11 where in like manner שִׁנְאֵר (or say שִׁנְאֵר = שִׁנְאֵר) (cp PARADISE, § 6).

SHION (שִׁיּוֹן), a city of Issachar, Josh. 19:19 (שִׁיּוֹן B) (שִׁיּוֹן [A], שִׁיּוֹן [L]); See (EV § 151) in Jerome's time was a village near Labor, which may be identified with the 'An Shai'ou, 4 m. NW from Labor, near which is a ruin called Khirket Shion. There is also a 'Vep Shion, NW. from Nazareth. The name may be akin to Shinnim, which occurs in 2:12.

The current AV rendering Shion differs from that of the Vulgate (19), which, like RV, has Shion.

SHIP. The Hebrew term שִׁפָּה, shiphah, and the Greek πλοῖον are used somewhat loosely in OT and NT in references to navigation, and

1. Light boats and rafts. EV in most cases renders by the equally vague, and often obviously too pretentious term, 'ship.' Sometimes there seems to be no good reason for the choice of this term, as the Hebrew adds a qualifying word to indicate what is really meant. In Job 9:6 for instance, we find the phrase elsewhere (see OSIRY) indicated as corrupt שִׁפָּה נִמְרוֹד, shiphah nimrod, 'ships of reed' (RVmg), but in EV 'swift ships' as the eagle that swoopeth on the prey; with this Billman and most critics (but cp Crit. Bib.) com-

pare Is. 18, where the expression שִׁפָּה, shiphah, is given in AV as 'vessels of bulrushes' (see OSIRY), but where the natural meaning is 'vessels [better, boats] of papyrus' (RV). In both cases light boats or skiffs are meant, such as those mentioned by Lucian (Dehorr. 436), Pliny (IV 141) and other ancient writers. These were used on the Nile (Eg. name, karr; Copt. karr), carried only one or two persons (Plin. IV 157) and were so light that where navigation was difficult or dangerous they could be carried forward on the shoulders (Plut. De Is. et Osir. 18).

In their oldest and most primitive form these vessels were mere rafts, and such rafts are not unknown in modern times (see the description in the Mémoires of the Duc de Koyvigin (Le Voyage, II, 254). Speaking of the smaller boats of this kind, Ernan (Ann. Eg. 470-485), these boats had no keel, they were in fact little raft-formed bundles of reeds bound together. They were rather broader in the middle than at the ends, the hinder part was generally raised up high whilst the front part lay flat on the water. They were propelled by poles or saddles, not with oars. Larger boats of the same kind were used for carrying light freights; with these it is perhaps to be compared the Assyrian keel or raft made of a framework of wood supported by inflated skins, though these seem to have been capable of carrying considerable loads (see Mesp. Diction of Egypt, II, 24). We seem to have references in some conveyance of the latter kind in 1 K. 10. At least, as the text of 1 K. 9 stands, the timber for Solomon's temple was brought from Lebanon to Joppa by sea in 'boats' (1 K. 9:25; 1 Ch. 22:16, 27; 29:2). In both cases (1 K. 9:25; 1 Ch. 22:16, 27; 29:2), a similar statement is made with reference to Zerubbabel's temple (Esd. 3:7; 4:11; 5:11; 6:4). Such primitive modes of navigation are alluded to in Wisd. 14:7. A certain floating bridge or landing-stage at Alexandria went by the name of Siodia (1 Mac. 1:11).

The papyrus boats of later times, however, were of more elaborate construction. Light boats have often been constructed with some kind of

2. Use of wood. framework of keel and ribs, as well as of papyrus or other reeds, like the bark canoes of Australia and more especially of the American continent. Boats of this kind may have carried a sail. As in the case of the Madras surf-boats the wood was no doubt fastened by thongs.

Vessels thus staked together, and with an inserted framework, have from a very early time been constructed in the East in seas far exceeding in size anything that would be called a canoe, and in some cases attaining to 200 tons burthen (Voy. 218q3).

They were not so primitive in construction as the Indian canoes made of a hollowed tree-trunk (Herod. 3:98; cp the ancient boats of the Swiss lake dwellings), but would seem to rank between these and the wooden boats made in pieces (see below). The round keels or coxles of the Assyrians made of plaited willow (Herod. 1:92; see Mesp. Diction of Egypt, 651) were apparently used for short distances, as ferry-boats for crossing rivers; they were thus an improvement on the simple inflated skin (cp ASSYRIA, § 102).

Larger boats were constructed entirely of wood fastened by pegs or tree-nails. The craft of this kind perhaps the phrase שִׁפָּה, shiphah, 'row boat' (1 K. 10:21) 'galley with oars', of Is. 33:21, used in connection with streams and rivers, may be supposed to refer. Such boats were also used on the Nile (Herod. 2:27; cp the boats in use among the Polynesian islands, the modern nauquis). They were often of considerable size, even under the Old Empire. They had oars for rowing out for paddling, as in the papyrus boats fixed into rowlocks, or through the sides of the boat, and fastened by a rope to prevent loss; oars were used also for steering — one for small boats, several on either side at the stern for larger craft.

[These statements are open to criticism, both on the ground of their inherent improbability and because there are indications that the original form of the text (already corrupt in the redactor's time), was very different from that in MT, whilst the statement in 1 Esd. is an invention suggested by the manipulated form of the narrative of Solomon's temple. — T. K. G.]

They would seem to have been heavier than the boats of the Esquimaux, constructed of skins and whale-bone; see Lubbock, Prehistoric Times, 481 f.

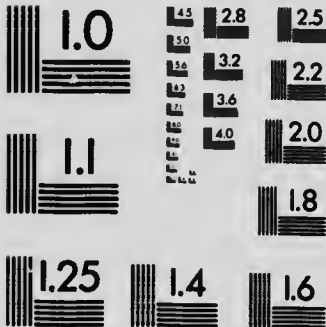
On Polynesian navigation cp A. De Quatrefages, The Human Species (1855), p. 191 ff.

1 See Rogers, Hist. of Bab. and Ass. 1411.
2 Against the latter see Sayce, PSB. I, June, 1896, p. 173, who argues that of Hammurabi = Annapiel, king of Shinar (Gen. 14:1), and if Hammurabi reigned in N. Babylonia, it follows that Sumer (= S. Babylonia) cannot be the biblical Shinar. See, too, The. Pal. 67.
3 'Misser' is a less probable emendation, though it would suit in Gen. 11:2, if שִׁנְאֵר in 2:9 was originally שִׁנְאֵר = שִׁנְאֵר.
4 'Belah' probably comes from 'Jerahmeel'.
5 שִׁנְאֵר = שִׁנְאֵר, was doubtless originally שִׁנְאֵר (so also 13:11). Cp PARADISE, § 6.



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At a later date boats of this build carried, in addition to oars, 'a rectangular square sail which was probably made of papyrus matting' (Erman). For

3. Boats with sails.

the mast two pieces of wood fastened together at the top were employed; it was held in its place by large ropes or shrouds fastened at the bows and stern, other ropes being attached to other parts of the boat to give additional strength. The yard arm rested on the point of the mast (see Erman, 481). These were long flat boats. Having little depth, a cabin¹ fitted on the deck suffices both for the shipmaster's accommodation and for a hold; in some of the rowing-boats nearly the whole length of the deck is taken up by the cabin so that a sail can hardly have been used. A cargo would, of course, have to be stowed on deck, and boats carrying a large freight seem always to have been towed.

A great advance is made under the Middle Empire. The double mast gives place to a stout single one, the steering-oars to a large rudder; the sail now has two yards, the upper one being fastened to the mast by ropes, not, as before, fixed to the top of it. In the New Empire the vessels increased in size and complexity, and were elaborately adorned (p. 426, 27). In the sailing-boat of Queen Hatshepsut (see fig. 1) the mast and sail have assumed huge proportions, and the yards are constructed of two pieces of wood. Here we get a craft to which we may strictly apply the term 'ship.' Something of the kind may perhaps be meant by the 7th R. 2, p. 1st column, XV 'cabin-ship,' of Is. 33 21, which is contrasted with the *shah-ship* in the same passage.

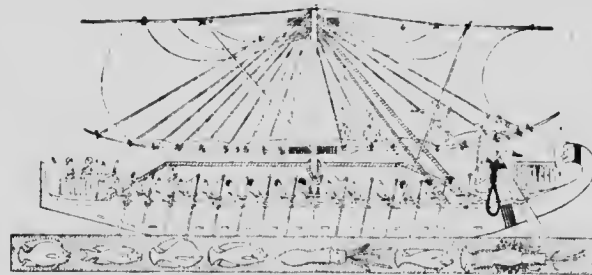


Fig. 1.—Sailing boat of Queen Hatshepsut (Cl. Montanin). After Erman.

In 2. 23 'tackling' (𓂏𓂏𓂏, *hahhānu*), 'mast' (𓂏𓂏, *hēron*), and 'sail' (𓂏, *nis*), are referred to. Nor must we overlook the fine poetic simile of Ezekiel (chap. 27) in which Tyre is compared to a ship. The oars are said to have been made of oak, the deck of ivory inlaid in cedarwood. The sail was of fine linen with embroidered work to serve as ensign; the cabin of blue and purple stuffs. It has been suggested that the many coloured sails of the ancients may have served as distinguishing signs. Flags, as Cornill (on Ezek. 27) seems to have conclusively shown, were not known in antiquity.²

In a famous passage of II. Is. we find the phrase 'even the Chaldeans, in the ships of their joining' (Is. 43 34, RV).³ That the ships of Erythraean or Persian Gulf (see UR OF THE CHALDEANS) appear prominently in very early

¹ The hut or cabin seems to have been quite an ancient feature. Dr. Budge in *A History of Egypt* (1873, p. 11) gives illustrations of ships drawn from predynastic vases in the British Museum, which he describes as follows: 'Each boat contains two small huts, which are placed amidships, and attached to one of these is a sort of mast, on the top of which is an emblem of some kind; in the front of the boat is placed what appears to be a branch or bough of a tree, and in some examples a rope for tying up is represented under the front of the boat, and steering poles are represented at the stern.'

² Egyptian ships seem to have received names at quite an early date. See L. B. P. in *The Early History of Syria and Palestine*, 71 f. Standards are found, according to Dr. Budge (*Cl. History of Egypt*, 173), on the boats represented upon predynastic vases. The object of the bough or mat in these boats (see above, n. 1) seems to have been to supply to all beholders information concerning the tribe and family of the occupant of the boat. The short mast which was attached to the hut or cabin was probably used for displaying a flag or symbol which either referred to the country or city of the master of the boat, or declared his rank.

³ So Kittel, 'the text seems incurably corrupt.' Hillmann, it is true, accepts the text, and only stumbles at the) before

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inscriptions, and that there is evidence of commercial intercourse between Babylonia and India at least as early as the seventh century B.C. (OPHR, § 21, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100). The Babylonian Deluge-story, moreover, gives an elaborate account of a *ship* or 'ark' of the 'ark'. And even the Assyrians, who were an inland people, were by no means limited to the round *ka* or coracles, or to the *kekē* or rafts.

Kekē and *kekē* are not the only vessels represented in the Assyrian monuments and referred to in the inscriptions. The *Assyrian Monuments of Nimrud* (pl. 71) gives illustrations of a number of vessels, evidently war-ships, having two banks of shields along the bulwarks. 'Five have sheer prows, and sharp beaks for ramming, and these have also a mast, a single yard, fore and back-stays, braces, and balliards.' A text (K. 125) published by Delitzsch (*Ass. Lesestücke*, 20, 26-28) enumerates the different sorts of vessels. Masts, sails, yards, muller, rigging, bulwarks, prow, stern, deck, hold, and keel are all mentioned, and among the different kinds of vessels the Assyrian words specially designated, along with those of the Babylonian, are of Ur and Nippur.

The Assyrians, however, had no great skill in ship-building. We are told that in 606 or 605 B.C. Sennacherib had ships built at Til Barsip for his expedition against Merodach-baladin. But the carpenters were Hatti-*i.e.*, from the land of the West—and the sailors were Tyrians, Sidonians, and Ionians (Javâhîr).

The Egyptian ships mentioned above (§ 3), distinguished in shape the war-ships of a later time from the merchant vessels, for which

5. Merchant-ships in OT.

the war-ships (𓂏𓂏𓂏 *maḥḥānu*, 1 Macc. 10: 20) were, like these, long (𓂏𓂏𓂏; *nis is longā*), the merchant-ships (𓂏𓂏𓂏 *maḥḥānu*, 1 Macc. 10: 20) were, like these, long (𓂏𓂏𓂏; *maḥḥānu*, 1 Macc. 10: 20). The increase in depth allowed of a hold (ep the [rare] and had term 𓂏𓂏𓂏, *sephināh*, in Jon. 1: 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100). We hear in the OT of a special class of merchant-ship—the so-called Tarsis ships (𓂏𓂏𓂏 *taršish*, 1 K. 22: 48). They seem to have been ships of large build, and the expression has often been compared to our East- or West-Indiamen. They were no doubt provided with oars as well as with a sail or sails.

Elsewhere (see TAKSIHU) the phrase, or rather the probable earlier reading of the phrase, has been explained as 'galleys with oars.' Torr (2 f.), assuming with most that this is the correct reading, makes the following suggestion: 'As the Greeks the oars of a ship were collectively named *thalami*, and among the Hebrews ships of a certain type were known as ships of TARSIS; and Tarsos and Tarsis were the Greek and Hebrew names for Tarsus in Cilicia. The coincidence suggests that this city was prominent in furthering the use of such ships in the Mediterranean. But of this there are no records.'

In spite of their surroundings, however, the Israelites (see PALESTINE, PHOENICIA, GALILEE, SEA OF GALILEE, SEA, NILE, etc.) seem to have had little interest in navigation.¹ Not until the Macedonian times was the importance of harbours realised, and the value of ships to some extent appreciated, when, for the purposes of trade or for war,² Simon the Maccabean converted Joppa into a Jewish port (1 Macc. 11: 1) and Herod established another harbour at Casarea (Joseph. *J.* 1: 213, *Ant.* xvii. 5, c. xv. 96)—a harbour the importance of the part it plays in the story of Paul's journey (Acts 21: 18-22, 27-28). Israel's knowledge

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ships, such as it was, must after the settlement have been derived from the Phoenicians and Philistines in whose hands were the harbours along the coast. It is true that some of the tribes seem to figure in the early legends as seafaring (cp Ps. 107 23-30); but, apart from the fact that these stories are legendary, the text does not seem to have been transmitted to us in its original form (cp Gen. 49 13; Dt. 33 19; Judg. 5 17; and see ASH R. DAN, *Zur Lex.*). The description of the ARK (*cp* 1 K. 7 23) also shows a slight knowledge of such matters (see Now. *HB 1* 42). It has been pointed out, too, that when David had an opportunity of seizing Philistine harbours it did not occur to him to take it. Solomon's connection with the sea—he is said to have had a 'NAVY of Tarshish'—seems to have been due to Hiram; we know that his ships were manned by Hiram's men (1 K. 9 26 *f.*). On the difficulties of these passages see SUTHERLAND, §§ 3^b 4. Jehoshaphat is said to have built 'Tarshish ships'; but his naval experience was a disastrous one (1 K. 22 28 2 Ch. 29 56; see ELLIOT-GIBBER). The war-ships of which we hear in the Apocrypha (1 Macc. 8 26 15 3; cp Dan. 11 38) are no doubt similar to those in use amongst the Greeks and Romans. See Smith's *Dict.* under 'navis.'

In the NT we hear of vessels on the sea of Galilee (Mt. 4 21 *f.* 8 24 14 24 Mk. 4 37). The Greek term commonly employed is πλοῖον,¹ which AV translates 'ship.' RV renders 'boat,' but, as has been pointed out elsewhere (Kitto, *Bibl. Cycl.* under 'ship'), passages in Josephus which refer to navigation on the lake (*B. J.* iii. 10 1; *Ant.* 33) suggest that the barks on this piece of water were something

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on a coin of the emperor Commodus (see fig. 2; cp Smith, *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*,⁴ 202). Here we see the two shrouing-outs (cp Acts 27 43, τὰς ζεύκτησας τῶν πηδάλων) at the stern (ἢ πρῶτα), which supplied the place of the rudder of later times; in this case it is to be noted that the upper parts of the outs are protected from the waves by a covering—'a prolongation of the upper waling-pieces, or something of the sort' (Torr); and that the sails have bands of rope sewn across to strengthen them. Such a ship would rely for travelling on the large square sail which is figured in about the centre (cp Acts 27 17, τὸ σκεῖος). The small sail at the bow was subsidiary; the name of this foresail¹ was *artemon* (ἀρτέμων, Acts 27 43), not *dolon* (δόλων), as has sometimes been thought.

The object at the stern, which Smith takes to be a mast, might be taken to suggest that there was also a sail at the stern, as Pliny (*Plin.* in lib. xix.; see Smith, p. 102) asserts that there sometimes was; but the use of such a sail would seem to have been quite exceptional, as it does not appear to be represented in the pictures that have come down to us. In fig. 2 the object does not resemble a mast (as in Smith's reproduction) so much as a rudder. In any case it may be only a spare mast (or cork) or may even be an addition on the part of the original artist.

These merchant-ships were often of considerable size. The Alexandrian ship (πλοῖον Ἀλεξανδρινόν; Acts 27 6) in which Paul is said to have started on his voyage to Rome carried, according to the Alexandrian MS, 276 persons (the Vatican MS, however, has 76) in addition to its cargo (*cp* 17 37); and when this vessel was wrecked another merchant-ship took on board all these passengers in addition to its own freight.

In Acts 27 17 we are told that when the ship was in danger of shipwreck they used helps, undergirding the ship' (βοηθείας ἐχρῶντο, ἐποξύνοντες τὸ πλοῖον). These helps, which are called elsewhere *hypoziōmata* (ὑποζώματα), were cables for undergirding and strengthening the hull, especially in bad weather. As to the method in which they were attached, however, there is some question.

According to Torr they were 'fastened round the ship horizontally; the two ends of each cable being joined together, so as to make it a complete girdle extending from stem to stern along the starboard side and back from stern to stem along the port side.' Smith, however, contends that the *hypoziōmata* were bound round the middle of the ship at right angles to the length, and not parallel to it (he is followed by Ramsay, p. 329). He claims that Böckh (who held the alternative view;² p. 134 [see § 13]) has misquoted the passage on which he relies as evidence (Viruvius, *De Architectura*, x. 13). Böckh gave as the crucial words 'quoniam modum navis a puppi ad proram continetur,' Smith (*cp* p. 213) gives as the correct text 'q. *maius* navis, etc.' which he maintains supports his view ('the word "maius" is omitted in the edition of Schneider, but is retained in the later carefully edited edition of P. Ken. Utini, 1820'). Torr's quotation (*cp* n. 100), however, agrees with that of Böckh; he adds, 'this shows that the girdling cables went from the stem of a ship to the stern.' In Teubner's text (1869; ed. V. Rose) the words are 'ita reliquati quoniam modum navis a puppi ad proram'; but in the notes 'navis' is given as the common reading. The whole passage, moreover, seems to be obscure. On the strength of a passage from Isidore (*Orig.* 134, 'torquentur, *maius* construnguntur; torquentur autem a torquidicta'), Smith admits that 'it does appear that ropes were occasionally applied in a longitudinal as well as in a transverse direction, to prevent ships from straining' (*cp* 213). In the passage on which this admission is based, however, the reference may be to a rope such as that which we see stretched amid-ship over posts from stem to stern of the Egyptian ships on the relief from Deir-el-Bahri—a rope which was designed perhaps more for strengthening the hull by a diagonal mast than for holding together the hull, round which, as a matter of fact, the ends of the rope are fastened at right angles to the length (see fig. 1). If, as Smith affirms (*cp* 213), speaking as one who had had practical experience in seamanship, undergirding lengthways is a mode which must have been as impracticable as it would have been

As to the date of Acts (*cp* n.) no suggestion of course is here offered.

¹ A writer in Schenkel (*BZ*) speaks of the *artemon*, or top-gallant sail, but see Smith, 102 *ff.* The word has been interpreted by various writers as meaning nearly every sail which a vessel carries. R. J. Knowling, *L'Esp. Gk. Test.* 2 *ct.*

² So also Breusing, *Die Nautik der Alten* [1886], p. 670; see Knowling, p. 524, who also inclines to follow Böckh.



Fig. 2.—A merchant-ship of 186 A.D. After Torr (*Ancient Ships*).

more than boats (they carried an anchor, and are called *καταβά* by Josephus). In the time of Jesus some of these were owned by his disciples (Mt. 4 1; Jn. 21 3; Lk. 9 18) and the same writer points out that, having regard to the evidence in Josephus, it is a mistake to represent the Galilean fishermen as of the poorest class.

The most important references, however, to ships and navigation in the NT are found in the story of Paul's voyage to Rome.² This narrative

8. Merchant-ships in NT. (Acts 27 *f.*) may be best illustrated by studying two representations of ancient merchant-ships that have come down to us in which all or most of the parts mentioned are depicted. A merchant-ship of 186 A.D.,³ for instance, is represented

¹ There is mention also of a *πλοῖον* or *πλοῖα*, especially in Jn.

² As a tent-maker Paul may also have been a sail-maker, and may have travelled in this capacity.

³ Figs. 2 and 3 have been chosen for their illustrative value.

unavailing for the purpose of strengthening the ship, the other view seems preferable until further evidence is forthcoming.

Another interesting representation of a large merchant-ship is that of about 200 A.D. on a relief found at Porto

10. The Porto relief.

This picture illustrates many features in the ancient merchant-ships. The hull of a ship was commonly painted, sometimes for a special purpose—as in war, to make the vessel as little conspicuous as possible; but in addition to this it was often decorated, especially at the stern. We see an example of this decoration in the Porto relief, a group of figures being depicted at the stern. The ornament on the stern-post was often a swan or goose head (*χηνίσκος*). It figures at a very early period; it is represented for instance on the Asiatic ship of the naval battle of Rameses III. as represented on a bas-relief at Medinet Habu (see Warre-Cornish, *Dict. of Gk.*



FIG. 3.—A merchant ship of about 200 A.D. After Torr (*Ancient Ships*).

and Rom. *Antiqq.* under 'navis'). On the Porto-relief waling-pieces, or wooden belts (*ζωστήρες*, not to be confused with the *ὑποζώματα*) are seen to encircle the ship horizontally. At the stern is the deck-house or awning reserved for the use of the commander (Acts 27 11, *κυβερνήτης*), who might also be the owner of the ship (*ἴδιδ.*, *ναύκληρος*). The stem-post usually terminated in a carved ornament or figure-head; but in place of this there was sometimes a painting on the bow, as in the example before us. Besides this, and distinct from it, there were statues of the patron deities (cp *CASTOR*); here perhaps to be observed at the stern. In this ship there are galleries projecting at the bow and the stern; the latter contains the deck-house (mentioned above), in that at the bow were probably stowed the anchors and other instruments (*στροφέια καὶ πεναγωγεία*, windlasses, etc. 21. At the stern are the steering oars, here again protected by the upper waling-pieces. The large sail in the centre has bracing-ropes (*καλαί*) and rings, and the mast is kept in position by a number of other ropes. The rope by which the lower corner of the sail was attached to the side of the ship—the sheet—was called *πέσφι* or *πόις*; in the case of a large sail, such as this, when two ropes would be required, *πόις* would denote the rope which drew it aft, whilst *πρόποις* (*propos*) designated the rope which drew it forward, or the tack. Various designs

were often woven upon the sail; we seem to have an example in this picture. At the bow is a smaller mast to carry the *artemon*. But a third sail is to be noted on this ship. This is above the large square sail. Being triangular in shape and having its apex along the main-yard and its apex attached to the top of the mast, it requires no topsail-yard. Similar triangular topsails are represented on some of the coins of the Emperor Commodus. Lastly, we notice that a small boat is being towed astern (cp Acts 27 16, *ἡ σκαμνοῦ*; this would be used for various purposes, but it was of special importance as a life-boat in case of shipwreck (Acts 27 16 30 32). It could even be hoisted on board.

From Acts 27 29 it appears that sometimes several anchors were carried. At first stones were used for this purpose; later, the anchors resemble very much those of modern times, they were provided with arms, stocks, and crowns, but had no flukes at the extremities of the arms.² Ships also carried a plumb-line for sounding (cp Acts 27 28, *βόλις*); but the want of a compass made navigation often very dangerous—the stars, by which the course of a vessel was directed, not always being visible (cp Acts 27 20).³

An ancient ship could sail, according to Smith, 'at an angle of about seven points with the wind.' 'We have no information,' he says, 'as to the exact angle with the wind which an ancient ship could sail. It must, however, have been less than eight points, but more than six, the usual allowance for a modern merchant-ship, in moderate weather. I have, therefore, in my calculations taken seven as the mean between these extremes, and I cannot suppose it would be much greater or less' (p. 215).

Before putting out to sea it was usual to make supplication to the protecting deities for a prosperous voyage (Wisd. 14 1).⁴ Cp. further, *IBID.*

Schlözer, *Vers. einer allg. Geschichte d. Handel u. d. Schifffahrt in den alt. Zeiten*, 1790; Le Roy, *La Marine des Anciens*, Paris, 1843; *IBID.*

12. Bibliography. 1777; Berghaus, *Gesch. d. Schifffahrt*, Königl. Preuss. Marine, Paris, 1843; Bocklitz, *Kunden über das Seewesen des Attischen Staates*; Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, London, 1848, ch. 1380; Breusing, *Die Nautik der Juden*, 1886; J. Vans, *L'Art Nautique*, 1887; *EBD.*, art. 'Ship'; Cecil Torr, *Ancient Ships*, 1895.

M. A. G.

SHIPPI (שִׁפְי), ancestor of ZIZA (צִיזָא) I Ch. 437† (σαφαλ [B], σεφεϊ [A], σοιφεϊ [L]).

SHIPHMITTE (שִׁפְיָיִת; ο τοῦ σεφν[ε]) [BA], σαφαμι [L]), a gentile attached to ZARHI, 3, who was 'over the increase of David's vineyards' (I Ch. 27 28) and, like his companions, presumably belonged to S. Palestine. See SHEPHAM.

SHIPHRAH (שִׁפְיָרָה; § 51; σεφωρα [BAFL], the name of one of the Hebrew midwives; Ex. 1 15. His name may be regarded (Che.) as one of the minor supports of the theory that the sojourn of the Israelites was not in Misraim (Egypt), but in Misrim (on part of the Negeb). Cp. MOSES, § 4.

SHIPHTAN (שִׁפְיָתָן; σαβαθα [B], σαβαθαν [A], σαφαταν [F], (σαφαθα [L]), an Ephraimite, father

¹ The above description is based upon Torr's standard work (see § 12).

² See the coin of Antoninus Pius (given in Smith, 210).

³ Cp. A. De Quatrefaces, *op. cit.* p. 193: 'The Phoenicians knew perfectly well how to direct their course at sea by the stars, and the route from one point to another once observed was inscribed, if we may use the expression, in a song which would never be forgotten.'

⁴ Cp. the description in Grote, *Hist. of Greece*: 'Silence having been enjoined and obtained by sound of trumpet, both the crews in every ship and the spectators on shore followed the voice of the herald in praying to the gods for success, and in singing the psalm. On every ship were seen bowls of wine prepared and the epitheta: made libations with goblets of silver and gold.'

SHIRT

of Kennel; Nu. 34²⁴. For a theory of the origin of the name cp SUAVIAT, and KEMUEL.

SHIRT (Judg. 14¹²), AV^{msc}, AV STREET.

SHISHA (שִׁישָׁה, 1 K. 13¹⁷), in 1 Ch. 18¹⁶, SUAV-SHA.

SHISHAK (שִׁשַׁק, cp Vg. *Sosac*, 1 K. 11²⁵, more correctly שִׁשַׁק—*i. e.*, Shōshak [KL]), the king of Egypt whom Jeroboam fled (1 K. 11⁴⁰) and who plundered Jerusalem and the temple in the fifth year of king Rehoboam, 1 K. 14²⁵ (2 Ch. 12⁵ 7 9).¹

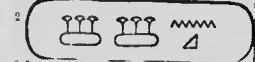
Egyptologists have always recognised in this name the last king of the twenty-second, Bubastide, dynasty.

1. Šōsenk I. Shōshenk I. His personal name *Sa-šw-n* (sometimes *su*, sometimes assimilated) *-k*² undoubtedly of Libyan etymology, like several other names of that royal family. The vowels of the name rendered *Su-si-in-ku* (*i. e.*, Shōshenk) by the Assyrians,³ and the biblical orthography confirms this pronunciation. Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 53 viii. 102) has the form Σοισακος (in another recension Σισωκος) after C. Manetho transliterates Σεσωχης (v. *Σεσωχαις*), and according to Wilcken (quoted *Beitr. zur. Ägypt. Wiss.* Theban ostrac. has the name Σεσοχαις.⁴ This vocalisation Shōshōnk is later but not necessarily wrong, as the Libyan languages (like modern French, for example) have little or no accent. The original pronunciation may thus have been *Shishōnk*, exactly as the name is spelt in Egyptian. The assimilation of *n* is sometimes met with already in hieroglyphics (cp above). The reading of C. Σοισακ(αι)η, seems to have arisen from an attempt to put in again this assimilated *n*.⁵

On the origin of this founder of a new dynasty from a family of Libyan officers, see EGYPT, § 63.⁶ The connection by marriage with the high priests of Memphis seems to mark the first step towards high influence for these 'commanders of the Mashauasha.' The exact date of Shōshenk I.'s accession to the throne would be of the highest importance for biblical chronology, but cannot be determined exactly with our present material. The end of the twenty-second dynasty seems to fall somewhat after 800 B.C. Manetho gives the sum of the dynasty as 120 (the single items amount to 116), which would bring us to about 920; but the Manethonian dates conflict with monumental dates which give at least 220 years.⁷ We have, evidently, a great many co-regencies for which we may allow some fifty years, so that the beginning of Shōshenk's reign would be about 950.

More cannot be said; but, fortunately, the Syrian chronology of Menander⁸ seems to show that we can place the first year of the dynasty twenty-two after 950 B.C. (On the campaign against Jerusalem, cp below, § 3, and CHRONOLOGY, § 32). Twenty-two years are monumentally attested for Shōshenk on an inscription to the quarries of Silsileh, announcing that the king ordered

¹ See PICARDI, § 2 [5], for an explanation of the absence of the title Pharaoh in the case of Shishak; that he is only called 'king of Egypt,' indicates a very early source.



² In Assurbanipal's records the name is used of a descendant of the 22nd dynasty, reigning in Busiris (*Busirid*) as a simple monarch.

³ Psen to Callisthenes and others (see Wiedemann on Herod. 21-2) have preserved the name as *Sesenchosis*. They confound the king with the Edomian *Sesosis*. We can thus see that Shōshenk-Sesenchosis must later have enjoyed the reputation of being a great warrior.

⁴ The variant *šw-šw-k* occurs, but too rarely to be considered legitimate (see Lichtheim, *Dict. de noms*). Wiedemann, *op. cit.* p. 54, quotes *Shwshakus* from Abulfaraj, *Aschharis* (as also some late MSS. of Josephus have) from Method. in Phot. 133A.

⁵ The unfortunate theory that the family was Assyrian (Birch, Lauth, Brugsch) and that in Takelet we have to recognise Tiglath (Assyrian *tukultu*), in *Nema-rate* (probably Assurbanipal's *Lamirtu*) furnishes the correct pronunciation Nimrod, which is now generally abandoned.

⁶ See *HT*, I, 21, for a summary of the chronological question.

⁷ See *W.*, A, 17, 3, 125.

SHISHAK

stone to be quarried for great constructions in the temple of Amon at Thebes. These seem to be the constructions on the S.E. side of the second pylon; their completion would point to a somewhat longer reign. Manetho, however, in Julius Africanus, gives only twenty-one years to the king.

Sculptures on the S. wall of the great temple at Karnak present the list of Palestinian cities conquered by this king,¹ a monument of great historical importance, for a specimen of which see EGYPT, § 64. So far, 133 ovals with names are known,² of which, I believe, many are destroyed. Each oval is surrounded by a line indicating a fortified wall; a bound captive above indicates that this strong city was conquered by Pharaoh. The figures are certainly not portraits, but symbolical.

The names have been distributed very awkwardly by the ignorant sculptor; e.g., one name has been mechanically divided into three names, so that now (107) 'the adds (108) of Arad (109) the Great' reads as if three separate cities were intended. The rendering of the names, which is good for the consonants, but very imperfect for the vowels, suggests sources in so-called Phœnician letters in an Aramaic or half-Aramaic language (*As. u. Eur. II. c.*). A geographical arrangement of the list (which properly begins with the 11th oval) cannot be established; the most

2. List of important cities come first, Israelitish and Judæan cities.

Judean names being freely mixed. Many writers have been surprised at the mention of N. Israelitish cities, because from 1 K. 11⁴⁸ we should have expected Shōshenk to have been a friend and helper of Jeroboam.³ C. Niebuhr (*Chronologie der Gesch. Isr.*, vii.) thinks that the Pharaoh conquered the Israelitish cities for his vassal (cp *Wi. G. I. 160*); cp, however, Stadel's correct observation in *G. I. 354*. The truth is (see Masp. *Hist.* 277c, and cp *As. u. Eur.* 166) that it is not necessary to assume that any of these northern cities were attacked by the Egyptians. Their enumeration merely means that the northern kingdom was tributary; it is only the second half of the list which contains details pointing to the actual conquest,⁴ and these seem to belong to Judah. The tribute, which the Pharaoh claimed everywhere, was promptly given by Jeroboam who owed his throne to Egypt; in Judah it had to be exacted by force. The Philistine cities were omitted in the list. As usual, no full record of the conquests was given, but only a specimen which, in this case, comprised David's and Solomon's kingdom. The Philistines were certainly not exempt from the tribute, and it would be strange if the expedition had not comprised Phœnicia, at least.⁵

The date of Shōshenk's expedition is unknown. Masp. concludes (*Hist.* 277c) that it must have been not more than two or three years before the opening of the quarry in Silsileh, is very precarious. It would be more natural to assume that the king undertook the expedition not long after his accession,

¹ Published Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 148; Champollion, *Monuments*, 284; *Aschharis*, 2113; a revision by Maspero, *Rec. de Travaux*, 7 100. A considerable literature has been called into existence by this list. See Blau in *ZDMG* 15 233; Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschr.* 2 56; Masp. *AZ.* 1280 44 (and in the *Victoria Institute*, vol. xxvii.); Brugsch, *Gesch. Äg.* 661; WMM *As. u. Eur.* 166, etc. It may be mentioned that another copy, unfortunately hopelessly defaced, has recently been found in another locality (Hilbeh in Upper Egypt); cp *Annales du service des antiquités*, 2154.

² Two more rows have recently been excavated. A new edition of the whole monument by the present writer will soon appear in *HT*, I, 21, to which the reader must be referred.

³ According to C. of 1 K. 12²⁴, which is modelled on 1 K. 11 (see HADAD), Shishak was Jeroboam's father-in-law.

⁴ Such as the 'surrounding' (שָׂרָה, Aramaic word) of, or the road to, a city.

⁵ Name 20, *Fu-ah-ma-rak* was explained by Champollion as 'roi de Juda' and this error which seemed to furnish a portrait of Rehoboam has become as popular as most flagrant errors. The present writer has (*PSBA* 10 81) proposed 'hand (*i. e.*, sign, monument?) of the king,' as name of a city. The article would, however, be uncommon, and this makes the explanation somewhat doubtful. The interpretation of Brugsch (*Geogr. Inschr.* II 2) and Maspero (*Hist.* 27 2, II.), Jehud in *Had.*, does not agree with the orthography.

SHITRAI

after the manner of so many kings. A reference to 'expeditions in the countries of the Syrians' (K-T-ma), which seems to mean Shoshenq's campaign, is discussed in OZ 1:139; a determination of the year in which a certain official was governor of Thebes (or vizir) would furnish the date of the expedition.

The other constructions of the king of which traces have been found in Thebes, Memphis, Pitoum, Tel(D) el-Yehudeh, Babastis (Naxos), Babilon, Hihch (see above) do not seem to have been very considerable.

Shishak's wife had the name K-T-ma, frequent in dynasty 22. At any rate, a K-T-ma need not be referred to, since Hahel's exile in Misraim seems rather to point to an old misinterpretation of Misri, S. of Palestine. See HAHADU 3; JERODAM, 1:8-10-10A. W. M. M.

The study of the historical episodes with which the name of Shishak is connected has passed into a new phase owing to Winkler's discovery of the N. Arabian land of

3. Shishak = Misri in a number of passages in the OT (see Cushi? Winkler, in KAT 1:197, and for a fuller, though still incomplete, list of OT references, MIZRAMI, § 26). Already in 1892 (UPL 16, 192, 1, pp. 147, note, the ep. 672-200 L. 11-12) this scholar pointed out the possibility of the view that Jerusalem did not go to Egypt but to Misri, and in 1893 (QR, July, see especially 258-263, and ep. JERODAM, D. Cheyne discussed at length and in their connection the references to מִצְרַיִם in the accounts of Solomon and Jerusalem. In 1902 (KAT 1:241, ep. 671-110) Winkler reaffirmed the view of C. Niebuhr that Shishak conquered N. Israel for Jerusalem, adding that even if Jerusalem took refuge in Misri, not in Egypt, it was natural for a Pharaoh to favour the plans of Jerusalem on the principle divide et impera. He remarks, however, that Egyptian supremacy in Palestine did not last long; the mutual enmity of Israel and Judah drove them into the arms of their stronger neighbours, Tyre and Damascus. He still holds that 'Shishak' in 1 K. 11:49 is an interpolation (see also Che. QR, Lc.). Unfortunately there are four not altogether insignificant objections to this view.

1. There is much evidence in the OT for the view that N. Arabian potentates were constantly interfering in the affairs of Palestine in the regal period, whilst most probably there is no evidence (ep. SOTOMON, § 5 B) that Egypt even occasionally interfered, until we come to the time of Neco and Apries, and even in the case of these kings there is room for doubt whether the Hebrew editor has not fallen into misunderstandings.

2. If 'king of מִצְרַיִם' means 'king of Misri' in 1 K. 11:49, the presumption is that it has the same meaning in 1 K. 11:25; we can hardly doubt that the invasion of Judah there referred to has some connection with the plot which Jeroboam hatched in Misri during his sojourn there.

3. The fortresses built by Rehoboam, according to 2 Ch. 11:15-16, were most probably intended to guard against a N. Arabian invasion (see RENOIR, 37).

4. From a text-critical point of view it is difficult to doubt that מִצְרַיִם (MT) and מִצְרַיִם (S. σουραειμα) are corruptions of מִצְרַיִם and מִצְרַיִם respectively. They belong to well-ascertained types of textual corruption (ep. Crit. Bib. on Is. 66:20 Zech. 14:15 where מִצְרַיִם comes from מִצְרַיִם, and see STEINHAUS, SUSSHAK). In 2 Ch. 12:1 ('the Lubim, the Sukkimi, and the Cushites') the second of the three ethnies is no ethnic at all (but ep. SUTKIM); מִצְרַיִם was written the first time מִצְרַיִם (ep. Am. 9:7). מִצְרַיִם S. should be מִצְרַיִם - i.e., probably מִצְרַיִם (the people of the southern Nile) [Her. 8:2 and often]. We may, therefore, hold that, whether or no Shoshenq I. really invaded Palestine, the event which is recorded in 1 K. 11:25 and 2 Ch. 12:2-12 is a N. Arabian invasion, such as is referred to in 2 Ch. 14. Shishak and σουραειμα both represent מִצְרַיִם 'Cushi,' a name such as might appropriately be given to a king of Misri. It is just possible that the reader had heard of an Egyptian invasion by Shoshenq (ep. PHARAOH, § 2 f.); but no stress can safely be laid upon this. W. M. M. § 1 f.; T. K. C. § 3.

SHITRAI (שִׁטְרַיִ Kr., שִׁטְרַיִ Kr.; ACAPTAIC [B], CATPAI [M], Pesh. follows Kr.), a Shunonite, superintendent of Solomon's herds in Sharon; 1 Ch. 27:29. Kr. 'Shitlai' is probably right; the name (like SHAPHAT, which follows) comes from שִׁטְרַיִ, 'Zarephathite.' T. K. C.

SHITTAH TREE (שִׁטְהָה); πύζος [Sym. ακαρπτον ζυλον, Theod. ακανθα]. Is. 41:19†, RV 'acacia-tree,' and Shittim wood, RV 'acacia wood' (שִׁטְהָה עֵץ זָלָה ACHTITA, Ex. 27:51 and often, Dt. 10:3). Originally Shittah; borrowed from Ar. suti; Egypt. Suti (perhaps suti) 'may very possibly be also a loan-word' (Erman, ZDMG, 1892, p. 120). Mentioned in Is. Lc., between the cedar and the myrtle in a list of choice trees (see Jerome's comment), and used, according to Dt.

1 Enumerated by Wiedemann, GA 550.

SHOA

(but interpolation is probable) in the construction of the ark, to which P in Ex. adds staves, boards, bars, table, pillars, altars in the tabernacle. It is perhaps too much to say with Tristram that the Acacia must be meant. It is true 'the timber [of that most very hard and close-grained, and admirably adapted for fine cabinet work' (VIII 30). But Tristram's remark that this is 'the species of Acacia found' in the Arabian desert is not borne out by Doughty who writes (L. D. Dec. 291):

'The eyes of the Arab distinguish four kinds of the acacia thorns; 1/2 (the insacacia), shumasi, sillima, and 3/4. The leaves of them all are like (i.e., small and pinnate), but the growth is diverse. The desert smiths cut 1/2-timber for wood work, it is heavy and tough; the other kinds are brittle to serve them.' Elsewhere (275) he states that 1/2 timber is used for shipbuilding on the Arabian Red Sea. It must be difficult to those who are not 'Arabs' to distinguish the 1/2 (1/2) from the 3/4, and both from the 5/4.

Several species of acacia, including the acacia and the suti, are found, says Tristram, in the Holy Land to-day; probably all bore the same Heb. name, suti - i.e., the 'prickly' or 'thorny tree' (Theod. akana).

The suti (A. i. i. vera, Mimosa Nilotica) grows both in Lower and in Upper Egypt, as Hasselquist has stated (Travels, 250). Robinson found it in Palestine in the western part of the Wady es-Sant, where perhaps formerly it was more abundant, since it has given its name to the Wady. The suti too is abundant not only in Arabia (though less so, doubtless than formerly), but also near Euf-gedi, where these trees form a characteristic feature of the landscape.

They are trees of middle height, gnarled, with conspicuous branches, which form a leaf like a parasol, covered with small, elegant, and beautifully green leaves. The gum-ard flows from them in the autumn, at the base of the trunk, hence the crevices of the bark, and coagulates in 'tears' as large as a hazel-nut, of a pale yellow colour, and almost transparent (Lortet, La Syrie d'aujourd'hui, 111).

The golden-headed tufts of blossom are much admired (Tristram, Land of Israel, 489). The suti is less dependent on moisture than the palm, though certainly its finest specimens are found near springs' (L. H. Palmer, Sinai, 39). All these trees have painful thorns. 'happy I was, in those often adventures of night travelling in Arabia, never to have hurt an eye' (Doughty, Ar. Des. 2495). The species to which they belong includes more than 400 varieties, found in the dry, hot regions of Asia, Africa, and Australia (Delitzsch, in Richm. HILF 166). See also ABEL-SHITTIM; BILB-SHITTAH; ELAH, VALLEY OF; MULBERRY-TREES.

T. K. C. SHITTIM (שִׁטִּים), Nu. 25:1, etc. See ABEL-SHITTIM; ELAH, VALLEY OF, col. 1253.

SHIZA (שִׁיזָה); possibly a battered clan-name; but ep. שִׁיזָה, the name of a Palmvrene family (Mordtm. in Neue Beitrage zur Kunde Palmyrens, Munich, 1875, no. 55), father of ADINA [?]. 1 Ch. 11:42 (CIZAZA [B], CEZA [N], CEZA [A], CIZAZ [L]).

SHOA (שִׁוָּה); שוּוָה [B], שוּוָה [M]; Aq. שוּוָה-vov; Vulg. syronos; Pesh. reads hah, the name of a people, mentioned beside Koa, whose seats were not far from Babelonia (Ezek. 23:1). Delitzsch identifies it with Suti, which occurs often in the cuneiform inscriptions beside Kuru (see KURU). A shorter and more original form is Su, whence the Hebrew form שוּוָה. The country of the Su or Suti lay on the Euphrates and extended as far as the southern declivities of the Melch-Elamite mountains (Drd. Par. 235). On the danger to which Babelonia was exposed from the incursions of the Suti, see Sargon's Khors. inscription, I. 1. 1. 27. Ezekiel's list of names, however, has to be criticised before we can venture on identifications. How can 'all the Assyrians' be said to accompany the Suti and the Kuru? PEKOD (y. r.) gives the key. The three names are—Rehoboth, Ishmael [?], and Jerahmeel; and the 'line Asshur' are the people of Ashur (almost = Jerahmeel). See Crit. Bib. T. K. C.

SHOBAB

SHOES

SHOBAB (שׁוֹבָב). שׁוֹבָב. as if 'backsliding,' but see below. 1. One of the sons of DAVID [§ 1 a, n. 2, § 11 n.] (2 S. 5:14; שׁוֹבָבָא [A], שׁוֹבָבָא [L]); 1 Ch. 3:5; שׁוֹבָבָא [B]; 14:4; שׁוֹבָבָא [B], שׁוֹבָבָא [L]. SHARAR in 2 S. 23:33 should perhaps be Shobab; cp HAKAR-III, 3.

2. A descendant of Caleb and Azubah (1 Ch. 2:18; אֲשׁוֹבָב [B], שׁוֹבָבָא [L]).

The names of David's son, evidently spring from ethnics, שׁוֹבָבָא and שׁוֹבָבָא point to שׁוֹבָבָא = שׁוֹבָבָא, 'Ishmael' (cp some of S's readings under SHUBAI, JASHTOFAM). This explanation suits both 1 and 2. Cp Crit. Bib., p. 222; Jer. 50. The theories suggested under אֲשׁוֹבָב refer, on the whole, to MI.

T. K. C.

SHOBACH (שׁוֹבָח), captain of the army of Hadad-eder who was defeated and slain by David at Helam 2 S. 10:16-18; שׁוֹבָחָא [BA], [שׁוֹבָחָא [A], 18], שׁוֹבָחָא [L]. His name appears in 1 Ch. 19:16-18 as SHOBACH (שׁוֹבָחָא, שׁוֹבָחָא, שׁוֹבָחָא [B], שׁוֹבָחָא [N*], -אח [N*], שׁוֹבָחָא, שׁוֹבָחָא [A], שׁוֹבָחָא [L]).

If Shobach was really king of Misur, and not of Zoba (see Zoba), 'Helam' (שׁוֹבָחָא) will be a corruption of Jerahmeel (שׁוֹבָחָא), and 'Shobach' (שׁוֹבָח) connected with שׁוֹבָבָא, Ishmael. Cp SHOBEK.

T. K. C.

SHOBAI (שׁוֹבָי); שׁוֹבָי, שׁוֹבָי [B], שׁוֹבָי, שׁוֹבָי [A and N in Neh.], שׁוֹבָי [L]. A family of NETHINIM [12:] in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA II, § 6). EZRA 2:40; Neh. 7:45 = 1 Esd. 5:29; AV SABI, RV SABI שׁוֹבָי [A], שׁוֹבָי [L]. B om., unless שׁוֹבָי represents this name. If the Nethinim are Ethianite families (see SALOMON'S SERVANTS), שׁוֹבָי will come from שׁוֹבָי (as often from שׁוֹבָי). It was an Ishmaelite—i.e. Jerahmeelite—family. Cp SHOHAI.

T. K. C.

SHOBAL (שׁוֹבָל), probably related to Ishmael, cp Ashbel, Ishbaal; hardly 'young lion,' as WRS Journ. Phil. 9:90 [see Gray, III, V 100]. שׁוֹבָלָא [BADEL], b. Seir, a Horite (Gen. 36:20-23, 29 [שׁוֹבָלָא [L]] 1 Ch. 1:34); שׁוֹבָלָא [L in Ch.]. Another genealogical scheme (cp GENEALOGIES I, § 5) represents him as son of Iur (which, as it happens, may be shortened from Ashhurite) or from Jerahmeel[ite], and of Calebite origin (1 Ch. 2:50, שׁוֹבָלָא [L] [BL]), and since the name 'Caleb' may also plausibly be traced to 'Jerahmeel,' and Judah was represented by legend (see JUDAH, § 3) as partly Jerahmeelite, it is natural to find Shobal appearing also as a son of Judah (1 Ch. 41, שׁוֹבָלָא [BA]). The name Shobal is also perhaps to be identified with SHUBAEL [q. v.]. Turning to 1 Ch. 2:52 (שׁוֹבָלָא [L]), we find that whilst one of Shobal's sons (Haroh) appears at first sight to bear a personal name, all the rest bear gentile names. The presumption is that Haroh also is gentile, and when we see the name under the form Renah (H) we cannot doubt that it is a shortened form of 'Jerahmeel.' This Haroh, or rather Renah, is said to be the 'father' of Kirjath-jearim, and there is now plausible historical evidence for the view that Kirjath-jearim is a corruption of Kirjath-jerahmeel (that is to say, the place was originally a Jerahmeelite settlement). To this place four families are assigned (2:53). Their names, however, have come down to us in a corrupt form. They appear to be partly parallel to the three 'families' of Kirjath-sepher (i.e., Kirjath-siréphathim), given, according to the most probable reading, in 2:55. 'Ithrites' may correspond to 'Itrathites' (where an old tribal name [cp ITHITES] may be suspected); 'Shimathites' to 'Shimeathites' (cp Simeon); 'Puthites' may come from 'Perathites' (Perath or Ephrath was an important name in the Negeb); 'Mishraites' (like 'Zorathites') reminds us of the 'Misrites,' a race akin to the Jerahmeelites (see Crit. Bib.).¹ The MANATHITES [q. v.] and Zorites or Zorathites (see ZORAH) are reckoned (if the text is correct) partly to Shobal and partly to

¹ So partly Winckler (G 2:186, n. 3). That 'Puthites' = a clan called 'Pele'h' is improbable. See PELETHITES.

Salma (i.e., Bethlehem). S and 77, 52, 77, unintelligible, and copied slavishly, but Pesh., ceases at 7, 52 with an obscure enumeration of the sons of Shobal in Kirjath-jearim, thus omitting the sons of Salma [i. 54] and the notice of the Kenites [7, 52]. The latter notice is enigmatical. We are perhaps meant to trace a connection between the Kenites and 'Salma' (see SAMMIL, 20). It may be added that Hammath (so RV, following MT) is very possibly miswritten for שׁוֹבָבָא, Madaath (but cp HEMATH).

T. K. C.

SHOBEK (שׁוֹבֵק); שׁוֹבֵקָא [BNA], שׁוֹבֵקָא [L], signatory to the covenant (see EZRA I, § 7); Neh. 10:4 [25]. Cp SHOBACH.

SHOBI (שׁוֹבִי), see on SHOBAL, son of Nahash, of Rabbath-ammon, who brought supplies to David at Mahanaim (2 S. 17:27; שׁוֹבֵי [BA], שׁוֹבֵי [L]); Pesh. reads 'Abishai' [which is a corruption of 'Ishmael'], cp ZERTHAD. The combination of this enigmatical member of the Ammonite royal family with a Machir, whose real existence is certainly not proved by the reference in 2 S. 9:4, and an old Gileadite who bears the diminit name Razallai, and whose son bears the equally doubtful name Chumham, and both of whom are introduced again in a narrative of strongly romantic appearance, suggests critical caution. It is too slight a remedy to omit 'son of Nahash' as an incorrect gloss (We. 778 201 n.). The verse is largely made up of corrupt variants and glosses, and the genuine kernel probably is, 'And it came to pass . . . that Jerahmeel, son of Jonathan, the Gileadite,' where 'Jerahmeel' corresponds to 'Shobi' (Ishmael; see below), Machir to '[son of] Ammiel' 'Jonathan' to 'Nahash,' and 'Gileadite' to 'Gileadite.' The words 'Rabbath of the line Ammon' are a corruption of 'Rehoboth-jerahmeel.' See, further, MELPHROSHETH, NABASH, ROGELIM. But cp AMMON, § 4 (end), and HPSM., ad loc., for attempts to explain MT.

S. A. Cook (ASTL 16:104 f. [105]) proposes to read שׁוֹבֵי for שׁוֹבֵי, and to omit 25 as a later insertion consequent on the corrupt reading ('and Nahash, etc., brought'). It is better from our present point of view to read שׁוֹבֵי שׁוֹבֵי; שׁוֹבֵי easily fall out before שׁוֹבֵי, which form, being intermediate between שׁוֹבֵי and שׁוֹבֵי, may once have taken the place of שׁוֹבֵי.

T. K. C.

SHOCHO (RV Socoh), 2 Ch. 28:13; SHOCHOH (RV Socoh) 1 S. 17:1, and SHOCO (RV Socoh) 2 Ch. 11:7. See SOCOH.

SHOES. Under this heading it will be convenient to take note of all coverings for the feet whether sandals, shoes, or boots, so far as they were

1. Introduction.

known among the early Hebrews. This treatment is in fact necessary on a count of the ill-defined use of the various terms to denote coverings of this name. The term 'sandal' is usually applied to a foot-covering consisting simply of a sole bound on with thong, but it was also used on, and so the word is rightly used by S to denote the *na'ala* (see § 3) the ordinary Hebrew term. The Gk. *παρόδημα* (lit., 'that which is bound round [the foot]') originally denoted a sandal; but it came to be applied to the Roman *calceus* (a shoe covering the whole foot), and is used by Josephus (*B. J.* vi. 15) of the *caligæ* (the thick shoe, studded with nails, worn by Roman soldiers).¹

Coverings for the feet have not always formed a regular part of the clothing of the Oriental. Primarily, of course, everything depended upon the climate and the nature of the country. Upon the Assyrian monuments the warriors are not infrequently barefooted, and many of the royal statues are totally devoid of any covering for the foot. In Egypt sandals were not in use before the fifth dynasty, their introduction was gradual, and their popularity a work of time; they were, when of the feet, sometimes carried by an attendant, showing that they were not always worn' (Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 2:136 n.).

¹ Examples of such extensions of usage could be easily multiplied (e.g., Talm. *ḥafetz*, boot; *ḥafetz*, breeches). A shoe corresponding with the *caligæ* is evidently referred to in *Shabb. 66a*. In Syr., *na'li* and its denominative are used of horse-shoes.

SHOES

Examples of the ordinary sandals abound (for Egypt, see *op. cit.* 2, figs. 443 f.), and are represented

2. Illustrations from the monuments.

upon the oldest monuments depicting inhabitants of Sardinia (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 374), Cilicia (*ib.* 340 f.), Western Asia Minor (*ib.* 304 f.), etc. They vary from a mere sole bound with a thong, to elegant and elaborate shoes of the richest ornamentation, and are variously made of such materials as palm-leaves, and papyrus stalks (Egypt), linen (Phoenicia), and leather (Assyria, etc.)¹

In Assyria the simplest and most common variety consists of a sole with back and sides bound to the foot by two bands over the instep (see Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Chald.*, etc., 176), at times a third band crosses the toes, and is, again, sometimes connected with the straps over the instep.² In a painting on stucco from Nimrud (*op. cit.* 2, pl. xiv.), the sandals are coloured black, the straps yellow. A more serviceable and not uncommon variety is seen to advantage in the foot-gear of Assur-hānīpal's followers (*op. cit.* 145, 2, opp. p. 138). Over a kind of tight-fitting bandage enveloping the leg is a boot reaching mid-way up the back of the calf, the uppers being connected by straps. Similar straps are interlaced from the top of the boot (top-lacings?) and appear to be held up by a garter worn just below the knee.³ A third important variety is seen in the turned-up boot, a characteristic feature of the Hittites (cp Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Judae.* 2, fig. 282, and *passim*), a good example of which is seen in the representation of one of Assur-nasir-pal's vassals at Nimrud (*Art in. Isc.* 2, fig. 64). Finally, from the Egyptian monuments, we perceive that the Bedouins of the Sinaitic peninsula customarily went bare-footed (as is common at the present day, see Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1224); on the occasion of long journeys, however, they appear to have worn a sandal of black leather, the females, on the other hand, being depicted with a sort of boot, reaching to the ankle, of red leather with a white border.

From a consideration of these circumstances and our knowledge of the statutes of the earliest Hebrews, we may suspect that they, too, at first, were unaccustomed to wear shoes save in travelling (cp Ex. 12:11 Dt. 29:5 Josh. 9:13), although the fact that, in later times, to go bare-footed (*i.e.*, to revert to the older practice) was looked upon as a deprivation and as a manifestation of grief (Is. 20:2-4 Ezek. 24:17-23, cp 2 S. 15:10) shows that the custom of wearing shoes soon became firmly established. Shoes or sandals are frequently mentioned.

3. Heb. and Gk. terms.

The ordinary term is *nu'al*, נַעֲלָה ('to confine, shut in'),⁴ EV 'shoe', but RV 'sandals' in Cant. 7:1 [2], ὑπόδηματα frequently, and σιδηαία in Josh. 9:5 Is. 20:2. Both occur in the NT, ὑπόδηματα, Mt. 3:11 19:10 Mk. 1:7 etc. (EV 'shoes'), and σιδηαία, Mk. 6:9 Acts 12:8 (EV 'sandals'). Vg. has both *calceamenta* and *sandallia*. In the Mishna the term for a shoemaker is נַעֲמָרֵי; the word 'sandal' had become naturalised. The strap by which the sandal is bound under the foot is called in biblical Hebrew סַבָּלָה, סַבָּלָה (σφαρωτήρ; and ἰμάς, with which cp Mk. 1:7 etc.) or *hūt*, חֹט (σπαρτίον), 'thread' (see, for both, Gen. 14:23). Once, according to most moderns (*e.g.*, Ges. Buhl, Siefr. Stadel, Di. Kittel's *Lx.*, Dulon, Kamzsch), who follow

¹ Leather shoes are referred to in Ezek. 16:10 (סַבָּלָה וְסַבָּלָה וְסַבָּלָה וְסַבָּלָה); see RIVERS' SKINS (13).

² One is reminded of the Roman *solea* where the thong passes between the great and the second toe and is fastened to another, the *bigula*.

³ Especially curious are the swathes and bandages covering the foot of Mardak-nādīn-abū (*op. cit.* 2, fig. 43). At the present day the shepherds of Palestine wear rough simple shoes (cp Conder, *Palestine*, 2:291) with leather gaiters covering the calf of the leg, on account of the rocks and thorns among which they climb. The *mitgħālek* (מִתְגַּהֵלֵק, 1 S. 17:5, 'gi aves') of Goliath may have been similar; see CREAVES.

⁴ Josh. 9:5 affords the interesting phrase מַעֲלָה וְסַבָּלָה וְסַבָּלָה וְסַבָּלָה, 'shoes, worn out, and pat. bed.'

⁵ *nu'al*, נַעֲלָה, Dt. 33:25 AV. RVmg. 'shoes' (so *Ḥ*) is properly 'bars' (RV, Dr., Steuernagel, etc.), cp *man'āl*, מַנְעָלֵי, Neh. 3:3; Cant. 5:5.

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Kim'di, there is mention of the military 'boot.' This is in 1 K. 9:31 [4] where RVmg. offers the reading, 'for every foot of the booted warrior,' etc. This view of the meaning is supported by a reference to Ass., Syr., and Ethi. parallels. It is unknown, however, to the old exegetical tradition, which, so far as it goes, supposes פָּרָע (or some word like it), supports the rendering 'tumult' (as if פָּרָעָה); see Vg., Pesh., Sym., also Rashi 1 K. Ezra, AV ('battle'), one part of which probably supports the rendering 'armour,' the other 'tumult.' [Ḥ's *πάσαρ σιδηαία* ἐπισημασμένη διὰ δὲ ἰσχυρῶς ἰσχυρῶς ἰσχυρῶς, Vg., Pesh., Sym., also Rashi, and Ibn Ezra explain פָּרָעָה, 'tumult.' AV ('battle') favours the latter view; RV the former.² Our right course is perhaps to compare parallel descriptions of the abolition of war elsewhere (*e.g.*, Ps. 146:10-11). So at any rate Cheyne, who rejects פָּרָע altogether, and, finding other imperfections in the text of 1 K. 9:4 [5], proposes a possible reconstruction (*SVOL*, 'Isa,' *Le.*).

There are many references to the shoe in the OT which have a close relation to important Hebrew customs,

4. Hebrew customs—references to the shoe.

but the Hebrew and even the Greek text sometimes requires close preliminary investigation. (a) We notice first the command to Moses to draw off his shoes when on holy ground (Ex. 3:5, cp 12:11 1 K. 5:5). This supplies a trace of a primitive taboo, to which those who assisted at religious festivals, especially in the sacred dance or procession (cp DANCE, §§ 2-6), were subject.⁴ Tunics and the like were washed to avoid this taboo. In Egypt, too, we find that the priests frequently took off their sandals when officiating in the temple. On the other hand, a worshipper such as Assur-nasir-pal offers a libation still wearing them (Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Chald.*, etc., 2, fig. 113). The Talmud says (*Yebimoth*, 6 b) that no one was allowed to approach the temple with staff, shoes, purse, or dirt on the feet.⁵

(b) Next, we have to deal with an obscure reference in Ps. 60:3 [10] 108:9 [10]. We know from Ruth 1:7 (see below) that drawing off the shoe meant giving up a legal right. May we assume from Ps. *Le.*, that casting a shoe on a piece of land was the sign of taking possession of it? Rosenmüller (see Delitzsch's commentary) quotes an Abyssinian custom of this sort; Delitzsch and Baethgen follow him. Others (see RVmg.) think that Edom is here represented as a slave to whom the shoe is cast, that he may carry it.⁶ But this is forced; and the reference to Moab as a 'washpot' being at least equally strange, it may be necessary to suppose corruption of the text (see Che. *Psalms* 60). The idiom which the psalmist would have used, had he wished to describe the humiliating condition of a conquered country, would have been 'upon Edom will I place my feet,' or the like (cp Josh. 10:24). Wilkinson (2:36) gives a picture of a captive in the lining of an Egyptian sandal, depicting the humiliating condition considered suited to the enemies of the country.

(c) In the MT of Am. 2:6 and 8:6 a 'pair of sandals,' which, made in a few minutes, would be dear at a penny, would seem to be proverbial for something of small value.⁷ But the parallel clause has 'for money'; מָוֶן may not be the correct reading.

It is true that it is supported by 1 S. 12:3 Ḥ and Eccles. 10:12 Ḥ lat., which agree in representing Samuel as too poor to accept even ὑπόδηματα (sandals) as a bribe. But no doubt

¹ On Ass. *šunu*, 'shoe' (the ideogram means 'road/leather'), see Del. *Lex. III B*, 277, and Haupt on 'Isa' *Le.* in *SBOT*, 'Isa' (Heb.), 68.

² Hitziq supports the rendering 'armour' by the Syr. *ḥalā* 'weapon.'

³ The verb used is *šāḥ*, elsewhere *šāḥ* in Ruth 4:7, and *šāḥ* in Dt. 25:9 Is. 20:2.

⁴ See WRS *Rel. Sem.* 2:453; We. *Heid.* 2:110.

⁵ Analogies from Crete and Rhodes are cited by Frazer, *Paus.* 5:202. Conversely, on the occasion of ceremonial sacrifices the worshippers or initiated members are shod in slippers made of the skin of the victim. W. R. Smith (*Rel. Sem.* 2:4) cites such a case from a late Syrian rite, and Greek and Roman analogies are quoted by Frazer, *loc. cit.* It is somewhat remarkable that the Levitical law is silent on the matter of the priest's shoes, and interesting also is the silence of the Roman jurists.

⁶ So Hüpf., Riehm., Cp Mt. 3:11. In Egyptian paintings servants are represented performing this mental duty.

⁷ So *šis* (*loran solea*), in the Arabic poets (G. Jac. *Arab. Parallelen*, 17); cp also Goldziher, *Z.* 17:29 f. (1:2).

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SHOSHANNIM

עָנִים (which these versions pre-suppose, and which the Heb. text of 1.10, actually has) is a corruption of עָנִים (Mic. 7.3), which must have been the original reading in 1 S. 12.4 (Che.).¹

(d) We have already alluded to Ruth 4.7 f. (see A). 'A man pulled off (עָנָה) his shoe,' we read, 'and gave it to his neighbour.' In actual transference of rights, Holtzmann (*Z. f. d. W.* 293) explains that the shoe, being part of the seller's attire, was passed on to the buyer as an attestation of his right. Cp RUTH, and for an Arabian parallel, references in TRADE, § 82 c 2 (5).

(e) Similarly, in the ceremony for freeing the husband's brother from the duty of the levirate marriage (Dt. 25.9) his shoe was removed in token of renunciation.² So in a Bedonin divorce the husband says: 'she was my slipper and I cast her off' (WRS *Arms*, 269). The renunciation of the brother was considered contemptible; hence the woman spat in his face, or, as the Rabbin explain, in his presence. So, too, the shoe was not removed by the brother himself, but by the woman, in token that he was abandoning a privilege as well as a duty. Note the phrase in Dt. 25.10, 'the house of the misadulated one' (עַלְמָא דְּבִיבָא). Cp FAMILY, KISSING.

(f) Sandals were put on the feet of the prodigal son on his restoration to favour (Lk. 15.22). It would seem, then, that in the time of Jesus, sandals were not worn by the lowest class. The sandals of the rich could no doubt be sumptuous, like those of the ladies of Egypt (Wks. *Ant. Eg.* 23.6). Cp Cant. 7.1, Judith 104.16.

[Having considered a very obscure and familiar passage of a psalm (60.8 [10]) and a not perfectly satisfactory phrase in a prophecy (Is. 9.5 [4]), we now approach a still more sacred passage which is repeated under slightly different

8. Difficult NT references.

forms in all the four gospels. These are the four versions of the Baptist's words:—

Mt. 3.11. He that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not sufficient (RV¹⁸) to bear.

Mk. 1.7. There cometh after me he that is mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not sufficient (RV¹⁸) to stoop down and unloose.

Lk. 3.16. There cometh he that is mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not sufficient (RV¹⁸) to unloose.

Jn. 1.27. He that cometh after me—the latchet of whose shoe I am not worthy to: unloose.

The difficulty is twofold. What does 'bearing the shoes' (τὰ ὑποδήματα βαστάσαι) mean? and how came the other traditional form of v...ds into existence, which substitutes 'unloosing the latchet' for 'bearing the shoes'?

(1) B. Weiss (1876) explains the phrase in Mt., 'carrying the sandals after him'; so, too, Holtzmann, who describes it as a constant duty of the slave, thus contrasting with the occasional duty of unloosing the masters' sandals on his return home. There seems, however, to be no more evidence that those who chose (not as mourners) to walk barefoot had their sandals carried after them than for the carrying of a washpot behind a king when he travelled (see above). (2) The change from βαστάσαι to ἀνοῦσαι is ascribed by Nestle (*Phil. Sacra*, 11) and Charles (*Markusstudien*, 5) to the freedom of a translator. Bertholet (*Meyer-Jesu Wörtersprache*, 120) prefers to look for some semantic word which, through being misunderstood, could be rendered in two different ways. He thinks that Mk. and Lk. give the right rendering of עָנָה, which Mt., not inexcusably, misunderstands. Unfortunately, as Nestle (*l.c.*) remarks, עָנָה cannot mean 'to unloose.'

We must look more deeply into the text of the Baptist's sermon as given in Mt. It is largely composed of phrases which occur or might occur in the OT, and Mt. 11.12 are parallelistic. The latter consideration is of special importance. 'He that cometh after me is mightier than I' is not suitably followed by the words

¹ Halévy restores עָנִים in Ecclesi. but not in Sam. This further step, however, is clearly necessary (Che). Cowley and Neubauer (cp Levi, *Z. Eccl. 1.120*) render עָנִים in Ecclesi. 'a secret gift.' This, however, presupposes MT of 1 S. 12.4, which, as Theobald (*AGH* 'Sam.'²) rightly saw, is incorrect. The argument of Lohr (*AGH* 'Sam.'³) seems indecisive.
² If in a similar Ar. usage see Goldziher, *Abhandl.* 2. *Arab. Phil.* 147 (1876).

given in EV—'whose shoes I am not worthy to bear'; the second expression ought to expand and amplify the first. The 'mighty one' that 'cometh' is neither God (Is. 53.1 f.) nor the Messiah; he is a warrior, and we do not expect the prophetic narrator to condescend to mention his sandals. Not his sandals but his weapons must be referred to, and the speaker may be expected to say that he is not mighty enough himself to wear, or to bear, the warrior's armour; ὑποδήματα must have displaced a word meaning armour, and ἰκανός must mean, not ἀξίος ('worthy'), but 'strong enough.' A probable remedy at once suggests itself. The passage may have been written in Hebrew, and עָנָה, 'shoes,' have been misread for עָנָה, 'weapons.' Read עָנָה עָנָה עָנָה עָנָה. 'These weapons I am too puny to bear.' The passage is now surely worthier of the second Elijah, who did in fact both carry and wield the sword of the Mighty One.—T. K. C. I. A. = S. A. C.—T. K. C.

SHOHAM (שׁוֹחַם, § 71; [c]חאמ [BA], [c]חאמ [L]), a Levite, b. Merari (1 Ch. 24.27)†. The name is of interest, having possibly come by transposition of letters from מֹשֶׁה, 'Moses.' Cp MOSES, § 2. T. K. C.

SHOMER. 1. (שׁוֹמֵר; σωμηρ [B], [c]ωω [A]; [c]ωω [L]); the name appears as שׁוֹמֵר, SHEMER [c.7.] in 1 Ch. 7.34, father of JHIOZABAB (2 K. 12.22). In 2 Ch. 24.26 the form is שׁוֹמֵר, SHUMERU (σωμαιωθ [B]; σωμαρ[ωθ] [A]; σωμρ,μωθ [L]).
2. (שׁוֹמֵר; שׁוֹמֵר, שׁוֹמֵר [B], שׁוֹמֵר [AL]), a name in a genealogy of ASHER [c.7.], § 4. ii., 1 Ch. 7.32. In 7.34 SHAMER, RV SHEMER [c.7.], 2] (שׁוֹמֵר).

SHOPHACH (שׁוֹפָח) 1 Ch. 19.16-18, in 2 S. 10.16-18 SHOBACH.

SHOPHAN. See ATROTH-SHOPIAN.

'SHOSHANNIM; SHOSHANNIM-EDUTH; SHUSHAN-EDUTH, UPON (עַל-שׁוֹשָׁנִים; עַל-שׁוֹשָׁנֵי עֲדוּת; עֲדוּת); phrases found in the respective headings of Pss. 45 69 80 and 60 in AV; RV for 'upon' gives 'set to' and in Eng. renders 'lilies,' 'lilies, a testimony,' and 'the lily of testimony.' As in the case of other enigmatical elements of psalm-headings, Shoshannim and Shoshannim (or Shushan) Eduth are often taken to be the catchwords of a song, to the air of which the psalm which followed was to be sung (so already Ibn Ezra).² The 'testimony' (*i.e.*, the law?) might be compared to lilies. Others (*e.g.*, Thrupp) think of a musical instrument in the shape of a lily, or (Rashi, strangely) with six strings, while others (Gratz; Haupt in 'Pss.,' *SROT*, Eng., p. 183) render the phrase 'with Susian instruments,' comparing *al 'Alimoth* = 'with Elamite instruments' (?) in the headings of two psalms close to Ps. 45. That the Susians are called Susanchites (?) in Ezra 4.6, may not be decisive against this view. But why should Susian instruments be mentioned as well as Elamite? A similar hypothesis with regard to Githith is rejected elsewhere (GUTHITH) as untenable, and our experience both with Githith and with other strange words in psalm-headings leads us to suspect textual error. ע and פ were easily confounded in pronunciation, and letters were often transposed by the Scribes. עָנָה עָנָה עָנָה may be regarded as corruptions of עָנָה עָנָה עָנָה, 'Cushian,' 'Cushanites' (cp STEMINITH). EDUTH must also be a corruption. Possibly עֲדוּת has sprung out of עָנָה עָנָה, 'upon (?) Jeduthun.' On Jeduthun, see PSALMS, § 26 [10].

¹ ע became פ, and פ, as in other cases, intruded.
² In Ps. 80, however, the words 'on Shoshannim' are marked off from what follows by the accent Athnah.

SHOULDER

Σ γες, ἵστρον τῶν ἀλλοιωθησομένων (Σ'Γ'Σ'), or, in Pa. 60, τοῖς ἀλλοιωθησομένοις ἴστρον (Σ'Σ', Rom. 60), in Pa. 80 ἵστρον μεστουρίων. Ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ κρινοῦ, ἐπὶ κρινοῦ, ἵστρον τῶν κρινοῦ ἰστορίας; Σ'γαμ, ἵστρον τῶν ἀλλοιωθ., ἵστρον τ. α. μεστουρίων; Theodor. ἵστρον τῶν κρινοῦ; Jer., ἵστρον τῶν κρινοῦ κατασταλαίνων. Cp Ba. J/Γ, 122, p. 631. T. K. C.

SHOULDER. The words are (1) שׁוֹמֵר, שׁוֹמֵר; (2) שׁוֹמֵר, שׁוֹמֵר; (3) שׁוֹמֵר, שׁוֹמֵר (cp SHUCHAM). The sacerdotal 'shoulder' of Nu 18:3 AV becomes in RV 'tigh' (שׁוֹמֵר). Cp SACRIFICE.

SHOVEL. The words are:—

1. שׁוֹבֵל, שׁוֹבֵל (to sweep together), only in plur. שׁוֹבֵלִים, utensils for cleaning the altar (see ALFAR, § 9; COOKING, § 1). Ex. 27:38; Nu. 17 [all P], also 1 K. 7:45; 2 K. 25:17; 2 Ch. 4:11; Jer. 52:17.

2. שׁוֹבֵל, shovel, usually 'pin,' especially 'teut pin' (see TINT); in Dt 29:13 RV^{ms} for 'paddle' of EV; plainly, from the context, an implement suitable for digging with.

3. שׁוֹבֵל, shovel, Is. 30:24. See AGRICULTURE, § 9.

SHRINE. 1. The rendering suggested by RV^{ms} in Am. 5:26 for שׁוֹמֵר. See CHURCH.

2. שׁוֹמֵר [RV^{ms}, שׁוֹמֵר, AV²] in 1 Macc. 1:7 (in plur.) is rendered in RV 'shrines for idols,' in AV 'chapels for idols'; cp 2 Macc. 1:3 ('AV' 'chapels,' RV 'sacred places'); 1 Macc. 10:8 ('idols' temple), Bel 10 ('temple'). See TEMPLE, § 1.

3. שׁוֹמֵר (Aas 19:24). See PRASA, § 2.

SHRUBS (שׁוֹמֵרִים), Gen. 21:15. See BUSTI, 2.

SHUA (שׁוֹמֵר), a Canaanite (or Kenizite?), Gen. 38:2 (AV SHUMIT [iii.]), whence BATH-SHUA (q.v.), a Canaanite (or Kenizite?) woman, 1 Ch. 2:3; see JUDAH, § 2.

SHUA (שׁוֹמֵר), a name in a genealogy of ASHER (q.v.), § 4 ii. and note.—שׁוֹמֵר = SHUMAL? cp שׁוֹמֵר, 1 Ch. 7:31; שׁוֹמֵר [BA], שׁוֹמֵר [L].

SHUAH (שׁוֹמֵר; שׁוֹמֵר), son of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. 25:2; 1 Ch. 1:32; שׁוֹמֵר [B], שׁוֹמֵר [L]). Very possibly the original text שׁוֹמֵר, 'Cush' (cp Jokshau, in the same passage, from שׁוֹמֵר, 'Dan, and see HESHAM). Upon the common theory, however, Shuah is identified with the Suhu of the Assyrians (temp. Asur-nasir-pal, about 860 B.C.), the name of a land situated on the right bank of the Euphrates, between the mouths of the Belih and Habur (Del. Par. 297 f., Schr. ACP 142 f.), perhaps represented by the שׁוֹמֵר of Ptol. v. 195 (Del. on Gen. 1.c.). Friedr. Delitzsch, Dillmann, and Cheyne (Job and Sol. 13) connect with the ethnic SHUMITE (שׁוֹמֵר, ὁ σαυχ[α]ίων, σαυχ[ε]ίτης, αὐχ) applied to Job's friend BILDAD, in Job 2:11 (and elsewhere). But when the old story of Job, which came down in a very fragmentary form to post-exilic times (see JOB, BOOK OF, § 4) was recast, so as to form a setting for a theoretic treatment of the problem of the suffering righteous, it is not likely that the Hebrew artist or poet brought one of the wise men (Job's friends) from a country which had no reputation for 'wisdom.' Besides, 'Bildad' reminds us forcibly of Bedad (?=Birkadda), an Edomite name (Gen. 36:35; see BEDAD). Now it so happens that in 1 K. 4:31 [5:11], we hear of certain wise men, not Israelites, who were famous in Hebrew legend (see HEMAN). The exact reading of their names is uncertain. Possibly 'Darda' in 'Calcol and Darda' (שׁוֹמֵר וְדַרְדָּא) is a corruption of בְּרַדְדָּא. If so, Bildad's description ought to be 'the Jerahmeelite' (son of Mahol=son of JERAHMEEL). But 'Cush' and 'Jerahmeel' are practically equivalent. 'Shuhi' may easily have come by transposition from Hushi=Cushi (cp SHUHAM). Otherwise we might perhaps venture to read 'the Zarhute' (שׁוֹמֵר). Cp ERIME.

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SHUAH (שׁוֹמֵר) 1 Ch. 4:11. AV, RV SHUMAT.

SHULAMMITE, THE

SHUAH (שׁוֹמֵר), Gen. 38:2 (AV, RV SHUAH),

SHUAL 1. (שׁוֹמֵר; שׁוֹמֵר; [TAN or T. PHN] שׁוֹמֵר) [III. missing in A.], 'Land of Shual' is the name of the district in, or near, which OPHRAH lay (1 S. 13:17). Its resemblance to HAZAR-SHUAL [q.v.] and to SHUALIM [q.v.] is remarkable. Cp ASHER, § 4 note.

2. (שׁוֹמֵר; שׁוֹמֵר) שׁוֹמֵר [A.], [L.], a name in a genealogy of ASHER (q.v.), § 1. 1 Ch. 7:31.

It should be noted that SHUAL and SHUSHAL (שׁוֹמֵר) are the same group of names, just as in 1 S. 14 SHUALIM (שׁוֹמֵר) occurs close to SHUALIM [q.v.]. Cp also שׁוֹמֵר, SHAL.

SHUBAEL (שׁוֹמֵר); on origin of name, see below. שׁוֹמֵר [BA], שׁוֹמֵר [L.]. A Levitical name given to a descendant of Amram b. Kohath b. Levi (1 Ch. 9:10; 1 Ch. 23:17); also under the form SHEBUEL to one of the sons of Gershom b. Moses (1 Ch. 23:16; שׁוֹמֵר 'ruler over the treasures' (1 Ch. 26:24, שׁוֹמֵר, שׁוֹמֵר) [L.]). Tg. Chron. identifies Shubael with JONATHAN [q.v.] b. Gershom b. Moses (Judg. 18:3; SHEBUEL also appears as a son of Heman, 1 Ch. 25:6 (שׁוֹמֵר) [L.]); but 2:20 returns to the original שׁוֹמֵר (23:16).

In the period of the Chronicler Shubael may perhaps have been derived from שׁוֹמֵר, 'to return,' and שׁוֹמֵר, 'God' (cp NASH, § 3, 7, ii.). But the name is probably very old, and may be identified with SHUAL [q.v.], a name borne by a family originally Gadite, which afterwards became merged in the tribe of Dan; see GERSHOM, HEMAN, KOSAI. The further probability must be admitted that שׁוֹמֵר, Shēbūel (Sabaub) may be a modification of שׁוֹמֵר, Shēbūel, and therefore of SHUAL (cp Jastrow, JBL 19:102 [1906]). In 1 S. 14 Shual's origin is traced to Jerahmeel, i.e., Jerahmeel. In 1 Ch. 23:17 Shubael is followed by Jerimoth (=Jerahmeel), and in 2:20 the name of this son of Musi [q.v.] again occurs. T. K. C.

SHUHAH (שׁוֹמֵר), brother of Chelub (1 Ch. 1:11; AV SHUAH, שׁוֹמֵר [L.], see [Vg.]); שׁוֹמֵר and Pesh-omah his name and give after Chelub 'father of Ach' (1 Ch. 1:11) reading which Benzinger (KHC) favours. But Shuah may be identical with Hushah (שׁוֹמֵר), v. 4:10; Cushah.

SHUHAM (שׁוֹמֵר; שׁוֹמֵר) [BF], שׁוֹמֵר [A], שׁוֹמֵר [L.], and the family of the Shuhamites (שׁוֹמֵרִים) שׁוֹמֵרִים [BAF], Δ. ο. שׁוֹמֵר [L.], Δ. ο. שׁוֹמֵר [A in v. 49] exhaust the list of 'the sons of Dan after their families' in Nu. 26:42 f. = Gen. 16:2. HUSHAM—i.e., Cushim (Che.); cp MICAH, 2, on a theory of Danites in the Negeb. See also DAN, § 9.

SHUHITE (שׁוֹמֵר), Job 2:11. See SHUAL.

SHULAMMITE, THE (שׁוֹמֵרִית), i.e., the woman of Shulem,¹ the designation of the bride in Cant. 6:11 [7:1]. The true form, however, is probably שׁוֹמֵרִית—the Shunammite,² which should possibly be restored for שׁוֹמֵרִית in 6:12, and for שׁוֹמֵרִית in 7:7 (see CANDLES, § 16; JQR, Oct. 1899, p. 133). Perhaps Shulem was an alternative form for 'Shunim'; cp Beth=mod. Beitun, Jezreel=mod. Zer'in, and see Kampfmeyer, ZDPV¹ 13:32, also the statement of Fis. and Jer. (SHUNIM). Whether the poet is speaking directly of the historical Shunammite damsel who was David's 'companion,' or simply means to compliment any and every Jewish woman at whose wedding festivities Canticles may be used, is disputed. The latter view (Buddle's) seems the more probable (see CANDLES, § 6). The Shunammite was the type of a fair woman (1 K. 1:3; cp Cant. 18:50). Buddle does not, however, completely explain why this type was selected. Possibly though this is no part of Buddle's thesis a tradition known to the poet stated that Solomon

¹ Apart from the article, the name שׁוֹמֵרִית might be a proper name. Cp 'Salome' שׁוֹמֵרִית, an Aramaic proper name (Ges. 63; cp Cook, Aramaic Glossary, 113).

SHUMATHITE

SHUR

actually took the Shulanimite for his wife. In this case, we may venture to suppose that for 'Naamah the Ammonitess' (שִׁמְשִׁי, 1 K. 14:13) we should read 'Naamah the Shulanimite' (שִׁמְשִׁי, 'Abshag' (1 K. 1:10, 2:17, 2:18), like Abital, is no real name. See S. GOMON, § 2, near end, and article in JQR, referred to above.

Its readings are שִׁמְשִׁי [B], שִׁמְשִׁי [BA], and most correct. V. 2, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

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SHUMATHITE (שִׁמְשִׁי), 1 Ch. 2:53. See SHIBAL.

SHUNAMMITE (שִׁנְמִית), 1 K. 1:115, 2:17, 2 K. 4:25; שִׁנְמִית, 1 K. 2:21 f., 2 K. 4:25. A gentile fem. applied to Abshag and to the hostess of Elisha, both women of SHUNEM [p. 13].

Shunem invariably has שִׁנְמִית, שִׁנְמִית, שִׁנְמִית, שִׁנְמִית. Cp. SHULAMITE, and, for Eus. and Jer. see SHUNEM.

SHUNEM (שִׁנְמַיִם), in Josh. COGNAN [B], -M [A], CYNAN [L.]; in 1 S. COWAN [B], COWAN [A]; 2 K. CUYWAN [B], COWAN [B], COWAN [A], COWAN [A], COWAN [A]; on Eus. and Jer. see below. 1. A place in Issachar, grouped with Jezreel and Chesulloh (Josh. 19:13), and mentioned in the Egyptian lists among the places in Palestine which submitted to Thotmes III. and Shoshenk (KlP² 546; A. u. I. ur. 170). Shunem must be the mod. Sulem, which is a small village, with beautiful fruit- and flower-gardens, well situated on the SW. slope of the Nabl Dahi (Little Hermon), and looking over the whole plain as far as Carmel. Two natives of Shunem are specially mentioned—viz., Abshag, David's 'companion' (1 K. 1:13, 2:17, 2:18), and the 'great woman' who entertained Elisha (2 K. 4:1-6); many add, as a third, the 'Shulanimite' of Canticles. We also learn from 1 S. 28:4 that the 'Philistines,' in the time of Saul, pitched their tents at Shunem, over against the Israelites on Gilboa (1 S. 28:4). (On Elisha's miracle at Shunem and its NT parallel, see NAIN.)

2. If we may hold that the scene of Saul's last struggle with the Philistines, and also that of Elisha's prophetic ministry, have been mistaken by the editor or editors who brought the texts of 1 S. 28 and 2 K. 4 into their present form, there was a second Shunem in the Negeb. This is, of course, not a mere isolated theory, but a part of a general theory that much of the OT has been recast, on the basis of a partly corrupt text, and under the influence of wrong theories of the geography and (partly) the history of ancient Israel. On this matter, so far as it concerns Shunem, see SAYL, §§ 4 & 5; PROPHET, § 5 f. 'Shunem' is probably the place called 'Beth-shan' in 1 S. 31:10—that is to say, perhaps the Borashan of 1 S. 30:30 (see ASHAN), and 'Mt. Carmel' to which the 'great woman' rode, and where Elisha dwelt, was Mt. Jeralmeel. If so, it becomes very possible that Abshag 'the Shunamite' was a native of the Shunem in the Negeb; indeed, David's close connection with the Negeb makes this in itself highly probable.

It is remarkable that Eus. (OS 294:56, s.v. שִׁנְמִית) and Jer. (OS 12:17, s.v. שִׁנְמִית), who say that the Issacharite locality was in their time called Sulem, do not identify it with the Shunem of Elisha's hostess. This they refer to separately as שִׁנְמִית, S. 294:56 (OS 294:56), and identify with the שִׁנְמִית of their own day, 'a village within the border of Sebeste in the region of Acrabattene.'

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SHUNI (שִׁנְיִי); CAYNIC, COYNI [A], CAYNEIC [D], COYNEI [B], COYNI [E], CAYNEIC, CAYNI [L.], one of the sons of Gad (Gen. 46:16 Nu. 26:15), a corruption either of Sharonite (41A), § 13 or of Shunamite (and may have been originally settled in the land of SHUN [from Cushan], or of the Negeb, where there appears to have

been a Shunem).¹ The patronymic is Shunite, Nu. 26:15 (שִׁנְיִי, שִׁנְיִי) [BAF], שִׁנְיִי [L.], 1 K. 1:10.

SHUPHAM, RV Shephupham (שִׁפְחָם), whence the gentile Shuphamite (שִׁפְחָתִי), Num. 26:36. Cp. SHUPHAM, also SHAPHAM and SHUPHAM, originally names belonging to the Negeb, whence Benjamin also may be held to have come (Chet.).

SHUPPIM (שִׁפְפִּים), § 75. 1. A son of Benjamin; 2

1 Ch. 7:1214 (שִׁפְפִּים, שִׁפְפִּים) [B], שִׁפְפִּים [A], שִׁפְפִּים [A], שִׁפְפִּים [A]. The preferable form is probably SHUPHAM [p. 13].

2. According to 1 Ch. 26:16 MT, the word 'ward' fell 'to Shuphan and Hoshai' (see HOSHAI, when the courses of the doorkeepers were arranged in David's time (עַל דְּוֵעֵרֹן [B], as though שִׁפְפִּים, עַל דְּ. תוֹבֵשׁ תַּרְוִיחִים [L., as if it read שִׁפְפִּים, עַל שִׁפְפִּים [A]). The name is probably a mere error arising from the repetition of the last two syllables of the preceding verse שִׁפְפִּים, 'the stores').

SHUR (שִׁיּוּר); SHUR; but in 1 S. 15:7 אֲשִׁיּוּר [B], שִׁיּוּר [L.]; 1 S. 27:8 [GELAW] שִׁיּוּר טֵטֵיחַ מְנוּחָן [B],—SHUR . . . טֵטֵי [A], שִׁיּוּר [L.], Gen. 25:18 שִׁיּוּרָא [A], generally supposed to be a locality on the NE. border of Egypt (1 S. 15:7, 27:8 Gen. 16:7, 20:25:18); adjoining it was the 'wilderness of Shur' (Ex. 15:22). If, however, we examine these passages and their contents historically, we soon see that Egypt is not at all likely to be referred to; the scene of all the narratives in question is the Jeralmeelite Negeb (see NAIN). שִׁיּוּר should therefore be vocalised Misrim (= the N. Arabian Musri) not Mizraim (see MIZRAIM, § 2), and the Shūr or Ashūr (correction or gloss in Gen. 25:18 and 1 S. 15:7 C¹) is a region south of Palestine and adjoining Misrim or Musri.

The passages are—(1) Gen. 16:7; Hagar is found 'by the fountain in the way to Shur' (i.e., between Kadesh and Bered [on the phrase in 16:14 see Crit. Bib. p. 102] 201; Abraham dwelt 'between Kadesh and Shur' (see GILGAL), (3) 25:18; the Ishmaelites dwelt 'from Havilah [= Jeralmeel] as far as Shūr that is in front of Misrim, [to the entrance of Ashūr,' (4) Ex. 15:22; after leaving the yam saph. RED SEA), the Israelites 'went out into the desert of Shūr,' after which they came to Marah and Elim [together = Jeralmeel]; cp. REFUGIUM. (5) 1 S. 15:7; the Amalekite country 'from Havilah [rather Jeralmeel] to the entrance of Shūr that is in front of Misrim,' (6) 27:8; the Amalekites whom Saul defeated, and the other peoples named, inhabited 'the land which is from Jeralmeel (שִׁיּוּרָא) comes from שִׁיּוּרָא, and corresponds to שִׁיּוּרָא in the Gen. 25:18) to the entrance of Shūr.' To these may be added two phraseologically similar passages, though the name given is not Shūr, but in one case Ashūr, and in the other Shūr, viz., (7) Gen. 2:14; Haddelak (i.e., the wady Jeralmeel) which 'goes in front of Ashūr'; and (8) Josh. 13:3; the territory of the Geshurites, etc., 'from Shūr (= Ashūr) which is in front of Misrim as far as the border of Ekron (rather 'Jeralmeel') northward.' See PARADISE, § 5; SHUROR.

Thus, to the equivalent forms Ashūr, Ashūr, and Geshūr, we may now add a fourth 'Shūr.' The view based upon C¹ of 1 S. 27:8, held formerly by Wellhausen (HRS 97) and still assented to by H. P. Smith (Sam. 133), that Shūr originally meant the wall (or line of fortresses) which extended from Pelusium through Migdol to Hero, and protected Egypt against the Arabians (cp. Brugsch, Gesch. Aeg. 119, 195; Die Bibl. Sichen Jahre, 89), must apparently be abandoned. [No such line of fortifications is known. W. M. Müller

¹ All the names of the sons of Gad in Gen. 46:26 (from Ziphian or Zephon—Zaphon, to Arel=Jeralmeel) can, according to the present writer's theory, be explained as Negeb names.

² Or rather, son of Bela b. BENJAMIN (p. 13, § 91), 1 Ch. 8:8, RV Shephuphan. Cp. JQR 11:108 f., § 8.

(cp. *Asia*, 102, 134) thought of a comparison of Shur with the great Egyptian frontier-city and fortress, *Luxor* (pronounce about *Zor*) S. of Pelusium, part of which that city held in earlier time. Phonetic difficulties would of course still remain. Cp. Winkler, *Monist.* 2 (1897), 1898, 41 p. 6 f.

SHUSHAN (שׁוּשַׁן, *šwšān*), always (except in Esth. 3:16 where *שׁוּשַׁן*, cp. *šwšān* constant *šwšān*) with the addition of 'the palace,' or rather RV¹⁹⁰² 'the east city' (שׁוּשַׁן הַמִּזְרָחִית, see BDB, 1082), in the time of Daniel's Babilazzar, capital of the province of Elam (q.v.) and cp. Persepolis, § 121, in that of Nehemiah's Artaxerxes and of Esther's Ahasuerus, the residence of the kings of Persia (Dan 8:2 Neh. 1:1 th. 1:2 5:15, twice). The identification with Susa, which in the Ass.

1. Ancient Susa. Inscriptions is repeatedly referred to as *Sušan* (=the *Sušan* or *Sušan* of the Susian inscriptions), is obviously agreeable to the mention of, at any rate, the last redactor of Dan., Neh., and Esth.; whether the reading 'Shushan' was that of the original narratives, remains to be considered. Where the ancient Susa was situated, and what it was like in the glorious period which begins with its second foundation by Darius Hystaspis, we now know more fully than was once possible, owing to the explorations of Loftus and M. Dieulafoy, though ancient tradition had told of the magnificent walls and of the hoards of gold found in the treasury by the victorious Alexander. Cf. the first Susa with its palace (Rogers, *Hist. Bab. Ass.* 1:20) and its zikkurat (see BABYLONIA, § 16) of alabaster, which was destroyed by Ashurbanipal (*AB* 2:205), we have no mention, primary or secondary, in the OT, though the *SUSANITES* in Ezra 4:9, whom 'the great and noble Osnappar (?) brought over' (to Samaria) are generally thought, incorrectly perhaps but with no slight plausibility, to have come from the district of Shushan. The situation of Susa, indeed, was so suitable for a large city that a revival of its ancient prosperity might have been with some confidence predicted.

It is at a distance of 15 m. in a SW. direction from Dizful that the prodigious mounds of Shush, or Susa, stand up against the sky. They are situated on the left bank of the river Shaur (originally Shapuri, which rises at no great distance to the north and flows in a deep, narrow bed below the Tomb of Daniel, and between the larger rivers Ad-i-Diz (Eulkeus), 6½ m. distant on the E., and the Kerkhah (Choraspes), 1½ m. distant on the W. The Choraspes divided the populous quarter of the ancient city from the citadel and palace. The entire circumference of the mounds is from 6 to 7 m. They consist of three levels: the lowest conceals the remains of the ancient city; the second, which is a rectangular platform 2½ m. round and 72 ft. high, was the fortified *enceinte* that contained the palace; the uppermost, 120 ft. in height, 1100 yds. round the base, and 850 yds. round the summit, was the citadel, and is still known as *Kaleh-i-Shush*.¹ So strong was this citadel (the *μειρόνιον* of Strabo xv. 3:2; cp. Herod. 5:54) that it successfully withstood Molon in his war with Antiochus the Great (Polyb. 5:43). The original palace, however, was destined to a somewhat short existence; it was destroyed by fire in the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus. Artaxerxes Mnemon restored it. According to Xenophon (*Cyrop.* viii. 6:22) Susa was the winter residence of the Persian kings, the rest of the year being spent by them at Babylon and Ecbatana. Susa was still a flourishing city under the Sassanians. It was razed to the ground after a revolt, but rebuilt by Shapur II., under the title *Iranshahr Shapur*. The fortifications were dismantled at the Moslem conquest, but the

2. Situation. site was still inhabited in the Middle Ages, and of the sugar manufacture of Khuzistan. If M. Dieulafoy may be followed, the exact which he brought to so successful a close at Susa is of high importance for the study of the book of Esther. Among other matters, he refers to the *hithan* ('palace') mentioned twice, once as the place in the garden of which a feast was made by the king for all the people of Shushan the castle (Esth. 7:1) and again in connection with the banquet of Haman at which occurred the crisis in the fortunes of wicked Haman (7:7). The word (*hithan*) occurs nowhere else, and all that scholars can say is that a new formation from *hith* M. Dieulafoy, however, that when for two years one has interrogated the *hithan* of the Memnonium, it is impossible not to recognize the 'hithan' of the OT the Susian apadana.² 'None of all the palace buildings, the throne-room, the divised king could and ought to rise in the magnificent paradise (*hithan*); alone, it was sufficiently isolated in the apartments reserved for the sovereign to make it possible conveniently to introduce a considerable number of persons. Like the *hithan*, the apadana was surrounded by a garden, directly adjoining the house of the women; like the *hithan* it was preceded by an immense vestibule, capable of holding the guests of Ahasuerus; like the *hithan*, it was a hypocaust paved with coloured marbles. Lastly, like the *hithan*, it was a special part in the life of the kings of Persia and the cradle of the Achaemenian court.' The apadana, or throne-room, resembled a Greek temple; the king occupied the place of the divine statue. The throne-room of Susa covers more than a hectare (2½ acres); the porticoes, the staircases, the columns open out on a terrace eighteen times more considerable than and divided in two parts by a pylon. On this side a staircase led from the *plais d'armes* outside to the level of the vast parade; on the other, radiant with its crown of columns buried in the foliage of a hanging garden, was the *apadana* past which marched the ambassadors of all the states of the East.

That this is satisfactory we cannot bring ourselves to admit. We will not insist on the *שׁוּשַׁן* (*šwšān*) of Dan. 1:45 ('his palace'), for, in spite of the tendency of scholars to identify this word with the Old Pers. *apadana*, we feel the strong probability that this word is correct (see PALACE, § 1 [9]). But is it likely that the name in Esther should have known the Persian *apadana* so accurately when (see ESTHER, § 1) the book is in other respects so full of patent improbabilities? A little experience of the ways of the scribes shows a better way out of the difficulty of the *שׁוּשַׁן*. That it is a purely arbitrary formation to *שׁוּשַׁן* is a purely arbitrary theory. Much more probably *שׁוּשַׁן* is a corruption of *שׁוּשַׁן*. It was an orchard (*שׁוּשַׁן*) of pistachio nut-trees that was meant by the 'garden of nuts' (*שׁוּשַׁן*) in Cant. 6:11.

The improbabilities of the story of Esther would become less striking, if we could reconstruct the original story, which the editor (according to a theory for which there seem to be analogies elsewhere in the OT) has converted as well as he could into a story of the days under Persian rule, whereas originally the story had reference to the period when the Jews were in exile held in captivity under the N. Arabian Jerahmeelites. The present writer sees reason to think that the books of Daniel and even Nehemiah (besides Judah and Tobit) have passed through a similar process into the details of this we cannot enter here (see *OT Bibliography*).

We may, however, point out (1) that 'Shushan' is not (not a very probable phrase³), in all the places where it may very possibly have come from 'Cushin-had' (th. 1:1) that *שׁוּשַׁן* may be an editor's recast of *שׁוּשַׁן*, where *שׁוּשַׁן* may be a corruption of the corrupt word *שׁוּשַׁן* that *שׁוּשַׁן* in the same verse may represent two original forms of *שׁוּשַׁן* (i.e., the river of Jerahmeel, Ezekiel's 'Chobai' or rather 'Barachel' = Jerahmeel). The parallelism between Daniel on the banks of Ulai (3) and Ezekiel by the river

¹ M. Dieulafoy has constructed an imaginatively restored model of the palace of Artaxerxes Mnemon, which stands in the Louvre.
² Le livre d'Esther et le palais d'Assuérus, *RF*, *Archiv.* 1828, pp. 275-277.
³ Cf. John (*Das B. Esther*, 1901, p. 2) thinks that *שׁוּשַׁן* is *שׁוּשַׁן*.

¹ *Cureton, Persia*, 2:100. A little below the great mound is the alleged Tomb of Daniel.

site was still inhabited in the Middle Ages, and of the sugar manufacture of Khuzistan. If M. Dieulafoy may be followed, the exact which he brought to so successful a close at Susa is of high importance for the study of the book of Esther. Among other matters, he refers to the *hithan* ('palace') mentioned twice, once as the place in the garden of which a feast was made by the king for all the people of Shushan the castle (Esth. 7:1) and again in connection with the banquet of Haman at which occurred the crisis in the fortunes of wicked Haman (7:7). The word (*hithan*) occurs nowhere else, and all that scholars can say is that a new formation from *hith* M. Dieulafoy, however, that when for two years one has interrogated the *hithan* of the Memnonium, it is impossible not to recognize the 'hithan' of the OT the Susian apadana.² 'None of all the palace buildings, the throne-room, the divised king could and ought to rise in the magnificent paradise (*hithan*); alone, it was sufficiently isolated in the apartments reserved for the sovereign to make it possible conveniently to introduce a considerable number of persons. Like the *hithan*, the apadana was surrounded by a garden, directly adjoining the house of the women; like the *hithan* it was preceded by an immense vestibule, capable of holding the guests of Ahasuerus; like the *hithan*, it was a hypocaust paved with coloured marbles. Lastly, like the *hithan*, it was a special part in the life of the kings of Persia and the cradle of the Achaemenian court.' The apadana, or throne-room, resembled a Greek temple; the king occupied the place of the divine statue. The throne-room of Susa covers more than a hectare (2½ acres); the porticoes, the staircases, the columns open out on a terrace eighteen times more considerable than and divided in two parts by a pylon. On this side a staircase led from the *plais d'armes* outside to the level of the vast parade; on the other, radiant with its crown of columns buried in the foliage of a hanging garden, was the *apadana* past which marched the ambassadors of all the states of the East.

That this is satisfactory we cannot bring ourselves to admit. We will not insist on the *שׁוּשַׁן* (*šwšān*) of Dan. 1:45 ('his palace'), for, in spite of the tendency of scholars to identify this word with the Old Pers. *apadana*, we feel the strong probability that this word is correct (see PALACE, § 1 [9]). But is it likely that the name in Esther should have known the Persian *apadana* so accurately when (see ESTHER, § 1) the book is in other respects so full of patent improbabilities? A little experience of the ways of the scribes shows a better way out of the difficulty of the *שׁוּשַׁן*. That it is a purely arbitrary formation to *שׁוּשַׁן* is a purely arbitrary theory. Much more probably *שׁוּשַׁן* is a corruption of *שׁוּשַׁן*. It was an orchard (*שׁוּשַׁן*) of pistachio nut-trees that was meant by the 'garden of nuts' (*שׁוּשַׁן*) in Cant. 6:11.

The improbabilities of the story of Esther would become less striking, if we could reconstruct the original story, which the editor (according to a theory for which there seem to be analogies elsewhere in the OT) has converted as well as he could into a story of the days under Persian rule, whereas originally the story had reference to the period when the Jews were in exile held in captivity under the N. Arabian Jerahmeelites. The present writer sees reason to think that the books of Daniel and even Nehemiah (besides Judah and Tobit) have passed through a similar process into the details of this we cannot enter here (see *OT Bibliography*).

We may, however, point out (1) that 'Shushan' is not (not a very probable phrase³), in all the places where it may very possibly have come from 'Cushin-had' (th. 1:1) that *שׁוּשַׁן* may be an editor's recast of *שׁוּשַׁן*, where *שׁוּשַׁן* may be a corruption of the corrupt word *שׁוּשַׁן* that *שׁוּשַׁן* in the same verse may represent two original forms of *שׁוּשַׁן* (i.e., the river of Jerahmeel, Ezekiel's 'Chobai' or rather 'Barachel' = Jerahmeel). The parallelism between Daniel on the banks of Ulai (3) and Ezekiel by the river

¹ M. Dieulafoy has constructed an imaginatively restored model of the palace of Artaxerxes Mnemon, which stands in the Louvre.
² Le livre d'Esther et le palais d'Assuérus, *RF*, *Archiv.* 1828, pp. 275-277.
³ Cf. John (*Das B. Esther*, 1901, p. 2) thinks that *שׁוּשַׁן* is *שׁוּשַׁן*.

¹ *Cureton, Persia*, 2:100. A little below the great mound is the alleged Tomb of Daniel.

SHUSHANCHITES

SICYON

Chebar (?) has already been noted by commentators. Parallels to the corruption here assumed will be found in *U. Z. 168*.

The result of accepting the theory referred to would be that we get in each case two documents instead of one; not the original narrative, in so far as it can be traced, which had to do with N. Arabia, and next, the edited and recast narrative, which shows the acquaintance, slight indeed, but genuine of a much later Jew with Persian geography and history. If then, we are tempted to criticize severely the historical errors in these books (Dan., Ezra-Neh., Esth.), which have troubled so much time with so little result, let us remember that, according to this theory, the editor had to make the best that he could of partly corrupt material, and that he is not to be judged by the standard of an original narrator.

Cp. *Hellisch, Die. 176*, and *Calver, Bib. Lat. (2) 273 f.*; *Louis, Chaldaea and Susiana*, 137 ff. (1857); *Muse. Jev. 160 ff.*; *La Perle, La Chaldée et la Susiane; Relation de 1842-43*; *M. Foucaud, L'Asiologie de la Susse (1890)*; *Lehr, Diek, Susa (1894)*; *Noldeke, Geschichte der Perser und Persischer (1878)*, p. 57. See also U. Z.

SHUSHANCHITES (שׁוּשַׁנְאִי), Ezra 4:9. RV. AV. SUS-VCHITES.

SHUSHAN-EDUTH (שׁוּשַׁן עֲדוּת), Ps. 70 title. See SHOSHANNIM.

SHUTHELAH (שׁוּתֵלַח), an Ephraimite clan-name. Nu. 26:14 (G 10 f.). *κοιταλα* [B], *θωκογυλα* [A]; *κοιταλα*, *κοιταλα* [FL], ethnic *Shuthelahite* RV *Shuthelahite* (שׁוּתֵלַחִי), v. 35. *κοιταλα* [B], *θωλα* [FL], *θωγε* [A]. The name (see SHOSHANNIM) probably came from the Negeb. It should perhaps be inserted in Gen. 46:26 with *κοιταλα* [A] *θω* [L]; see, however, EPIRAMM, § 12, n. 1.

It occurs twice in the much-edited genealogy of EPHRAIM (Gen. 46:26, 1 Ch. 7:20-27; in 7:20, *σουλθα* [A 7:20], *θω* [B], *θω* [H 20]; in 7:21, *σουλθα* [A], and again in the corrupt form TELAH in 7:25 (*θη*, *θα* [A], *θω* [B], *θα* [L]).

SHUTTLE (שׁוּתֵלַח), Job 7:6. See WEAIVING.

SIA (סִיָּא [Neh.]) or SIAHA (סִיָּהָא [Ezra]), the family name of a company of (post-exilic) Nehemiah.

Ezra 2:11 (*סוּסָא* [B], *סוּסָא* [A], *סוּסָא* [L]) = Neh. 7:47 (*סוּסָא* [B], *סוּסָא* [A], *סוּסָא* [L]) = 1 Esd. 5:29 *סוּסָא*, RV *סוּסָא* [B], *סוּסָא* [A], *סוּסָא* [L].

The longer form of the name has probably arisen from a combination of two readings *סוּסָא* and *סוּסָא*; cp. NEPHUSIM, Neh. 7:52.

SIBBECHAI, RV *Sibbecai* (סִבְכַּי, *καβρηχμς* or *καβρηχμς* [Jos.], cp. *צב* 2 S. 21:17, 1 Ch. 20:4), a Hushathite or man of Hushath, a place apparently near Ephraim *i. e.*, Bethlehem = Beth-jerahmeel [Che.],¹ mentioned in popular tradition through his combat with a giant in the Philistine war (see SAMU); 2 S. 21:17 *סוּבֶכַּי* [B], *סוּבֶכַּי* [A], *סוּבֶכַּי* [L], 1 Ch. 20:4. Critics (Weill., Dr., Klost., Budde) agree in restoring his name in place of the corrupt *ΜΗΝΝΑΙ* (*κα τωπ τωπ* [B]; *σασα* [L]) in 2 S. 23:2; this is supported by several MSS of *Σ* (including *Σ* *σασα*), and by the parallel passage 1 Ch. 20:4; *σσοχαι* [B], *σσοχαι* [A], *σσοχαι* [L], also by 1 Ch. 11:20 *σσοχαι* [B], *σσοχαι* [A], *σσοχαι* [L]. But we decline to follow Chronicles — 1 Ch. 27:11 (*σσοχαι* [BA]; *σσοχαι* [L]) — when it makes Sibbechai commander of the eighth part of David's army.

SIBBOLETH (סִבְלֵת), Judg. 12:6. See SHIBBOLETH.

SIBMAM (שִׁבְמָם), AV *SIBMAM* in Nu. 32:38), a name, form *SIBMAM* (שִׁבְמָם), only Nu. 32:3; AV *SIBMAM*, SAM. *שִׁבְמָם*, *שִׁבְמָם*; in Nu. 32:3, *εεβεμα* [B], *εεμαβα* [F]), a place beyond the

Jordan with extensive vineyards; Reimath, according to Nu. 32:3 (cp. 19 and Josh. 13:19); Moubate, according to 1 S. 10:5 (*εεμαβα* [Q] in 1:9), Jer. 18:2 (*εερημα* [B], *εερημα* [N], *εερημα* [A], *εεμαβα* [Q]); a passage in a papyrus written at any rate long after the fall of Israel. Jerome (on Is. 16:5) states that it was hardly 500 paces from Heshbon. Conder identifies it with the important site Suma, with tombs and ruined vineyard towers, 2½ m. W. of Heshbon (*PEP*, 1882, p. 6). As Dechenbourg has suggested, Sibmah may be referred to in Mt. 23.

The passage runs, 'And I scolded them in the company of the city of Aretion, *εεμαβα*. In the Jerus. LXX *εεμαβα* is given for *εεμα* and *εεμα*. So also S. Holmann (*PEP*, 1882, p. 6). Cp. *PEP* SHIBMAH.

SIBRAIM (סִבְרַיִם; *εεβρω* [B] *εεφ* [A] *ρατω* [Q] *εεβρω* [Q], Pesh reads 'Sepharyaim'), a city on the ideal northern border of Canaan (Ezek. 47:16), described in MT as lying between the territory of Damascus and that of Hamath. According to Conill (see *Σ*) this definition belongs strictly to another city HELAM (7:7), the name of which should be inserted after Sibram. It is more important, however, to notice that the original text, which has been redacted by an uncomprehending editor (cp. TAMAR), probably referred (as also Nu. 34:7) to the Jerahmeelite Negeb. The four names in the MT of Ezek. 47:16 will in this case represent Maacath, Rehoboth, Zarephath, Cusam (see MAACATH, REHOBOTH, ZAREPHATH). Nor could we hesitate to explain Helam (עֲמֵלָם) as Jerahmeel. If on the other hand we suppose the MT to give the original text, the difficult question arises, where is Sibram to be placed? In accordance with his view of the ideal frontier as a whole, van Kasteren identifies Sibram with Khirbet es-Sambaryeh, 4½ m. SSE. of Kh. Seradā (see ZEDATI), near the bridge of the Nahr Hasbani, on the road to Baniās (*Rev. Bib.*, 1895, p. 31). The form Sambaryeh, however, would rather (as van Kasteren himself remarks) point to a Hebrew form Sabramm or Sibramm. Nor is Turner's identification, which arises out of an incorrect view of the situation of the frontier, less free from difficulty (see below). Sibram was at any rate a place of importance, if we may accept Halevy's view (*ZA* 24:1 f.) that both Sibram and Sepharvaim are identical with the Salamau which was destroyed in 727 by Shalmaneser IV, according to the Babylonian Chronicle discovered by Pinches (see SEPHARVAIM, and note the reading of Pesh. given above). The objections are (1) the representation of *ס* by *ש* (which, however, is not an insuperable difficulty), and (2) the possibility of reading Samarain. See SAMARIA, SHALMANESER.

The conjecture of Furrer that Sibram is the mod. *Sharmerya* (*DDP* 8:29) on the E. side of the lake of Emesa, rests mainly on the doubtful reading *εεμαβρω* in some copies (e. g., 68, 87) of the LXX. — W. R. S. L.

SICCUTH (סִכּוּת), Am. 5:26. See CHUC AND SICCUTH, SALMAM.

See also *Muss. Annot.*, *Egypt.*, 2, 6th ser. 1896, 414-45.

SICHEM (שִׁכְמָם), Gen. 12:6. AV. RV. SUCHEM (7:7).

SICKLE (שִׁכְלָה), See AGRICULTURE, § 7.

SICYON (σικυων¹ [SV], 1 Mac. 15:24). Sicyon appears in the list of cities and countries to which 'Lucius, consul of the Romans' (*i. e.*, probably Lucius Calpurnius Piso, consul in 130 B.C.) wrote in favour of the Jews. We may infer that Jewish settlers and traders formed a considerable element in the population of the places named. Reference is made in the authorities to the extent of the Jewish Dispersion about this date (cp. *Orig.*, *Sibyll.* 3:271, *πᾶσα δὲ γαῖα σὺν πλῆθους καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα* — *i. e.*, about 140 B.C.

¹ The change from the early form *Σικυών* or *Σικυωνίω* to the form *Σικυών* is dated by the coins to the time of Alexander the Great (Leake, *Num. Hell.*, 95).

See also the quotation to the same effect from Strabo in Jos. *Ant.* xv. 72 and *op. id.* *Byzn.* 33). Philo Judaeus testifies to the wide diffusion of the Jewish race over the far East and Asia Minor, and after enumerating Thessaly, Bœotia, Macedonia, Aetolia, and Attica as regions in which Jews were plentifully scattered he adds Argos and Corinth, and 'the most and the best parts of the Peloponnesus' (*Leg. ad Caium*, 39; Mang. 237; τὰ πλείστα καὶ ἀριστα Πελοποννήσου. Cp Philo, *In Flaccum*, 7; Mang. 252).

Sidon was one of the most ancient cities of Greece, advantageously placed about 2 m. from the sea on a terrace overlooking a fertile plain on the S. shore of the Corinthian Gulf, about 13 m. W. of Corinth. Though she could not rival Corinth, Sidon next to that city was renowned for skill and industry in all kinds of manufacture (Strabo, 382).

At an early date Sidon became a flourishing home of plastic art (see Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, 1107). The ancient wealth and importance of the town is attested by the large number of its coins still extant, dating from about the middle of the fifth century B.C. (usual type, a Chimæra and flying winged genii; see Head, *Hist. Numism.* 3157). The destruction of Corinth by the Romans in 146 B.C. would tend to revive the commercial importance of Sidon, more especially as Sidon received an accession of territory thereby (cp Paus. ii. 25). Nevertheless the town gradually sank into decay, even before the restoration of Corinth, and was burdened with debt (Cic. *Ep. ad Att.* B9 1, 204 ff. 1-3); in the second century A.D. it was in a miserably decayed condition (Paus. ii. 7).

W. J. W.

SIDDIM, VALE OF (שֶׁדִּים הַיָּם; Vg. *vallis silystris*; for S see below), the scene of the battle between the king of Sodom and Chedorlaomer (and their respective allies), Gen. 14:36. It is said, as the text stands, to have been 'full of conjunctural paraphrase, see AV) of slime-pits,' or rather of 'pits of bitumen' (שֶׁדִּים; see BETHMANS), which proved fatal to two of the kings (see SODOM).

In H) the 'vale of Siddim' has the gloss, 'that is, שֶׁדִּים הַיָּם (E.V. 'the salt sea'). The notion is supposed to be implied that the 'salt sea' at a late time extended itself over the vale of Sodom and Gomorrah stood. שֶׁדִּים gives the strange rendering *הַיָּם הַשֶּׁדִּים* (the vale of the Ashterab); *הַיָּם הַשֶּׁדִּים* (the vale of the Ashterab); and S may once have had the same reading. This, however, can hardly be correct, as it is unsatisfactory to keep the letters of ME, pointing שֶׁדִּים, 'the demons,' with Roman (*Hist.* 1116), Wellhausen (*JG* 66, 63), and Winkler (*GT* 23, 108).

If the view of Gen. 14 set forth elsewhere (SODOM) is correct, the notion that the vale of Sodom has any connection with Sodom and contained pits of bitumen must be abandoned. The 'vale of *hissidlem*' has most probably arisen by corruption from *Manath-cushim*—i.e., Maacah of Cushim. See SODOM, § 6 (c).

T. K. C.

SIDE (σιδῶν [ASV]), 1 Macc. 15:24. A rich and flourishing coast of Pamphylia, lying between the rivers Eurymedon (W.) and Melas (E.). It was founded by the Cymasians (Strabo, 607) and possessed a temple of Athena apparently of some celebrity.² Attaleia and Side were the two outlets for the products of Pamphylia. Side had close commercial relations with Aradus,³ in Phœnicia (cp *Lay* 354), where the contingents of Aradus and Side form the left wing of the fleet of Antiochus the Great, as those of Eryx and Sidon the right (*quæ gentes nulli antiquam nec arte nec virtute navali possunt; see also id.* 372 f.). According to a tradition current at Side itself the town was of Hellenic

¹ The 'Valley of Spirits,' thinks Winkler, is a fictitious name derived from Babylonian mythology (*GT* 23, 108).

² Hence, on the interesting series of coins of Side, Pallas frequently appears. The coin-type or symbol of the town, playing upon its name, is the fruit of the pomegranate, which the Greeks called *σίδη* (see Hill, *Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins*, 171).

³ The name of Aradus occurs immediately after that of Side in the enumeration in 1 Macc. 15:24.

origin, but the Asiatic elements gradually asserted themselves, until, by the time of Alexander the Great, Greek was no longer spoken there, but a peculiar idiom which differed also from that of the neighbouring aborigines (Arrian, *Anab.* 1:20). This curious statement is borne out by the fact that a series of the coins of Side has the legend Σιδητικῶν supplanted by inscriptions in characters resembling the Attic which have never been deciphered with certainty (see Waddington, *Revue Num.*, 1861, 13).

After the defeat of Antiochus by the Romans, Side retained practical autonomy, and became one of the chief places of mintage on this coast. Its importance is indicated by the fact that the Attic tetradrachms of Side were allowed to circulate in Asia unassimilated in value or tainted with the eistophori which under ordinary circumstances were the only legal tender (Müntz, *Hist. Mon. Num.* 100). This coinage lasted a long time and is of astonishing abundance, perhaps owing to the fact that Side was the great mart in which the Cilician pirates disposed of their booty (Strabo, 604). It is, therefore, not surprising to find Side enumerated in 1 Macc. 15:21 as containing a strong Jewish element. Antiochus VII. (113-128 B.C.) owed his by name Sabeles to the fact that he had been brought up at Side.

Side continued to be a town of importance under the Empire, to which fact its coins testify in various secular literary epithets—λαμπροτάτης, 'splendid,' ἄσπερον, 'honourable,' or πύργος φάλαξ στυμμάχου 'Palastris, Aspendus on the Eurymedon was her rival (Pol. 102), and later also Perga. Both Side and Perga claim the title πρώτης Παμφυλίας. In fact, the ecclesiastical has always separate Pamphylia into Pamphylia Prima under Side, and Pamphylia Secunda under Perga, although the civil organisation recognised but a single province (Rams. *Hist. Geog. of A.M.* 303).

The remains of Side (now *Eski Adalia*) on a low peninsula are now deserted. Its two ports are silted up; its theatre is one of the largest and best preserved in Asia Minor (for description and views, see Beaufort, *Karamania*, 197).

W. J. W.

SIDON, SIDONIANS. (סִידוֹן; צִיְדוֹנִים; צִיְדוֹנִים; ἱδων, ἱδωνοῖ, φωνικεῖ). For the early history see PHENICIA.

1. Etymology. PHENICIA. Ancient writers also explain 'fish-town' from *sid* 'to hunt,' and in Phœnician also 'to fish' (see PHEN 181). If we accept this, 'Sidonians' originally meant the fishing population *on the coast*; but perhaps we should rather derive the name from some tribal god *Sid* (שִׁד), after whom both town and people were named.¹ We do not indeed find any trace of a worship of Sid; but the gods Sid mekāt and Sid had are both met with (cp PHENICIA, § 12).

Sidonium, Sidonians, both (a) in Phœnician and Assyrian inscriptions and (b) often in O.E. records for Phœnicians generally.

2. Use of 'Sidonians.' (a) Huram II. calls himself *mlk sidonim* (מלך סידון), 'king of the Sidonians,' upon a votive inscription, and Phœnician coins of the time of Antiochus IV. bear the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΙΔΩΝΟΣ* (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΙΔΩΝΟΣ) of Eryx, the metropolis of the Sidonians. So too in Assyrian inscriptions Iubani, king of Sidon and sizeram of most of the Phœnician coast, called Lule, king of Sidon. Of course, we also find the narrower use of the term both on Phœnician coins and in Assyrian inscriptions.

(b) In Gen. 49:15 'Sidon' is, not the town, which lies too far N.—but the Phœnician extended, as in Judg. 187 the phrase 'the manner of the Sidonians' refers to the unwarlike Phœnician traders. *Hidoni* (see PHENICIA, but also SODOM, § 3 b) is called 'king of the Sidonians' in 1 K. 16:11, and Solomon (1 K. 56 [25]) admits the superiority of the 'Sidonians' to the

¹ Winkler also questions the explanation 'fish-town.' He supposes 'Sidon' to be a Semitic form of a pre-Phœnician name (*AT* 1427).

SIEGE

SIEGE

Jews in the hewing of timber. In both cases the Phoenicians are meant. 'Solonians' as the name of a people must once have been common as the ethnic names Moabite, Edomite, Ammonite, and the rest. Quite rightly, then, in Gen. 10:15, Canaan = Syria, as in Amarna Tablets is said to have two sons, Sylon (the Phoenicians) and Hech (the Hittites). Of these Sylon is the firstborn, because, as we now know, the Hittites did not penetrate into central Syria till the fourteenth century. 'Afterwards,' so the writer continues (v. 16), 'the tribes of the Canaanites spread themselves abroad'; v. 16 is admitted to be an interpolation (see e.g., Dillmann). The same use of 'Solonians' is common in Greek literature.

The Phoenicians are in Homer very often called Σιδώνιοι (Il. 6:21; OZ. 15:118, 16:9), and their land Σιδωνία (Il. 6:21; OZ. 15:118). True, Φοινίκη is also found (Il. 23:74; OZ. 13:27; Il. 15:415 OZ.). Both names occur together likewise in the celebrated verses concerning Menelaus' wanderings (OZ. 4:25). The name of the town Sylon is found in OZ. 15:425. From the fact that Sylon, not Tyre, is mentioned we must not draw political conclusions as some have done; though the influence of the ethnic name 'Sidonian' the name of Tyre was familiar to the Greeks at an earlier time than that of Sylon, although the latter was then much the more important.

Roman poets, too, frequently use 'Sidonians' (as a synonym for 'Phoenicians') in the sense of 'Phoenician' (cp Ovid, Fast. 3:168, etc.).

A king of Sidon has dealings with Zedekiah (Jer. 27), and Jewish prophets mention Sidon by the side of Tyre both in the Babylonian and in the Persian period (Jer. 17; Ezek. 27; Joel 3 [11]). Unfortunately the OT references to Sidon, as well as to Tyre, often occur in passages where corruption may with probability be suspected (so Cheyne; for instances see MIZRAIM, TRAS, ZARPHATHI).² Whether the destruction of Sidon by Artabanus Ochus (351 B.C.) is really referred to in Is. 23:1-4 (Duhm), 21:10 (Cheyne), is also at any rate doubtful. The comparative revival of Sidon in later times is attested by Lk. 1:7 Acts 27:4.

Ashdod of Sidon (a city of note, Eus. 1:8) attended the Council of Nicaea (325 A.D.). Again and again Sidon is mentioned in the annals of the Crusades. Several times destroyed, it was for three centuries quite insignificant till at the beginning of the seventeenth century it began to recover under the Pasha Fakhr-ed-Din. The present town of Sidon contains 12,000 inhabitants. The northern harbour still survives; but the large southern harbour was filled up by Fakhr-ed-Din, to make it inaccessible to the Turks.³

4. Later History, etc. The proper term for 'besiege' is the kal of 𐤍𐤃 (Dt. 20:12; 2 S. 11:1; 1 K. 17:2; 16:21; 2 K. 6:34; Jer. 17:5; 21:1; Is. 20:1; Jer. 21:4; 32:2, usually followed by 𐤍 or 𐤍𐤃. The corresponding substantive is 𐤍𐤃𐤍 (Is. 27:1; Nah. 3:14, and the phrase 𐤍𐤃 𐤍𐤃 or 𐤍𐤃 𐤍𐤃 is used to express the passive 'to be besieged'). 𐤍𐤃 𐤍𐤃 is used in the same sense when applied to a city (Dt. 20:10; 2 K. 24:10; Jer. 52:5). The Greek equivalents are πολιορκία (Gen.), πολιορκεῖν (Gen. 8), περιεβαλλεῖν ἐπι, περιεβαλλεῖν ἐπι, περιεβαλλεῖν ἐπι, περιεβαλλεῖν ἐπι, περιεβαλλεῖν ἐπι, περιεβαλλεῖν ἐπι, περιεβαλλεῖν ἐπι. The Assyrian word is lamu (see v. used of personal).

The earliest pictorial representations of sieges and assaults of fortified towns come to us from ancient Egypt. Thus the tomb of Beni-Hasan portrays a fortress of the Middle Empire and presents a vivid example of a siege. Like the Assyrians of a later time, the Egyptians advanced under cover of the arrows of the bowmen; and either instantly applied the scaling ladder to the ramparts or undertook the routine of a regular siege, in which case having advanced to the walls, they hid themselves under cover of testudo, and shook and

dislodged the stones of the parapet. This they accomplished by means of what might be called a hand battering-ram, consisting of a long lance or pole with a strong metal point. In case the fortress resisted all attacks by scaling ladders and assaults by the hand-ram the testudo or pent-house would be employed, which concealed as well as protected the sappers who undermined the walls. This testudo was a timber framework covered with hides large enough to contain several men (Wink. Anc. Egyp. 1:42 ff. and woodcut; Rosellini, Monumenti civili dell'Egitto, 115).

The Tell-el-Amarna despatches (1480-1400 B.C.) yield us but little information. The Egyptian governor Rib-Addi, in repeated letters to the King of Egypt, compares himself to a 'bird sitting in a snare' (? cage, basket), when besieged in Gebal by the hostile forces commanded by Abd Asita. We are reminded of Sennacherib's phrase in the Taylor cylinder in which he boasts that he had slung in Hezekiah 'like a bird in a cage' (col. 3:1). Rib-Addi addresses repeated pathetic appeals to the Egyptian sovereign to send him sabi (or aminti) masarta-u, 'garrison troops' (cp Heb. מַצָּרָה), and says (in another letter) that he remains helpless and inactive in his town and dare not pass outside the city gates (64, ll. 20 ff.); but we have no details respecting siege operations.

When we come to the latter part of the thirteenth century B.C. (18th dyn.), however, the reign of Ramesses II. affords us interesting glimpses into the methods of siege and assault. The scenes are depicted in Lepsius' Denkmäler, 3:109. We have a representation of the storming of Dapurin (2), a fortress of the Hetai. This fortress, as we see, deviates somewhat from the ordinary style of building. Below, a battlemented wall surrounds an immense lower building which supports four towers, the largest of which has windows and balconies. Above the towers is seen the standard of the town, a great shield pierced through with arrows. In order to protect themselves from the shower of stones and arrows that the besieged pour down from above, the Egyptian soldiers advance under cover of pent-houses. Then ensues the actual storming of the castle by means of scaling-ladders, etc. Some of the besieged let themselves down over the wall, more than one being killed in this attempt to 'escape' (Kernan, Life in Anc. Egypt, 511). See fig. 4 in Egypt.

In the earliest periods of Israel's history we do not read of regular siege operations. No attempts were made to capture cities save by assault, since the ordinary Hebrews did not possess engines of war or other appliances requisite for the regular reduction of a fortress. In capturing a city-town by direct assault, as in the case of Jerusalem which was stormed by David's warriors (2 S. 5:6-8, a very obscure passage), there must have been enormous loss of life. Some skillful stratagem was sometimes resorted to by the besiegers, as a pretended reticement followed by an ambushade (Josh. 8:1 ff.) or a night attack (Judg. 7:19 ff.). It is doubtful how far the Assyrians resorted to the slow methods of siege in reducing the fortress-cities to subjection in the earliest period, viz., in the reign of Tiglath-pileser I. Even in the records of Asur-nasir-abal and Salmanser II. we have no account of such operations, though the monuments portray them occasionally. Thus in describing the capture of Madara in the annals of Asur-nasir-abal (col. 2, ll. 68 ff., K 1185) we are only told: 'The city was very strong (donin dunnin). Four walls (darrin) encircled it. I stormed the town; they feared my fearful weapons.' In an earlier passage (col. 2:84) no details are furnished of siege-operations (in the capture of Amahu), and many other similar instances might be given. It is certainly probable that in a large number of cases regular siege operations were not carried on. These involved a considerable expenditure of time as well as of means and material. Engines of war, like chariots, were difficult objects of transport in a mountainous country. We have already had occasion to notice the passages in the annalistic inscriptions

¹ See Winkler, *KEV.* 5:1-12, 60:22, 60:3, 62:12 ff., 61:2, 61:8, 61:10, 61:11. *Nimra* 1891:131 una loca (hahari kibbi). With this expression cp Jer. 5:27.
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which record that chariots were left behind for this reason (CHARIOT, § 4).

When we come to the records of Sargon II, (721-705) we have in his great triumphal palace-wall inscription a vivid account of his campaign against Merodach-baladan. This document (*KB* 268 f.), as well as the annals (where the defence of Dür-Athara is recounted, *II*, 248 f.), describes the precautions taken by the besieged. Merodach-baladan flees from Babylon, his capital, takes refuge in the fortress of Dür-Yakin, strengthens its walls, summons the neighbouring tribes to his assistance, and posts them before the great wall. He then dug out a trench of immense size, 200 cubits broad and 18 cubits deep, and filled it by cutting a

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description of the operations against Urdamani, says that he blockaded him and deprived him of food and water (*KB* 268), and in another passage (cyl. col. 31 f.) refers to the warriors posted on the walls of the cities. These are, however, very slight details and bear reference to defence rather than attack.

What these verbal descriptions omit is supplied to us in fair abundance by the monumental representations. The accompanying figure of the siege of a city by Ašur-bani-pal (fig. 1) furnishes the details which we require and enables us to realise the enormous slaughter which the storming of a fortress entailed. Another figure (fig. 2) portrays the siege of a town by Tiglath-pileser III. Archers are depicted shooting at the walls from behind



FIG. 1.—Siege-Operations by Assyrians.

channel to the Euphrates (Triumph. Insc. *II*, 127 f.). Having thus flooded a large area around the city with water, he broke the bridges. What follows is certainly somewhat obscure. Merodach-baladan is described as pitching his royal tent in the midst of this defensive like 'like a *tušmi* bird.' In flamboyant style Sargon says that he (Sargon) transported his warriors over the flood 'like eagles.' We may suppose that some rafts were constructed (see Winckler's remarks in the Introduction to his *Keilschrifttexte*, 31). The battle must have been fierce and murderous and the waters were stained with the blood of Merodach-baladan's warriors (*I*, 130). We read of no prolonged attempt to reduce Dür-Yakin

wicker screens, while the battering-ram is wielded below, and we behold the ghastly spectacle of captives impaled of *terrorem* before the walls. To this horrible practice the inscriptions bear witness. Thus Ašur-bani-pal (Rassam-cyl. col. 23 f.) in the account of his Egyptian campaign describes how his generals attacked the hostile cities of the Delta, hung the corpses of the rebels on stakes and, after having flayed them, placed their skins on the city walls.

The monumental reliefs show that the usual course in storming a fortress was for the heavy-armed to advance first and with shield in hand to mount the tall ladders which were placed against the city-walls and reached almost to the summit of the latter. The archers meanwhile from behind the protective screens made of wicker- or wood-work discharged arrows against the defenders on the walls and especially against the towers where the enemy were concentrated. Doubtless fire was employed, and missiles covered with tow and resin or pitch would be hurled against anything combustible. Thus in the early Israelite episode (narrated in *Judg.* 9:46-49) we read that Abimelech and his followers cut down branches and set fire to the hold of the temple of El-Bēriṯh into which the occupants of the tower of Shechem had betaken themselves.¹

The historical books of the OT and occasional passages in the prophets enable us to supply a few details of the ancient siege-operations carried on in the wars of pre-exilic Israel. Thus 2 S. 11 furnishes some account of the siege of Rabbath Ammon, and it can be readily inferred that it lasted a considerable time. On the other hand there is no reference to any entrenchments, engines of war, or other siege operations or appliances. The Hittite URUIT (*g. 71*) was simply slain by a sally executed by the Ammonites against Joab's beleaguering force. Yet it can hardly be asserted that Israel by that time was not conversant with any other methods of warfare than night-attacks, surprises, feigned retreats or ambuscades. For in 2 S. 20:15, where the siege of Abēbeth-maacah is described, a mound or embankment (*šōlāh*) is thrown up against the city. This embankment stood in the intervening space between the principal wall and a smaller outer-wall (*hēl*). And we are

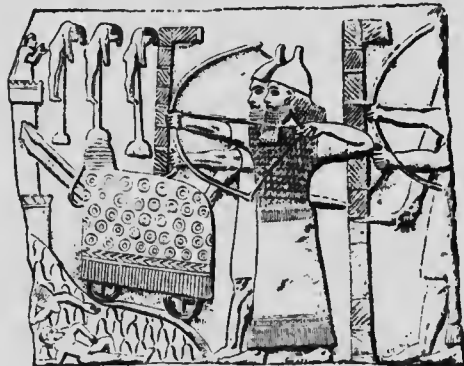


FIG. 2.—Sharpshooters behind Shelters.

by regular approaches. Similarly, in the case of the fortress Dür-Athara, into which on another occasion Merodach retreated, defending it by means of a deep fosse, filled from the river Surappi (*II*, 248 f.), the siege operations were of brief duration, for we are told that the town was reduced before sunset (*I*, 252).

In the Taylor-cylinder of Sennacherib (col. 321 f. *KB* 295) we read that the Assyrian general erected against Jerusalem ramparts (*bašūni*, probably 'towers') which effectually shut in the defenders of the city (p. Rassam cyl., col. 252. Ašur-bani-pal, in his

¹ [On the obscure word שָׁלַח see HODD; and on the narrative, SHECHEM, ZIMMER.]

apparently to understand that under the protection of this embankment, occupied probably by archers or engines at war, some of the Israelite troops were occupied in undermining (so Ewald) or battering down the walls.¹ The passage shows that the Hebrews under Joab's energetic military guidance were beginning to make some progress in siege operations, not improbably under Phoenician influence. See FORTRESS, § 2, and cp. 2 S. 511.

When we turn to another important passage, in 1 K. 20 descriptive of the siege of Samaria by Benhadad (=Hadadezer, the Dad'idri of Shalmaneser's inser. read by Winckler Bir'idri)² we find several elements that are obscure [see *Crit. Bib.*]. The account, moreover, is from two distinct sources (see Kittel). In 7. 12 a word seems to have dropped out between בָּרָבָרָא and the following בָּרָבָרָא . בָּרָבָרָא read $\text{οἰκοδομήσατε χάρακα}$ 'build a rampart' or perhaps 'palisaded camp.' The former seems here to be the meaning of χάραξ , which is also employed in a collective sense by Polybius (in the sense of 'entrenched camp'). The omitted word, corresponding to this Greek word for 'rampart,' was in the original Hebrew text used by the בָּרָבָרָא (cp. Dt. 20. 19 Heb. and בָּרָבָרָא) 'siege-works' or 'lines of circumvallation.' There is an alternative view, that the word to be supplied here is בָּרָבָרָא 'battering-rams'; but this has no basis of support in the בָּרָבָרָא , and is only plausibly sustained by the use of the phrase בָּרָבָרָא in Ezek. 12 in connection with the word בָּרָבָרָא . Over these lines of entrenchment, within which Benhadad and his Syrian troops thought themselves secure, Ahab made a desperate sally with 7000 men and utterly routed the enemy.

The importance of the military embankment (בָּרָבָרָא) for siege operations may be clearly discerned in the monu-

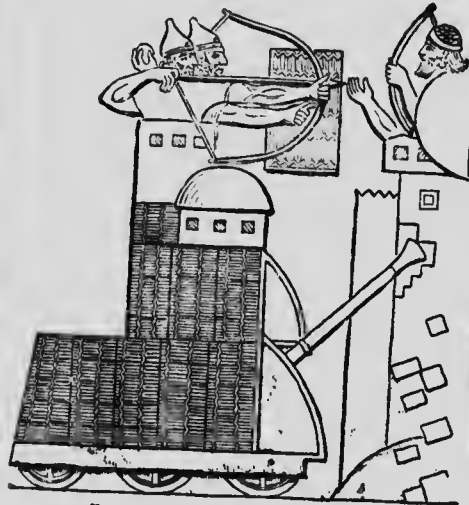


Fig. 3.—Wheeled Turret with Ram.

mental reliefs. The בָּרָבָרָא was constructed of earth and stones and might even reach almost to the level of the confronting fortress-wall. Sometimes a path paved with bricks or tiles was formed on this rampart and upon this lofty six-wheeled movable turrets, carrying bowmen on the summit, and provided with a powerful

¹ Heb. בָּרָבָרָא בָּרָבָרָא . Ewald regards בָּרָבָרָא as denom. verb from בָּרָבָרָא 'hole,' and is followed by Böttcher and Thénis. בָּרָבָרָא , however, render, δυσκόταρον (L. δυσκόταρον), which leads Wellhausen and Klostermann to restore בָּרָבָרָא (cp. Prov. 24. 8 Jer. 1. 17) 'were meditating to overthrow, etc.'—a weak meaning.
² [To reference in BENHADAD, § 1, add now A. J. 7. 3. 1. 250.]

battering-ram, were driven down the paved slope against the hostile wall or tower. Some of these movable rams (fig. 3), mounted on wheeled conveyances, were of much smaller size. These possessed a powerful head or spur, shaped like a ram's head, and the body of the conveyance was framed of thick planks which afforded protection to the warriors inside against the arrows and stones discharged by the defenders of the besieged city. The more simple and primitive contrivances, consisting of long beams or poles with metal heads (such as the ancient Egyptians used, see above), which were driven by hand only against the lower portions of the walls, were employed even as late as in the days of Shalmaneser II. (middle of 9th cent. B.C.), and even in the days of Nebuchadrezzar, if we can trust the details of Ezekiel's portrayal of his operations against Tyre, 269 (see below). The larger movable towers with powerful rams may be found depicted on the monuments of Ashurnasir-bal, Billerbeck thinks that they must have been employed at a much earlier period to reduce the enormous walls of strongholds that were erected in Babylonia as far back as 3000 B.C.¹

As we approach the close of the regal period in Hebrew history the methods adopted by the Assyrians became familiar to Israel. Thus the word for battering-ram, בָּרָבָרָא , is several times employed by Ezekiel (42. 21. 27 [22]).

We cannot, however, lay stress on the details of 2 Ch. 26. 15 in which it is recorded that King Uzziah placed catapults or ballistae (בָּרָבָרָא , see ENGINE) for discharging stones and darts on the towers of Jerusalem. Probably the passage reflects the tradition as to defensive apparatus in a besieged town of the early Greek period (300 B.C.). Certainly catapults were employed by the Assyrians for discharging stones and darts at the defenders in the days of Uzziah, and it is possible that Israel was familiar before 750 B.C. with these military engines; but we have no mention of them in pre-exilic literature. In Jer. 66 reference is made to one of the characteristic accompaniments of a siege, viz., the destruction of trees. Fruit-trees are here not specifically mentioned, but all the trees whose wood served for palisades or hurdles, as shelters for the archers or as timber for the pent-houses. That the Hebrews, like the Assyrians, employed the services of slingers (see SLING) in sieges is clearly shown by 2 K. 3. 25.

In Ezek. 42 we have an enumeration of the various forms of siege-work to be depicted on the tile in which the central figure represents Jerusalem itself. Around it are placed the rampart (בָּרָבָרָא) and the embankment (בָּרָבָרָא). Encampments are to be made and battering rams erected on every side. It is quite evident that these clear and definite features have been derived from the prophet's acquaintance with the military operations of Nebuchadrezzar's armies. A fresh and vivid detail should be noted in Ezek. 268 in the prophecy against TYRE (q. v.). Nebuchadrezzar will besiege Tyre. The embankments will be cast up and the *testudo* reared against her. Krietzschmar, however, doubts the rendering of *sinnih* by *testudo*, and prefers to regard it as meaning the high shield carried by the Babylonian soldiery, under whose protection they undermined the walls. In favour of this view he cites Delitzsch, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 3. 175. In 7. 9 the doubtful words בָּרָבָרָא probably refer to the battering-ram, and we should render with Cornill, 'And his battering-ram he places against thy walls and thy towers he demolishes with his lances.'

The Books of Maccabees throw some light on the

¹ See 'Fortress-construction in the Ancient East,' by Colonel Billerbeck in *Der alte Orient*,¹¹ no. 4 (Leipzig, 1900). The present writer much regrets that this careful study came into his hands too late for him to utilise in the article FORTRESS. Billerbeck gives a ground-plan (17) of the ancient fortress of King Gudea (about 3000 B.C.) inscribed on a stone slab preserved in the Louvre.

siege operations of the second century B.C. In the

4. Details in Maccabees and Josephus.

siege of Mt. Zion described in 7 Macc. 651 f. we read of stations to shoot from (*ἑλκυστήρας*, probably embankments, *πύργους*) and engines of war for the discharge of fire-brands (*πυροβόλα*) and stones (*λιθοβόλα*), as well as *σκαρπίδια* which seem to have been a smaller kind of *σκαρπίος* or great cross-bow called also *γαστραπέτης* ('stomach-bow').¹ Lastly we have slings (see SIEGE). Engines were also constructed by the besieged to repel these attacks. In the days of Simon the Maccabee strongholds were erected in Judaea 'fortified with high towers, great walls, gates, and bars' and well provisioned. In 1 Macc. 13:33 we read that Simon besieged Gaza and invested it with intrenched camps and brought a particular engine called *ἑλέπλις* (or 'city taker') to bear against the city, and battered one of the towers and captured it. 'The occupants of the *ἑλέπλις* then leaped into the city and there was a great commotion in the city and the inhabitants rent their clothes and went on the walls with their wives and children and cried with a loud voice beseeching Simon.'

This *ἑλέπλις* was invented by Demetrius Poliorcetes in the siege of Salamis in Cyprus in 306 B.C. It was a tower 120 feet high and measured 60 feet laterally. It was carried on four wheels, each 12 feet in diameter, was divided into nine stories, and was manned by 200 soldiers, who moved it by pushing the parallel beams at the base (Warre-Cornish). An even larger machine was employed at the siege of Rhodes in the following year, pyramidal in shape and with iron plates on the three sides.

The use of *slings* in sieges to which 2 K. 32:17 (see 6:51) bear witness was also characteristic of the Assyrians in period of domination. When Sabinus the Roman governor was besieged by the Jews, the attackers used slingers as well as archers (Jos. Ant. vii. 102) and they were also employed by Pompey with considerable effect when he besieged Aristobulus in Jerusalem (Jos. BJ i. 74). This siege was memorable for the enormous labour involved in filling up not only the ditch in front of the N. side of the temple, but the deep valley as well.

Josephus in his *De Bello Judaico* furnishes abundant material for detailed description—though not infrequently exaggerated²—of a Roman siege. Especially interesting are the vivid particulars, derived from personal experience, of Vespasian's operations against the naturally strong fortress of Jotapata (BJ iii. 74 f.). Hurdles were formed of the wood cut down from the mountains for the protection of the soldiers in the construction of the embankment. Meanwhile the Jews hurled darts and stones at the troops so engaged. Vespasian, on the other hand, set up 160 engines which discharged javelins, stones a talent in weight, arrows, and fiery missiles, and thus made the walls untenable by the defenders, when they came within range. Sallies, however, were made from the walls, the hurdles dragged away, and the workers at the embankment killed. The attempt made by Josephus to raise the height of the city walls was carried out, in spite of the volleys of missiles, by the ingenious expedient of covering fixed piles with raw hides from newly killed animals, which owing to their moisture were proof against fire. Another device, to neutralise the shock of the battering ram,³

¹ See Warre-Cornish, *Concise Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiqu.*, 'Tortementum,' 650 f.

² E.g., BJ iii. 723.

³ This battering-ram (BJ iii. 71), §§ 214 f. was far more formidable than the rams employed by the Assyrians described above, and propelled by different means. It was a vast beam of wood like a vessel's mast, with a thick piece of iron at the head and swung in the air by ropes passing over its centre and suspended like a balance in a pair of scales from a second beam supported by other beams passing on both sides of the second like a cross. This battering-ram was then pulled by a great number of men with united force. In order to protect them it was cased with hurdles all over the upper part, secured with skins.

consisted in letting down sacks of chaff to meet the impact (§ 20). As an effective mode of defence soiling oil was poured upon the Roman soldiers and penetrated within their armour.

We have no space to describe further the varied expedients in offence and defence in this memorable siege, nor to recount other phases of warfare that pressed themselves either in the investment of Gamala or in the operations carried on by Titus around Jerusalem. These, like the account of the siege of Mesia in Caesar, *de Bell. Gall.* 7:03-89, belong to classical rather than biblical archaeology.

The *ethics* of ancient warfare are almost everywhere conspicuous by their absence. The religious sanctity of

5. No ethics of sieges.

harem (see BAN) was given to whole cities, slaughter which the Hebrews like the Assyrians ruthlessly inflicted on the captured inhabitants (Joshua, *passim*, 1 S. 15:33 2 S. 8:2; ep. 2:18, 8:2 15:16 Hos. 14:1 [13:16] Am. 1:13. Also see Stone of Mesha, *l.* 17). Even the deuteronomic legislation made it incumbent (Dt. 20:13) that every male inhabitant of a town that resisted should be put to the sword, 'the women, children, and cattle should be carried away as captives. Assyrian monuments depict the terrible closing scenes of the tragedy of a captured town. Mothers and maidens on the walls are portrayed with dishevelled hair and outstretched hands praying for mercy. But mercy was scant. Ashur-nasir-abal, after storming a mountain stronghold, boasts that he cut off the heads of 260 warriors and built them up into a pyramid (L. 194). In the capture of Hulai 3000 prisoners were burnt (L. 108). The strong fortress of Teli with three encircling walls received a fearful punishment. Many prisoners were burnt. Others were deprived of hair, arm, nose, ears, or eyes. The Assyrian boasts that he erected a column of writhing agony (L. 118). Boys and girls were burnt in the flames (col. 21). That all the survivors became slaves was the natural outcome of universal custom. Walls were razed to their foundations, the city totally demolished, while cattle and valuables were carried off as spoil. The fruit-trees around the city were utterly destroyed by the invader. Thus Tiglath-pileser III. in describing his operations against Chuzer (Rawl. Nimrud-insc. II., 67, 24-25), (isu) kirt (isu) musukkanu sa dli durisu akimastu and ezib; 'The plantations of palm which ablated on the rampart I cut down, not a single one did I leave. Though Elisha recommended a like course in the war against Moab (2 K. 3:16), the growing humanity of a spirit gradually broke into the old ruthless tradition of *harem*. The fruit-trees around the city were to be spared (Dt. 20:19 f.). Yet the old spirit of warfare still remained in full force (2:13-17), especially in reference to Canaanite towns. But this was after all a trait of the dead past. Greater mercy was to be shown in wars with more distant peoples (2:11-13). And this growing spirit of humanity is reflected in the conduct of Simon the Maccabee towards the inhabitants of Gaza (Gaza), an episode already narrated (§ 4). In response to their entreaties he becomes reconciled.

The duration of a siege varied with the resisting power of the walls and its defenders as well as the ability

6. Duration of a siege.

ness of the investment. Other factors co-operated, such as the provisions stored in the city and the water-supply. Disease also might accelerate the end. The siege of Samaria lasted more than two years. The siege of the island of Tyre by Shalmaneser IV. and Sargon II. lasted probably five years, and by Nebuchadnezzar twelve years (unsuccessfully). Of the great straits (1:2) of a prolonged siege reduced the inhabitants we have a vivid portraiture in 2 K. 6:25 Ezek. 4:10 11 5:10 11 Jer. 19:4 Lam. 2:20 Dt. 28:53. Cp the language of Lk. 21:23 f.

SIEVE (סִיבָּה, Am. 9:9†; סִיבָּה, Is. 30:28†) and SIFT (סִיבָּה), Lk. 22:31. See AGRICULTURE, § 10.

SIGN, SIGNS

SIGN, SIGNS. 1. דג, nis, and 2. חותם, 'oth. See ENIGMS, § 14c. For 'signs' in phrase אמת יצאתם סימנים וכו' ראינו, see WONDERS; also GOSPELS, § 137f. 3. חותם, 'oth, Ezek. 39:15 Jer. 31:21 2 K. 23:17. See col. 207 (c). 4. חותם, 'oth, Jer. 31, RV 'signal.' 5. παρασημος, Acts 28:11. See CASTOR AND POLLEX. 6. σηματα. See above, 2. For 'the twelve signs' (סימנים), 2 K. 23:5 EVng., and סימנים, Job 38:32 AVng., RVng.; SIGNS of the Zodiac, see MAZZALOTH, MAZZAROTH, STARS, § 3d.

SIGNET (חותם) hotham; טבעת, tabbat'ath; עוקה, 'okha; δακρυδιος See RING.

SIHON (סיהון; סיהון; חשון [BAF]. חשון [L.]), a king of the Amorites, in the time of the early Israelites. There are serious problems arising out of the accounts of Sihon. Our object must be, first, to give a sketch of the traditions in their present form, and to state the position of previous critics as to their historical value, and next, to point out the great simplification of the whole question produced by the application of a keener criticism to the text of the narratives.

Sihon is represented in the traditional text as a king of the Amorites beyond the Jordan, whose dominion was bounded by the Jabkok on the N., by the Arnon on the S., and by the Jordan on the W., and extended eastwards to the desert (Judg. 11:27). According to Josh. 12:13-27, however, it also included the ARABAH [q.v.] between the Jabkok and the sea of Galilee (called Chinnereth or Chinneroth), and in Josh. 13:21 the five kings of the Midianites killed by the Israelites (Nu. 31:8) are called 'princes of Sihon' (σικων B), σσηκ [A]. When Israel asked leave of this Amorite king to pass through his land, in order to reach the Jordan and invade Canaan, he refused it, and took the field against them, but was defeated and slain at Jahaz (Nu. 21:21-24, Dt. 2:26-36; Judg. 11:19-22). The Israelites took Heshbon, Sihon's capital, and with it all the territory between the Jabkok and the Arnon. Og [q.v.] and his kingdom they also conquered, and so, as it would appear unintentionally, they became the masters of the whole of the trans-Jordanic region called, in the wider sense, Gilead (see GILEAD, § 3). The northern part—the former kingdom of Og—was given to half Manasseh, the southern to Gad and Reuben. From Nu. 21:27-30 Josh. 13:25 Dt. 2:26 it is inferred that Sihon had crossed the Jordan, and driving Moab southwards over Arnon and Ammon eastwards to the sources of the Jabkok, had founded a kingdom for himself.¹ The extraordinary negotiations described in Judg. 11:14-27 are based upon the asserted fact that the territory between the Jabkok and the Arnon originally and properly belonged to Ammon. The Ammonites sought in vain to conquer their ancient territory from the Israelites, and in 1 K. 4:19 we find one of Solomon's prefects ruling over 'the land of Gilead, the country of Sihon king of the Amorites and Og the king of Bashan.'

The circumstance that neither J nor P mentions the fight with Sihon has suggested to Meyer (ZATW 5:36 ff) and Stade (GIT 11:2) that the fight with Sihon can have formed no part of the original tradition, and arose out of a misunderstanding of the old song in Nu. 21:27-30. Their objections are noticed and replied to by Kittel (Hist. 2:228-231) and by G. A. Smith (HG 9:1), but not altogether conclusively.

The redactors and editors of the already corrupt Hebrew texts have ventured to alter the historical and geographical details in accordance with their own inaccurate ideas; but they use their liberty so conscientiously that it is almost always possible in a greater or less degree to discern the true text underlying the false. Og the king of the Amorites was really Agag king of the Arammites or Jerahmeelites (= Analekites), and the region occupied by his branch of the Jerahmeelite race was called Cushan—i.e., the N. Arabian Cush, which adjoined

1 G. A. Smith, HG 557f.

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Missur or Musri. This 'Cushan' (חשון) was miswritten Sihon. Whether the capital of the land was called 'Heshbon' (חשבוני) or 'Heshmon' (חשמוני) may be doubtful. There are traces of a clan called חשון or the like (cp Hashabiah, Hashulali) as well as of one called חשמוני (cp Heshmon, Husham). That the five kings of the Midianites should be called 'princes of Sihon' (Josh. 13:21) need not surprise us. Their names are based on the three ethnic names Jerahmeel, Zarephath, and 'Arab; it is not more wonderful that such personages should be connected with Cushan than that Balak, a son of Zapper (i.e., a Zarephathite), should be introduced to us as king of Missur ('Moab') in Nu. 22:4, etc., as often, is miswritten for 'Missur'), and that these kings should be called 'Midianites' harmonises with the fact that Balak king of Missur ('Moab') is closely connected with the elders of Midian.¹ The reconstruction, whether partial or complete, of all the other Sihon passages would occupy too much space here (see Crit. Bib.). Suffice it to say that the view of E. Meyer, Stade, Bacon, and the Oxf. Hex., that Nu. 21:6 is an editorial insertion arising out of a misunderstanding of the song which follows seems fully justified. The song itself, in a revised form which probably approaches the true text somewhat more nearly than earlier revisions, appears to run thus:—

- 27b Let the castle of Heshbon be built, Let the city of Cushan be established!
28 For a fire burned Heshbon, A flame the city of Cushan, It devoured the cities of Missur, It consumed the citadels thereof.
29 Wo to thee! O people of Missur, Then art unloved, O people of Cushan! He has given up his sons as fugitives, (Yeah, Jerahmeel his daughters into captivity.
30 Cushan as far as Rimmon has perished, Missur as far as Naphtali is desolate.²

The criticism of Judg. 11:27 given elsewhere (JEPHTHAH, §§ 2, 5) may be here reaffirmed, so far as it asserts that the narrative has been editorially recast, and in particular that the account of Jephthah's message to the king of Ammon (?) must originally have referred to the compact between Laban and Jacob or Israel (Gen. 31:44-54). But the theory that חשון has often arisen out of חשמוני or חשבוני, taken in connection with the view of the earlier tradition respecting Moses suggested elsewhere (see Moses, § 18), suggests a better key to the problem. The Og-story itself (see Og) did not originally have Hauran for its scene; this naturally suggests a more radical treatment of the Sihon-narrative. On the statement in 1 K. 4:19 (MT and B), which Kuenen wrongly supposed to confirm the tradition of an Amorite king Sihon, see Crit. Bib. Solomon's twelve prefects (as the original text must have stated) were most probably placed over the Israelite territory in the Jerahmeelite Negeb; see SOLOMON, § 6, n. 1. See Kuenen, Th. Th. 1851 ff. [1885], E. Meyer, ZATW 53-52 [1885].

SIHOR (סיהור), Josh. 13: AV, RV SHIHOR (q.v.). Cp also EGYPT, RIVER OF, and NILE.

SILAS, SILVANUS. Silvanus (in this form of the name) is mentioned only four times in NT. In 1 NT data. 1 Thess. 1:2 Thess. 1:1 he appears as joint author, along with Paul and Timothy, of the respective epistles; according to 2 Cor. 1:19 he preached the Gospel in Corinth along with the same two; according to 1 Peter (5:12) that Epistle was written 'through' (διὰ) Silvanus.

Silas (in this form of the name) is met with only in 1 Either the large ethnic term 'Midian' covers the smaller one of 'Jerahmeel' (or 'Zarephath'), or more probably סיהון is written in error for סיסר (Missur); cp Joel 3[4]4, סיסר וסימן, where סיסר may come from סיסר, a correction of סר, and the poem in 1:23, where both סר and סיסר are the scribe's errors for סיסר, the oracle being concerned with Missur. In Nu. 22:7 (MT and B) 'elders of Moab' and 'elders of Midian' are mentioned side by side; סיסר apparently comes from סיסר, and this from סיסר (the original reading out of which סיסר sprang).

2 See Crit. Bib. The last line seems to baffle Prof. Sievers (Metrische Studien, 241). But Pesh.'s reading סיסר (see METRICA) might have suggested the remedy. Cp נאות סיסר (Ps. 65:13 [12]), i.e., סיסרית סיסר.

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Acts 15:22-18:5. At the council of Jerusalem he is chosen along with Judas Barsabas to accompany Paul and Barnabas in name of the primitive church to Antioch and there deliver the letter embodying the apostolic decree which at the same time is to be communicated by word of mouth also (15:22, 27). After some time so spent they return to Jerusalem (15:32 f.). In connection with their appearance in Antioch they are called 'prophets' (προφῆται); when chosen at Jerusalem they are referred to as 'chief men among the brethren' (ἀνδρες ἡγούμενοι ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς); 15:32, 22.

After the separation of Paul and Barnabas in consequence of the difference about John Mark before the second missionary journey, Paul makes choice of Silas to take the place of Barnabas as his companion (15:40). The next mention of Silas is in connection with the incidents at Philippi when he and Paul were apprehended, beaten at the instance of the Roman authority, and cast into prison. It is described how as they prayed aloud at midnight they were miraculously delivered and how they baptised the gaoler and his family. When orders came to let the prisoners go, Paul claimed for himself and his companion their privileges as Roman citizens, thus compelling the magistrates to come in person and beg them to leave the city (16:19-40).

In connection with the sojourn in Thessalonica it is recorded of Silas that he took part in the successful missionary work there; and after a tumult was escorted out of the town by the Christians, on his night journey with Paul towards Berea (17:4-10). In Berea with Paul he was again successful in the synagogue. Along with Timothy (of whom there has been no mention by name since 16:3) Silas remained in Berea whilst Paul, in consequence of a tumult, was brought by the Christians to Athens (17:10b-15). These bring back a message from Paul begging Silas and Timothy to join him as soon as possible, he awaiting their arrival there (17:15b-16). But it is not until after he has gone on to Corinth that they actually come up with him (18:5).

The question whether by the two forms of the name the same person is denoted is one which must be determined mainly by the contents of the passages in which they respectively occur; the mere suggestion of a person having two names does not in itself create any difficulty (§ 7).

(a) It is in agreement with 2 Cor. 1:19 that, as we read in Acts 18:5, Silas and Timothy rejoin Paul in Corinth.

(b) According to 1 Thess. 3:1 f. 5, Paul, before the composition of 1 Thess., sent Timothy from Athens to Thessalonica. According to this we shall have to assume at all events a hiatus in Acts. If, as we read in Acts 18:5, Timothy first rejoined Paul not at Athens, but at Corinth, then if he was to be sent by Paul from Athens to Thessalonica he must first have again made the journey to Athens from Corinth along with the apostle.

Of any such break in Paul's sojourn in Corinth, however, we find no trace in Acts 18:1-18:4. Moreover, it is impossible to assign the journey to Athens to a later date; for, according to Acts 18:18-22 Paul's route from Corinth leads him directly by way of Ephesus to Syria. The third missionary journey is not to be thought of in this connection; for in it the apostle came to Macedonia first, proceeding afterwards to Hellas (Acts 20:1 f.); whether to Athens or no is not at all said, whilst according to 1 Thess. 2:13-4 he had not been in Thessalonica again before the letter was composed.

Unless we are prepared to assume that a journey of Paul from Corinth to Athens has been omitted, the only alternative is to seek for the lacuna in what we are told concerning Timothy (and Silvanus), and suppose somewhat as follows. While Paul was still in Athens (Acts 17:6-34), not afterwards when he was in Corinth, he was joined from Berea by Timothy, whom he then sent (from Athens) to Thessalonica. As for Silvanus, it is not necessary to suppose even a lacuna, if we conjecture that his meeting with Paul did not occur at Athens but only after Corinth had been reached. But if in Acts the arrival of Timothy at Athens is left un-

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mentioned and the journeys of Timothy and Silvanus are always represented as having been made together, there is also the other possibility that Silvanus joined Paul along with Timothy while the apostle was still in Athens. Only, in that case, when Timothy set out from Athens for Thessalonica Silvanus must have been sent off somewhere else, as we find Paul saying that the journey of Timothy to Thessalonica had for its consequence that he himself was left in Athens alone. The plural in 1 Thess. 3:1 f. 'we thought it good to be left behind at Athens alone and sent Timothy' seems to allow the supposition that Paul remained in Athens along with Silvanus; but the singular in 3:5 'I . . . sent' shows that this is excluded.

It is to be emphasised that the introduction of a comrade of Timothy (and Silvanus) to Paul in Athens is quite contrary to the view of Acts; for according to 17:7 Paul awaits both in Athens, yet in point of fact (18:5) they do not reach him till he is in Corinth and this last circumstance is stated in such a form as makes the meeting there entirely the result of the apostle's injunction recorded in 17:15. If, however, the student is prepared to accept the assumption of the one lacuna or the other in Acts as above, there is nothing to hinder the identification of Silas with Silvanus.

Weizsäcker (*Ap. Zeitalter*, ²¹ 256, ET 1202 f.) is, nevertheless, doubts the identification. He thinks it

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the companion of Paul was Silvanus but that the composer of Acts substituted for him Silas, a member of the primitive church, with a view to expressing by this means also the connection of Paul with Jerusalem. It is correct to say that this tendency really is at work in Acts (see ACTS, § 4; CORNELIUS, § 5; COLCOAT, §§ 6, 10). In point of fact one can very easily find cause for bringing it into requisition in the case of Silas when regard is laid to the parallel case of Barnabas.

Silas is Paul's companion on the second missionary journey as Barnabas was on the first. Now we find Barnabas figuring in Acts 11:19-29 as the emissary of the primitive church who is charged by it with the task of inspecting the first Gentile Christian church at Antioch and who fetched Paul from Tarsus to Antioch. Not only is this difficult to reconcile with the known independence of Paul; it is also excluded by the order of the provinces, Syria and Cilicia, to which, according to Gal. 1:21, Paul betook himself after his first visit to Jerusalem. As then, in Acts, for the first period of his activity Paul is placed under the guiding hand of Barnabas, so also is it possible to conceive that under the influence of the same tendency he assigned to him a companion from Jerusalem for the second missionary journey, a companion who shall be the guarantee that in the missionary activity of the apostle the connection with Jerusalem shall not be lost. The same composer in fact in 21:20-26 goes so far as to affirm that Paul, on the last occasion of his coming back to Jerusalem, took upon himself a Nazirite vow and fulfilled it in order to prove with all publicity the completeness of his adherence to the Mosaic law. As against this see ACTS (§ 7, 11 end). In particular, in 10:4 a main business of the second missionary journey is represented as having been that of communicating and inculcating the decree which we are told had been arrived at in the Council of Jerusalem. (As against the historicity of this decree, see COLCOAT, § 11.) For such a purpose Silas must have seemed a singularly suitable companion for Paul, as along with Judas Barsabas he had been the messenger solemnly charged by the primitive church to carry the decree to Antioch.

All this, however, supplies no compelling reason for assuming a substitution of the Jerusalem Silas for a companion of Paul not belonging to Jerusalem who was named Silvanus. Precisely by the instance of Barnabas ought we to be put on our guard against too far-reaching critical operations. That Barnabas was a prominent missionary companion of Paul is assumed by Gal. 2:10, and that he was a Jew—a Jew in fact who notwithstanding all his daily intercourse with Paul had nevertheless not as yet succeeded in freeing himself from the yoke of the law—is shown by Gal. 2:14. This being so, Paul can very well be supposed to have selected also a second Jew—Silas, to wit—for a travelling companion. Had Silas really been the bearer of the decree of the council, Paul assuredly would not have done so; it must be remembered, however, that no such decree was ever made and, least of all, carried to Antioch. It is possible to recognise the tendency of Acts, spoken of above, to represent Paul as in con-

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nection with Jerusalem by means of his companion Silas, and yet, to decline to be shut up to the supposition that this tendency brought about the substitution of this Silas in the place of another companion of the apostle; it is enough to discern the error and the tendency of Acts simply in its representation of the Silas who actually did accompany Paul as a prominent person in the primitive church and, in particular, as guarantor of the apostolic decree.

That the companion of Paul was a Jew is presupposed not only by the composer of Acts as a whole, inasmuch as he represents Silas in 17 to (2-4) as coming forward in synagogues and also (16:3) represents circumcision as being necessary in a companion of Paul (in the case of Timothy), but also by the author of the 'we'-source (see Acts, § 1, 9 end), who includes Silas among the number of those who (according to 16:19) go to the synagogue or, as the case may be, to the Jewish place of prayer, and (16:13) teach there. In 16:20 Paul and Silas are even called Jews expressly, though only in the mouths of their accusers. It is true, in which account the passage must be set on one side as possibly meaning to suggest that the accusers were in error (cp 16:17).

Amongst the views of critics we find not only the distinction between Silas and Silvanus just spoken of;

there is also the attempt to identify the individual to whom both names are assigned with other persons, as well. With Luke, to begin with. This hypothesis was put forward by Van Vloten (see below, § 10) in the interests of his proposed answer to the question as to the authorship of the 'we'-source in Acts.

There is much that speaks for the view that this author was Silas; other considerations speak for Luke; yet neither theory is in itself alone quite satisfactory (see Acts, § 9). Van Vloten accordingly sought to combine the advantages of both by identifying the two persons. In particular he found difficulty in the supposition that in 16 to the author of the 'we'-source should have joined Paul as a travelling companion without the fact being mentioned. The supposition is necessary as long as one chooses to see in this author some one not named in Acts—Luke, for example; it can be dispensed with (he thinks) as soon as we see in him one who has already been spoken of as a member of the travelling company—Silas, for example. Van Vloten sought to establish the possibility of his identification with Luke by the consideration that the words from which Silvanus and Lucanus (the original form underlying the abbreviation Lucas; see Luke, § 6) are derived, have the same meaning (silva = lucus = wood); also by the argument that in 2 Cor. 1 and 2 Thess., and 1 Pet. only the name Silvanus is met with, but conversely in Col. (4:14), Philem. (24), 2 Tim. (4:11) only that of Luke.

To all this the answer must be that identity of etymological meaning in the case of two proper names by no means establishes any title to identify the persons who bear them. Moreover, it is not objectionable but befitting the seemingly modesty of the author if his joining the company of travellers is indicated not by the mention of his name but simply by the transition from the third to the first person, whether he is really himself the eye-witness or falsely makes himself appear as such (see Acts, § 1). The transition to the first person, too, is not made any more explicable if the person so indicated has already been named. Since he is not the only one who has been so named we do not learn from the 'we' who he is. Moreover, Van Vloten has not at all succeeded in disposing of the difficulties by which the hypothesis that Silas wrote the 'we'-source is beset (see Acts, § 9), or even in lessening them; the identification with Luke contributes absolutely nothing at all towards their removal.

The identification of Silas-Silvanus with Titus has been attempted in quite other interests. (a) It has long been regarded as a conspicuous instance of silence due to 'tendency' that in Acts the name of Titus, who, according to Gal. 2:3, was the subject of so

violent a contention at the Council of Jerusalem, is mentioned neither in this connection nor yet anywhere else (see Council, § 7). This difficulty would disappear if Titus was identical with Silas. Titus, however, was a Gentile Christian, we learn (Gal. 2:3); whilst Silas, according to Acts 15:22, was a member of the church of Jerusalem.

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In order to identify the two in spite of this consideration, Marcker and Seutler (see below, § 1-9) find themselves driven to the violent expedient of interpreting Acts 15:22 in the following sense: 'It seemed good to the apostles and the elders, with the whole church, to choose men out of their company and send to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas, Judas Barsabbas and Silas, chief men, in company of (or) the brethren.' On this interpretation Judas and Silas are distinguished from the brethren chosen from out the church of Jerusalem, and therefore Silas may possibly be a Gentile Christian. On the other hand, even apart from the violence done to the language of the text, this supposition is, in its substance also, in the highest degree improbable; for it would be impossible to have chosen as exponent of the apostolic decree any more unsuitable person than Paul's uncircumcised comrade. No less astonishing is the other supposition, that of Graf, which seeks to reach the same result by the opposite route; the supposition, namely, that Titus-Silas was from the first a member of the church of Jerusalem and was chosen from its midst. In other words, we are asked to suppose that an uncircumcised person had been for years a member of the church in Jerusalem. Apart from the inherent difficulties, neither form of the hypothesis serves in any adequate degree the purpose for which it is introduced; for though it is true that on this hypothesis Acts does not leave out the name of Titus-Silas altogether in connection with the Council of Jerusalem, it omits the principal thing—viz., that the demand for his circumcision was frustrated by Paul.

(b) A peculiar position is taken up by Seufert. He does not write in the apologetic interest; rather does he ascribe to the composer of Acts a tendency similar to that supposed by Wetzacker (§ 3 above), that, namely, of putting forward Titus, by the selection of his Jewish-sounding name Silas (see below, § 7b), as a man standing in close connection with the Jerusalem Christians, and so bridging over the gulf between these and Paul. It will be time to consider this theory when the identity of Titus and Silas has been established; but, as has been shown, what is proved is their distinctness.

The acme of complexity is reached by the hypothesis of Zimmer (see below, § 10). According to him, Silas the Jewish Christian of Jerusalem is mentioned only in Acts 15:22, 27, 32 ff.; distinct from him, but identical with Silvanus and Titus, is the Silas named in Acts 15:40-18:5.

(a) The Silas who, according to Acts 15:40, is chosen by Paul, then in Antioch, to be his travelling companion, cannot be the same person as the Silas who, according to 15:33, returned from Antioch to Jerusalem.—But why not? Paul might have summoned him back from Jerusalem; or, without the circumstance being expressly mentioned, Silas could, after the interval named in 15:35 ff., have again returned to Antioch.

(b) The Roman citizenship which, according to Acts 16:37, Silas possessed, does not disprove that he belonged to Jerusalem; for either he or his parents can have acquired it somewhere in the Diaspora in the same manner as, for example, the 'libertini' of Acts 16:6 possessed it (see Schür. *G/I* 2:253 ff., *EI* ii. 2, 70 ff.). Besides, this citizenship of Silas is itself exceedingly doubtful (see below, § 8a).

(c) Zimmer argues that in 2 Cor. 8:23 the same thing is said of Titus as is said of Silvanus in 1:10, and therefore the two are identical. But the statements are by no means completely coincident. Titus could rightly be called 'fellow-worker' (*συνεργός*) of Paul in writing to the Corinthians, even if he had not been the companion of the apostle in the founding of that church, simply in view of the fact that after their alienation from Paul he had won them back to him; on the other hand, the expression employed with reference to Silvanus ('preach the gospel') relates to the founding of the church.

1 We have no need, therefore, in order to maintain the identity of the Silas of 15:33 with him of 15:40, to fall back upon the interpretation—in point of fact a very unskilful one—offered by v. 34a, 'But it seemed good to Silas that they should remain' (*ἔδοξε δὲ τῷ Σίλα ἑπιμενεῖν αὐτοῖς*). It presupposes that the *ἀπελθόντων ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν* of v. 33 does not mean 'they took leave of the brethren and set out on their journey'—a meaning which nevertheless is assured by 28:25, and in our present passage is made specially necessary on account of the addition 'unto' those that had sent them forth' (*πρὸς τοὺς ἀποσταλάσαντας αὐτοῖς*)—but, 'it was said to them by the brethren that it was not desired to detain them longer in Antioch.' Had the composer of Acts held this to have been what actually happened, he would not in any case have regarded it as a thing worth recording. Matters are not made any better by the reading 'it seemed good to Silas to remain there' (*αὐτοῦ*) with the further addition 'but Judas alone proceeded' (*μόνος δὲ Ἰουδᾶς ἐπορεύθη*). They become still worse if this last clause, which D and Vg. are almost alone in giving, be omitted (so, for example, RVmg.); for in that case *ἀπελθόντων* must necessarily mean, 'they on their side took leave,' and why Silas should then suddenly have changed his mind is left wholly unexplained.

(D) The apologetic aim—followed by Zimmer as well as by Märcker and Graf—of freeing Acts from the charge of silence with a purpose, is even less successfully realised in the case of Zimmer than it is in that of the other two, since the Silas who, according to Zimmer, is identical with Titus, is not mentioned at all in connection with the Council of Jerusalem.

(E) The difficulty (only arising in connection with Zimmer's hypothesis) that in Acts two separate persons of the name of Silas should be mentioned in such close proximity (15:22-40) without any indication of their being distinct individuals is hardly less than that which presses upon all forms of an identification of Titus with Silas-Silvanus—this, namely, that Paul should have designated one and the same fellow-worker now as Silvanus now as Titus, and should have interchanged the two names even within the limits of so short a passage as 2 Cor. 1:19-2:13.

As for the forms of the names, the identity of Silas and Silvanus admits of being shown in a variety of ways.

7. The names. (a) Silas may be an abbreviation of Silvanus. This sort of abbreviation is used for pet names (hypocoristica), is, properly speaking, native to Greek soil; but that in NT times it was also applied to Latin names is shown by the instance of Luke (see LUKE, § 6). Strictly speaking, the form we should have expected would be Silvas; but the form Silas is also possible, since abbreviation followed no hard and fast rules.

It can be shown that Μενόστρας (not Μενόστρας) is equivalent to Μενόστρατος (Polyb. iv, 102 ss. 105 xvii, 121141-2) and Ἀρχιστράτος to Ἀρχιστράτορος (Fick, *Griech. P. rom. nomencl.*, 2, 73). For Lucius too no hesitation is felt in assuming Laucianus (not to mention other forms which have been suggested as the unabbreviated name). Jos. BJ vii, 81 f. 5, §§ 252, 275-277, 306 ff. ought not to be cited as against this, for the Σιλανός there named is, according to Schürer (*Galil.*, 1, 2:250) and Forcellini (*Obom. Latinitatis*, 3 (1883) 1162), L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus, so that the name does not come into consideration here at all. Still less ought appeal to be made to the fact that in MSS of the NT the word is accented Σιλᾶς, although if an abbreviation from Silvanus it really ought to be Σιλᾶς;² for the accentuation of MSS is in no sense authoritative. The circumstance, too, that the name Silas, according to Zahn (*Eint. L. d. NT* 122 f.), does not occur at all elsewhere on Latin soil, and has been met with on Greek soil only at Thespiae (*Cl. Septentrion.*, 1, no. 1772, l. 12^b) is far from being decisive, indeed, against abbreviation from Silvanus, yet at least points to another alternative, viz. that

(b) Silas may also be a Semitic name.⁴ Silvanus in this case will be the Roman form nearest possible in sound to his own name, a Roman form assumed by this Jew for intercourse with the non-Jewish world (see NAMES, § 86).

As regards etymology, the derivation from שָׁלוֹם, 'three,' is inadmissible. The שָׁלוֹם (SHELES) named in 1 Ch. 7:35 becomes Σαλαῖς in G^v. Should one choose to conjecture שָׁלוֹם (with שָׁלוֹם) as the Hebrew form—as is perhaps done by *Classical Element in the NT*, 1898, p. 61 f.—the Greek, after the analogy of שָׁלוֹם in 1 Ch. 2:30, which appears in LXX as Σαλαῖ [BA] or Σαλαῖ [L], would in no case be Σιλᾶς. Thus also the conjecture that Silas is identical with the Tertius of Rom. 16:22 (so Franz Burman, *Exercit. Acad.* 2, Rotterdam, 1688, p. 16) is seen to be quite baseless.

Jerome (on Gal. 1:1; ed. Vallarsi, vii, 1374) and OS (ed. Lag. 71:6-72:5 1070) derive Silas and Silvanus alike from שִׁילָן (*missus*: OS 198-21 has Σιλᾶς μεσίτης). So also Zimmer, who cites the שִׁילָן (SHELAN, 2) of Gen. 10:24-11:13-15 1 Ch. 1:18-24. This list, however, appears as Σαλα in G^v (or Σαλαῖ [L] once in Gen. 10:24), in Jos. *Ant.* i, 64 f., §§ 146, 153, as Σαλαῖ, Σαλαῖς or Σαλαῖ. For this reason we must also reject the conjecture of Senft (above, § 87) that the choice of the Hebrew name which the composer of Acts gives to Silvanus was determined by the attribute of its bearer as being an apostle or one 'sent.'

In all probability the root of Silas is שָׁלוֹם. The

¹ To be accentuated so, according to Winer, *op. cit.* § 684, 5 n. 73, because ου stands for a consonant and other MSS write Σαλαῖς.

² Thus, if for no other reason, because in the longer form the accent lies upon the second not upon the first syllable. That all hypocoristica should have the circumflex on the last syllable is in accordance indeed with the principles laid down by Herodian (ed. Lentz, 150-56) but it is with the examples he gives; cp Winer, *op. cit.* § 677.

³ With Greeks it might be an abbreviation of Σαλαῖς which occurs—e.g., so early as in Xen. *Anab.* vi, 2[4]13.

⁴ In Josephus the following Jews bear the name of Silas:—(a) a tyrant of Lysias (*Ant.* xiv, 32 § 40); (b) a friend of Arippa I. (ibid. 67, § 204; xix, 63, § 200; 71, §§ 317-325; 83, § 333); (c) a commandant of Tiberias (*Juz.* 17, § 80 f.; 53, § 277; *BJ* ii, 216, § 616); (d) a commandant from Babylon (*BJ* ii, 192, § 520, iii, 21 f., §§ 11, 15).

Palmyrene inscriptions nos. 17, 18, and 95 in de Vogüé (*Syrie Centrale, inscript. Sémit.*, 1868, pp. 21, 22) show—and indeed in the case of no. 17 with the Greek parallel text τῶν Σιλᾶ¹—the form Σιλᾶς which is equivalent in meaning to the Heb. שָׁלוֹם, 'he who has been asked for'; cp Nodd, *ZDMG*, 1870, p. 96 f. The aleph in the middle was hardly audible, the form Silas easily arose out of this. So in *Cl. G.* 34511-12 103 et Waddington (see n. 1) 23, no. 2507, p. 586, col. 1, p. 589 f.: Σαυσιγεραῖος ὁ καὶ Σιλᾶς in Emoss, Cardesyrta, 78-79 A.D.; Σιλᾶς several times in I and (cp Noldeke, *l.c.*, and Zahn, 131); also Σιλᾶς in eastern Aramaic in the fifth century A.D. (*OS* 2, no. 100, according to Zahn). On this etymology Σιλᾶς while the correct accentuation.

The form Σιλᾶς in Acts 15:22 (16:1) Silas) is not only, as also the (only graphically different) Σιλᾶτος of Acts 17:14, whilst elsewhere D invariably has Σιλᾶς or Σιλᾶς. The Σιλᾶτος found in 2 Cor., 1 and 2 Thess. (11:1-14), and in 1 Th. (12) is only another writing for Σιλᾶτος.

We come now to the question of the credibility of the data regarding Silas-Silvanus.

8. Credibility of Acts, 1 and 2 Thess., and 1 Pet. on Silas. (a) As regards Acts it has been marked already (§ 2 f.) that the share of Silas-Silvanus in Paul's second missionary journey is not open to any question, especially when confirmed as it is by 2 Cor. 1:19 on the genuineness of which

epistle see GALATIANS, §§ 6-9), but that Acts needs between 17:15 and 18:5 some supplementing, and so far as its entire presentation of the 'apostolic decision' is concerned is completely unhistorical. The same holds good of the miraculous deliverance of Paul and Silas from prison at Philippi, as soon as 1 Thess. is regarded as genuine, for in 1 Thess. 2:2 Paul alludes to the evil treatment he had received at Philippi and yet attributes it not to any outward miracle but to his own inner disposition that he nevertheless found fresh courage for the preaching of the gospel in Thessalonica (cp Acts, § 2). The fact also that the Roman citizenship is here so unexpectedly attributed to Silas raises the suspicion that the author may have expressed himself carelessly and included Silas in his statement, although in fact all that he really knew of was the citizenship of Paul (see above, § 6 b).

(b) Whilst the genuineness of 1 Thess., and so also the designation of Silvanus as joint author (1:1), is open to no well-grounded objection, that of 2 Thess. must be given up, especially on account of 2:1-12. It will not avail to plead for the genuineness of the rest after this has been set aside; rather must we regard those portions of 2 Thess. which coincide with 1 Thess., including that in which Silvanus is named, as being inauthentic by which it was sought to give the epistle the appearance of being a genuine writing of Paul (cp Schmiedel in *RC zum NT* 2:1; Holtzmann, *ZNTW*, 1901, pp. 67-102).

(c) Since after the sojourn of Paul at Corinth in the course of his second missionary journey (Acts 18:2-18:19), Silvanus is not again mentioned as having been in the company of the apostle, it is in itself possible that when 1 Pet. was written Silvanus was in the company of Peter—the epistle being assumed to be genuine and to have been written after that date. Of those who do not regard 1 Pet. as genuine, many find in the affirmation of 5:12 that Peter is writing 'through Silvanus' (ὄσα Σιλᾶνοῦ) and particularly in the words ὡς Ἀρχιδιακῶν (AV 'as I suppose') which RV, certainly correctly, takes as referring to 'faithful' (πιστοῦ), 'by Silvanus, our faithful brother, as I account him, I have written unto you briefly'), a veiled reference to the fact that Silvanus had written the epistle after Peter's death. If, however, the epistle dates from 112 A.D. (see CHRISTIAN, § 8) this theory is excluded by consideration of what would have been Silvanus's age at that time. Thus we

¹ The Greek text also in *Cl. G.* 3, no. 4124, and in Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions archéologiques en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, 23, 1770, no. 2601 (p. 594; explanations, p. 600).

SILENCE

SILOAM, SHILOAH

shall have to suppose that the mention of Silvanus, as also that of Mark (513), who also can hardly have been still alive at so late a date as 112 A.D., subserves a definite purpose. Both had been members of the primitive church for Mark, cp Acts 12:12 and at the same time companions of Paul; thus, on the one hand, they become fitted to figure as comrades of Peter, and, on the other, the naming of them creates the impression that Peter had a thoroughly good understanding with Paul the founder of many of the churches included in the address of the epistle (Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia). The remaining contents of the epistle show little of that tendency to bring about a reconciliation between Paulinist and Jewish Christianity which the Tubingen school attributed to it; but the closing verses which have been under our consideration must doubtless be taken in this sense (cp PETER, EPISTLES OT, § 6, end).

In doing so it is a matter of indifference whether we are to understand by 'through' (66a) that Silvanus is indicated as the individual who, like Tertius in Rom. 16:22, wrote the epistle at the apostle's dictation (so the subscription to Rom. in col. 133: 'it was written through Tertius, ἐγραφή διὰ Τερτίου), or whether, as the analogy of the other spurious subscriptions of Pauline letters would warrant, we are intended to look upon him as the bearer of the letter; all that is excluded is the attribution to him of any sort of independent share in the composition of the epistle.

In the lists of the 'seventy' (Lk. 10:1) Silas and Silvanus figure as distinct individuals, the former as bishop of Corinth, the latter as bishop of Thessalonica. According to the Περὶ τοῦ Βαρναβᾶ (John Mark was baptized by Barnabas, Paul, and Silas in Pontum (Lipsius, *Apok. Ap. gesch.* i. 293, ii. 19 f. 277-280 285). Many interpreters maintain Silas to be the 'brother' referred to in 1 Cor. 8:14 f. This brother, however, must rather have been a Macedonian, as he was chosen by the Macedonians to represent them in conveying the collection to Jerusalem. Against the theory that Silas was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews the same considerations hold good as have been urged against the authorship of Barnabas in so far as they both belonged to Jerusalem (see BARNABAS, § 5).

Van Vloten, 'Lucas u. Silas' in *ZWT.*, 1867, pp. 223 f.; 1871, pp. 431-434; against him *Cropp*, *ibid.* 1868, pp. 353-355; Märker, *Stellung des Pastoralbriefs im Leben des Paulus*, Gymnasialprogramm, Meiningen, 1861, pp. 10-2; Titus Silvanus, *ibid.* 1864; Graf in Heidenheim's *Vierteljahrsschrift für evangelisch-theologische Forschung*, 2, 1865, pp. 373-394; Senfert, *ZWT.*, 1885, § 359-371; Zimmer, *Ztsch. f. kirchl. Wissensch. u. kirchl. Leben*, 1881, pp. 169-174; JPT, 1881, pp. 221-223; against him Jülicher *JPT.*, 1883, pp. 538-552; Adolf Johannes (Catholic), *Comm. zu 1 Thess.*, 1893, pp. 147-153.

P. W. S. SILENCE (σιγή; ἄλχη; infernum), a title of SHEOL (q. v.), Ps. 91:17 115:17.

The existence of such a word is, however, most improbable, and there is no Ass. parallel. S's ḫōḥ may = ḫōḥ. See SHADOW OF DEATH.

SILK occurs in AV as the rendering of three different words.

- 1. שֵׁט, šēṭ, is rendered 'silk' in AV text of Pr. 31:22, and mg. of Gen. 41:42 Exod. 25:4. On this see LINES (7).
- 2. שֵׁשׁ, šēš (τρίχαιπτος), Ezek. 16:10-13 f. Amidst the variety of ancient renderings there is a general agreement that some cloth of fine texture is intended; Jewish tradition favours 'silk' (Ges. *Thes.*), a meaning with which the rendering in S is not inconsistent; and Movers (*Phön.* ii. 3264) contends that silk was, at least as far back as Ezekiel's time, conveyed from China into W. Asia by the land route through Mesopotamia, though it was probably almost unknown in Europe till after Alexander's conquests, and did not come into general use before the period of the Roman Empire.² Cp TRADE, § 62. In any case the reference in Ezek. 16:13 is to a long outer veil of fine material which covered the entire person (Smend, *ad loc.*).

¹ Lit. 'woven of hair'; Aq. has φηλαφητός and ἀθεμιος, Sym. τριτόνισμα and πολύμιτος; Th. merely translates. Vg. *multilia* and *polymitus*, Pesh. *kelā* ('vail'), and *tekkēlā* ('hair').

² Cp EB 9) 22 56.

3. σιρκίον, i. e., σιρκίον, the familiar Greek name for silk (from Σηρ; see STRABO, 516, 701), occurs in Rev. 18:12 f. in the enumeration of wares which formed the merchandise of the apocalyptic Babylon.

The references in classical writers show that, under the early empire, silk was of great costliness, and its use a sign of extreme luxury.

The larva of the silk-worm moth, *Bombyx mori*, reared from its feeding on mulberry leaves, produces in the greatest bulk of the silk in use. Inferior silks are, however, produced by several species of the same genus, and Tassar silks are spun from the cocoons of *Antherea pernyi*, which feeds on oaks, in China; and of *A. mylitta* in India, and from other species mostly belonging to the family Saturniidae. The silk is the hardened excret of certain silk glands which open just below the mouth of the caterpillar, and is excreted to make the cocoon within which the insect passes its pupal stage.

Cp HEDIG, *ZPMG* 8:212 ff.

N. M. A. F. S.

SILLA (Ἰσῆ; ἐλλα [Eus. *Os* 266, 99]; *SILLA* [Jer., Vg.]), a place-name in the account of the murder of Joash (2 K. 12:20 [21]). 'At the house of Silla [10, at Beth-nillo] which goeth down to Silla,' as AV gives, is clearly wrong (ἐν οἴκῳ μαλαῶ τὸν γαλαῶν [B, ἐν γ. B⁹], . . . μαλλῶν τῶ ἐν τῇ καταστάσει ἀλλῶν [L, . . . μαλαῶ τὸν καταμένοντα γαλαῶν [A, sic ut vid.], *kal nehith la'elā*] [Pesh.]).

The key to the problem is supplied by the theory that the people with whom the Israelites had most constant relations were the Jerahmeelites, and that Solomon most probably obtained his timber for building, not from the Lebanon, but from the mountain-country of the Negeb. The mysterious word Ἰσῆ (Silla) is most probably a corruption of Ἰερahmeel (Jerahmeel), and so too is Ἰσῆ (see MULLER). It was at Beth-jerahmeel that Joash was slain, and since the context requires a place in Jerusalem, the most plausible view is that 'Beth-jerahmeel' means the 'house of the forest of Lebanon,' for Solomon's Lebanon, or perhaps Gêbalon, appears to have been in the Jerahmeelite Negeb (see SALOMON, § 37). The same building is probably specified in the true text of 2 Ch. 24:28 (see *Crit. Bib.*). Cp, however, Winckler, *KAT* 260, n. 2, and the commentaries of Benzinger and Kittel (less satisfactory conjectures).

T. K. C.

SILOAM, SILOAH, SHELAH, SHILOAH. The four places in which Shiloah or Siloam are mentioned are: (1) Is. 8:6 (שֵׁשׁ וְשֵׁשׁ יָרֵד; τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ Σιλωάμ [B], τ. ὕ. τ. ΣΑ. [AQT]), The waters of Shiloah, EV); (2) Neh. 3:15 (שֵׁשׁ וְשֵׁשׁ; καταμβήθρα τῶν κωδίων [B], om. κωδίων R⁹, hab. κωδίων R¹⁰; שֵׁשׁ וְשֵׁשׁ הָיָה לְהַשְׁקֵת אֶת הַשְּׂדֵה הַשְּׂדֵה הַשְּׂדֵה [L]; The pool of Siloah AV, of Shelah RV); (3) Jn. 9:7 (ὁ πηγὴ εἰ τῷ Σιλωάμ; The tower in Siloam); (4) Jn. 9:7 and (not in best MSS) πηγή (τῆς καταμβήθρας τοῦ Σιλωάμ, The pool of Siloam which is by interpretation, Sent⁹; the better reading seems to be τὸν Σ.).

Possibly also there is an allusion to Siloam in the 'fountain' and 'pool' of Neh. 2:14. For topography and description see JERUSALEM, § 3 and diagram; also §§ 11, 18 f., and map facing col. 2420; also CONDUITS, § 5, where a translation of the famous Siloam inscription is given. Josephus (*J. v.* 4:1 § 140) speaks of the waters of the fountain (πηγή Σιλωάμ) as sweet and abundant, and (*J. v.* 9, § 410) reports himself in his speech to his compatriots as having pointed out that Siloam and the other springs which were formerly almost dried up when under the control of the Jews, had, since the advent of Titus, run more plentifully than they did before. Jerome (*Comment. in Eza.* 86) also mentions the irregular flow of Siloam—a feature which has been noticed by most subsequent pilgrims and travellers, and is explained by the geological formation of the district. In NT times certainly, and probably earlier, a healing virtue was attributed to the waters of Siloam. On the mystical meaning of Jn. 9:11 see GOSPELS, § 56, col. 1803, but cp STILLOT, and, on the miracle, cp JETIN, § 35, col. 2539.

In Is. 8:6 the waters of Shiloah 'that go softly' (at least if the text is sound; see, however, *Crit. Bib.* [Che.]) represent either the power of the house of David, which certainly was insignificant, or the might of Yahweh which seemed but was not really slight; they are contrasted with the 'waters of the River, strong and many' (7: 7), which symbolise the vast physical power of Assyria. In Jn. 9:7 the ἀπεσταλμένος has been taken by most

¹ ἄρῃω, emisit? cp emissary?

SILVANUS

interpreters from Theophylact onwards to refer to Christ the true Sileam (cp *Itin. 13 f.*, 728 826 17321). Whether this is at all probable may be doubted; other interpretations however (see Holtzmann, *ad loc.*) are no better. Lücke has pointed out the possibility that the clause is merely a marginal gloss. Such explanations abound in the *Onomastica*.

SILVANUS (σιλβανός), 2 Cor. 119, etc. See SILAS.

SILVER כֶּסֶף, *keceph*; Arab. كَسْف; Syr. *kephi*; Ass. *kispu*; root-meaning perhaps 'paleeness,' see WRS *J. Phil.* 1123).

The word is sometimes used, in its proper sense, of silver ore, e.g. Ezek. 2220 22 (figuratively), etc., but

also often of silver as a measure of weight and value, e.g. 'silver 30 shekels' (Ex. 2121), '400 silver shekels' (Gen. 2315), and, with the omission of 'shekel' or 'shekels,' 'a thousand of silver' (Gen. 2016), 'twenty of silver' (3723). Hence more often still 'silver' (*keceph*) = 'money,' cp ἀργύριον and the French *argent*, but not necessarily coined money, e.g. Gen. 3115 4225 27 Dt. 2321 [19]. In Gen. 4225 35 the plural form (as if 'monies') is found.

On silver mining, alluded to in Job 281, and on the methods of refining the crude ore alluded to in *Is.* 125) Ezek. 2220 22 Zech. 139 Mal. 33 Prov. 173 2721 (we must not add *Ps.* 1261 [7]), see METALS. The separated silver was called *keceph saraph* (קֶסֶף סָרָפָה, *Ps.* 127 [6]); *k. mezuqqeh* (קֶסֶף מְצוּקָה, 1 Ch. 294 *Ps.* 127 [6]); *k. nihhar* (קֶסֶף נִיחָר, 2, Prov. 1024). The crucible is called *magrith* (מַגְרִיחַ, Prov. 173 2721).² In Jer. 109 we read of 'silver beaten out into plates'; where it came from we shall have to ask presently. Hebrew traditions told of great abundance of silver in early times. These traditions, which are supported by the use of *keceph* (silver) for 'money,' are doubtless correct. Abram and Ephron 'the Hittite' have certainly no lack of silver, according to Gen. 23, and, though this passage comes from the much disparaged priestly writer, he probably does but repeat the statements of earlier writers.

According to a view which, even if new, may nevertheless do justice to old and forgotten truth, the scene of the transaction described was not at Hebron but at some place of hallowed associations in the Negeb—probably Rehoboth,³ which would justly be represented as Kirjath-arab,⁴ 'city of Arabia.' In this connection we may refer to Joseph's silver divining cup (Gen. 442). It is not impossible that the original scene of the fascinating story of Joseph was not in Egypt but in the Negeb. But even if this was not the case, we are assured on the best authority that silver in Egypt had at first a higher value than gold (see *Exod.* 1, § 33). The true Hittites, too (whose capital was Kadesh on the Orontes), had abundance of silver in the time of Rameses II.; the treaty between them and this powerful Egyptian king was on a silver tablet.

In Solomon's time, it would appear as if the larger introduction of gold depreciated the value of silver. We are told (1 K. 1021) that none of the king's 'vessels' were of silver, which 'was nothing accounted of in

¹ *Q*, as we now have it, gives in *Ps. l.c.* δοκιμιον τη γη. In Prov. 27 21 *δοκιμα* corresponds to קֶסֶף, 'crucible.' Did the text of *Q* in *Ps.* at one time run, ἀργύριον πεπρωμένον εν δοκιμῳ (=δοκιμῳ) without τη γη? Deissmann (*Vine Biblestudien*, 99) thinks that the only tolerable sense of δοκιμιον τη γη is 'genuine silver for the land.' At any rate both the MT and *Q* of *Ps.* 127 [6] attest the activity of scribes working upon a corrupt text. Cp n. 2.

² Nestle (*Exp. l.* 2:7) would give the same sense to קֶסֶף, which in Prov. 27 22 = 'pestle.' This affects the criticism of *Q* 2722. May we read קֶסֶף, 'in the crucible'? There seems to be a better solution.

³ Hittite 'itself, when used of any person in the S. of Palestine, is a mutilated form of 'Rehobothite.' See RENOOTH.

⁴ For instances of numerals which are corruptions of ethnic names, see MOSES, § 11, PROPHET, § 7, *Crit. Bib.* on Gen. 1513. 'City of Four' (Kirjath-arab) is as improvable as 'daughter of Seven' (see *Solomon*, § 2).

SIMEON

the days of Solomon,' and (*1 K.* 27) that he 'made silver to be in Jerusalem as stones.'

From what sources was this plentiful supply of silver derived? It is geologically impossible that either Syria or silver should exist in the mountains

2. Sources. Syria and Palestine. We may suppose that most of the silver of the 'Hittites' came from the mines of Bulgar Dagh in Lycaonia. According to Prof. Sayce:—

'The Hittite inscription found near the old mines of these mountains by Mr. Davis, proves that they once occupied the locality. It is even possible that their settlement for a time in Lydia was also connected with their passion for "the white metal." At all events, the Gümüş Dagh, or "Silver Mountain," lie to the S. of the Pass of Karabel, and traces of old workings can still be detected in them.'

As to the treasures of Solomon, we are told in 1 K. 1022 (cp *Solomon*, § 4, end) that the 'navy of Tarshish' brought silver as well as gold. Upon this Prof. W. M. Müller remarks (*OLZ* 3:260) that this points to good ignorance of the Red Sea coasts. There was, however, according to the Arabic notices, no lack of silver in the mountains of Yemen, and it was hence, as Oskar Fraas thinks (*HHB* 10072), that Solomon derived the precious metals. And what is to be said of Tartessus? If the current opinion is correct, though Solomon's ships did not get out so far as Spain, the later supply of silver to Palestine was largely derived from the rich territory by the Guadalquivir. We fear the opinion needs to be accepted with reserve. Tartessus was, no doubt, a rich district. The story is, that since the Phoenicians found that they could not carry all their silver away, they made 'silver anchors' in place of those that they had brought (Aristot. *De Mirab.* 148; cp Diod. 5:25).

Unfortunately, there is considerable danger that, except in late passages like 2 Ch. 9:21 2 Jon. 1:3, 'Tarshish' is a corruption of 'Asshur'; and there is one extremely late passage (Jer. 104) where the same restoration ('silver' . . . brought from Asshur) should apparently be made. Perhaps the most important passage is Ezek. 27:12 where, according to MT, silver is connected with iron, tin, and lead, is represented to have been brought to Tyre from Tarshish. A close investigation of the passage in its context suggests that Missur (not Tyre) provides the materials, and N. Arabian peoples provide the merchandise disposed of (see *Crit. Bib.*). The Assirite merchants, it would seem, were the middlemen between the miners in some perhaps distant part of Arabia, and the rich and powerful people of Missur. Another evidence of the abundance of silver in N. Arabia is supplied by 2 S. 8:10-12 (in the light of criticism), where the spoil taken by David from ZOBAN (9:7), or rather Missur and other N. Arabian regions bordering on Palestine (such as 'Aram'—i.e., Jerusalem), is said to have consisted in vessels of silver, of gold, and of brass. It is noteworthy, too, that the poem of Job, which most probably arose either in N. Arabia or under strong N. Arabian influences (the names point decidedly to this, see *Job* [Book], §§ 4, 9), shows great interest in gold and silver mines. On two of the three references in Job (22:25 28), see *Gotd.*, § 1, col. 173.

SILVER, PIECE OF (ἀργυρια), Mt. 2615. See STATER, *ad fin.*

SIMALCUE (σινμαλκογη [A]), 1 Macc. 11:59 AV, RV IMALCUE.

SIMEON

Where settled? (§ 1).
Gen. 34:49 (§ 2).
Deut. 33 (§ 3).
Judg. 1 (§ 4).
1 Ch. 4 (§ 5).

Extra-biblical? (§ 6).
Conclusion (§ 7).
Name (§ 8).
Genealogical lists (§ 9).
Geographical lists (§ 10).

Simeon (שִׁמְעוֹן; *CYMEON* [BAI]; see below, § 8) was the brother² of Levi and Dinah (Gen. 31:25, 1; cp 49:5). What genealogical scheme underlay

1. Where settled? this representation we do not know.³ In the scheme followed by the final redactors Simeon had five full brothers; how many sisters (Gen. 37:35, J; 46:7, D) we are nowhere told. Moreover,

¹ *The Hittites* (1888), 95.

² We do not add 1 K. 22:47 (see *JEHOASHAPHAT*, col. 235).

³ On *צמון* in Gen. 49 see § 8, i.

⁴ It is natural to suppose a genealogy that made Simeon, Levi, and Dinah the only children of their mother. We cannot assume this with confidence however. Simeon and Reuben form a pair in Gen. 48:5 (P), and Simeon is styled brother of Judah in Judg. 1:3 (J).

SIMEON

SIMEON

Simeon the brother of Dinah figures as a tribe in the district of Shechem, whereas the Simeon whose cities are enumerated in the well-known lists (§ 10) is there connected with the S. country and associated with Judah rather than Israel.¹ It has been customary to identify these two Simeons. It is not impossible, however, to hold that there were more Simeons than one (see below, § 6). If, however, we identify them, are we to regard the two representations as variant theories, belonging to a time when the real life of the tribe had been forgotten? Or may we suppose that they both contain reminiscences of history, that in fact Simeon had, let us say, in the neighbourhood of Shechem and then removed to the S.? There would be more chance of giving confident answers to these questions, if we knew whether the framers of our sources had actual knowledge of a Simeon tribe or Simeon families; if, for example, we could point with confidence to sanctuaries which at least had been distinctively Simeonite, where therefore there might have been preserved a tradition of Simeon's having come S. from the highlands of central Palestine. It is, no doubt, natural to suppose that Bersheba was such a sanctuary. It may very well have been; it was certainly famous, and, in particular, was at least at times in touch with northern Israel. The difficulty is to prove that it, or any other definite spot, was Simeonite. Simeon is never mentioned as a component part of the southern kingdom.²

Still, although we may not be able to point with confidence to any contemporary statement about Simeon in the literature accessible to us, the editors whose work has reached us may have had such evidence lying before them.³

1. Gen. 34 49. Simeon in the literature accessible to us, the editors whose work has reached us may have had such evidence lying before them.³ It must be remembered that the end of J's story of the Shechem exploit ascribed to the tribe has been lost. That may have told of Simeon's removal towards the south. From the fact that the redactor suppressed the passage we may plausibly conjecture that what it narrated was more or less of the nature of a catastrophe discreditable to 'Israel.' It may therefore have been historical, and may have come from a time when Simeon was still really a tribe. How a later writer would have told (and did tell) the story we can perhaps see from Gen. 35 5; After the incident which forms the subject of chap. 31 the Israelites moved off leisurely, their god having interfered in their behalf so that there fell on the natives of the land an awe such as fell on the Greeks when Apollo brought the seemingly vanquished Hector back to the fight strong as ever (*Il.* 15 279 ff.). So, a later writer thought, must it ever fire with Israel. The older story, however, told not of 'Israel,' but of Simeon and Levi.⁴ All that a later editor was willing to retain of it was the remembrance of Jacob: you have brought a disaster (עָרַבְתָּ) on us, in making us abominable to all the natives of the land; as we are but a small company they will band themselves against us and defeat us, and we shall be destroyed.

ii. What the sequel of the older narrative was can probably be inferred from Gen. 49 5-7. Even there we are not told explicitly what happened; but there was a power to fulfil itself in the father's curse (cp BLESSING AND CURSING): I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel. What meaning the writer would put into these words is uncertain. Steuernagel thinks that Jacob is here a tribe name and that the verse means that Simeon was dispersed in the highlands of

¹ Cheyne, however, suggests that the Shechem story also dealt originally not with central Palestine, but with a district in the N. Arabian border, in or near the Negeb (cp MOSKES, § 6); *Supra*, 2.

² On Simeon's never being assigned to either kingdom cp Graf, *Stamm Simeon*, 10; also, on theories connecting him with the northern kingdom, *ib.* 33. For the Chronicler's notice see below, § 5, iv.

³ On 1 Ch. 4 38-41 see below, § 5.

⁴ There seems, however, to have been an independent story which did speak of 'Israel.' See Gen. 48 21 f. [E] (cp Gunkel *ib.* 175^a *ad loc.*), and the legend in Jubilees 34 2-8 (cp Charles *ad loc.* and the literature cited by him).

central Palestine (*Einwanderung*, 104), some, however, perhaps wandering southwards (*ib.* 15). As treating of the early fortunes of Shechem, the story of Gen. 34 is dealt with elsewhere (see EPIKRAMM, § 6, DINAID); Dinah was perhaps supposed to have disappeared completely (see DINAH, § 6); what the real history of Levi was is a difficult question (see LEVI, LEVITES, GENEALOGIES, § 7). It is with Simeon that we are here concerned. That it was not always counted as a tribe appears to follow from its absence from Dt. 33 (blessing of Moses).¹

It has been questioned, however, whether the omission of Simeon in Dt. 33 is original.

Not only does **QMT** apply *v. 26* to Simeon (Gen. 34 49) but out. *σ.* [170] *καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ* to whom the words, however they are to be taken (KATZ, § 4), are quite as applicable as to Reuben. It has been thought also that *v. 26* is a later addition (see *ib.* 170).

3. Dt. 33. *Heb.* 111 f.; cp Halesy, *J. Theol. Stud.*, pp. 120 ff. that *v. 26* perhaps belonged to Simeon (there might be a play on the name in 'Hear'). If these proposals were combined the Simeon saying² would read:

Let Simeon be a small company,
Hear, Yahwe, his voice,
And bring him in unto his people.

The case for such a text, however, is not strong (see Driver, *ad loc.*).³

If the passage really mentioned Simeon in some such way it would seem to imply that Simeon had somehow come to be severed from 'his people.' That would be an interesting variant of the view of Simeon represented in the 'Jacob Blessing' (Gen. 49), where Simeon is not detached from his people but dispersed among them.

Moreover if Simeon is really mentioned in the Esarhaddon tablet to be discussed later (§ 6, iii.), a position of detachment for Simeon at a comparatively late period would be established by contemporary extra-biblical evidence. (Gen. 49 (and 31) is, however, by no means the only biblical reference to movements on the part of Simeon.)

Of special interest are the references in Judg. 1, as giving a theory, doubtless widely held, as to Simeon's arrival on the scene. There, as we have seen

4. Judg. 1. (col. 45 24, n. 4). Simeon's brother is Judah (*27. 3 17*). Israel, having agreed to a division of the land among the tribes, inquires of Yahwe who is to begin the attack. The answer being 'Judah,' Judah asks Simeon to join in the expedition, promising to return the favour later. Simeon consents, and the two peoples advance against the Canaanites, defeating them signally at Bezek, if the text is sound (see BEZEK). Whether the tradition made Simeon and Judah then settle in the central highlands is not clear.⁴ The meagreness of the account of Judah's campaign suggests that the old story of Judah's advent was lost or suppressed; we hear of Caleb's appropriation of Hebron, Othniel's of Debir, the Kenites' of the district of Arad (Judg. 1 16; on the text see the comm.), and Simeon's of Zephath-Hormah;⁵ but nowhere are we told where or how Judah settled.⁶ It is difficult to think that this is accidental; the redactor would have told of Judah's southward progress if he could. Perhaps one reason why he could not was that, as Graf suggested (*Stamm Simeon*, 15), the district which ultimately bore the name of Judah was entered from the S. If Judah is primarily the name of the southern kingdom, which consisted of Kenites, Calebites, Jerahmeelites, Simeonites, and other southern elements, the settlement stories would naturally deal with the fortunes of its component

¹ On its omission in Judg. 5 see below, note 4.

² This theory thus suggests that the Judah saying is: *v. 26*.

³ On the various proposals see further, Graf, *Der Segen Moses*, 24-26 (1857).

⁴ If so, are we to suppose that old tradition did not always distinguish between Judah and 'Levi' (Gen. 34). Only in this connection can the absence of any reference to Simeon in Judg. 4 or Judg. 5 have any significance.

⁵ To infer from the Hormah exploit being elsewhere (*Nu.* 21 3) see HORMAH given to 'Israel,' that some assigned to Simeon in early times a position of great importance would be precarious.

⁶ Gen. 38 is somewhat different.

parts.¹ Even, however, if the other Judah elements entered from the S. Simeon might first have lost a footing temporarily gained in Central Palestine. That might account for the Simeon at Semunivch (right across Esdraslon from Hazeki of Josh. 11: 12 so if that is the true reading (see SIMEON, and below, § 6, iii). On the other hand the story of the partnership of 'Judah' and Simeon may not rest on prehistoric relations so early as the settlement. It may reflect a later time.

It has been thought, for example (We. *GT* 228 n.), that underneath what now appears in Ch. 124 as a mere list of names it is possible to detect a statement relating to a migration of Simeon southwards. According to this theory Simeonites were settled in the southern part of the territory of which Saul carved an extensive Benjaminite state (above, col. 253, n. 1), and rather than yield to him they moved south. That would be a likely thing to happen, especially if the Simeonites were not firmly settled. Of course such a movement would agree possibly with the suggestion of Gen. 49 and the story in Gen. 34. Nor is there anything impossible about an origin such as Winkler proposes for the genealogical list. Still, the suggestion in question is perhaps hardly convincing enough (see below, § 6, iii) to form the basis of a definite theory of the history of Simeon.

To the same period was assigned by Dozy a movement, or movements, on the part of Simeon of which the Chronicler's account is still in the form of a narrative, although it contains a good many names. The passage (1 Ch. 13: 41) contains several statements, the relation of which to one another is not clear, the text being more or less doubtful.²

(a) According to 13: 41 certain Simeonites pushed down to the district of Gedor or Gerar in search of pasture for their sheep.

(b) According to v. 41 these men went in the time of Hezekiah and snote³ . . . and the Menim who were 'there' and banned them and dwelt in their place.

(c) According to v. 42 some of 'them' (300 with 4 leaders) went to Mt. Seir and snote those who were left of the fugitive Amalekites and settled there.

i. According to Benzinger these three statements are divergent accounts of the same thing (*KHC*, 17 f.), all of them being later insertions into the Chronicler's work. A question more important than the date of their insertion is whence they were drawn. We must allow for the possibility that they come from a good source. Of course that need not imply the correctness of the reference to Hezekiah.⁴ There is nothing in itself implausible in the Hezekiah date. The Menim seem to be mentioned under Uzziab (also Arabs in Gen. 1 = Gerar? and Sp. for 222?; Winkler, *MT* 143, n. 1; 2 Ch. 26; cp. MENIM, 8). A little later, under Manassah, according to one interpretation of a passage in a cuneiform tablet, we find Simeon as a whole reckoned as belonging to Masri, not Judah (below, § 6, iii).

ii. Dozy (*De Israëliën te Mekka* [1804], 56 [Germ. Trans. 50]), however, thinks that v. 41 shows that the events belong to the time of Saul, and in an extremely ingenious manner works out the following theory:—

When Saul's expedition was sent with orders to extirpate the Amalekites, the king was spared and brought back (1 S. 31: 9). In Yathrib-Medina it was told that when the disobedient army returned to Palestine they were exiled for their disobedience and returned to the Amalekite land⁵ (Gen. 13: 7). The force sent would likely be Simeonite (the most southern tribe, 61 [56]). Afterwards, when David punished the Amalekites for their attack on Ziklag, 4000 went up (1 S. 31: 17), to be destroyed later by 500 Simeonites who settled in Seir (1 Ch. 14: 2; cp. 57 f. [60]). In Hezekiah's time an interest was felt in these Simeonite exiles

¹ In this connection we may note the absence of all mention of Judah from the Shechem story in Gen. 34: 30. See above, col. 426, n. 4.

² For Cheyne's view of the text see MENIM, a.

³ On the text compare Winkler, *MT*, 159, pp. 48 ff.

⁴ Dozy argues that it is only the writing down that is ascribed to Hezekiah's time (*Israëliën te Mekka*, 56 [41]). Peribon thinks the reference is intended to include the expedition. It is difficult to see how the person who inserted the notice could apply it to any other than the time of Hezekiah.

⁵ The Gedor of v. 39 is thus the *fiddir* or sanctuary at Mekka (89 [30]), 'the valley' (of v. 39) is E. of Mekka (92-91 [81 f.]), which received its name from the great fight (777-776 = Manassah, 81 [72 f.]).

(35 [49], 72 [84]) and Is. 21: 11 f. is an invitation to them to go back (777-776 [80-83]). In time they came to be called 1 (101-100 [99-98]), cp. below, § 8, iii.

Dozy's reason for assigning the Simeonite movement to the time of Saul does not seem cogent: v. 41 shows that we were their cities into the reign of David⁶ is not 'Chronicles', it is a marginal gloss which has been added to 'and their villages' (v. 42) from the text to which the parallel Josh. 19 shows that they belong (so Be. *ad loc.*). Nor can Dozy's other combination be accepted (for a sober criticism see Grätz, *Gesch.* 11: 146 [191]).

iii. N. I. Weinsten (*Zur Genesis der Ag. II*, 2 [1901]), however, adopts most of Dozy's combination and adds others of his own.

He tries to show that the Minim of Talmudic literature are the Menim of the OT, and they in their turn Dozy's wandering Simeonites, whose name he supposes later writers have avoided on account of its reproach under which they had stigmatised Menim or Minim. Much of this seems to be of the same kind of criticism as Dozy's discussion.

iv. On the other hand, there seems no definite reason to urge in support of the view that the Chronicler's statements are a late invention (We. *GT* 212-11 [213]). Why should he invent such a story, especially where the Chronicler seems to treat Simeon as belonging to northern Israel (but cp. *Orig. Heb.* 10: 1 [12 p. 10] [2 Ch. 17: 9; Ephraim, Manassah, Simeon, 21; Manassah, Ephraim, Simeon, Naphtali]. It would be a strong point in favour of an early source for the statements in 1 Ch. 13: 41 if it could be proved that Simeon was still a current name in S. Palestine in the seventh century B.C. (see § 6, iii).

At this point, accordingly, we may conveniently turn to extra-biblical sources in search of references.

1. We may begin with the attempt to find such in Thotmes III's list of 112 places of Upper Kfnu.

No. 35 is Sam-n' and no. 19 Sam-n'w (var. Sam-n'w) which looks like the plural of no. 35. We may grant the similarity of the names to Simeon (cp. the spelling of Sa-ra-hap-ah, but we cannot infer much. We cannot locate them, according to W. M. Müller, they, at least, were not in the S., as the list of beliefs does not include names in the S. of Judah. *Upp. Egypt* col. 154, number 35, and notes 2 and 3. The conjecture is, therefore, that Simeon (with Levi) was an early settler in Palestine (Hommel, *MT* 265; Sayce, *Early Heb. Trad.* 92) to make a hypothesis.

ii. Nor are we much better off a century or more later in the Amarna correspondence.

There is a letter (AT 5, no. 220 3) from Samu-Atda, prince of a place called Sam-hu-na, which is phonetically Simeon, and is definitely indicated as the name of a town (*town*), but we cannot tell where it lay. Stenungel inclines to identify it with the Symoon (Συμων) of 29 in Josh. 11: 1 (see above, MT 172; Simeon, § 1) mentioned with Abshah, and Symon (so Buhl, *Pal.* 215) with Seminye² (see below, iii, a 11). There is nothing to make the identity of Sam-hu-na with one of the places mentioned in the Karnak list more likely (so also Meyer, *Chron.* 73). If the identity be held probable, it would appear to stand in the way of connecting Simeon in any very definite manner with the Habiri as Stenungel proposes to connect the Leah tribes generally.

iii. Unfortunately, none of the Later Egyptian lists contains a name resembling Simeon. It might be surmised that the old towns, or at least their names, had died out. Sayce conjectures that Simeon preceded Judah in the occupation of S. Palestine, and had disappeared by the time of David (*Early Heb. Trad.* 392). There is a passage, however, in one of the fragments relating to the successful Egyptian expedition of Esarhaddon, which must be taken account of.

¹ Dozy (70 [63]), Grätz (*Gesch.* ii. 148; a theory later abandoned) follow Aq. Sym. Theod. in inserting fugitives (772-699-676) as subject i' call. On a supposed reference to Simeon in Mic. 1: 5 vers. *Untersuch.* *ub. d. Chron.* 1: 9; Hitzig, *ad loc.* see Grätz, *Stamm Simeon*, 32; on a supposed connection of Massa of Prov. 24: 31 (Hitzig, *Sprüche Sal.* 310 f. and others) with Simeon, see 18, 34, and on other supposed references see Weinsten (23 in § 5 iii).

² Petrie, also, places Samhuna in Galilee (*Hist. Egypt.* 231).

SIMEON

SIMEON

From Masur, Musur, says Esarhaddon, 'I marshalled my army (bana'u ad-kasa) to Meshobah. I directed my march, kashu-hakkhar from Masur, Apku which is in (or by) Samena (Samena) to (or) Rapihi to (or) the Wady Maon.'

If this is really the text of the tablet—it is the reading of Budge, Peiser, Craig, and (cautiously) Rogers—it is important; the district (amat) in which Apku lies (not as has been supposed, Samaria, but Samene (a), a name which might be an Assyrian representation of Simeon). According to this, there was probably in the first half of the seventh century B.C. a district known to the Assyrians as [š]m, apparently somewhere in Palestine. The text question is, Where?

The district contained, or had on its border (at), a town called Apku, which lay 70 kashu-hakkhar from Rapihi-Rapha (or Refah). What the length of a kashu-hakkhar was is uncertain (114 kilom. for 2 Eng. m. [2 or 3 kilom.] = 1 m.). The average day's march in this inscription is a kashu-hakkhar.

(1) If the day's march was about 7 m., 70 kashu-hakkhar from Rapihi would give the site of Apku as somewhere about 100 m. from Refah—that is to say, about as far as, say, between Lahan and Bevan. It might then be a question whether Samena is not perhaps a clerical error for Sam-shan, Apku in Sharon (cp. A. H. S. and seems as far as S. 114, 1, of the Sea of Tadmec, with which Schröder identified Apku (1872, 201) is some 115 m. from er-Refah; kafat et-Sema' of 1871, with which S. 114, 1, 2, p. 8, (271) names the district of Sam-shan, identifying Apku with 'Apku in Aher' of Josh. 19, 35, is over 100 m.; Semuene (above, n.), somewhat over 110 m.

(2) If the day's march was about 11 m., 70 kashu-hakkhar from Rapihi would make Apku some 250 m. from er-Refah, that is to say farther than Ferns. At 11 m. from er-Refah (1872, cp. A. H. S.), it seems to be about 215 m. from er-Refah.

The attempt to do justice to the Apku part of Esarhaddon's narrative, however, raises a difficulty in what precedes. (a) Esarhaddon seems to say that when he directed his march to Meshobah he was in Musur and there marshalled his camp, starting from Apku. Now, Musur is nowhere used of N. Palestine. It has been argued with great force, however, by Winkler (and by no Assyriologist disproved) that Musri is

sometimes to be understood as referring to the neighbourhood of the Negeb of Judah.

Winkler, accordingly conjectures that the Samena in question was in Musri, used in the sense just indicated, Apku being the Apheke of Josh. 15, 7, where it is assigned to Judah. The Joshua context suggests the neighbourhood of Hebron; at all events, somewhere in the hill country of Judah. This theory would give us the most interesting and remarkable datum that, about a generation and a half after the fall of Samaria, the name Simeon was at least known as a geographical term denoting a district not far from Hebron, and the further datum that the Assyrians counted it to Masur. This would have some bearing on the theory which finds Simeon referred to in Dt. 33 (see above, § 3) and explain the prayer for its return to Judah. Many interesting problems would thus assume a new aspect; but the point most important for our present object would be the establishment of such a contemporary geographical use of the name Simeon as would virtually prove a real knowledge of a Simeonite people in S. Palestine, which would give us a valuable starting-point for dealing with the Hebrew Simeon legends.

There is, however, a difficulty in the way of identifying Esarhaddon's Apku with the Judahite Apheke of Josh. 15, 7.

Hebron is barely some 60 m. from Rapihi, which could equal 70 kashu-hakkhar only if the kashu-hakkhar were some 50 m. It that is not tenable, the Hebron-Apku theory could be maintained only by supposing that (1) Simeon there is not a mistake about the reading is a mistake of the Assyrian scribe or of the scribe in which he compiled; (2) Placing Apku in S. Palestine is, therefore, not beyond criticism.

(2) On the other hand, the difficulty of a N. Palestine site for Apku hardly seems to be quite as great as Winkler suggests.

It is no doubt natural to suppose that Esarhaddon was himself in Musur when he set out for Meshobah; but alike is not quite unambiguous. Esarhaddon might then, from a N. Palestine Apku have ordered his army out of Musri and have marched himself to join it. Samena might in that case be connected, perhaps, with one of the places in Thotmes III's list mentioned above (p. 13) (so Sarda, 1875, 74, n. 1; cp. above, p. 13).

There remains, however, against the N. Palestine theory, the difficulty emphasised by Winkler:

How came Esarhaddon's army to be in Musri so as to be called forth by Esarhaddon, unless that were, as Winkler suggests, simply the stage on the expedition reached at the point in the narrative? And, if so, how was Esarhaddon not with the army?

We must thus, apparently, be content to leave the problem open for the present. Simeon may be mentioned in contemporary documents belonging to the sixth century, the fifteenth, or the seventh; but we cannot be sure. The hope of securing a fixed starting-point for the story of Simeon in strictly contemporary evidence is for the present not fulfilled. Any day, however, new material may enable us to decide the question. Meanwhile, we must be content with possibilities.

When the character of the development which resulted eventually in the formation of the kingdom of Judah is fully considered, and the suggestions of affinity with

'Descent of Star' paxim, is pih or unshik (S. R. 156, B 7); when its phonetic value is kipu (as a comparison of Kosi, Plate 23, k i) with Plate 37, N. I. A. B. 101, shows that it is in the Esarhaddon passage [p] what is said by C. H. W. Johns on the phonetic value of N. I. A. B. in his careful discussion of the kipu-ah in Assyrian Deeds and Documents, 2, 388, which the present writer did not see till after this note was written; it means governor. Schröder admitted twenty-four years ago that 'governor over Egypt' was impossible (K. G. 265); only he gave up 'governor' instead of giving up 'Egypt'. On kipu see also Johns, Domesday Bk. 3.

(1) Or by regarding kashu-hakkhar as not a technical measure but a general term: 'long journey' (cp. C. H. W. Johns, Assyrian Deeds and Documents, 2, 200).

(2) The contexts in which it oftenest occurs give it the meaning of 'muster, marshal forces where one is' (i.e., in Taylor Cylinder, 823, assemble your army ipu-uh-hir um-man-ka), muster your camp [ida-ka-a kavasa-ka]; but it need not imply presence; cp. 4 R. 4812, 13a: 'Bel will call forth (ida-ka-iam-ma) a foreign foe against him' (Del. Ass. III B).

1 Hommel, literally, 'to the borders of' (Jahrbuch, 295).
2 In 4 R. 35105, 4 obv., l. 11, the name is read [1875] Samene-ru, south (4 R. B. 257 [1874], does not quote the name, but Taylor, Deeds, 312 [1873]) renders it Samaria; similarly in W. Esarhaddon's text (4 R. 1, 9 [1875]) and Strassburg, Apheke, 33, p. 31, no. 4213; Samene-ru-nal, the reading followed by Schröder (1872, 1831) and Delitzsch (Par. 286). Meanwhile Budge, however, Hist. of Esarhaddon [1886], 112, reads Samena (without queries). This is rejected (omitted?) explicitly by Taylor (4 R. 1, 9, [1875]), and silently by Winkler (loc. cit., p. 130, 33; translit. text [1882]). Later, however, the original was examined by Peiser and J. A. Craig and declared to read Samena (4 R. 1, 9, [1898]) which is likewise the reading (shown shaded) of Rogers ('Two Esarhaddon Texts,' in Harvard College Studies, no. 2, 1889). The present writer examined the tablet, and is convinced that the reading Samene-ru-nal is quite impossible (so also Budge, and C. A. Thompson, in conversation). There are several possibilities; but Samena seems most likely. See also § 6, iii, a (1).

3 On Ass. or Heb. for (da) see Delitzsch on 'Samaria' (Jahrbuch, 4, 137). For disappearance of 'ayin at the beginning of a syllable. For disappearance of 'ayin at the end of a syllable, cp. Del. Ass. I, 10 (1872).

4 Cp. Del. Ass. 177-179, and C. H. W. Johns as in n. 1, col. 415, and the literature cited there and in Miss. Ass. 761, 414.

5 Since the above was written, F. A. W. Budge has given his reasons for rejecting the view of Winkler (Hist. of Esarhaddon, p. 130, 33). It can hardly be claimed, however, that they settle the question. (1) The fragment (23, 187, 8-9), cited by Winkler as apparently mentioning Musri and Meshobah side by side, must, indeed, be left out of the argument. It is broken off so close to the upright wedge of 'is' that it is illegitimate to argue as if the character were complete, and therefore 'is'. It might quite well be 'is' (K. 1770, 145, n. 3). Budge and King go further, and say that they can see clearly a trace of the head of a second upright wedge (the present writer, after examination of the tablet, is inclined to think that they may be right). The reading of 'is' then probably be Meshobah as Winkler suggests (1872, 115, n. 1); 'mi' for me would be unusual (1871, 1, 10; in the index to Bezold's Catalogue yield no parallel); 'mi' in Khas, 103, Oppert and Ménant Journ. As. 6, ser. 1, p. 220, are 'mi' and 'mi', though Botta, Mon., pl. 150, l. 9, gives the usual 'mi', and Winkler's edition follows. Winkler's reading, however, by no means falls with the surrender. If this theory, he never mentioned the tablet as the main justification of his theory (see Musri, etc., p. 1). (2) Budge's other arguments, however, seem open to criticism as inconclusive. In particular, the translation of ana ihpuzi elwan Musri (Kl. In. 24) by 'is the wash-basin of the Marches of Egypt, although following time-honoured precedent, has never been justified. The phonetic value of N. I. G. AB when it means gate-guardian, as in

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Ishmaelite, Edomite, Kenite, etc. are allowed for, it is natural to conjecture that Simeon stands for one of the unsettled elements of the southern population fused more or less permanently into a state by David, especially when it is noted (cp Sayce, Early Hebrew History, 302) how many (5 out of 11) of the towns (1 S. 30:27-31) to which he is said to have 'sent gifts' appear in the list of Simeonite towns, for there does not seem to be between the lists any literary connection (below, § 10). According to Land (De Gids, Oct. 1871, p. 21) Simeon was very possibly an Ishmaelite group that attached itself to Israel. If we think that Beersheba was markedly Simeonite, interesting problems arise connected with such names as Abraham, Isaac, (cp Stade, GII 1155), Samuel's sons, David, Amos.

1. In all the statements we have referred to, the name has borne practically the same form. It appears to consist of the radical šim with the nominal termination -on = an. What view of the name was taken in early times we cannot say. It is not necessary to suppose that the story of Leah's gratitude for the hearing of her supplications (Gen. 29:31) was a very early explanation. It is exactly parallel to the explanation of the cognate name Ishmael (Gen. 16:11; J).

The name Simeon has been connected by Hitzig (GII 47), W. R. Smith (JPhil., 1883, p. 80), Stade (GII 1152), Kerber (Die rel.-gesch. Bedeut. d. Heb. Eigenn., 71) with the Arabic sim, said to mean the offspring of the hyena and the female wolf (Hommel, Saugthiere, 394), and Hall (VHOF, ad loc. and 114) proposes to read šim, 395; Simeon and Levi are šimim (for ahim; 'brothers'), in the sense of 'howling creatures,' perhaps 'hyenas.' Unfortunately, šim occurs only in Is. 13:22 and its meaning is not known (Che. SBOT, 'šakals'; but Duhm, Marti, probably 'wild owls'; cp Staerk, Studien, 2, 10 [1866]). Smith supports his explanation by citing the Arabic tribal names šim', a subdivision of the defenders (the Medinits) and šam'im, 'a subdivision of Tamim,' and compares such names as Zalyān (zaby, gazelle), Wa'lin (wa', ibex), Labwān (labwa, homess), with which he classes such Hebrew names as Zibon (zibza, hyena), Ephron (epri, epri, calf of wild cow).

If Simeon is really mentioned by Esarhaddon's scribe as Sa-me-n-a] (§ 6 iii.), it would seem that the name was at that time, at least, sometimes pronounced Šam'in. On the other hand, there was, as we have seen, a place-name pronounced Šamhama in the fourteenth century B.C. (above, § 6 ii.), and there is a contract tablet dated in the thirty-sixth year of Artaxerxes I, which mentions a man named Ša-ma-ah-i-na (Hilprecht, no. 45, l. 2), brother of Lu-lu-i-na-ta-nu (= Jehonathan). Later, as a personal name, Simeon became common (see SIMEON ii., 1-6, and SIMON, 1-13; SIMON PETER, § 1 a, b; cp, for Palmyrene inscriptions, Lulzbarski, Ephemeris, vol. i., index (under שִׁמְעוֹן)).

ii. The name appears in regular gentile form as Šim'oni, SIMEONITE (שִׁמְעוֹנִי; cp Reuben, Reubēni).

It, however, everywhere represents the gentile by the noun form (שמעון: in Nu. 25:14 שִׁמְעוֹן becomes שִׁמְעוֹן σ [AFL. om. שמן]). It is possible, therefore, that the שמעון of BUKAT in Zech. 12:13 implies that Šime'i, שִׁמְעִי, was known as an alternative form of the gentile. In Arabic there is the similar pair ending in -ān and -āni respectively (WRS, 80).

1 Cp Dozy's view, above, § 5 ii. (small type, end), and below § 8 iii.
2 Cp Nöldeke, ZDMG 15:366 [1861].
3 Fiemini, according to Zimmern (Z. A. 7:122 f.) and Stucken (MT 6, 1902, p. 187).
4 He does not allude to Dozy's daring hypothesis referred to above (§ 5).

5 The gentile (amēta) Ša-ma-n-mi-ai occurs along with (amēta) p. ku-du-ai in a letter to 'the king' (K. 1248). What (ai) Ša-am-u-na (so, according to the text in Hel. Leventzke, 16) not [as in KB 2:106] Ša-am-u-na), son of Marduk-apil-iddina in Semacherib's Taylor Prism inscription (5:33 f.) can mean it would be hard to say. Ša(m)-ma'-gu-nu was the name of one of the sons of Belikašā (ruler of the half-Aramean tribe of the Gabilat) executed by Asur-bāni-pal. Šamuna, in Ša-mu-na-aph-iddina (Johns, Doomsday Bk. viii. 16, K. 8179) and in Ša-mu-na-i-ni (Cass. Beeds and Dea. 160 R. 11 = K. 279) is doubtless Eshmun (Doomsday Bk. 16).

6 The Šematah also of 1 Ch. 4:37 appears in שִׁמְעוֹן as שמעון.

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iii. Names containing the three radicals שִׁמְע are so common, especially in the neighbourhood of S. Palestine, that they would be enough in themselves to suggest the theory of dispersion underlying Gen. 49. In that theory there may be more than popular fancy. We cannot here probably discuss W. R. Smith's view that 'the dispersion of the tribe Simeon is most easily understood on the principles of exogamy and female kinship' (JPhil. 9:6 [1880]). A historical connection of some kind, however, between at least some of the various cognate names seems extremely probable.

We find Šime'i as Simeonite (1 Ch. 4:27), Levite (1 S. 6:15), Reubenite (1 Ch. 5:4)—all Leah tribes—Benjaminite (2 S. 10:11 etc.); cp 1 K. 4:19, and in the family of David (2 S. 21:1 Kt) as the name of the only brother mentioned in old sources (Gen. 1 S. 16:9 in KHC); besides which we find cognate names like Eshmena, and Ishmael, pronounced now in Egypt, Ismael (cp Bethel, Béim; Reibel, Reiben).

Not only are the names Simeon and Ishmael cognate. There seem to be also in the genealogy of Ishmael points of contact with that of Simeon (see MUISAM, MISHMA), to which we now pass.

i. As in the case of Reuben, P's genealogy of Simeon occurs in Ex. 6:15 as well as in the usual passages. The list is as follows:—

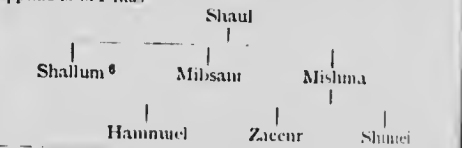
Table with 3 columns: Gen. 40:10 - Ex. 6:15, Nu. 26:12, 1 Ch. 4:24. It lists names in Hebrew and transliteration: שִׁמְעוֹן, שִׁמְעוֹן, שִׁמְעוֹן, שִׁמְעוֹן, שִׁמְעוֹן, שִׁמְעוֹן, שִׁמְעוֹן, שִׁמְעוֹן, שִׁמְעוֹן, שִׁמְעוֹן.

The Gen. = Ex. list seems to contain three names each appearing twice: שִׁמְעוֹן = שִׁמְעוֹן, שִׁמְעוֹן, שִׁמְעוֹן, and שִׁמְעוֹן = שִׁמְעוֹן. Nu. changing one sibilant, gives שִׁמְעוֹן for שִׁמְעוֹן, and drops its double (שִׁמְעוֹן). 1 Ch. 4 further shows שִׁמְעוֹן for שִׁמְעוֹן.

Winckler thinks that we have here a case the converse of what is suggested elsewhere with regard to ISACHAR (p. 51): the Chronicler's list is, he thinks (GI 2:20, n. 1), the corruption of a sentence telling that the b'nē Šim'on went southwards when Saul contested with the Zaitites. On this suggestion we above (§ 4, end).

If the list be taken for a real 'genealogy' it is difficult to choose between the variants (see the special articles).

Bertheau decides in favour of Jakin as against Jari, but only for the (weak) reason that it occurs thrice. He thinks that the best known Simeonite clan was Šaul (Šaul's mother is known as a Canaanite and he alone has three sons, of whom Misa' in turn has three). It would seem that some popular story was current about this Šaul and his Canaanite mother. According to Jubilees 34:20 her name was Adibaa, and according to 41:1 she was a woman of Zephath, which, according to Josh. 1:17, was the city captured by Simeon and called Hormah. In Gen. Rab. 80 she is said to have been Dinah (cp Charles, Jubilees, 2:2). ii. In the Chronicler's special genealogy (6:4-25 f.), which appears in MT thus—



1 Note also Jamīn and Šaul as Simeonite names (1 Ch. 4:24).
2 Cp Graf, Der Stamm Simeon, 23; Ewald, 61:3, 1274, p. 1274, and above, § 5 ii, 7.
3 Indeed the note on the name in Gen. 49:11 (J) is שִׁמְעוֹן שִׁמְעוֹן with שִׁמְעוֹן as in the case of Reuben (§ 7 i).
4 How cautious it is necessary to be in reasoning from similarity of names appears from the remarkable fact that Šaul as well as Šime'i is a Simeonite name, and that Šamuel, who 'discovered' Šaul, is brought into relation with Beersheba, the most famous of the towns claimed for Simeon. Šamuel is Amihud is the name of the Simeonite representative in the partition of W. Palestine (Nu. 34:20).
5 שִׁמְעוֹן שִׁמְעוֹן שִׁמְעוֹן שִׁמְעוֹן שִׁמְעוֹן שִׁמְעוֹן שִׁמְעוֹן שִׁמְעוֹן שִׁמְעוֹן שִׁמְעוֹן. This might be made more plausible perhaps by reading שִׁמְעוֹן, instead of the strange שִׁמְעוֹן for שִׁמְעוֹן (שִׁמְעוֹן); but the clause שִׁמְעוֹן שִׁמְעוֹן שִׁמְעוֹן שִׁמְעוֹן שִׁמְעוֹן is not convincing.
6 Cp P's Simeonite census prince Šoshmuel b. Zorishaddai (Nu. 1:2 12:7 16:10 19), from whom Judith is said to be descended (Judith 8:1). Šahn (שִׁמְעוֹן), but שִׁמְעוֹן šahaw, שִׁמְעוֹן (šahaw) was the father of the Simeonite Ziiri who was slain with the Midianite woman, Nu. 25:14 (see § 10, a, end). The other names assigned to Simeon are Šaphat b. Hori, the 'spy' (Nu. 13:3), and Šephathai b. Maacah, the ruler (1 Ch. 27:10).

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the names, apart from the Ishmaelite Mishna' and Mishna' and the Judahite Hamtamel, need not be old (cp Gray, *IPP.V* 236); indeed **Sh** omits Hamtamel and Za'cur, and Shime'i might be a duplicate of Mishna'. Moreover, they all appear in **Sh** as descendants in progressive generations of Shaul.

iii. Still more suspicious looking is the peculiar list in *rv*, 34-37. (On the number, thirteen, of the names, some of which are supplied with genealogies, see below, § 10, i.)

It may be noted, however, in connection with Simeon's being a brother of Levi, that the names brought into prominence in the list—Shaul, Shime'i, Ziza² (traced back five generations³) are known otherwise as Levitical names (cp *GENEALOGIES* i., § 7 [v.]).

a. The theory of the statistical writers, evidently was that Simeon was gradually merged in Judah; the Simeonites first settled amongst the Judahites (Josh. 19:10) and then, in the time of David (1 Ch. 4:11*b*—it is a marginal gloss to the whole list; see above, § 5 ii.), were lost in Judah. It would appear that there was a time when the Judah list in Josh. 15:21-32 lacked exactly those cities which in Josh. 19 are assigned to Simeon, for when they are omitted the total, twenty-nine (instead of thirty-six), is correct. The fact remains, however, that all the Simeonite cities are somewhere or other assigned to Judah. It has been noted that whereas we hear of the Negeb of Judah (1 S. 27:10), of *Chib* (30:14), of the Kenite (27:10), of the Kethi (30:14), of Jeralmeel (27:10), we nowhere hear of the Negeb of Simeon (Graf, *Stamm Sim.*, 14). Whilst naturally no attempt is made to sketch a boundary line, it is clear that Simeon was supposed by the writer of Josh. 19:1-9 to be found in the SW. of Judah.

The slighting of Simeon⁴ in the partition of W. Palestine has been connected (Weinstein, *Gen. der Agada*, 299) with the story of Zimri in Nu. 25:14; so also (*Gen. rab.* 93; *Sipp. rab.* 26; Rashi, and others) the fact that Simeon is the only tribe that falls in the second census (Nu. 26:14) enormously (from 59,300 to 22,824) below its size in the first (Nu. 1:22*A*).⁵ It is difficult, however, to extract any more history out of the first story than out of the second.

a. The list of Simeonite cities appears in four forms, which are here shown side by side.

(1) SIMON.	(2)	(3) JUDAH.	(4)
Josh. 19:29	1 Ch. 4:28-31	Josh. 15:26-32	Neh. 11:26-29
7	32	42	
i	i	i	i
Beersheba	Beersheba	Sheba	Jeshua
sheba			
Moladah	Moladah	Moladah	Moladah
		Hazar-gaddah	
		Heshmon	
		Bethpeler	Bethphelet
Hazar-shual	Hazar-shual	Hazar-shual	Hazar-shual
		Beersheba	Beersheba
		[Biziohjah = 'its villages']	
Ralah	Bilhah	Balah	
		Jim	
Arem	Ezem	Arem	
Eholad	Tolad	Eholad	
Bethuel	Bethuel	Chesil	
Hormah	Hormah	Hormah	
Ziklag	Ziklag	Ziklag	Ziklag
Beth-narecaboth	Beth-narecaboth	Maduammah	Mekonah
Hazar-misich	Hazar-misim	Sausannah	
Beth-lekaath	Beth-birei	Leboath	'its villages'
Sharuhen	Shaaraim	Shilhim	
	ii		
ii	ii		
En-Rimmon	En-Rimmon	Mu and Rimmon	En-rimmon
		mon	
		ii	
Ether		Ether	
	T. o. chen		
Ashan	Ashan	Ashan	

The names have been given in the forms under which they are discussed in the separate articles, where account

¹ In the Chronicler's expanded version of the Hexateuch list (1 Ch. 4:21-23) it is necessary to include Simeon himself to make up the full thirteen.
² In the form *Ziza*; see *ZISA*.
³ Ending in **Sh** with Simeon himself (*ayawor* for Shemaiah).
⁴ On the varying ethical judgment on the conduct of Simeon (Gen. 34) see Gunkel *ad loc.* and Charles' *Bk. of Judges*, p. 202*b*.
⁵ In the case of the other four—Reuben (3000), Ephraim (3200), Naphtali (2300), Gad (1500)—the fall is slight.

is taken of the variants in **Sh**. It will suffice here to note that in list (1) **Sh** inserts θαλαα after Rimmon; in list (3) **Sh** omits Heshmon and **Sh** identifies ASHAN (rv, 42) with ASHANU (rv, 43). In list (4) **Sh** follows MT; but **Sh** omits all except Jeshua and Beersheba.

i. The main list (i.) appears to consist of thirteen towns agreeing with the thirteen (1 Ch. 4:34-37) names (some with genealogies attached) of their inhabitants who afterwards migrated to Gerar (1 Ch. 4:39).

ii. The main list of towns is followed by a supplementary list (ii.) of four (Am Rimmon being a single place, and Tochen preserved only in 1 Ch. 4:42), agreeing with the four 'captains' who migrated to Mt. Sen.

iii. Of the list of nine Judahite or Simeonite towns assigned to the priests (1 Ch. 6:57-59 [42-44] = Josh. 21:13-16) only ASHAN (rv, 43; in Joshua miswritten AIN) is ever called Simeonite.

H. W. H.

SIMEON (ΣΙΜΩΝ; CYMEON [BAL.]; see *SIMEON* i., § 8, i., end). i. EV accurately ΣΙΜΩΝ, in the list of those with foreign wives (EZRA i., § 5, end), Ezra 10:31 (Σίμων Σιμεων).

2. Grandfather of MATTHIAS (1 Macc. 2:1); see *MACCABEES* i., § 2.

3. A devout man of Jerusalem, mentioned in Lk.'s Gospel of the Infancy (Lk. 2:22-39). He was gifted with the 'holy spirit'—i.e., the spirit of prophecy—and had learned by revelation that he should not die without having seen the Messiah. Having been supernaturally guided to the temple courts, he saw the child Jesus brought in by his parents, according to custom, on the completion of the period of the mother's purification. He then burst into an inspired song (rv, 29-32), known to us as the *Aunc Dimittis* (cp *HYMNS*, § 3). He could now depart, like a relieved sentinel, and could transmit to others the happy tidings of the dawn of the Messianic day (see *GOSPELS*, § 39). For Mary he added a special word of prophecy, pointing to the different results of the preaching of the Cross of Jesus, which would lead some to a new life, and others to anguish at his crucifixion (rv, 34*f*). See further, J. Lightfoot on Lk. 2:25.

It is possible to regard Simeon as a poetic personification of that inner circle of Jewish believers which formed the true SERVANT OF THE LORD (q.v.). Long had it waited for the fulfilment of the prophecies of salvation, and now (i.e., when this 'Gospel of the Infancy' was written) its members were passing one by one into the company of believers in Jesus. Nor need we be startled to find an imperfect parallel to the story of Simeon in one of the legends which cluster round the birth of the Buddha (see Carpenter, *The Synoptic Gospel*), 155).

4. RV, SYMEON (Lk. 3:30). See *GENEALOGIES* OF JESUS, § 3.

5. RV, SYMEON, 'that was called Niger' (CYMEON ὁ καλοῦμενος Νίγερ [Ti. WH]), is mentioned along with Barnabas, Lucius, Manaen, and Saul, among the prophets and teachers in the primitive church at Antioch (Acts 13:1*f*). See *MINISTRY*, § 37. Niger was probably his Gentile name, whether chosen with any reference to his complexion we cannot tell; the name was not uncommon (see *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Biogr. and Mythol.*).

The list of the first preachers of the Gospel given by Eriphanius (Epiiph. *Opera*, 1:337, ed. Dindorf) closes with the names Βαρναβᾶς, καὶ Ἀπελλᾶν, Ρούφον, Νίγερν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τῶν ἐβραίουχοῦντων θύο.

6. RV, SYMEON (Acts 15:14). See *SIMON PETER*, § 1.

SIMON (CΥΜΩΝ; = 'snub-nosed'? a Greek name [see *SIMON PETER*, § 1*a*]) of frequent occurrence among post-exilic Jews [Σίμων]; cp JASON; see *SIMON PETER*, § 1*A*.

The persons who bear the name in **Sh** or NT are:—
 1. Simon Chosroeni (CΥΜΩΝ ΧΟΣΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ [B] ... ΧΟΣΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ [A]). 1 Esd. 9:32 = Ezra 10:31, ΣΙΜΩΝ [B. Harim].

SIMON

2. Son of Mattathias surnamed **THASSI** (1 Macc. 2:3; *Θασσις* [A], *θασσ[ε]κ[η]* [NV]; *thasi* [V]; *ܬܫܝܫ* [Syr.]; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 61, *Θασις*). See **MACCABLES**, §§ 1, 5.

3. Son of Onias, 'the great priest,' whose praise is set forth in Ecclus. 50. It is doubtful whether Simon I. ('the Just') or Simon II. is alluded to; cp **ECCLESIASTICUS**, § 7; **CANON**, § 36; **ONIAS**, §§ 4-7.

4. A Benjamite, who, wishing to avenge himself upon Onias, informed Apollonius of the existence of huge sums of money in the temple treasury (2 Macc. 3-4). The account of the attempt of **HELIODORUS** [y. 7.] to seize the treasure is well known. See **APOLLONIUS**, **MENELAUS**, **ONIAS**, § 6. He is called the *προσάγωγος τοῦ ἑμποῦ* (3:4) or temple overseer, and it was perhaps his duty to look after the daily supplies of the temple. Cp **TEMPLE**, § 36.

5. Named in Mt. 13:5; Mk. 6:3, together with James, Joseph, and Judas, as one of the 'brethren' of Jesus. He is not mentioned elsewhere in the NT; but it is not impossible that he is identical with the Simeon, son of Clopas the brother of Joseph, mentioned by Hegesippus as 'cousin german' (*ἀνεψιῶς*) of Jesus, who succeeded James in the bishopric of Jerusalem and suffered martyrdom in the reign of Trajan. See **CLOPAS**.

6. Surnamed the **CANANÆAN**, **AVCANANAITE** (*ὁ Καναναῖος*; Mt. 10:4; Mk. 3:18), or the **ZELOTOR** (*ὁ Ζηλωτής*, Lk. 6:15; Acts 1:13); named as an apostle in all the four canonical lists (**APOSTLE**, § 1). There is no doubt about the superiority of the reading *καναναῖος* to that of *TR. κανανίτης*, though the latter has the support of **S**; but although the writer of the Third Gospel and Acts took it as representing, and has translated it, 'Zealot' (see **ZEALOT**), many modern critics (cp **JUDAS**, 9, § 2) are inclined to take the word as a Greek modification of *קנני* or *קנני*, meaning, 'a man of Canan, or Cana' (there were several Canas). Simon does not reappear in the NT history. In ecclesiastical tradition he is usually mentioned in conjunction with Judas of James; and indeed in some western authorities in Mt. 10:4 the epithet *Zelotes* is given to Judas not to Simon, Judas Zelotes taking the place of Thaddæus. The addition of *Zelotes* is probably due to a punctuation of Lk.'s text which might not seem unnatural if no connection of sense were recognised between *καναναῖος* and *ζηλωτής* (WH). Simon the Zealot is frequently identified with the Simon (Simeon) of Clopas mentioned by Hegesippus (ap. Eus. *HE* 3:32) as a descendant of David who was alive in Jerusalem in the days of Trajan and suffered martyrdom under the consular Atticus; but this identification is not made by Hegesippus or Eusebius themselves, and appears to be first met with in the *Chronicon Paschale*, Pseudo-Hippolytus, and Pseudo-Dorotheus, all of which call him Simon Judas.

Later ecclesiastical tradition varies as to the field of Simon's apostolic labours. One set of legends places his activity in Babylon or on the shores of the Black Sea. But, as Lipsius points out (*Apokr. Ap. gesch.* 3:142 ff.), these representations have probably arisen from a confusion with Simon Peter who writes from 'Babylon' and addresses the Christians in 'Pontus.' Another set of legends, especially met with in late Greek writers, represents him as preaching in Egypt, Libya, Mauretania, and Britain; but the same districts are also assigned by some traditions to Simon Peter. In the Western church the festival of Saints Simon and Judas is observed on Oct. 28. The Breviary lesson for the day has it that 'Simon Chananeus qui et Zelotes, et Thaddæus qui et Judas Jacobi appellatur in Evangelio, unius ex catholicis Epistolis scriptor' evangelised Egypt (Simon) and Mesopotamia (Jude) respectively, and afterwards went together into Persia and ended a successful ministry there in a glorious martyrdom.

7. Of **CYRENE** [y. 7.] (*Σίμων κυρηναῖος* [Ti. WH]), perhaps a Hellenistic Jew, who came from the country and was compelled to carry the cross for the crucifixion (Mt. 27:32; Mk. 15:21; Lk. 23:26). Afterwards he was reckoned among the seventy 'others' (apostles), Lk. 10:1, and he was said to have died on the cross *ὕπὲρ Χριστοῦ*—i. e., for the sake of Christ. The Basilidian and perhaps also other Gnostics believed that he died in place of Jesus; cp R. A. Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelgesch.* 1:95 f.

SIMON MAGUS

294 3427. According to Mk. he was the father of **ALEXANDER** and **RUFUS** [y. 7.]. W. H. Ryder (*ibid.* 17:196 f., 1898) thinks that Simon's eldest son was Alexander, his second Rufus, his third Tertius, and his fourth Quantus—all Christians living in or near Rome when Mark wrote. Living among Gentiles, Simon gave his sons Greek and Latin names. This Rufus has been conjectured by many to be the same as the Rufus of Rom. 16:13. E. P. Gould, *St. Mark*, 280 f. (1897), remarks 'It is the height of foolish conjecture to identify this Rufus, the son of Simon of Cyrene, with the Rufus of Rom. 16:13; St. Mark will only indicate that the Rufus, Alexander and Rufus were known to the early church. Deep indeed is our ignorance on such points.'

W. C. v. M. (No. 7.)

8. 'The leper' of Bethany, in whose house the woman anointed Jesus with the contents of the alabaster ointment (Mt. 26:6; Mk. 14:3; cp **MARY**, § 25). An ancient apocryphal story makes him the husband of Mary the sister of Martha; cp **LAZARUS**. [The designation 'leper' has greatly exercised the critics. It is worth recalling, however, that the mother of **JEROBOAM** [y. 7. 1] is called in *MT* 27:7, 'a leper' (1 K. 11:26), and that Naaman in the extant recast of an older story (2 K. 5:1) is represented as 'a leper.' In both cases the original tradition stated that a Misrite was referred to. It is possible that the Simon referred to was said to have come (like 'that Egyptian' in Acts 21:38) from Egypt to Jerusalem, and that the original narrative (in Hebrew) called him 27:7. Cp also 'Simon of Cyrene,' Chajes (*Markus-Tradition* [1899], p. 75) supposes an original Hebrew reading 27:7, 'the humble'—i. e., 'pious' (as often in Talmud). 'One who had been a leper' is at any rate a miserable explanation.—T. K. C.]

9. The Pharisee, in whose house the penitent woman anointed Jesus' hands and feet (Lk. 7:4). Cp **GOSPELS**, § 10, and **MARY**, § 25, col. 2970. Against the identification of this anointing with that of Mary of Bethany, just before the Passion, see Plummer (209). The theory is at any rate ancient, for, as Plummer remarks, Origen on Mt. 26:6 contends against it. It is also supported by Keim (*Jesus von Nazara*, 3:222), Holtzmann (*HT* 17:277, 346), and Scholten (*Het Paulinisch Evangelie*, 2:4). The last-named scholar is of opinion that 'the influence of Paulinism on the changed representation of Luke is unmistakable,' and that 'leper' in Mt. and Mk. was a symbolic phrase for Pharisee. Without committing ourselves to this, we may reasonably hold that here, as often in collections of traditions, a germ-idea received conflicting developments.

10. A tanner of Joppa with whom Peter lodged (Acts 9:43). The reference to his trade is significant; the narrator suggests that Peter was losing his old prejudices. It is said that a wife could claim a divorce from a husband who became a tanner (Mishna, *Kethuboth* 7:10). Cp **HANDICRAFT**, § 5; **JOPPA** (end).

11. The father of Judas Iscariot, Jn. 6:71; 13:25.

12. For Simon Magus, see below (special article). On the 'Great Apophasis' see **GOSPELS**, § 91 and references.

13. For Simon Peter, see below (special article).

W. C. v. M. (No. 7.)

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Simon Magus is mentioned in the NT only in Acts 8:9-24.

(a) In Acts 8:5-8 we read that Philip the Evangelist preached the Christ in the city of Samaria, and wrought many miracles of healing. Next (77: 9-13), we are told that Simon

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had previously to this bewitched the people by his magical arts, giving out that he was some great one, and being declared by them to be that power of God which is called Great. After that men and women had received baptism at the hands of Philip, Simon also did so, and continued with Philip, full of amazement at his miracles. Meanwhile (77: 14-17), at the instance of the apostles in Jerusalem, Peter and John had come to Samaria, and through laying on of hands had obtained the Holy Ghost for those who had been baptised. Upon this, Simon (77: 18-24) offered them money and desired the same power, but after a severe rebuke from Peter, finally besought the two apostles to pray for him, that the punishment they had threatened might be averted.

(5) This narrative contains much that is strange. That, instead of the city of Samaria (as in 77: 58 f.) the country of Samaria should be named in 77: 14, may be set down to a pardonable want of exactness. The designation of Simon as 'that power of God which is called Great' and his designation of himself as 'some great one' are not intrinsically incompatible with his sorcery; but it is very surprising that the sorcery is referred to twice (77: 9, 11) and that its second mention is preceded by the same word (*προσείχων*, 'gave heed') as had already been employed in 77: 10.

This appears to indicate that the two explanations of his sorcery come from two different sources. By the reference to his sorcery, he would, in that case, be characterised as a mere possessor of the sort that was very abundant in those days: 'that power of God which is called Great' would signify something much more exalted. Now, it is not easy to imagine that the editor would have introduced 77: 11 if he had already found 77: 10 lying before him in his text. It is more probable that 77: 10 was interpolated, and that in the process 'took heed' (*προσείχων*) was borrowed from 77: 11. The close of 77: 9 (Simon's giving out that he was some great one) can in that case have belonged to the original text, for it is far from conveying necessarily anything nearly so high as 'the power of God which is called Great'; but it is hard to believe that 'bewitching, and bringing the nation of Samaria into a maze (*μαγεύων και εξίσταίνων τὸ ἔθνος τῆς Σαμαρείας*) also should come from the author of 77: 11. Perhaps the original text had *εἶπε* (down to 'great, *μεγαλόν*); the redactor beginning with 'saying, *λέγοντες* (77: 10), added the designation of Simon as the power of God that is called Great, and then thought it necessary to return in 77: 11 to the idea of sorcery (from which attention had meanwhile been called away), and in doing so borrowed 'took heed' (*προσείχων*) from 77: 10 and *εξίστακέων* from 77: 9 (*εξίσταίνων*). This renewed mention of Simon's sorcery, however, was not indispensable; 77: 12 could quite as well have followed directly on 77: 10. It would have been equally superfluous if it had been inserted by the redactor in 77: 9 (*μαγεύων το Σαμαρείας*), had 77: 11 belonged to the original text (in which case the whole of 77: 10, on account of the *προσείχων*, would have to be attributed to the redactor). If there is reluctance to assign to any redactor the doubled mention of the sorcery, there remains only the alternative that a copyist who acted as independently and arbitrarily as the copyist of D (or a preliminary stage of D; see ACTS, § 17 f.) substituted at his own instance the other reference to the magical practices for that which he found before him; that then, upon comparison of this transcription with an unaltered copy, the new form of the idea was written upon the margin, and then was taken by the next copyist for an integral portion of the text left out by his predecessor by an oversight, and was accordingly introduced into it at what seemed to be an appropriate place.

(c) The idea that only apostles (by laying on of hands) can procure the gift of the Holy Ghost is quite unhistorical (see MINISTRY, § 34 c). From this, it would not at once follow, however, that it is a later insertion; for the whole passage may be equally unhistorical.

At the same time it is, in fact, apparent, that 77: 14-18a introduce a representation which in the actual connection is surprising. According to 77: 13, Simon has been only astonished at Philip's miracles; as for the bestowal of the Holy Ghost, he wishes to be able to do the same. In a sorcerer which it not have been more natural to desire to possess the miraculous power of Philip (cp SIMON PETER, § 21 d)? Among the elders, therefore, who separate sources in Acts (see ACTS, § 11), we find Van Manen, Feine, Clemen, Jüngst supposing that in the source Simon did seek to purchase Philip's miraculous power with money. On this supposition it is simplest to regard the last word of 77: 13 (*εξίστατο*, 'he was amazed') and 77: 14-18a

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(down to *πρέβαν*) as interpolated. In this case, in the immediately following context, we must regard, at least, 77: 13, the 'them' (*αὐτοῖς*) instead of 'him' (*αὐτῷ*) in 77: 12, 'Peter' in 77: 20 and the phrases *ἐπιβήτε* and *εἰρηκατε* in 77: 24 as adjustments caused by the interpolation.

(d) However plausible this separation may seem to be, it by no means completely solves the riddle of our passage. The problem still remains quite dark, how it was that the editor could ever have come to interpolate, at one and the same time, into a source which consistently represented Simon as a sorcerer (77: 9 or 11), and as wishing to possess still greater magical powers, two such foreign elements as the designation of Simon as the power of God that is called Great and the communication of the Holy Ghost through the apostles (77: 10-14-17). The two have not the slightest connection with each other. It might perhaps be suggested that the designation had been borrowed by the editor from a second source, and that the reference to the Holy Ghost was his own contribution; but this would not furnish us with any intelligible motive for his proceeding. Yet it seems highly necessary that we should discover such a motive; for a second surprising point which is not cleared up by separation of sources, and hardly can be, is the question how it could come to pass that a man to whom the whole people of Samaria gave heed, and showed high honour, should have been so easily converted to Christianity, and that as a sorcerer, he should so little resemble the Bar-jesus of 136-12 who quite naturally opposed the Christian missionaries so strenuously. Moreover, it is surprising that the story has no close; we are not told what in the end became of Simon. Here, once more, can it be seen how useless it is to carry out separation of sources merely on the ground of indications of broken connections, while not concerning oneself at all about the deeper questions relating to the composition of a piece, and about 'tendency' criticism. The solution of the problem can be led up to only by widely extended investigations.

Simon, to begin with, plays a great part in the writings of the Fathers.

(a) Justin (about 152 A.D.) cites him as an instance to prove that, even after the ascension of Jesus, the demons caused men to come forward who gave themselves out to be deities, and were actually worshipped as such. Such was a certain Samaritan named Simon, of the village of Gitta,¹ who performed feats of magic by demonic arts in Rome during the reign of Claudius, was held to be a god, and was honoured by Senate and people with a statue in the middle of the Tiber, between the two bridges, bearing the inscription in Latin: 'Simoni deo sancto,' and almost all the Samaritans, as well as a few people elsewhere, worshipped him as 'the first god' (*τὸν πρῶτον θεόν*), 'the god above all rule and authority and power' (*θεὸν ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς και ἐξουσίας και δυνάμεως*), and declared a certain Helena, who had formerly lived in a house of evil fame, and afterwards travelled about with him, to be the first

¹ *Ἀπὸ κώμης λεγομένης Γίττας*. This Gitta would be a possible form of the name. Γίττας, however, is certainly gen. pl., since Gitta is met with elsewhere also as the name of a town; in Josephus (*Γίττα* or *Γίττα*, gen. *Γίττας* or *Γίττα*; see, e.g., *Ant.* vi. 13. 10, §§ 319-321) for the Philistian Gath; in Pliny (*HN* v. 19 [17175]) for a place on Carmel (Getha), and in the *Philosophumena* (67) we have ὁ Γίττας (not Γίττα). For further details see Lipsius, *Petrussage*, 33, n. In all the editions of Justin known to the present writer, indeed, the word is accented Γίττα, and so also in Euseb. *HE* ii. 13 and Epiphanius, *Her.* 21. 1. In that case the nominative would be Γίττα; this, however, in view of the gen. Γίττας is quite unlikely. If both genitive forms are to be explicable, the nominatives must coincide. Cp Γουόρρας (2 Pet. 2: 2) alongside of Γουόρρον (Mt. 10: 13), Ἀνταρρα (Acts 14: 21) alongside of Ἀνταρρος (14: 16; 2 Tim. 8: 11), Θυατερορα (Rev. 1: 11); so in Lachmann, and as an alternative reading in WH (alongside of Θυατεροίς (2: 24), and Θυατερορα (Acts 16: 14), Ἀνδρα (Acts 9: 3) alongside of the accus. Ἀνδρα (9: 35). Similar variations are found in 1 Macc. in the cases of Ἀδίδα, Βαρθουρα, Γαζαρα. The word form 'ex vice Gethsonum' (*Clem. Recogn.* 27) rests upon a misunderstanding.

¹ Perhaps originally it ran merely as in 5: 36 *εἶναι τινα ἑαυτῶν* — 'that he was somebody' — and 'great' (*μεγὰρ*) may have been merely an explanatory gloss to 'somebody' (*τις*); cp the neuter *εἶναι τι*, 'to be somewhat,' Gal. 2: 9, 3.

thought that had proceeded from him (*πρώτη ἐνοία*: see *Apol.* 1:26-56 215; *Dial.* 120).

(b) The base of the pillar referred to was dug up on the island in the Tiber, at the place indicated by Justin, in 1574; the inscription runs: 'Semoni Sancto deo fidio sacrum. Sex Pompeius . . . domum dedit.' Thus, the pillar was dedicated to the Sabine god Semo Sancus (cp Ovid *Fast.* 6:213-218), and not by Senate and people, but by the piety of a private individual.

As Justin has gone so far astray here, Lipsius (*BL* 5:314; *Apol.* 1:26-56 215; *Dial.* 120) ventures to trace back also the alleged worship of Simon and Helena by 'almost all the Samaritans' to misunderstanding of certain sacred pillars or masséahs (see MASSÉAH), to wit those of Hercules-Melkart, the 'king of the city' of Tyre and the Tyrian moon-goddess Selene-Astarte, whose impure worship is alluded to in the reference to the house of evil fame (according to Iren. *Hier.* i. 16[23] 2 and according to the quotation of Justin, *Apol.* i. 26:3 in *Ens.* *HE* ii. 134, it was in Tyre). In the pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions* Helena is actually called Luna, that is to say, Selene (Σελήνη), and according to the *Homilies* (2:3) she was among the companions of John the Baptist (of whom Simon was the first) the only woman — thus only 'half man' (ἡμισὺν ἄνθρωπος), to indicate that these 30 companions really represent the number of days in a lunar month, which are not 30 complete days but only 29.

(c) What we read about the 'first god' (*πρώτος θεός*) and his 'first thought' (*πρώτη ἐνοία*) is taken from the Gnostic system which is attributed to Simon. We may suppose Justin to have given full information as to this in the work cited by himself in *Apol.* i. 26:3, but now lost, entitled *σύνταγμα κατὰ πασῶν αἰρέσεων*, which was used by later heresiologists from Irenaeus (*Hier.* 1:16 [23]) and the author of the *Philosophumena* (67-20) downwards. Harnack (*Lchrh. d. DG* [2] 206-208) finds in Simon a new 'universal religion of the supreme God.' Lipsius nothing more than the ordinary Gnosis which had become widely diffused in Syria from about the time of Trajan, and is known to us mainly through the Ophites, with this difference alone that here Simon takes the place of Jesus as the Redeemer. According to Kreyenbühl (*Evang. d. Wahrheit*, I, 1900, pp. 174-264) Simon was not a founder of a religion, but the first genuine philosopher of religion, to whom belongs the unifying merit of having been the first to formulate and scientifically to elaborate the fundamental principle of all Christian philosophy, namely, an 'anthropological pantheism' or an 'absolute and universal theanthropologism' (240).

In the 'Great Announcement' (*ἀπόφασις μεγάλη*), attributed to Simon, which is first mentioned in the *Philosophumena* and copiously extracted from, Kreyenbühl discerns, not, like all other critics, the work of a later Simonian, but a genuine production of Simon himself. For our present purpose it is not necessary to discuss this question or to set forth the Simonian system, for which the reader may consult Lipsius (*BL* 5:316f.) and Hilgenfeld (*Religionsgesch.*, 1884, pp. 163-186).

(d) Suffice it to observe here that all the church fathers from Irenaeus onwards make Simon the prime author of all heresies, and inform us that he was regarded not merely as a leader of a sect, but also as a manifestation of the supreme Deity, as Messiah, also by the name of 'the Standing One' (*ὁ ἑστῶς*), or, more precisely, according to the 'Great Announcement' (*Philos.* 69:13), as *ὁ ἑστῶς, σπᾶς, στησόμενος*—i.e., the permanently Abiding. Cp further, § 11 e, f.

(e) This interpretation of the expression 'the Standing One' is confirmed also by the pseudo-

3. Pseudo-Clem. Homm. and Recogn.: (a) on the Gnostic Simon.

Clementine *Homilies* (2:22: *ὡς δὴ στησόμενος αἰ*: 'as intimating that he shall always stand') and *Recognitions* (2:7: 'negat posse se aliquando dissolvi, asserens eamem suam ita divinitatis suae virtute compactam ut possit in aeternum durare'). According to *Recogn.* 1:72, Simon further designated himself as 'virtutem summam excelsi Dei qui sit supra conditorum mundi.' Cp § 14 d.

(b) We thus find in Simon's case also application of the Gnostic distinction between the supreme Deity and his subordinate, the creator of the world or demurge. The supreme Deity is incalculable and unknown to all (*Recogn.* 2:17 f.).

He sent forth the creative Deity to make the world; having done so, the latter declared himself to be God, and demanded observance of the Mosaic law. To Simon, also, is attributed the doctrine that the souls of men proceed from the supreme God (who at the same time is called The Good), but that they have been let down into captivity within the world. The body is their prison (2:17 f.). This enables us to understand what is meant when we are told that Simon denied the resurrection of the dead (*Hom.* 2:22). It can be explained from 2 Tim. 2:18 according to which the false teachers, who are simply on this declared that the resurrection was past already. By the resurrection they understood the soul's arrival at knowledge of its heavenly origin, and its superiority to the body which is in prison. Therefore, in their view, for all Gnostics the resurrection has already come about, and they consistently denied any future resurrection of the body.

(c) These data may be sufficient to show that it is a form of Gnosticism that the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions* are combating in the person of Simon. If they contained nothing more they would accordingly be seen to have arisen, at the earliest, sometime in the second century.

Other indications which do not need to be discussed here lead us to the beginning of the third century (so Lipsius, *ii. Tit.* 2:27; Harnack, *Lchrh. d. DG* [2] 206, p. 573, even as late as the 4th cent., before *Ens.* *HE* iii. 385]—this after Chapman below, 407) had disputed their employment by Origen, and to infer a later redaction of both writings (so Harnack, *loc.*), or at least of the *Recognitions* (so Lipsius, *loc.*). The story as to the members of Clement's family who became separated as non-Christians, and after their conversion find one another and recognise (whence the name 'Recognitions', *ἀναγνωρισμοί*) one another, has a bodily and in a higher sense, has a purely edificatory purpose. Apart from the final redaction (see above) the proper status of the authors—a Gnostic Jewish Christianity—does not point back to the oldest times, and can hardly have exercised much influence. Thus, from what has been said up to this point, it might well appear that these writings 'contribute nothing towards a knowledge of the origin of the Catholic church and doctrine.' This is, in fact, the opinion of Harnack (*Lchrh. d. Dogm.-Gesch.* [2], 120), and in his view, indeed, 'it may be regarded as certain.'

The pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions* however, contain yet another element of the very greatest importance. In them Simon

4. (b) On Simon = Paul. displays features which are unquestionably derived from Paul, and plainly show him to be a caricature of that apostle drawn by an unfriendly hand. (a) The principal passage is *Hom.* 17:19.

Here Peter says to Simon: 'If, then, our Jesus, in distinguishing himself in a vision, made himself known to thee also, and conversed with thee, in doing so it was as one who is writh with an adversary, and therefore speaks by visions and dreams (Nu. 12:6), or, it may be, even by revelations which I will not external. But can anyone be qualified for the teaching office through a vision? And if thou wilt say, "It is possible, then (I ask) "Why did our teacher for a whole year continually converse with those who were awake? And, further, how are we to believe thy word that he even appeared to thee? How can he have appeared to thee, when thy manner of thinking is wholly contrary to his doctrine? But if thou hast for even so much as a single hour been made blessed and instructed in the apostle-ship by a manifestation of him, then pray declare his doctrine, set forth his words, love his apostles, and strive not against me who accompanied with him. For indeed that has come forward as adversary against me who am a firm rock, the foundation of the church (Mt. 16:18). If thou wert not an adversary (*ἀνταγωνιστής*), thou wouldst not slander me and revile my preaching, in order that I, when I utter that which I have heard from the Lord face to face, may find no credit company as if I were a condemned and reprobate person (Ira. 1:18) and *δοκίμου ἄνευ*; cp 1 Cor. 9:27). But if thou sayest that I am condemned (*ὡς κατηγορούμενον με λέγεις*), in doing so thou inveiglest against God who revealed Christ to me, and inveiglest against him who on account of this revelation did call me blessed (Mt. 16:17), and so forth.'

What Gnostic ever personally withstood Peter? According to the incontrovertible statement of Hegesippus (*ap. Ens.* *HE* iii. 327 f.), Gnosticism arose from the times of Trajan after that the sacred choir of the apostles had deceased. For what Gnostic had it ever been possible to be, like Peter, a personal disciple of Jesus during his lifetime upon earth? What Gnostic ever gave himself out to be an apostle? What Gnostic ever claimed to have been qualified for the apostolate by a definite vision which he described? And who ever except Paul (Gal. 2:11) spoke of Peter as 'condemned' (*κατηγορούμενος*)? Thus, it was at Antioch

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that 'Simon' assailed Peter and spoke evil of his preaching, and it was his vision on the way to Damascus (for Paul, according to 1 Cor. 9:1 Gal. 1:12, the basis of his claim to the apostolate) that is here intended to be reduced ad absurdum by a dialectic that really has much to say for itself. Already in chaps. 14 and 16 it is urged that such a vision could have been produced by an evil demon, just as well as by Jesus.

(b) Nor is this all. The words of Peter in his Epistle to James prefixed to the Homilies (chap. 21 relate also to the same incident in Antioch: 'Some of the Gentiles have rejected my doctrine which is in accordance with the law [of Moses], while importing to me a certain lawless and nonsensical doctrine (ἀνομόν τινα καὶ φλυαρώδη διδασκαλίαν) of the hostile man. And indeed while I was in my journeyings some took in hand by manifold interpretations to wrest my words unto the dissolution of the law, as if I myself also were of such a mind but did not openly proclaim it' (ep the charge of hypocrisy, Gal. 2:12 f.). Nay, more, in Hom. 20:9 = Rev. 10:6, it is related that Faustus, father of Clement, to whom Simon has by witchcraft given his own outward semblance, is in Antioch constrained by order of Simon publicly to proclaim his repentance in the following words:—

'I, Simon, declare this to you, confessing that I have unjustly slandered Peter. For he is no false prophet, no murderer, no sorcerer, nor any other of those wicked things which I in my wrath formerly accused him of. I myself, who have been the author of your hatred against him, beg of you to cease from your hatred of him; for he is a true apostle of the true prophet sent by God for the salvation of the world. . . . And now I will tell you why it is that I have made this confession. Last night angels of God severely scourged me, the godless one, as being an enemy (ἐχθρὸς) to the herald of the truth. I beseech you, therefore, if ever I again should come forward and venture to speak against Peter, do not listen to me. For I confess to you: I am a magician, I am a false teacher, I am a sorcerer. Perhaps it is possible by repentance to wipe out my past sins.' If the father of Clement did not occur in an older form of the book, we may conjecture that this confession was originally there put directly into the mouth of Simon. What is said about his chastisement is a malicious allusion to the declaration of Paul in 2 Cor. 12:7, as to the cause of his mildty, that an angel of Satan (ἄγγελος σατανᾶ) had been sent to buffet him. It is important to observe that in Rev. 10:6 we have the sing. 'an angel,' not the pl. 'angels' as in Hom.

(c) If we have here a well-ascertained case in which an utterance of Paul regarding himself is spitefully twisted to his discredit, soon also we find more of the same kind elsewhere.

In the course of his vindication of himself Paul had, with great reserve, declared that he had once been carried up into the third heaven (2 Cor. 12:2 f.). This is made ridiculous in Rev. 2:5: si putas facilem menti tue accessum esse super caelos considerare te posse quae illic sunt atque intendere illius lucis scientiam capere, puto ei qui illa potest comprehendere facilius esse ut sensum suum qui illic novit ascendere in facilius nostrum, qui adisistimus, cor et pectus injiciat et dicat quas in eo cogitationes gerat. The doctrine of Paul that to eat meat offered to idols is not forbidden (see more fully under CORINTH, § 11, col. 924 f.) is distorted into the story that Simon in the market-place entertained the people of Tyre with the flesh of a sacrificial ox and with much wine, thus bringing them under the power of the evil demons (Hom. 7:3; cp 44). This distortion is all the more worthy of attention, because the author, in connection with it, gives admonitions in the very words of Paul 'to abstain from (or not to be partakers of) the table of devils' (τραπέζης δαιμονίων ἀπέχεσθαι, or μη μεταλαμβάνειν, 7:4; cp 1 Cor. 10:20 f.). In view of the miracles which Paul himself claims in 2 Cor. 12:12 Rom. 15:19, it is easy to understand that he came to be spoken of as a magician. In the enumeration of the magical powers of which 'Simon' makes his boast in Rev. 2:9, the 'when bound I can loose myself. . . when confined in prison I can make the barriers open of their own accord' ('vincetus memetipsum solvam. . . in carcere collegatus claustra sponte pateferi faciam') specially recalls Paul's liberation from prison at Philippi (Acts 16:27-29). Even if this liberation is unhistorical (Acts, § 2), I found I let after it had been related, and it can have been related a considerable time before the date at which Acts was written. Once more, let us take another word that is used, not indeed by Paul himself, but with reference to him by

'If you think that here is easy access for your mind above the heavens, and that you are able to conceive the things that are there, and to apprehend knowledge of that immense light, I think that for him who can comprehend these things it were easier to throw his sense which knows how to ascend thither into the heart and breast of some one of us who stand by, and to tell what thoughts he is cherishing in his breast.'

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a follower. In Acts 8:15 he is called a chosen vessel of the Lord; in Rev. 3:49, Simon is called a τὰς ἐκκλήσιον of the devil.

(d) In this violent polemic it is not surprising to find thrown back at Simon—i.e. Paul—the charges which Paul had himself levelled at his opponents.

In 2 Cor. 11:13 Paul calls the Judaizing emissaries at Corinth 'false apostles' (ψευδοαποστολοι); in Hom. 16:21 Peter says that Jesus forebode false apostles (ψευδοαποστολοι), false prophets, the forming of sects and lists for supremacy, all which seem to him to have taken their beginning with Simon the blasphemer of God. In 2 Cor. 11:14 Paul proceeds: 'And no marvel; for even Satan fashioneth himself into an angel of light'; in Rev. 2:18, Simon is called the 'malignant transformans se in splendorum lucis.' According to Hom. 2:33 wickedness (κακία) sent forth its comrade in arms, Simon, like a serpent (ὡς ὄφεις); cp 2 Cor. 11:3, according to Hom. 11:35, as one who preaches under a pretence of truth in the name of the Lord and sows false doctrines (πλάσσει), and it was with reference to him that Jesus (Mt. 7:15) forebode the coming of ravening wolves in sheep's clothing. Here, also, may be recalled a saying which does not come from Paul himself, but from the author of Acts. This writer puts into Paul's mouth (20:29) the prophecy that after his departure ravenous wolves shall make their appearance in Ephesus, not sparing the flock. It is very probable that reference is intended here to the Jewish-Christian school of thought, which was prevalent in Ephesus under John in the last third of the first century. Paul himself had already in 1 Cor. 10:9 spoken of the 'many adversaries' (ἄντικειμενοὶ πολλοὶ) in Ephesus. This expression, also, is taken up and turned against himself in the passage already cited under a, above.

(e) More especially we find recurring in the pseudo-Clementine Homilies and Recognition three designations which are already referred to in the epistles of Paul as having been made use of against him.

When in 2 Cor. 6:9 Paul says of himself, 'as deceivers and lyet [sic] (ὡς πλάστοι καὶ ἀληθεῖς), the censure implied in the word πλάστος is just as little purely imaginary as is that contained in: ὡς ἀγροόμενοι, ὡς παιδευόμενοι ('unknowing', 'chastened'), etc., or that repudiated in 4:5 ('we preach not ourselves'), or that hinted at in 3:1 ('are we beginning again to commend ourselves?'), cp 5:12. All these charges had actually been made, otherwise Paul would not have needed to defend himself (8:16). The word most fitful to stick as a term of reproach was 'the deceiver' (ὁ πλάστος), and in point of fact it does reappear in Hom. 2:17, which represents Jesus as having foretold that 'first must come a false gospel by the instrumentality of a certain deceiver' [the gospel of freedom from the law] (πρώτος ψεύδης δεῖ εἶναι εὐαγγέλιον ὑπὸ πλάστου τινος). Cp the πλάστη in the quotation (11:35) cited under d, as also the miracles which Simon works (2:33), 'to astonish and deceive' (πρὸς κατάπληξιν καὶ ἀπάτην), or (7:4), the expression 'deceived before by Simon' (ὑπὸ τοῦ . . . Σιμωνος προπατηθέντες), or the 'deceptions' of Simon (Rev. 3:5); his 'slanders' (διαβολαί; Hom. 3:59).

Notice further that, according to Gal. 1:10, it was made a reproach against Paul that he sought by his doctrine to please men; this comes up again in the words of Peter in Hom. 18:10: 'Since ye have thus spoken to please the multitudes who are present' (ἵνα εὖ ἀρεσκόντως τοῖς παρόνσι ὀχλοῖς οὖτος εῖπῃ). Above all, however, it is of the constant designation of Simon as 'enemy' (ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἀνθρώπου, or simply as ὁ ἐχθρὸς, inimicus, see, e.g., above, b) in both writings, that we are able to infer from Gal. 4:16 with a high degree of probability that it had already been applied by his Galatian adversaries to Paul. It is difficult to see how Paul could have felt any occasion to ask the Galatians whether he had been the enemy of the Galatians by his preaching of the true gospel, that is of the gospel freed from the law (this is what is intended by ἀληθεῶν ἑμῶν; 4:16) if he had not been spoken of to the Galatians as being their 'enemy.' Here should be added Mt. 13:28 (see below, § 6 c).

(f) This 'homo quidam inimicus' according to Rev. 1:70 f. raises a tumult against James the episco-

1 This very drastic kind of polemic is exemplified in the NT also. The Gnostics who are controverted in the Epistle of Jude (7:7, § 2), in common with all Gnostics, divided mankind into the two categories of 'psychic' and 'pneumatic'; they held themselves to be pneumatic. This the author turns round the other way in 7:10: 'these are they who make a division [i.e., between psychic and pneumatic]; not, as in AV, 'who separate themselves, or, as in RV, 'who make separations', sensual, not having the spirit.' There is a still closer parallel to this substitution of the devil for God in Rev. 2:24. It is hardly to be supposed that the followers of Jerbel made in their boast that they 'know the deep things of Satan'; we may be perfectly certain that their boast was that they knew the deep things of God. All the more sharply sarcastic is the form of the phrase: 'Know . . . the deep things of Satan, as they say.' But it is Paul who is the author of the claim to possess the spirit that searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God (1 Cor. 2:10-12). Cp § 6 b.

porus princeps at Jerusalem, snatches a firebrand from the altar and with this begins a general wish massacre of Christians; he throws James down headlong from the top of the steps, so that he lies as one dead. After three days the Christians who have fled to Jericho learn that the hostile man has received from Caiaphas the high priest the commission to persecute all Christians, and armed with written missives ('epistola') from him is about to go to Damascus in order to begin the persecution there, believing that Peter has betaken himself thither¹ (cp Acts 8:1 f. 22 f. 26-12 Gal. 1:1; 1 Cor. 15:9).

(g) Even the style of Paul is plainly imitated in a mocking way. In the recitation (*Hom.* 20:19) of Simon mentioned above (b) we have his *δέομαι ὑμῶν* ('I beseech you': Gal. 1:12), *αὐτὸς ἐγὼ* ('I myself': 2 Cor. 10:1), *αἰδέσθαι ὑμᾶς θέλω* ('I would have you know': 1 Cor. 11:3), *παρακαλῶ οὖν* ('I beseech therefore': Rom. 12:1; 1 Cor. 1:16; cp Eph. 1:1; Tim. 2:1); elsewhere *τι γὰρ, τι οὖν*, etc.

So also with the apocryphal Acts of Peter and Acts of Peter and Paul (as to which see SIMON PETER, 5. Apocryphal Acts. §§ 32-34). Whilst in the apocryphal correspondence of Paul with the Corinthians which belongs to the Acta Pauli (see SIMON PETER, § 39 c, n.) the doctrine attributed to Simon is Gnostic, in the Apocrypha just mentioned Simon appears less as a Gnostic than as a wonder-worker; but that by him the apostle Paul was originally meant is manifest here also.

(a) The question of Paul to Simon: 'Why didst thou deliver up circumcised men and compel them to be condemned and put to death?' (*ἰδιὰ τὴν σὺ πεποιημένους παρέδωκας καὶ ἠνάγκασας αὐτοὺς κατακρίθηναι*; see SIMON PETER, § 34 c) is decisive. There is no Gnostic who could have had either such power or such inclination. The words can refer only to what Paul did according to Gal. 1:13; 1 Cor. 15:9 Acts 8:3; 9:1 f. 22 f. 26-12. In this way what follows gains in cogency, the original reference to Paul being not so absolutely palpable without this key.

(b) In the (pre-Catholic) Acta Petri Simon is spoken of as 'imminent', 'condemned' (§ 4 a, c, and SIMON PETER, § 33 d), and even the Greek word *πῶλος* (§ 4 c) has found its way into the Latin text; according to the *Actus Petri cum Simone* (4:12, in *Acta Apoc.* i, p. 49, l. 13 and p. 62, l. 4) not only is Paul called ('magus' or) 'plants,' but Simon also is described as 'planus (et deceptor)'. In the (Catholic) *Acta Petri et Pauli* (43) Nero makes it clear that Simon persecutes Peter and Paul out of envy, and is a 'manifest enemy' (*πρόδηλος ἔχθρος*) of both and of their Master.

(c) In the disputation on circumcision touched on above (a); cp SIMON PETER, §§ 34 c, 39 c), Simon warns the Emperor against believing Peter and Paul, as they are circumcised and therefore worthless persons. Paul makes answer: 'before we knew the truth we had the circumcision of the flesh; since then, only the circumcision of the heart. Peter adds: if circumcision is something bad, why art thou circumcised, Simon? It will be manifest at once that only the words of Peter, not those of Paul, are any effective reply to the reproach of Simon. If with Lipsius (II. 1:35) we remove those of Paul as being a later addition (cp SIMON PETER, § 35 c), then the pure antithesis between Simon as the opponent and Peter as the defender of circumcision comes to light. This, however, is directly contrary to the whole representation of Peter elsewhere in these Acts; for here he figures as the one who is doing away with the law (SIMON PETER, §§ 34 a, 39 c). In so far, however, as Peter defends circumcision the effect is to take away his complete agreement with Paul (the accentuation of which is nevertheless one of the main objects of the book; see SIMON PETER, § 35 d), for

¹ He is not here expressly called Simon. Should this be intentional, this passage would then have to be relegated to § 6 as being direct polemic against Paul.

here it is only the circumcision of the heart that Paul stands up for. Thus in our present passage it is not at all the Catholic Peter, but the original genuinely Jewish-Christian Peter with whom we have to do, and this is our evidence that his opponent was not originally a Gnostic, but simply an opponent of the Judaea of Christianity, in other words, no other than Paul.

(d) To Paul also applies the further accusation, in the same passage, that 'Simon' found it necessary to give himself out falsely to be a Jew and to put on the semblance of strict observance of the law in order to deceive the people whom otherwise he would not have been able to win over to his erroneous doctrine (see SIMON PETER, § 34 c). This clearly points back to 1 Cor. 9:1: 'to them that are under the law (I became) as under the law, not being myself under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law'. We recognise also, however, the charge which, according to Gal. 5:11-12, was made against Paul by his Jewish opponents, that outside of Galatia he still continued to preach circumcision for everywhere he shapes his doctrine so as to please men (see GALATIANS, § 13 middle).

(e) With this accords (even if not conclusive as evidence) the favour which Simon finds with Nero. After Nero had proved himself the most dreadful enemy which Christianity had, it must have suggested itself very readily to the adversaries of Paul to lay it to Paul's discredit that he had so expressly enjoyed admission to Nero (Rom. 13:7) and that Paul's captivity had been so mild (Acts 28:30 f.). As a result of his subsmissiveness such a partiality of the emperor as we find him expressing for Simon in the Catholic and also in the pre-Catholic Acta (SIMON PETER, § 33 h) seemed natural. Cp below, § 12 b.

(f) Lipsius (ii. 1:36 f.) has even conjectured that the story of the seeming beheading of Simon (§ 34 c) has at its root malicious misrepresentation of the beheading of Paul.

In order that Paul might not have the glory of martyrdom his teachers had it that he had not been beheaded, but a trick had brought it about that a man was decapitated in his stead. To this was then added the further touch that he presented himself to the emperor as one who had risen from the dead, in order thereby to secure acknowledgment of his divinity, and of the truth of the promise he had previously made, of a return from death after three days. This promise is met with also in quite another form in the *Philosophumena*, 6:20, where Simon suffers himself to be buried by his disciples, and proposes to rise again after three days, but does not revive (see SIMON PETER, § 32 a, n. 1). Evidently the theme has gone through several variations. In accord with it is what we read in the Catholic Acta, that Nero causes the body of Simon, who has fallen down from the clouds, to be watched for three days so as to know whether he will rise or not (see SIMON PETER, § 34 c). With Simon's promise Lipsius confronts the statement of the Acts of Paul ('Ματύριον Παυλί', 4:6 - Pseudo-Linus, 'Passio Pauli', 8:12, in *Acta Apoc.* I 112-116 32-42) that it was Paul who first told Nero his return after his beheading and who also fulfilled this prediction.

(g) Lastly, mention must be made of the attempt of Simon to fly to heaven (see SIMON PETER, § 33 f), § 34 [f]). The supposition lies close at hand that here too we have a malicious perversion of the saying of Paul that he had been caught up to the third heaven (2 Cor. 12:2) and that precisely the story of his fall and of his death was connected with this because the appeal to this rapture into heaven was regarded as a flagitious piece of self-glorification, and should the conjecture of Lipsius just mentioned prove correct, the beheading of Paul was not regarded as being the true end of his life.

At the same time it must be observed that Simon's flying is repented in two forms. Alongside of the statement, just mentioned, that his desire was to reach heaven by it, we find another much simpler one that his intention was simply, by a brilliant flight, to give proof of his magical powers, and thereby secure public attention (SIMON PETER, §§ 33 a, 34 c). For this we have an authentic parallel. Suetonius (*Nero*, 12) relates that a living professor who had undertaken to play the part of Hercules in a representation of mythological scenes organised by Nero, in the circus on the Campus Martius (that is to say, exactly in the scene of the alleged ascent of Simon), at his first attempt fell to the ground close beside Nero, who was bespattered with his

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Christians, which will hardly be supposed by any one. Rather does the author divide the Jews into the two classes of the 'faithful and elect' and the 'lawless,' placing the Gentiles alongside of them. In that case, however, the passage is not the work of a Christian, and therefore it does not relate to Simon Magus; for it was only among Christians and not at all among Jews that Simon Magus passed for a person so objectionable and at the same time so important that he could be identified with the devil.

Not yet even among Christians was any such estimate put upon him at so early a date as in the apostolic age; he acquired it by the enhanced importance which came to be attached to him through the romance of which he was the hero. Thus if Simon should be meant we should have to reject as too early the dating of Preuschen, who understands by the three men who destroy Rome (77, 51 f.) Galba, Otho, and Vitellius (68 and 69 A.D.) and by the fire from heaven (77, 53 f.) the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 A.D. Moreover the second dating cancels the first; for that Galba, Otho, and Vitellius had destroyed Rome could no longer be believed after 69 A.D. Geffcken (*TC* 231 p. 13), who agrees with Jülicher as regards Simon Magus, judiciously leaves the date undetermined. Yet it is altogether wrong to take 77, 39-92 or even only 77, 46-92 as a unity. In the passage before us the destruction of the world by fire is predicted as something new no less than three times (53-61, 71-74, 84-87); and moreover the destruction of Rome by the three men just referred to follows upon the reign of the Messiah over all the earth (46-52), whilst of course it must have preceded it, and the reign of the widow over the world follows upon the destruction of the world together with Beliar and his followers by fire (71-77), and also upon the destruction of Rome by the three men already related in 77, 51 f., which would be equally inappropriate whether the widow be taken as meaning the widow Cleopatra or Rome. This only 77, 63-74 come into account as a unity for our present discussion.

(b) Simon the Magician has been detected in the 'other beast' of Rev. 13:11-17 (which in 16:13 19:20 20:10 is called the 'false prophet') in recent years by Spitta (*Offenb. d. Joh.*, 1889, pp. 380-385) and Erbes (*Offenb. Joh.*, 1891, pp. 25-27). This identification may in some measure suit the wonderful works which are attributed to this beast in 13:13-15. But it no way suits the regard for the worship of the Emperor in 77, 12 15^b, and the exclusion of those who have not the mark of the beast on hand or forehead from the buying and selling, unless we choose to suppose that the figure of Simon furnished merely the outlines for this second beast which were filled in by the author with essentially new features.

Still less have Volkmar (*Comm. z. Offenb. Joh.*, 1862, pp. 107-213), Blom (*Th. J.*, 1834, pp. 175-181) and Kappeler (*Theol. Zeitsch. aus der Schweiz*, 1893, pp. 40-62, 65-69) succeeded, without resort to the greatest lengths of allegorical interpretation, in finding the apostle Paul in the second beast; on any literal exegesis, not even the miracles which cause no difficulty when referred to Simon can, by any possibility, be assigned to Paul.

(c) In so far, however, as, after the example of Gunkel (*Schöpfung u. Chaos*, 1895) and Bousset (*Antichrist*, 1895), the line taken is that of seeking in the leading apocalyptic forms merely renewals of older figures, whether of mythological or of literary origin, which assumed once for all a normative character that underwent only slight modifications when applied to new circumstances and conditions, it may certainly be worth while to inquire whether Paul, or Simon, or the features in the figure of Simon which have been derived from Paul, have contributed elements to the shaping of these renewed apocalyptic figures. Preuschen's aim is nothing less than to show that it was by the introduction of the form of Paul that the figure of Antichrist, originally thought of as a ruler, assumed the character of a false teacher, so that both types of Antichrist thenceforward existed alongside of each other.

After the survey just made of the appearances of Simon in the literature of early Christianity, our next task must be to ascertain what results, if any, can be claimed.

(a) In the first place, it has become evident that we have to do with three distinct magnitudes which meet us, now here now there, under the form of Simon. To these must be added as a fourth a Jewish magician of Cyprus, Simon, a guard of the procurator Felix, who employed him to draw away Drusilla from her husband, Azizus king of Emesa, and procure her in marriage for himself (*Jos. Ant.* xx. 7. § 141 f.). To him we shall return afterwards (§ 12 b, c).

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Meanwhile, the three figures that have come before us in the literature we have hitherto been surveying are: (1) the Samaritan magician as Acts, on the first impression, seems to present him; (2) the Gnostic, founder of the Gnostic sect of the Simonians; (3) the distorted image of the apostle Paul.

(b) It is indispensably necessary that we should distinguish these three forms as sharply as possible, and especially necessary in cases where they may have come to be mixed up in one and the same writing. In this sense, we have already treated separately the Gnostic and the perverted image of Paul as they are found in the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions* (§ 3 f.). In these writings Simon appears as a magician also; but if thereby the magician who, according to Acts, made his appearance in the very first years of Christianity, is to be understood, then the Gnostic system ascribed to him does not at all fit, for it is of much later date.

Now, magicians have existed in all ages, and thus it were easily conceivable that the author of the Gnostic system in question, in the second century, was really also at the same time a magician. Against this suggestion, however, two considerations must be borne in mind; not only that Gnosis and magic are united in the fancy of the Church fathers (who attributed to their adversaries, without discrimination, all kinds of evil things) more easily than they are in reality, but also that, on this view, we lose all connection with the Samaritan Simon of the earliest Christian times, a connection which is nevertheless presupposed in so far as Simon is opposed by Peter. In view of this, we decline to give up the connection, we must nevertheless recognise that in the pseudo-Clementines all three forms of Simon are mixed up with one another so as to form a completely impossible figure. The case is similar in the apocryphal Acts; only, there the Gnostic features in the person of Simon are not very prominent. On Acts 8:9-24 see § 14.

(c) If, then, we desire to get at the truth of the matter, it is an exceedingly perilous thing to be too readily prepared to find a harmonious picture, instead of various features derived from distinct sources. Thus, the argument is very widely current that, inasmuch as in the Simon of the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions* a Gnostic tendency is being controverted, he cannot, at the same time, have any Pauline features; in fact, the myth has even come into being that Lipsius too, in conceding the Anti-Gnostic character of these writings, has also given up their Anti-Pauline character. Similarly, it is often supposed that nothing more is required than the postulate of the actual existence of a Samaritan magician of the name of Simon, in order to make it possible to set aside all supposed reference to Paul in the narrative of Acts 8; or, where a little more caution is exercised, it is supposed that the same result can be reached by the observation that the figure of Simon there exhibits Gnostic characteristics.

If once we are prepared to keep these different characteristics strictly separate, and at the same time to recognise their presence together (should they happen to be present together) in one and the same writing, the next question for us comes to be whether the Anti-Pauline polemic is older than the Anti-Gnostic.

(a) One might suppose that the answer could not be doubtful, seeing that Paul himself was before Gnosticism. The consequences, however, which have been deduced by the Tübingen school from this view of the case cause many to shrink from accepting this result, however obvious.

These critics are utterly averse to making the admission that any such intense hatred could really ever have been directed against Paul, as would follow from the malignant and perverted representation of him implied in the *Homilies* and *Recognitions*, and in the apocryphal Acts, should it be the fact that the passages in question date from the earliest Christian times. The ideal of Acts were of one heart and soul (4:3) dominates also the apostles, that the multitude of them that believed (the current conception of that period much too strongly to make it possible for many to recognise as historical any conflict of so profound and far-reaching a character as that revealed in these writings.

(b) Only, what is it that is done in order to avoid the

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unwelcome admission of its historical character? Any attempt to explain away the hatred which these writings breathe against the Simon with whom they deal, promises little success. Thus, of necessity, one is driven to the assertion that the Anti-Gnostic interest in these authors the original one and the Anti-Pauline features are merely later introductions, much in the same way as an artist, in order to give greater life to his picture, will introduce into it here and there a few additional touches, but without altering the nature of the work as a whole.

(c) This assumption, however, of the posteriority of the Anti-Pauline polemic in these writings is completely untenable. How should the writers have come to make precisely Paul their target? If there had been a conflict between him and another school of primitive Christianity from which these writers were not perhaps far removed, the conflict was nevertheless buried at the death of Paul.

It is coming to be more and more generally recognised that the real Paulinism hardly survived the lifetime of its author (so Harnack himself, *Lehrb. d. Dogm.-gesch.*, 1² 48, n. 1, 52 f., 78 f., 116, etc.). Whilst the most general of all its results—the admission of the Gentiles to Christianity without observance of the law—was accepted in its own interests by the Church now beginning to be Catholic, every other special interest which Paul had promoted, and even his services in connection with the carrying out of the universalism which now was taken as a thing of course, passed into oblivion. Already the book of Acts represents Peter as the real originator of this, and Paul as but his follower in it (Acts, 14). Simultaneously, however, this book and the whole of that literature and period gave to Paul more and more a place of honour beside Peter (see MIXISTRY, § 16), and his writings during the second century gained more and more of a canonical position.

Thus, partly forgotten so far as his conflict with the attitude of the original apostles is concerned, and partly highly honoured as an apostle of bygone days: how should Paul ever come to be in the second, or, so far as the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions* are concerned, even in the third or fourth century, the object of so fanatical a hatred? It is a psychological impossibility. Add to this that the writers, by the introduction of Pauline features, would have been making unrecognisable the picture of that which they wished to combat (§ 10 a).

(d) Harnack has felt this, and drawn the consequence which is the only possible one: 'perhaps the Pauline features of the [pseudo-Clementine] magician altogether are an appearance merely' (*Lehrb. d. Dogm.-gesch.*, 1² 260). In the light of our preceding investigations, the boldness of this proposition will be apparent.

How could such a judgment be possible, or that of Headlam (*Th. St.*, 1911 f., pp. 53 f.): 'With the possible exception of one passage, there is not the slightest sign of anti-Paulinism, and nowhere is there any opposition to St. Paul? Is it, perchance, due to the fact that Headlam has his eye only on the real Paulinism and finds that the polemic of the pseudo-Clementines and apocryphal Acts does not touch that, and then omits to ask whether the authors perhaps precisely by their malicious distortion of the image of Paul deliberately wished to harm him more than would have been possible by means of any honourable polemic?'

(e) The examples of polemics against Paul without the mask of Simon, already ad. cited in § 6, must have shown how deep the antipathy to Paul went, and how widespread it was even where we have not to do with writings which clothe themselves in the form of a romance. The epistles of Paul himself, however, contain still more traces of this.

In §§ 10 c, d, we have already touched on what admits of being inferred from Gal. 5:11 (still preaching circumcision), 1:12 (seek to please men), 4:16 (ἐξ ἑσπέρας), 2 Cor. 6:8 (παύρος), Paul's self-commendation in 2 Cor. 3:1-5:12 f., his preaching of himself (4:5), and his claim to have been taken up into the third heaven and into Paradise (12:2-4), needed only to be exaggerated a little and the charge of self-deification was ready to hand. To these have to be added further, the charges which Paul would not be found repudiating so emphatically if they had ever been made against him: such as that he walks in carnal wisdom (2 Cor. 1:12), writes other things than appear (1:13), says Yea and Nay in the same breath (1:17), corrupts the word of God (2:17), seeks to be lord of the faith (1:24), uses his power for the destruction of the churches (10:8-10), when present is weak but comes forward in his letters with the greatest claims (10:9 f., 1).

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From his refusal of financial support for himself, the inference was drawn that plainly he was conscious of not being a real apostle, otherwise he would have made use of the privilege of those who were 1 Cor. 9:15-2 Cor. 11:15). To this it was added further, that he applied to his own uses the collections which he caused to be made for the poor in Jerusalem (2 Cor. 12:13-15:24, etc.). Finally, 'chastened' (παιδεύουμαι) in 2 Cor. 10:1 can only be understood as meaning that his malady had been interpreted as a divine punishment for his opposition to the Christianity of the original apostles.

(f) All these charges and reproaches, however, proceed, in the last resort at least, from the Judizers who came to Corinth or to Galatia and sought to turn against Paul the churches which he had founded—in other words, from the representatives of that school which speaks in the pseudo-Clementine writings and apocryphal Acts or at least in their sources. If one desires not to be unjust to them, one will even have to concede that Paul had provoked them to the utmost by his persistent advocacy of his own views, by his unsparring attack even upon Peter at Antioch (Gal. 2:11-21), by his blunt judgment upon things which they regarded as sacred, by the anathema he pronounced upon their gospel (Gal. 1:8 f.), by his biting sarcasm (Gal. 5:12), and by his sweeping condemnation of everything about them (2 Cor. 11:13-15). We are only too readily inclined to take sides with Paul and to find in his case certain things to be perfectly correct, which in his adversaries we would either condemn without qualification, or even declare to be historically impossible. Whether, for example, Paul says that his opponents are servants of Satan (11:15), or whether the pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions* say that Paul is a chosen instrument of Satan (3:49) comes to very much the same thing; and, viewed from their standpoint, Paul must really have seemed to them quite as much the enemy of the truth as they to him—for after all he was doing away with the law concerning which they could quite honestly feel convinced that it had been laid down by God as of perpetual obligation (see CONCIL., § 3, begin.). Instead of denying the manifestly patent fact that the opposing schools, within the borders of primitive Christianity, carried on their controversies with the utmost violence, we ought rather to be unfeignedly glad that the Christian religion possessed within itself sufficient vitality to enable it to survive so severe a crisis.

(g) There is accordingly but one presupposition only, by means of which it will be really possible to hold the anti-Pauline features in the pseudo-Clementines to be more recent than the anti-Gnostic, namely the assumption that the principal Pauline epistles are more recent than the Gnosticism, which the pseudo-Clementines combat. So Loman (*Th. St.*, 1883, pp. 25-47), Meyboom (*ib.*, 1891, 1-46), and Steck (*Galaterbrief*, 325-335 [1888]). It makes little difference here, whether on this view the two things are also regarded as contemporaneous. Marcion passes for the chief representative of the gnosis which is controverted. We note further that Meyboom finds the polemic in the *Homilies* the fresher, and derived more from direct observation of the two views he opposes, Marcionism and the Antinomism set forth by the 'canonical Paul'; that of the *Recognitions* he finds more colourless and confused. Against the denial of the genuineness of the principal Pauline epistles altogether, see GALATIANS, §§ 1-9.

If then it is impossible to deny the existence of the Anti-Pauline polemic or to maintain that it is later than the Anti-Gnostic, the next question comes to be as to how it came to be connected, and even combined with the Anti-Gnostic in such a manner as we see, especially: 'the *Homilies* and *Recognitions*.' (a) Harnack, in so far as he does not explain the Anti-Pauline element as only seeming (above, § 9 d), says upon this point (*loc. cit.*) that the pseudo-Clementines 'before ought else con-

troverted Simon Magus and his followers . . . but also the apostle Paul, and seem to have transferred Simonian features to Paul, and Pauline features to Simon.' The question still remains, however, Why they did so? If they depicted Simon or Paul otherwise than each of them in reality was, they only obscured the picture of each, whilst in the polemic that was being waged, it must nevertheless have always been a matter of primary importance to depict the adversary in such a way that every one could clearly recognise him. The literary skill of the authors must accordingly, on the assumption of Harnack here presupposed, that they wrote their works as we now have them without making use of any sources, be ranked very low; in reality, however, it is admittedly very considerable. By the judgment we have quoted, accordingly, Harnack has merely raised another problem, not solved the one in hand.

(b) Harnack proceeds (*loc. cit.*), 'Yet it remains also possible that the Pauline features, borne by the magician, came first into existence in the process of reflection, in so far as in the course of this the whole polemic against Paul was deleted, but certain portions of it were woven into the polemic against Simon.' The assumption underlying these words is of the utmost importance. We see Harnack here reckoning, as he had not yet done in the preceding sentence, with literary antecedents of the pseudo-Clementine writings.

This is in point of fact indispensable, if only for the reason that we find the *Homilies* for considerable stretches dealing with the same matters as the *Recognitions*, and then again diverging widely from them, and also changing the order of the occurrences which both relate in common. Further, in *Kece*, 374f. it is said that Clement, at the instance of Peter, wrote down and sent to James in ten books (the so-called *apophthegmata* of Peter) the discourses held by Peter in his dispute with Simon in Caesarea, and in the same place is given a list of the contents of this writing which shows that it dealt with things which occur also in the pseudo-Clementines of to-day. To this must be added the family romance, and other matter which again points to a separate origin (above, § 30).

And yet it is precisely this question as to possible sources of this literature that we may not propound if Harnack's dictum is to hold good that these writings cannot be called into requisition in any investigation regarding primitive Christianity, because they did not come into existence at all until the third or fourth century. Granted that their present form is not older than the third or fourth century, nevertheless their sources certainly are older, and it is the burden of duty of the historian to look into them. Harnack withdraws himself from the task, although he has himself recognised its existence in the sentence we have quoted. Finally, immediately afterwards he goes on to say as quoted above (§ 9*d*), 'the Pauline features of the magician are perhaps only apparent.' The student who finds himself disinclined to follow this path out of the difficulty which Harnack himself treats so hesitatingly, has no longer to face the question whether one is to 'believe' in a primeval Simon-romance (so Harnack; see *SIXTH PETER*, § 31*a*), but whether one is prepared in discharge of the duty of a historian to probe the matter to the bottom.

(c) That Harnack's hint of the result to which this would lead (above, *b*, begin.) is a happy one cannot be said. How are we to conceive to ourselves even so much as the initial juxtaposition of an anti-Simonian and an anti-Pauline polemic, which Harnack even presupposes at a certain stage of his hypothesis where he does not yet take account of a fusion of different sources? But why afterwards was the anti-Pauline polemic deleted? How came it about that nevertheless certain portions of the polemic against Paul got themselves woven into that against Simon? From mere confusion? No doubt some transference of traits that suit Paul to Simon has occurred; but this can be explained with any psychological probability only by supposing that the hatred against Paul in those circles, within which these writings took their rise, still con-

tinued to be active, and that what this hatred had found to be worthy of detestation in Paul, was involuntarily imputed, without any basis of fact, to other persons, also simply from the need it felt to give itself air. This is only a proof of the original strength and bitterness of the hostility in question against the apostle. In his enemies saw the embodiment of all that was detestable, may devilish. If now, in course of time, there arose other teachers whose position resembled his, but was not identical with it, the inclination was only too natural, in those who disapproved, to fix their attention only on the points of agreement, and to carry over, without alteration, to the newcomers the sentences of condemnation that had long ago been pronounced against Paul, and all the words of censure in which it had been conveyed—'enemy,' 'false teacher,' 'devil's disciple,' 'magician,' 'detest of self,' and the like. When the existence of a deeply-rooted hatred against Paul, that continued to be active down to a later time, in this would not have been possible; but as soon as its existence is recognised, the mingling of the attitudes of distinct persons is no longer unintelligible. In the same manner also in that case one is in a position to understand that people of this fanatical sort, when unquestionably new characteristics emerged, did not allow themselves to be led by this to recognise that a new thing had appeared, that was not to be identified with the old, but simply regarded the new characteristics in question as a fresh development of the long familiar and detestable characteristics of the original adversary.

(d) One new characteristic of the kind just mentioned, undoubtedly, was the divine worship implied in the erection of a statue in Rome (above, § 2*a*). Even the most fertile imagination could hardly have constructed this out of the image of Paul.

Lipsius, therefore (ii. 149*f.*), is probably right when he suppresses this assertion about Simon to owe its origin to the stupid misunderstanding of Justin, and to have found its way into the *Recognitions* only after Justin's statement had become current. Here it is even put in the mouth of Simon as a prophecy: 'aborabor in deus, pulchre divinis donobis locum dedit, ita ut simulacrum mihi statuerent nonquam deum et non adorant' (29; cp 364 where Rome is expressly named as the place). It is, however, as great a misunderstanding of the meaning of Lipsius as that already (§ 8*c*) noted when Lipsius (*Z. f. Kirchengesch.* 22, 1901, 13*f.*) reports it in the following terms: 'that the Clementine story of Peter's conflicts with Simon in Rome can only have arisen on the foundation of the statement of Justin.' Lipsius does not say this of these conflicts in general, but expressly only of 'the Gnostic conflict with Simon.' From the view which Erbes adopts, he draws the conclusion that 'we have no need at all to go into the question as to the sources and the strata of that pseudo-historical literature, and are now already in a position to affirm that the legend which brings Peter in conjunction with Simon Magus in Rome, cannot have arisen until after 147 A.D. [56*a*, after Justin].'

What Lipsius holds, and at the same time what we too, it would seem, ought to hold, is the exact opposite of this. If, through an error of Justin with reference to a certain Gnostic, a statement arose which subsequently came to be incorporated in the pseudo-Clementines, we have all the more pressing occasion for inquiring what was the form which these writings exhibited, and what the picture of Simon which they presented, before the introduction of such Gnostic features.

(e) Lipsius, it is true, since 1876 (*HT 6, 307*, *Apokr. Ap.gesch.* ii. 1*ff.* 363) has abandoned his earlier attempt to reconstruct, as a single writing, a purely Anti-Pauline, pre-Gnostic source which should embrace the whole of the existing Anti-Pauline material that we now find dispersed in the pseudo-Clementines and the apocryphal *Acta*—not, however, because it had been shown to be wrong, but simply because it could not be proved to be right. All the more decidedly, however, does he maintain that this whole Anti-Pauline polemic existed in an oral form before the introduction of the Gnostic features. This is in fact the least that we must suppose, unless all the facts which we have pointed out regarding the polemic

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against Paul are to be simply denied. Nor should a renewed attempt to find in the Clementines a written source of this kind be simply deemed as impossible. Attention must, however, be called also to the fact that the position held by Lipsius has only in appearance been made worse by the new truth he has given to it, and in reality has been improved.

It can appear to be more questionable if it is unable to find support on any written source capable of being separated out from the writings to be used, and if the possibility has to be reckoned with that the Anti-Pauline Legend existed for long only in an oral form, and was confined to writing only after the Gnostic features had been combined with it. Nor is this really difficult to suppose. The mixture of features, and the difficulty felt in keeping them clearly separate, become easily intelligible on the assumption that the writing was done at a late date; but the certainty of the existence of a mass of matter that was originally purely Anti-Pauline is not destroyed by the absence of any book in which this had been committed to writing. The hatred against Paul which still finds expression through the present form of the writing which have been so much worked over, was strong enough to secure that every one, even without their being committed to writing, should know perfectly well what was the nature of the charges brought against Paul.

The positive advantage offered by the new form of the hypothesis of Lipsius is a chronological one. On the supposition of a written source, difficulties can be raised by the question as to whether it is really older than the period of Gnosticism (from about 100 A.D.), from which the non-Pauline features of the legend are derived. In presence of a legend that existed orally only, this difficulty disappears; for such a legend naturally must have existed since the days of Paul, in whose own letters we have already been able to point out so many of the features which it presents (§ 9 c).

If originally it was Paul who was attacked under the guise of Simon alike in the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions* and in the Apocryphal Acts (above, § 4 f.), the question inevitably arises whether this happened in the two groups of writings independently, or whether both groups have a common origin.

(a) The first view is favoured by the circumstance that the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions* deal exclusively with encounters in Palestine and Syria, the Apocryphal Acts only with encounters in Rome. In many instances scholars have contented themselves with establishing this fact and then holding the question as at once settled.

(b) The idea, however, which underlies this whole polemic against 'Simon' is most distinctly against this, the idea, namely, that Peter has to follow Simon into every place where the latter has spread his erroneous teaching.

That this is Peter's task is everywhere taken for granted as a thing of course. Take, for example, *Hom.* 14.12, where we find Peter saying that Simon is in Antioch (with Amulion); 'when, then, we get there and come upon them, the disputation can take place'; out of a large number of other passages we may point also to 2.17 where Peter speaks of himself as having come in upon Simon 'as light upon darkness, as knowledge upon ignorance, as healing upon disease' (*ἐπέλαθον ὡς σκοτία φῶς, ὡς ἀγνοία γνῶσις, ὡς νόσος ἰατρὴ*). According to 4.6 none but Peter can cope with Simon, and his companions complain that he has sent them on this occasion before him. In *Recogn.* 3.5 Peter says: 'Since Simon has gone forth to preoccupy the ears of the disciples who are called to salvation, it is necessary that I also upon his track so that whoever disputation he raises may be refuted by us' (*ὅτι ὁ Σίμων ἐgressus est aures gentium et ad saltem vocati sunt praevenerunt, necesse est et me vestigia eius insequi, ut si quid forte ab illis disputatum fuerit, contrargatur a nobis*), and in 3.8 we read that 'Simon has set out, wishing to anti-date our journey; him we should have followed step by step, that whosoever he tries to subvert any there he might forthwith be confuted by us' (*Simon praevenerit volens iter nostrum praevocare, quem oportuerat e vestigio ire, ut si ab aliquo subvertente tentaret, confutaretur a nobis*).

In view of such passages as these it is not conceivable that the plan of the *Homilies* and *Recognitions* became limited to conflicts between 'Simon' and Peter in the East, as soon as it was known to the author that Simon had come also to Rome. But this was in point of fact actually known to the author, unless one is prepared to deny that the apostle Paul is meant by 'Simon.' Even

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if it is a Gnostic Simon that is controverted in the *Homilies* and *Recognitions*, it was Paul who supplied the basis for this Gnostic figure (above, § 9 f.); and it is only with the original oneness of the anti-Pauline elements in the *Homilies* and *Recognitions* on the one hand and in the Apocryphal Acts on the other that we have here to do.

(c) Nor yet are direct indications wholly wanting in the *Homilies* and *Recognitions* that the conflicts must be continued in Rome also.

Thus in *Rec.* 3.17 we read of Simon's going from Caesarea to Rome saying that 'there he would please the people so much that he should be reckoned a god and receive divine honours' (*ὄφειεν εὐκταίμιν πέτερε; ἰδιόειμι τὰ τινὰ πλάτωντα ἰδὲν πέτερε; ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ δοξαίμιν ἰδοῦναι*); see above, § 2 a. With this it agrees that Peter makes the request of Clement who is brought to him by Petros: 'travel with us, participating in the words of truth which I am going to speak from city to city, as far as Rome itself' (*ἰσχυρότατον ἦν μετὰδιδραμῆναι τῆν πόλιν ἀθήνας ἀκούειν, ὡς κατὰ πόλιν πορεύσθαι μέλλω μέγιστον πόλιν ἀθήνας*; *Hom.* 14.13; *Recogn.* 14.13). In the case of Clement we find *ad ipsum nobis praevenerunt ut in urbem Romanam* (§ 174); *in quo quo deo fuisse praevenerunt ad ipsum quo fieri nostrum christi gradum credimus urbem Romanam*. So also in the Epistle of Clement to James prefixed to the *Homilies*, D Peter is spoken of as being he 'who as being latest of all was commanded to enlighten the darker part of the world, namely the West, and was enabled to set it right' (*ὁ τῆς ἡσυχίας τοῦ σκοτεινοῦ τῆς κοίτης μέρος ὡς πρῶτος ἰκανώτατος φωτιστὴς ἡλιεσθησῆς καὶ καταρθώσθαι διαθήσει*), and as having died in Rome.

The value of these passages as evidence becomes greater in proportion to the fullness of their agreement with the fundamental idea set forth above, under *b*. All the more significant, therefore, is the simple ignoring of them by Harnack and Clement who do not accept this idea, and all the holder the view of Chase (Hastings, *DB* 377b) that they 'are so incidental in character that they may well be the interpolation of a later editor, the writer, for example, who composed the *Epistle of Clement to James*, prefixed to the *Homilies*.'

(d) Of equal importance is the fact that the Apocryphal Acts which deal only with conflicts in Rome contain references back to earlier conflicts in Rome with Peter (and Paul) in the East.

For the pre-Catholic Acts, 17, 23, see SIMON PETER, § 33, d, and for the Catholic Acts see chap. 17, where Simon says of Peter and Paul: 'They have turned aside all Judaean from believing in me' (*δέστροψάν ἄθεν ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ τοῦ μη πιστεύειν μου*), to which Peter makes answer, 'Thou hast been able to impose upon all, but upon me never; and those also who have been deceived, God has through me recalled from their error' (*ὅτι ἂν ἰσχυρότατος ἦν μετὰδιδραμῆναι τῆς πόλεως ἀθήνας ἔλατρησθαι δὲ ἐμοῦ ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῆ ἰσυχίᾳ πλάττει ἀκαλεσάσαι*). Simon again holds precisely similar language in chap. 28 where he mentions all Palestine and Caesarea as well as Judea (according to the *Recognitions* it was in Caesarea that the last great disputation between Simon and Peter occurred). With this it agrees that in the pre-Catholic Acts 6h. 5, in exact parallelism with the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions*, Peter receives from Christ in a vision the following instruction: 'quoniam in egressi de Judea approbavimus magnum Simonem, iterum praevocavit vos Romae . . . caesaria die proficiscere'; whereupon Peter says to his Christian brethren 'necessitas me ascendere Romam [in Romanam] ad expugnandum hostem et inivitum domini et fratrum nostrum' [for 'nostroium'] (cp SIMON PETER, §§ 31 f., 33 b).

Thus the pseudo-Clementines and the Apocryphal Acts alike make it plain that both of them have the underlying idea of a controverting of Simon by Peter in the East as well as in Rome, even although only the one half is developed in the one group of writings and the other half in the other.

(e) The attempt has been made to meet this by pointing out that church fathers mention the presence of Simon in Rome while at the same time not speaking of controversies between him and Peter. This is indeed true of Justin: 'so knows nothing of any presence of Peter in Rome at all' (above, § 2; SIMON PETER, § 30 g), as also of Irenaeus (*Ire* 1.123; about 185 A.D.) and Tertullian (*Apol.* 13; cp *De anima*, 34. 57; about 200 A.D.) who elsewhere do speak of the appearance of Peter in Rome (see SIMON PETER, §§ 25 b, 26 a, and, conversely, the mention of Peter and Paul without Simon, § 41 c). Only, this argument from silence

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cannot prove that Simon really did make an appearance in Rome without any conflict with Peter.

In the writings of the church fathers the first mention of this conflict occurs in the *Philosophumena*, about 215 A.D. (see SIMON PETER, § 12*d*). Amongst the sources of this work, however, must unquestionably be reckoned the *ἑρμηνεία τῆς ἀποκάλυψης* of Hippolytus, written about 205 A.D., even if Hippolytus may not be held to have been the author of the *Philosophumena* itself; and Lipsius has made it probable (*IPP.*, 137b, p. 107) that this *ἑρμηνεία* of Hippolytus, now no longer extant, already contained the conflict between Peter and Simon. If this be so, it can no longer be asserted that the tradition of the conflict is later than the opposite tradition of Tertullian and Irenaeus. Moreover, it cannot be maintained that these two authors had any urgent occasion, in the particular connections in which they were writing, to mention this conflict if they had known it.

(1) In the case of Justin such an occasion undeniably did exist, and, moreover, Justin as being the earlier (about 142 A.D.) is also the most important witness. He, however, as already pointed out, knows nothing of Peter's presence in Rome. Thus what he says about Simon admits of explanation without any difficulty, even if a tradition was already in existence before his time to the effect that Simon had been controverted by Peter in Rome. One part of this tradition—that about Simon's presence in Rome—he found himself able to accept (in fact he held it to be confirmed by the statue, which he brought into connection with Simon; see above, § 2*d*), the other—that about Peter's presence in Rome—he was unable to accept. Why he could not, is a matter of indifference; what is certain is that one who, as Justin does, regards all the twelve original apostles as having engaged in missions to the Gentiles, and is completely silent about Paul (MINISTRY, § 30*d*) would have had no difficulty in accepting the presence of Peter in Rome, if he was in possession of credible information to this effect. One must reflect that the circles from which the traditions relating to the controverting of 'Simon' by Peter emanated enjoyed small repute in the church, and certainly no mistake will have been committed if we suppose that it was Justin's knowledge of the Roman tradition, which he acquired on the spot, that prevented him from believing in the presence of Peter there (see SIMON PETER, § 40*d*).

(2) As soon as the later hypothesis of Lipsius, which as we have seen (above, § 10*c*) has must to recommend it, is adopted—viz., that the entire anti-Pauline polemic existed, in the first instance, in oral tradition—we are all the less in a position to build that from the beginning it formed a unity; and sayings of church-fathers about a presence of Simon in Rome without any conflict with Peter cannot, on the other hand, be regarded as proving anything, if only because they are all of them much later, since the oral tradition just referred to must have come into existence during and shortly after the lifetime of Paul.

(3) Nor can the fact that in the *Homilies* and *Recognitions* only the eastern conflicts are dealt with, and in the Apocryphal Acts only the Roman, be held as having force against this conclusion, even if we are not able to explain it.

At the same time, we may certainly conjecture that the residence and the geographical horizon of the various authors had a determining influence on the selection of the places which they made the scenes of their romances. Otherwise, the *Homilies* and *Recognitions* would certainly not have confined themselves to Palestine and Syria, but would have included Asia Minor and even Macedonia and Greece as well, where also Paul had exercised his missionary activities. Moreover, neither the *Homilies* and *Recognitions*, nor yet the Apocryphal Acts (though this does not hold true of them in the same degree) exhibit unity of conception in their present form. We cannot tell whether older forms of them would not give us a clearer insight into the original oneness of this whole body of literature.

Having now examined the Simon-romance in all its ramifications, our next question must be: what element of historical truth (if any) is there attaching to Simon? (a) Of the four Simon-figures distinguished above (§ 8), the caricature of Paul in the

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Homilies and *Recognitions* and in the Apocryphal Acts was interpreted as having its basis in the historical Paul and no other historical person whatsoever by the Tübingen school, followed by Noldke (in Lipsius' *Ergänzungsbelt.*, 32 f.) and Landemann (below, § 14*c*), and also at an earlier date by Lipsius.

On this interpretation the explanation of the name Simon is that Paul, whose real name of course could not be mentioned, was the opponent of Simon Peter and thus was the false Simon; he was called a Samaritan, it was held, because he was a Jew and yet also no Jew since he rejected the law of Moses. (Other features see above, §§ 47, 911.)

(b) Krenkel (below, § 15), to explain the caricature of Paul, calls in the Cyprian magician Simon, who stood high in favour with Felix because of his services in helping him to win Brutilla (above, § 12*d*).

As Paul also was well treated by Felix when in prison at Caesarea (Acts 24:23-26), it was a comparatively easy thing for Jewish-Christian slanders to assert that he really was identical with the Cyprian Simon, and that, using this name, in order to more easily gain followers he gave himself out to be the apostle Simon Peter. This last conjecture is altogether improbable, but the first also goes somewhat far, although it seems to have some support in Paul's preaching before Felix and Drusilla of righteousness and temperance and the judgment to come (Acts 24:15; see HANSEN, § 4*d*). Cf. above, § 5*c*.

(c) Kreyenbühl (205-214; see below, § 15) goes still further.

The accusation against Paul of having brought Brutilla to Felix, he attributes not to the Jewish Christians, but to the Jews who accused him before Felix. According to Kreyenbühl, a Cyprian Simon never existed; what Josephus relates regarding him is simply the slander which was current against Paul. Paul has been brought against him under the name of Simon which was given to him. But the question arises: How came non-Jewish Jews to give to Paul the name of Simon? Kreyenbühl's explanation of how it was that at the same time they designated him as a Cyprian by birth, is that Barjesus or Elymas (Acts 13:6-12) was originally the apostle Paul (see HANSEN, § 4*d*). Both names are, according to Kreyenbühl, nicknames which were given him by Jews (not Christian Jews), because he was received in a friendly way in Cyprus by Sergius Paulus, and then fully declared his apostasy from Judaism by changing his name.

Elymas means 'magician,' literally 'man of Elom' (Elymas, § 12), the classical land of magic; Barjesus means 'follower of Jesus.' Such hypotheses are exceedingly precarious. The historicity of the Cyprian Simon, at least as it is by Josephus, must not be questioned; but it is not to the Paul of the Simon-romance, as Krenkel thinks (above, 7), but only to the Paul who is presented under the name of Barjesus that features have been transferred from him (HANSEN, § 4*d*). Should it so happen that his name was not Simon, but Attanus (Ἄττανος), as Niese reads with the Milan codex and the opinion of Josephus, then one would be tempted to bring this combination with the *Ερωταί*, which is D's reading for Elymas in Acts 13 (so Harris, *EA.*, 1902*a*, pp. 189-195; cf. HANSEN, § 1, 5*a*).

(d) Lipsius, in his latest treatment of the subject (*Apokr. Ap.-Gesch.* ii, 149-50), has recognised a Samaritan *ῥόνη* named Simon as historical. By doing so, he holds, we make it easier to understand the bestowal of the name of Simon upon Paul, and Justin's statement that Geth was the birthplace of Simon, as well as the fact that Simon passes not only for the father of all heresies but also as the revelation of the supreme God, and thus as a kind of Messiah (above, § 2*d*). If Paul was the only basis for the figure of Simon, then only the first of these two prelates, not the second also, would have been attached to it. Lipsius adds, as a possibility, that the Samaritan Simon may be identical with the Cyprian Simon of Josephus.

(e) Harnack, in his turn, also maintains the historicity of the Samaritan Simon; not, however, as explaining the caricature of Paul (above, § 4*f*.), but because the Gnostic sect of the Simonians must have had a founder. Lipsius (51 f.) adduces this reason for believing in the historicity of Simon only with the reservation that it is not necessary to bring the Simonians into direct historical connection with Simon; they seem to have marked him out as the representative of their ideas only by an afterthought. Kreyenbühl (199-201), in like manner, postulates a founder for the Simonian sect, but places him at the beginning of the second century, since the Gnostic contents of his *Ἀποκρίσεις Μεγάλη*, which he accepts as genuine (above, § 2*c*), do not fit in with the first century, and Justin himself says that Simon was a pupil of

Menander, and pupils of Menander 'are alive even now' (190); *Apoc.* 20, that is to say, about 142 A.D. Just as it is true, says in the same chapter, and often, that Simon came to Rome under the emperor Claudius or it may be as Kreyenbühl thinks, under (Claudius) Nero (see SIMON PETER, § 37*d*), but Kreyenbühl supposes him to draw this from another source without regard to chronology. In truth, the Simon of Acts shows very little if any of the attributes of a Gnostic leader of a sect, and we must be on our guard against holding him for such, on the ground, merely, that tradition names no other. If we assume a Gnostic Simon of Titta at the beginning of the second century, then we do not need, as Kreyenbühl at the same time does, to deny the historicity of the Samaritan magician named Simon in the first century—a historicity which the reasons adduced by Lipsius make very probable. If, further, we hesitate about identifying the Samaritan with the Cyprian Simon—an identification which has nothing in its favour except that the name and the quality of magician is the same in both cases—we find ourselves in the end accepting three persons named Simon. The point, however, is difficult to decide.

(f) It is certain, however, from all our premises, that not only Peter, but also the Samaritan Simon of the apostolic age, never appeared in Rome. It is told of Simon merely because by his figure Paul is intended. The only writer who represents Simon as appearing in Rome without Peter—Justin—in view of his fiction about the statue of Simon is not entitled to credence, especially as his statement also, and not merely that of a simultaneous appearance of Simon always with Peter, is quite easily intelligible if it be taken as resting on the romance of Simon Paul (§ 11*c*, *f*). Whether a Gnostic of the second century named Simon appeared in Rome remains an open question; but it is not of decisive importance for our present investigation.

The acceptance of a Samaritan Simon in the first century does not, however by any means, *ipso facto*,

carry with it the acknowledgement of 13. Acts 8:9-24, the credibility of Acts 8:9-24. The Simon = Paul, features enumerated in a preceding section (§ 1*c*, *d*), which are by no means appropriate to a magician, find a satisfactory explanation only when it is recognised that the apostle Paul underlies this figure also. (a) Only Paul, not a magician, could have had the wish to be able to impart the gift of the Holy Spirit, and thereby attain equality of rank with the original apostles; and Simon's so rapid conversion to Christianity can apply only to Paul, the narrative already presupposing him to be a Christian and interesting itself solely in his desire to be able to impart the gift of the Spirit. In the same direction point also the words of Peter (8:21): 'thou hast neither part nor lot (κλήρος) in the matter'; for κλήρος (RV 'portion,' RV^{ms} 'lot') is in 1:17 (cp 1:25) used of the apostolate, the attainment of which by a magician is barred from the outset.

(b) Equality of rank with the original apostles was refused to Paul also by their party (1 Cor. 9:2: 'if to others I am not an apostle,' etc.), for which reason the apostle himself claims it with the emphasis which we see (2:1; 1:2 Cor. 11; Gal. 1; Rom. 1:6). Now, it is not difficult to discern in Peter's other expressions also in Acts 8:21-22, traces of the polemic which was being carried on against Paul.

'Thy heart is not right before God' (8:21) has a close similarity to the expression used in 13:10 in addressing Barsabbas (i.e., Paul): 'wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord?' At the same time, however, the phraseology recalls also Gal. 2:14: 'they walked not uprightly (ὡς ὀρθοποδοῦντες) according to the truth of the gospel.' So Paul expresses himself in Antioch against Peter and his fellows. Thus we perceive that Acts 8:9-24 is the counterpart to the setting down of Peter by Paul at Antioch, and we are able to understand 8:23. For this verse does not mean, as in AV RV, 'thou art in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity,' 'In the bond' might be intelligible, but 'in the gall' not. Thus (cp 1:10): ὡς ἡ γάλη τῆς βίτης is the same familiar Hecataeanism as we find in Mt. 19:34: 'I see that thou art bitter gall and an iniquitous

bond.' Paul must have seemed like 'bitter gall' in account of his opposition to Peter in Antioch, and an 'iniquitous traitor' in so far as he endeavoured to prevent Peter from again withdrawing from table-fellowship with the Gentile Christians. Lastly, Simon's repentance (8:22) has its parallel in 2:37, according to 1:10, its foundation in the *Homilies* and its cognation (above, § 4*b*).

(c) But, did Paul really offer the original apostles money in order to obtain from them a recognition of his equality with them? Certainly not. But it was merely the hushing touch to the discovery of the Simon romance when Volkmar (*Tab. Theol. Jahrb.*, 1820, pp. 279-289) perceived that Paul, according to Jewish-Christian scandal, was held to have done so when he carried the great collection to Jerusalem on the occasion of his last journey thither (1 Cor. 16:4; 2 Cor. 8:7; Rom. 15:25-26).

On this presupposition, let us now ask what judgment we ought to form as to the literary activity of the

14. Tendency author of Acts. (a) If the Samaritan Simon was not a historical person, the author of Acts invented him in order to say that not Paul but a Samaritan magician was the Simon with regard to whom Jewish-Christian stories told that he had wished to purchase equality with the apostles with money, and had been repulsed by Peter. If, on the other hand, a Samaritan Simon really did exist, then also the author of Acts can nevertheless have made use of him simply as a means for attaining the same purpose. In this event, the representation that the affair had happened before Paul's conversion, must be regarded as specially effective.

(b) In order not to be compelled to attribute this to the author of Acts, Lipsius in his latest treatment (*Apokr. Ap. Gesch.* II, 151*f*) assumed not only that the Samaritan Simon had actually existed, but also that he had an encounter with Peter.

At the same time, inasmuch as what is said in Acts 8:14-17 as to the prerogative of Peter and John in regard to the imparting of the Holy Spirit is quite unhistorical (CHRISTEY, § 14*c*), Lipsius can uphold his view only on the assumption that the encounter between Peter and Simon had another occasion. When this hypothesis is entertained, however, not only has a region of pure conjecture to be entered upon, but the tendency of the author of Acts remains just as it was before—a tendency to say something unhistorical about Simon in order to blun the point of the Judaistic allegation that it applied to Paul.

(c) Lipsius further propounds it as a possibility that this substitution for Paul of the Samaritan Simon already lay before the author in one of the sources of Acts. This source, accordingly, it was which followed the tendency to divert from Paul the charge of bribery; the author of Acts, however, failed to perceive this tendency, but relates the story as referring to the Samaritan Simon in all good faith in its trustworthiness.

(d) By way of support of some such expedient, it had already been urged before Lipsius that the magician does not wear Pauline features; or at least not exclusively Pauline features, but also Gnostic ones.

In this connection, however, 8:9 cannot be urged: 'giving out that himself was some great one'; for by this expression he is more nearly brought on a level with Theudas (5:36). Even the fact of his being called on a level with Theudas (5:36). Even the fact of his being called 'the power of God that is called Great' (8:10) admits of being carried back to Paul. Paul, indeed, not only calls his gospel a power of God (Rom. 1:16; 1 Cor. 1:24), but also claims himself to possess the power of God (2 Cor. 4:7; 12:9; 13:4; 1 Cor. 5:4). Yet it remains possible that the expression in Acts 8:10 is a Gnostic one, especially in view of the word *καλοῦμαι*. We have no more reason for omitting this with H.P. Sah than we have for deleting *τοῦ θεοῦ*, after Blass (*St. Kr.*, 1886, p. 462), on the sole ground of the Latin translation of Perpignan (ACTS, vol. 50, n. 2). On the other hand, neither also is there any occasion for taking *μεγαλὸν* as the Aramaic participle *paal* (ܩܘܠܐ or ܩܘܠܐ = 'the revealer'), so Klostermann, *Probleme im Apostelthum*, 1883, pp. 15-20). In the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* (2:22) we read in the description of the Gnostic predicates of Simon: 'he wishes to be accounted a certain supreme power, higher even than the god who created the world' (θελεὶ νομισθῆναι ἀνωτέρου τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν διαμῆναι καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον κτιστῆτος θεοῦ [ἀνωτέρα is perhaps to be supplied]; *Hom.*, 2:7: exorsum virtutemque supra creatorem deum suū; cp § 3*a*, and SIMON PETER, § 1:4).

(e) Yet, even if the author of Acts has already taken up a Gnostic feature into his presentation of Simon, the

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fact remains that he was aware of, and wished to obviate, the reproach that Paul had wished to purchase for himself equality with the original apostles by means of his great collection. Otherwise, he would not have passed the collection over in such complete silence in chap. 21, where we should have expected its delivery to be recorded, whilst yet he has preserved in 20^a from the 'we-source' (according to a highly probable conjecture) the list of those who brought it (GALATIA, § 22). Not till 21¹⁷ has been reached does the author allude to it at all, but here in such a manner that it becomes something quite different—viz., 'thus for my nation,' not for the Christians in Palestine only. For the main purpose of the book—the representation of the harmony subsisting between Paul and the original apostles (ACTS, § 3, end)—the mention of the collection would have been serviceable in the highest degree. This may be the reason why a collection brought by Paul to the Christians in Jerusalem is actually mentioned, though at a time at which it is historically impossible (11^{20 f.}, 12²⁵; cp CONCIL, § 1^a). All these circumstances speak for tendency too clearly to allow us to shut our eyes to the presence of the same thing in 8⁹⁻²⁴.

(f) The decision which must be pronounced, that tendency is at work here, is not weakened, but strengthened, by separating out a source which was not (as with Lipsius; above, c) already a tendency-document, but rather as absolutely historical as possible (above, § 1, *B-d*); for the user of this source has all the more assuredly, in that case, purposely introduced by his interpolations the tendency which the present narrative as a whole exhibits.

(g) What we are able to absolve him from, then, is certainly in no case (whether he used sources or not) the deliberate intention of representing the great collection in another light than that which agreed with actual

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facts, in order to take away all foundation from all rumours about Paul which were based on the facts; the most that one can do is to absolve him from the charge of having deliberately invented statements of fact, if we assume that he actually knew of the existence of the Samaritan Simon which we must recognise as a fact, and in good faith believed that it must have been this Simon who made the attempt to bribe, and that Peter must have withstood him. This view admits of being understood as a result of his general assumption that the party of the original apostles cannot possibly have stood in a relation of such hostility to Paul (cp the similar judgment expressed under PARSSES, § 4). It still, however, remains impossible to deny that the author has been led by tendency to be silent as to the real history of the collection, just as he has been led to be silent about the dispute between Peter and Paul at Antioch, and about Titus (see CONCIL, §§ 3 end, 7 end), or that he relates matters for which he had no historical warrant.

Reur, *Tüb. Ztschr. f. Theol.*, 1831, d, 114-116; Simon, *J. l. hist. Theol.*, 1841, c, 15-79; Hilgenfeld, *ZIT.*, 1862, 37-39; *Ketzgesch.*, 1884, 163-166, 453-461; Lipsius,

15. Literature. Quellen d. röm. Petrusage, 1879, cap. 2; 'Simon Magus' in *BL.*, 5, 1875, 200-211; *Apok. Ap. Gen. h.* ii. 1, 1887, 23-63 et passim (see *Ketzgesch. h. l.*, 23^{2 f.}); Lüdennann, *Prot. KZ.*, 1887, 95-100 (on Lipsius); Harnack, 'Simon Magus' in *EB*, 1, 1891, d, 1-10; *Ketzgesch.*, 1904, 204-206, 264-270; Dieterlen, *L'apôtre Paul et Simon le magicien*, Nancy, 1898; Krenkel, *Josephus u. Simon*, 1898, 175-180; Kreyenbühl, *Evang. d. Wahrheit*, 1, 1900, 17-18.

On the pseudo-Clementine writings see Schillingmann, *Die Clementinen*, 1844; Hilgenfeld, *Die Clementinen*, 1848; Uhlhorn, *Die Homil. u. Recogn. des Clem. in Rom.*, 1854; Langen, *Die Clementinen*, 1889; Holt, *Acta Introductory to the Study of the Clem. Recogn.*, 1902; Pagan, *Stud. Bib.*, 2, 1890, 157-164; Headlam, *JHSt.*, 1901, 1, 41-47; Chapman, *ibid.*, 436-444; and (in agreement with him) Headlam, *JLZ.*, 1902, 570. P. W. S.

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Simon, or Symeon (CYMEΩN; so C for סימון; see SIMEON, § 8), was the original and proper name of the intimate disciple of Jesus who was destined to be for ever known throughout all Christendom by the surname of Peter.

(a) The name Simon is a classical one which occurs (for example) in Aristophanes, Lysias, and Demosthenes. Ever since the Jews began the practice of assuming Greek or Greek-sounding names, alongside of their proper Hebrew ones, to be employed in intercourse with the outside world (cp PARABASAS, § 1, end, and NAMES, § 26), Simon was regarded as an appropriate equivalent for Symeon, all the more because in the selection of such equivalents similarity of sound was considered an important element. (b) The form Simon (Σίμων) is that almost invariably met with in the OT Apocrypha (3 Ezra [1 Esd.] 1:12; Eccles. 50:1; also in 1, 2, and 4 Macc.). Only once is the well-known Maccabean leader called Συμεών (1 Macc. 2:65); so too

only once his great grandfather (2), and the son of the patriarch Jacob thrice (4 Macc. 2:19; Judith 6:15; 9:2). For the last-named Josephus invariably writes Symeon (or Semeon; Συμεων, var. Σεμεων), for all other persons he has Simon (Σίμων), except in two cases (*Ant.* vi. 1, § 265; for the other see of the Maccabees—and in *Bl.* iv. 39, § 150, where in each case Συμεων is found). Soon after the apostolic age it even came about that the Greek form was taken to underlie the Hebrew and סימון was written instead of סימון (cp NAMES, § 1 end).

(c) In the NT Simon (Σίμων) is the current form. Symeon (Συμεων), in fact (if we leave out of account the patriarch, mentioned in Rev. 7, the ancestor of Jesus in Lk. 3:39, the avul prophet of Lk. 2:25, 34, and the prophet and teacher of Antioch in Syria who bore the surname of Nestor, Acts 13:1) occurs but twice; and in both instances—in 1 Pet. 1, as well as in Acts 15:14—is used with the obvious intention of giving special solemnity to the designation of the apostle. In Acts 15 this is all the more unmistakable because Peter is the

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name used throughout the rest of the book, except in presence of Cornelius or in the mouth of his messengers, when the style always is 'Simon whose surname is Peter' (10:3; 12:11-13). It hardly needs to be said that we cannot assume the author of Acts to be here following a literally exact report; we see rather how as a literary artist he is taking account of the situation he is describing. Similarly it is plainly with conscious intention that in the third Gospel he uses the name Simon (4:18; 5:3-10) down to the point at which in connection with the choice of the apostles (6:14) he mentions the giving of the name Peter. Only in 5 does he let fall the double designation 'Simon Peter'; we may perhaps hazard the conjecture that the addition of 'Peter' is due merely to the carelessness of a copyist (it is wanting in D, in 2 MSS [13 and 69] of the Ferrar group and in the old Lat. cods. a, b, c, k). Throughout the whole of the rest of the gospel 'Simon' recurs only in the mouth of Jesus (22:31) and of the disciples (24:10). In the only other passage where Jesus addresses the apostle (22:31) we find 'Peter' (*Petrus*). This, however, is probably introduced for the sake of the contrast; Jesus in effect says that Peter will be so far from showing himself a rock that he will actually deny his master. In the two passages in Acts where Peter is addressed (10:13; 11:7; in the vision at Joppa) we also find 'Peter' (11:7*α*). It would be difficult to suggest any special reason for this here; the author will simply be following his prevailing custom.

(6) In Mk. also we find the same principles operative in determining the employment of the name Simon. Down to the choice of the apostles (3:16) we invariably find 'Simon' (1:16-20*α*, 36) but after that only once, in the single instance in which the apostle is addressed by Jesus (14:37). Mt. departs from this only in so far as he records the surname Peter to the name of Simon not only when he tells the choosing of the apostles (10:2) but also at the point where he first has occasion to name its bearer at all (1:16), and thus as early as 8:14 he is able to use the simple designation 'Peter'. In the places where the apostle is addressed by Jesus Mt. also never uses 'Peter', but always 'Simon' (17:25) or with special solemnity, 'Simon son of Jonas' (16:17).

(7) Similarly, it is in accord with the solemnity of the moment at which Peter confesses Jesus as the Messiah that we find Mt. using here (16:18), though nowhere else, the combination 'Simon Peter'. In Mk. it does not occur at all; in Lk. only in 5:8 (see above, c); in 2 Pet. 1:1 it is found in B, the Ferrar MSS 13 and 69, and other cursives, but Symeon Peter (*Συμεών Πέτρος*) is certainly to be preferred, as the form Symeon is rare and thus cannot easily have been introduced into the text by copyist's error merely.

(8) On the other hand this combination 'Simon Peter', which as we have seen is so rare elsewhere, is the usual designation in the Fourth Gospel. 'Peter' alone is comparatively infrequent and occurs only where 'Simon Peter' has immediately preceded (14:10-37; 18:11; 19:14; 20:3*α*, 21:7*α*, 21:17*α*, 21:20*α*), in other words only in order to avoid a quite excessive stiffness; yet even in such cases there are several instances in which the more formal 'Simon Peter' immediately recurs (13:9; 20:6; 21:7*β*). Jn. agrees with Mt. in using 'Simon [son of] John' (1:42; 21:15; 17) in the two instances where he represents the apostle as directly addressed by Jesus, with Mk. and Lk. in using 'Simon' without addition when the bearer of the name is first mentioned (1:41).

(9) The Aramaic name *Kēphā* (כֶּפְתָּא; in AT only in pl. *Κεφαλαί*, Jer. 4:29; Job 30:6) is used only by Paul, who employs its Greek form *Κηφᾶς* (Κηφᾶς). Or rather, outside of the Pauline writings it occurs but once; namely in Jn. 1:42 where Jesus gives it as a surname to Simon, with the addition, however, 'which is by interpretation Peter'. Since the name Simon serves perfectly well as a Greek equivalent for Symeon we can all the more readily believe that Peter (and Cephas) was not a name assumed by the bearer himself, that it was bestowed upon him by Jesus. Moreover, Peter was not at all a current name at that time. In Josephus it occurs once (*Ant.* xviii. 4, § 156) according to the testimony of the Epitome which in many instances has alone preserved the true text; all the MSS, however, read *Πέτρος* (Πέτρος) which also was a proper name. According to Pape-Benseler (*Wörterb. d. griech. Eigennamen*), apart from Christian circles Peter would seem to have been first brought into currency through Roman influence.

(10) From what has been said it will be evident that with NT writers the honorific name of the apostle was the only one in general currency, and that they used his proper name Simon (or Symeon) only when there were literary reasons for doing so. This holds good also for the author (not hitherto referred to) of 1 Pet. who calls himself (1:1) *Πέτρος*. From the epistles of Paul we can gather that the Aramaic form of this honorific name—as known even in Galatia (Gal. 1:18; 2:11, 14) and in Corinth (1 Cor. 1:12; 3:22; 9:15, 51). And in fact this is not to be accounted for by some such reason as a mere personal habit of Paul's to call him so; rather must we infer from 1 Cor. 1:12 that Peter's own followers had brought his name in its Aramaic form to Corinth; for we may be sure that Paul when he attributes the words

¹ On the form of the name of Simon's father see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 1, middle.

SIMON PETER

'I [am] of Cephas' to the Petrine party at Corinth is rendering their language with literal fidelity. Yet from Paul's twice saying 'Peter' (Gal. 2:7*α*) we must not conclude that the verses in which the name occurs are from another hand; for along with the Aramaic name we may be sure that the Greek name, precisely because it was an honorific name, could be applied in the stricter sense of the word, could be applied, whether by Paul or by some other, in its meaning alone.

A. PAULINE PETRINE

1. ACCORDING TO PAUL AND HIS

The question is asked (11) we ought to turn for our most secure data for the line of Peter, the answer must be: neither to the Gospels nor to Acts where there is so much that is open to critical deduction, but to the epistles of Paul.

As to the genuineness of these see GALATIANS, §§ 1-9; and on 1 Cor. 15:11, in particular, see RESURRECTION-NARRATIVE, §§ 10*α*. As regards Gal. 2:11-13 it may be added that Walter, although holding Galatians to be entirely spurious, sees in these three verses a real historical record which was known to the author of Acts and by him so made use of for 10:11-13 as to make it appear that not Paul, but precisely Peter, was the first to make a stand for table-fellowship between Jewish and Gentile Christians (*Konfession d. paulin. Hauptbriefe*, 169, pp. 149-151).

The following are the facts we learn from these epistles.

(a) Peter was the first to witness an appearance of the risen Jesus (1 Cor. 15:5). As to the fundamental importance of this event, see RESURRECTION, § 37.

(b) Paul, three years after his conversion, found Peter in Jerusalem along with James the brother of Jesus in a prominent position (Gal. 1:18*α*); fourteen years later he again found him along with James the brother of Jesus and John the son of Zebedee occupying the position of leaders of the church who had received from their supporters the honorific title of 'the pillars' (*οἱ στῆλαι*; Gal. 2:10; see CORINTH, § 6).

(c) On the occasion just mentioned, that of the 'council of Jerusalem,' Peter with James and John was, at the outset, by no means on Paul's side, and in the course of the discussions which took place suffered himself to be brought to concede Paul's contention that heathen ought to be admitted to Christian privileges without circumcision, not on grounds of principle but only in view of the established fact of Paul's missionary success, a fact in which he was constrained to recognise the hand of God (Gal. 2:7-9; CORINTH, §§ 4, 8).

(d) The fellowship (*κοινωνία*) with Paul and Barnabas which, along with James and John, he then ratified by joining hands (Gal. 2:9) was a restricted one. It was based upon the arrangement that the mission to the Gentiles should be undertaken by Paul and Barnabas whilst the original apostles restricted themselves to the Jewish field—a restriction which they took in a strictly ethnographical sense, their purpose being to proclaim the gospel thenceforward to uncircumcised persons only, not also to Gentiles living in the midst of a Jewish population, and thus to be in a position in which they could go on observing the law of Moses which forbade defilement by intercourse with the uncircumcised (CORINTH, § 9).

(e) Peter took up a somewhat less rigid attitude when after a certain interval he came to Antioch and participated in the common meals of the mixed community of Jewish and Gentile Christians there. All the more harmful was the effect when after the arrival of some followers (or, it may be, direct emissaries) of James he withdrew from this participation, and by his example, at least, if not by express utterances, led the other Jewish Christians, and even Barnabas, to take the same step (Gal. 2:11-21). The charge of hypocrisy which Paul brought against him on this account must in all probability be regarded as unjust and be modified to one of inconsistency. The freedom in relation to the Mosaic law which he asserted by his behaviour on his first

coming to Antioch will have been the result merely of a general temper called forth by the pleasant conditions of that particular community, not the result of any firmly established conviction. Peter was not so strictly legal as James, but essentially he was still unemancipated from the fetters of the law (see COUNCIL, § 3).

(f) That Peter suffered himself to be convinced by Paul's argumentation (Gal. 2:14-21) must not be supposed; for the incident in Antioch was followed by the systematic invasion of the Pauline communities by Jewish emissaries, with which we are made acquainted in Galatians and Corinthians. Had Peter recognised that Paul had right on his side he needed only to assert his authority and to call to mind the arrangement indicated in Gal. 2:9 and all attempts to undermine the influence of Paul in the communities he had founded and to win them back to Judaism would have ceased. The leaders of the primitive church, and among these Peter so long as he was in Palestine, must be held responsible for a share in this action against Paul by the withholding of their veto at least, if not even by overt action—such as, for example, perhaps the issue of recommendatory letters (2 Cor. 3:1). See COUNCIL, § 3.

(g) It will be convenient to take up at this point also the last notices of Peter that are found in Paul, even though these should possibly lie outside the period of Peter's activity in Palestine. In Corinth there was, according to 1 Cor. 1:12-3:22, a Cephas-party. That Peter himself was ever in Corinth is utterly improbable.

No one earlier than Dionysius of Corinth (about 170 A.D.; *op. Eus.* III. ii. 25-31; see below, § 25*a*) knows anything of Peter's ever having been in Corinth. Cp. as against this assumption, only such a passage as 1 Cor. 4:15. But, further, if Peter had followed Paul in Corinth, Paul who names him with respect in 1 Cor. 9:5, 15, and in 3:4, refrains from naming him also out of respect ('when one saith, I am of Paul, and another, I am of Apollos; are ye not men?') would not have expressed himself so sharply as he does in 3:10-15 with regard to all those who had come after him there.

Nevertheless the rise of a Cephas-party in Corinth is readily explicable. Real disciples of Peter came to Corinth and the followers whom they gained in the community there took up from them their watchword: 'I am of Cephas.' Now, there was also at Corinth, as we know, besides this party the Christ-party which was strictly Judaistic (see CORINTHIANS, § 16). Inasmuch as the Cephas-party remained apart from it, we see here also another evidence that within Jewish Christendom Peter represented the milder school. In 2 Cor. it is only of the Christ-party that we continue to hear (10:7), no longer of that of Cephas.

(h) Finally, we learn incidentally that in his missionary journeys, which in accordance with Gal. 2:9 we are to think of as being made in regions having a Jewish population, Peter was accompanied by his wife, and for her as well as for himself asked and received sustenance from the communities in which he laboured (1 Cor. 9:4*f*).

In the accounts in Acts relating to these same events there is practically no agreement with what we learn from Paul except on the quite general statement that Peter at the time of the council held along with James a prominent position in the church at Jerusalem. All else is absent, or otherwise reported.

(a) As regards the silence of Acts, no one will find it surprising that no express mention is made of the outstanding importance of Peter at Paul's first visit to Jerusalem; the thing is presupposed (but cp *c*). It is all the more remarkable, however, that the book has not a word to say about the dispute of the two apostles at Antioch, about the Cephas-party in Corinth, or about the Judaistic invasion of the Pauline communities and the part taken by the original apostles in this; and that in fact it substitutes for the first-mentioned dispute another which arose between Paul and one of those engaged in the conflict, only in this case not Peter but Barnabas, and on a question which, dogmatically

considered, was wholly indifferent—viz., as to whether John Mark should or should not be taken as a companion on the second missionary journey (Acts 15:36-40). Such a notice is very well adapted, it is obvious, to counteract any representation of the real state of the case that might have been derived from (let us say) the Epistle to the Galatians or from oral tradition, by its substitution of another which deprives the affair of any considerable importance. Furthermore, of any missionary journey of Peter one learns nothing more than the little that is said in Acts 9:32-43; for, in spite of 8:25*b* ('they . . . preached the gospel to many villages of the Samaritans'), 8:14-15 is to be taken less as a missionary journey than as a tour of inspection (see below, § 4*b*). In 12:17 we are told merely that after his deliverance from prison Peter went from Jerusalem to another place. Whether he went or what he did there we are not informed. In 15:7 we find him again in Jerusalem as if this were a matter of course. The author of the book has not deemed it necessary in speaking of a person of Peter's importance to give any connected account of his activity.

(b) The account of the council in Jerusalem in Acts is in glaring contradiction with what we read in Paul.

In place of the arrangement with Peter, James, and Jude for a division of the missionary field we have a decree of the primitive Church which is directly excluded by Gal. 2: as well as by 1 Cor. 8:10:14-11:7:12-14 and finds its only historical foundation in a custom of the second century, not at all of the first (see COUNCIL, § 10*f*). In particular, Peter comes forward at the very beginning of the discussions with a discourse the dogmatic portion of which (15:6-11) would be appropriate only in the mouth of Paul; had Peter actually spoken it he would have deserved in the fullest degree the reproach of hypocrisy for his reversion to the Mosaic law at Antioch. The event, however, on which Peter relies in the narrative part of his discourse (15:7-9*d*), had it been really historical, would have made the council an impossibility from the first; for if a Gentile at the full sense of the word, as Cornelius is represented to have been in 10:28-11:3, had been received by Peter into the Christian community, and if the primitive church, by reason of the divine command followed by Peter in doing so, had given its approval (11:1-13), the question would already have been settled and could not again be raised, or if it had been raised must have been answered by a simple reference to this fact without recourse being needed to any council (see CORNELIUS, § 2*f*, *g*).

(c) Finally, even what has been spoken of under (a) is not open to antecedent objection—the absence of mention of Peter on the occasion of the first visit to Jerusalem—rests upon false information; for in Acts 9:27-30 Paul is represented not as in Gal. 1:18*f*, 22, as having visited Peter and James only, but as having conversed in full publicity with the entire Christian community of Jerusalem.

Thus, in so far as we are able to control Acts by the Epistles of Paul, Acts is seen to have little claim to our confidence in anything it has to say about Peter. We can hardly expect to be able to repose more confidence in it in those portions where it is our sole informant.

The opinion is widely held that the trustworthiness of Acts as regards Peter has been strengthened when it has been pointed out that the first half of

4. Other data in Acts.

Acts has an older source behind it. That we have to reckon with one or more sources becomes particularly plain in the discourses of Peter (see ACTS, § 14), in the pentecost narrative (SPIRITUAL GIFTS, § 10), and in that relating to primitive communism (COMMUNITY OF GOODS, §§ 1-4). It can only be regarded, however, as indicative of the extreme recklessness with which many theologians deal with such questions if we find them taking for granted that, once the existence of a source has been made out, the trustworthiness of its contents has also been forthwith established. If Acts was composed about 100-130 A.D. its sources may easily have been late enough to be legendary in character, and even should many parts—the discourses, let us say—be found worthy of credence, this would not necessarily by any means apply, therefore, to all the other contents as well. The temptation to idealise the primitive Church was only too easy, and, moreover the general drift or tendency of the time, composer has also to be taken into account as a very important factor (see ACTS, §§ 3-6).

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(2) As for the conversion of Cornelius, it is only necessary to recall what has been said already (above, § 3f) that, regarded as a Gentile conversion, it is an impossibility unless we are to take it as having happened at a date subsequent to the Council of Jerusalem—a supposition, however, which is also impossible (see CORNELIUS, § 2).

The only possible way of saving some historical kernel for the story would be by regarding Cornelius as a Jewish proselyte who had already been circumcised. No such thing, however, is anywhere said in Acts (not even in 10:22-25) and the idea is diametrically opposed to the representation as a whole (see CORNELIUS, § 3). The narrative is a conspicuous illustration of the extent to which the author could be led away from historical truth by his tendency or rooted inclination to regard Peter, not Paul, as the originator of every progressive movement in Christianity, and particularly of the mission to the Gentiles. Thus it is not at all necessary for us to dwell upon the special difficulties that attach to the closely corresponding visions of Cornelius and Peter (9:3-16) as integral parts of the far-reaching parallelism between Peter and Paul which is to be observed in Acts (see ACTS, § 4, end).

(3) That Peter and John should have visited Samaria after Philip's missionary labours there (8:14-25) is very conceivable. The main thing reported in this connection, however—namely, that it was by means of the laying-on of hands of the two original apostles that the Samaritans who had already been baptised received the Holy Ghost—cannot be regarded as historical (ACTS, § 10, end; MINISTRY, § 34c). The statement rests upon a strongly hierarchical idea which, moreover, in virtue of the parallelism just alluded to, is extended to Paul also (19:6), and marks out this journey of Peter and John as one of episcopal inspection. On the unhistorical character of 8:13-24 see SIMON MAGUS, §§ 1, 13f.

(4) The miracles of Peter—the healing of the man lame from his birth (3:1-11), of Eneas in Lydda who had been lame for eight years (9:32-35), the raising of Tabitha at Joppa (9:36-42), and the many works of healing performed by the apostles which led to the belief that they could be effected even by Peter's shadow (5:12-15f.)—are all primarily to be viewed in the light of the parallelism with Paul. Since the author of Acts had at his command a larger supply of materials relating to Paul than of materials relating to Peter, with the result that he left out much in order to avoid making Paul appear greater than Peter (see ACTS, § 4, end), it is natural to conjecture that he would be eager to lay hold of any item regarding Peter which came to his hand without subjecting it to any too severe a scrutiny.

The case of Eneas moreover plainly shows how little the author of Acts felt it necessary to form to himself any concrete image of what he was relating. The course of events cannot in reality be conceived as occurring in the manner described: Peter came, looked upon the sick man, and without further preliminary said, 'Jesus Christ heals thee; arise' and so forth. In this form, devoid of any indication of a previous conversation with the sufferer or any enquiry as to his spiritual condition, the story cannot possibly have come from the mouth of an eye-witness; it comes to us in the form of the most meagre extract, where the interest is merely in the bare fact of the miracle without any regard to attendant circumstances or to any psychological features. If, however, the story as we now have it does not come from an eye-witness its historicity also becomes questionable even if it be difficult to suppose that an eye-witness is accomplished with almost equal abruptness. In the case of the raising of Tabitha it is worth observing how widely it differs from its counterpart, the raising of Eutychus (20:7-12). Eutychus comes to life again not long after his accident and Paul expressly says: 'this life is in him.' But here Peter most first be summoned from Lydda to Joppa. As regards the wholesale miracles of healing in 5:12-15f., finally, apart from their astonishing range it has to be observed that the text in this place is wholly devoid of connection (see ACTS, § 11). Cp further, § below.

(5) The sudden death of Ananias and Sapphira (5:1-11) comes under a different category in so far as it is capable of being explained, if one so choose, without postulating any miracle. The naturalistic explanation, however, will make it all the more probable that in the course of transmission or at the time when it was fixed in writing the occurrence acquired a more dramatic character than originally and actually it possessed. It can hardly be doubted that the composer of Acts regards it as a miracle; but the credibility of his narrative is

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just at this point rendered questionable by the circumstance that within the compass of a few verses he sets forth two wholly irreconcilable views on the subject of community of goods in the primitive church (see COMMUNITY OF GOODS, § 3f.).

(6) With respect to the three imprisonments of Peter (in 4:3-5:18 along with the other apostles, in 12:3-5 without them) and his two miraculous deliverances (5:1, 12:6-17), the conjecture has long been current that all the accounts relate to but one occurrence which gradually came to be told in different ways.

By separation of sources also it has in some quarters been deemed possible to show that in the source of chap. 4 and 5 there was no word of an imprisonment of the apostles (so, for example, Bern. Weiss). In 4:9f. the lame man who has been healed stands by the side of the apostles before the synedrium. This is conceivable only if he had been cited as a witness before that court or had been arrested along with the apostles. Neither of these things however is said; in fact, both are excluded, for in v. 14 the members of the court take knowledge of his presence as something new. What is apparently suggested is much rather that the members of the court, immediately after the hearing had been wrought, betook themselves to the apostles in the temple and that their dealings with them took place here. To escape this Spitta finds himself compelled to regard the mention of the man who has been healed, in 4:10 (end) and in 4:14, as an addition to his source made by the composer himself—certainly not an easy assumption. In 5:28 we should surely have expected to read that the high priest had taken the accused to no court not only for their preaching of Jesus but also for their escape from prison, if the source from which 5:27 is taken had also contained 5:18f.

In chap. 12 on the other hand the picture is very vivid and it would be difficult to believe that, for example, the name Rhoda is a mere invention. In this case in point of fact there is no need to deny the imprisonment and the liberation, or even that the liberation appeared very wonderful alike to Peter and to all the other persons mentioned; and yet it admits of a very intelligible explanation if with Hansrath we suppose that the angel who brought Peter forth from the prison will have been the death angel of Herod Agrippa (*N.T.liche Zeitgesch.*, 2:351f.). With the death of a ruler the prison doors often opened for those whom he perchance had locked up more out of caprice than in any supposed interests of justice.

(7) There is yet another consideration which tells against the historicity of the two imprisonments of the apostles and the miracles wrought by them in Jerusalem. If they had come forward at so early a date into publicity so marked as to call for the intervention of the synedrium, that body would hardly have rested satisfied with merely enjoining them not to preach Christ (4:18-21) or with scourging them (5:40).

The danger which Jesus by his recent ministry had brought upon the ancestral religion was still fresh in men's memories. On the re-emergence of the same danger the synedrium would assuredly have interposed with the utmost vigour and the persecution of the Christians first mentioned in Acts as occurring after the death of Stephen (8:1-3) would certainly have broken out much sooner and threatened the well-being and even the existence of the church just in proportion to its immaturity and want of consolidation. In all probability the Christians found themselves constrained to remain entirely in concealment were in Galilee should have removed to Jerusalem at so early a date as is represented in Acts is, moreover, quite unlikely (see MINISTRY, § 21d). It was only what was quite natural if the spontaneous impulse to present the primitive church in the most favourable light led to the view that the original apostles, and above all Peter, had faced the civil power undismayed and plainly declared that they were determined to disregard the prohibition to preach Jesus, and that they must obey God rather than man (4:19f., 5:29). It was forgotten that such conduct would certainly have led to their destruction. As to the untrustworthiness of 5:36f. see, further, THEODAS, §§ 1-3.

(8) The portion of Acts relating to Peter which seems to possess the largest claim to be regarded as trustworthy is that which records his speeches (with exception of 15:7-11, on which see above, § 3b). It must not, however, for a moment be imagined that they are verbally or even throughout in substance accurate. What we read in 1:16-22, and the coincidences of the other addresses of Peter with those of Paul, show in the clearest possible way that they all are compositions of the author of Acts

(see ACTS, § 14). Observe, moreover, that a main point in their contents, the proof of the resurrection of Jesus drawn from Ps. 16 to (Acts 2:37), is possible only when (S. not Mt) is followed, and would thus have been impossible in the mouth of Peter (see RESURRECTION-NARRATIVES, § 36c). If these discourses assigned to Peter agree in their Christology especially, with what seems to us to be in harmony with the oldest pre-Pauline view, this does not admit of explanation as due simply to the employment of a source of this character. The most important factor is rather that the author of Acts must himself personally have been attached to such a view. As he puts it into the mouth of Paul also, it becomes possible indeed, but by no means provable, that he drew it from an old and trustworthy source when he was making the speeches of Peter.

(2) Thus it appears that on the whole Acts adds extraordinarily little of a trustworthy character to what we already know about Peter from the Pauline Epistles. Relatively speaking the most assured of its additions would seem to be the fact of his imprisonment and liberation about the time of the death of Herod Agrippa (44 A.D.), but without the supernatural features in the narrative. The other remaining facts which are not open to question, as for example his stay for a time at Joppa in the house of Simon the tanner (9:43-10:6), are of but trifling importance. As regards Ananias and Sapphira, Eneas, Tabatha, Cornelius, it may perhaps be safe to suppose that Peter had relations with these persons of such sort as supplied some basis for what we read about them in Acts; but what these relations precisely were remains obscure. Nor are we any better off when we are told that he often came forward as speaker for all the original apostles, for we cannot regard as trustworthy records the reports of the speeches attributed to him in Acts.

II. ACCORDING TO THE SYNOPTISTS.

Turning now to the earlier period of the life of Peter there arises—

(a) First, the question of the credibility of what we read in the synoptists in regard to this. That the books were not written without definite 'tendencies' may be taken as proved (see

5. Synoptists as sources for life.

GOSPELS §§ 108-114). Moreover, such tendencies could come into play with peculiar readiness where the judgment as to Peter was involved. To a Jewish Christian he must have seemed the leading figure of all Christendom, whereas to a Paulinist he must just as inevitably have seemed the opponent of the true apostle, an unreasonable obstructionist, a narrow-minded resister of the real will of God which required the mission to the Gentiles. Now where tendencies influence the production of gospels their natural effect is that judgments which the author personally holds about a given person or thing are put into the mouth of Jesus himself in the naïve persuasion that he could not have held any other view than that which the writer held to be true at the time of writing. If the student is unwilling to go so far as to suppose that whole narratives have been freely invented with no other basis than a desire to exalt or to depreciate Peter, it still remains easy to believe that an author whose disposition towards Peter was friendly would be ready to omit or tone down incidents which told against that apostle, whilst another whose inclination was less favourable would suppress or weaken things which told the other way.

(b) In its search for such tendencies, however, criticism has often gone very far astray. To begin with, because the representatives of tendency-criticism have for the most part entirely dispensed with any inquiry as to sources of the synoptists, or any attempt to distinguish earlier from later portions in them. From the standpoint of pure tendency-criticism it is very tempting to suppose that the most honorific passage in

Mt. about Peter (16:17-19) was omitted by Lk. and Mk. because they both were—Mk. in a less degree than Lk.—it is true—Paulinists. In reality, however, such a supposition must be rejected—not only for Mk. inasmuch as Mk. was not acquainted with the gospel of Mt., but also for Lk. inasmuch as the section in Mt. is exceedingly probably a quite late interpolation (see GOSPELS, §§ 136, 151; MINISTRY, § 4f.).

(c) Nor is this all; the gospels frequently present us with the opposite of what we should have expected from the point of view of the tendency-critics.

It is tempting to suppose that it was out of reverence for Peter that Mt. (17:4f.) suppressed what Mk. (9:6) and Lk. (9:34) report, that Peter at the transfiguration knew not (Mk.) what to say or (Lk.) what he was saying; but where the same incident recurs in Mk. (14:29) we find that it is suppressed not only by Mt., but also by Lk. Tempting, again, is it to suppose that it is a result of tendency that Lk. (8:52-53) says, not of the multitude in the house of Jairus, as Mk. (5:34-40) and Mt. (9:23f.) do, but of Peter with James and John and the daughters parents that they laughed Jesus to scorn when he said the damsel was not dead but sleeping (cp. below, § 122). Yet where, according to Mk. (8:33) and Mt. (16:23), Jesus calls Peter Satan it is Lk. (9:22) who omits the whole passage. One more, it is tempting to suppose that a leading place among the disciples is being given to Peter when according to Mt. (17:24) the collectors of the temple tax approach him with their enquiry why his master does not pay it, or when according to Mt. (18:21) he addresses a question to Jesus whilst according to Lk. (17:11) the incident does not appear at all in Mk.—Jesus gives the answer unasked. But, on the other side, we find Lk. (12:47) assigning to Peter an interpolated question which is omitted in Mt. (24:14f.); a saying which Mk. (6:11) assigns to the disciples in general—the passage does not occur at all in Mt.—is by Lk. (8:45) assigned to Peter alone ('Master, the multitudes press thee and crush thee'); and where Mt. (6:12) does the same, attributing to Peter and not, as Mk. (7:13), to the disciples the request for an explanation of a parable. Lk. omits the incident—the answer is recorded in terms not highly complimentary to the speaker: 'Are ye also even yet without understanding?' What, in time, are we to say to such facts as these—that only Lk. (22:31f.) has the saying, the latter half of which is exhibited along with Mt. 16:18f. in letters of gold in the basilica of St. Peter in Rome, and that it is only Mt. (14:28-31) who reports Peter's little faith when he endeavoured to walk on the water? Baird's only resource here (*Krit. Untersuch. über die kanon. Evange.*, 1847, p. 47) was to regard the event as involving a great personal distinction conferred upon Peter by Jesus, for which reason it was omitted by Lk. As against this we have only to call to mind how high the position accorded to Peter by the last-named writer in Acts (see ACTS, § 4).

(d) From what has been said it will be seen that it will not be safe to look for tendency in any remaining differences that may be detected in the accounts of Peter given by the synoptists.

In Mt. (10:2) Peter is designated in the list of the names of the twelve as 'first' (πρωτος), in Mk. (3:16) and in Lk. (6:14) this numeration is absent. In the story of the transfiguration it is only Lk. (9:32) who records that Peter and John and James were heavy with sleep. According to Mt. 26:17f. Jesus sends forward 'the disciples' to make the passover preparation; in Mk. (14:12) he sends two only, in Lk. (22:8) these are said to have been Peter and John. In Gethsemane according to Mt. 14:31 and Mt. 26:37 Jesus takes Peter, James, and John to keep watch along with him, in Lk. (22:40) this feature is absent. The question as to the date of the destruction of Jerusalem in Mt. (13:3) attributed to Peter, James, John, and Andrew, in Mt. (24:1) to the disciples generally, in Lk. (21:37) to 'some' (τινες), Cp. further, § 7c.

(e) The trustworthiness of every statement in the synoptists about Peter, even when not open to any special objection, by no means necessarily follows. Whether, for example, it was Peter or another who propounded the question recorded in Mt. 18:31 or gave the answer now to be read in Lk. 8:45 is for the writers of the gospel narrative a matter of so little importance that variations of statement could very easily arise out of mere inattention. Before coming to a judgment, therefore, regarding the share of Peter in any given occurrence, it will be necessary previously to examine the credibility of the occurrence itself, and, second above this to remember that even when this has been satisfactorily established, Peter's share in it does not at once follow, unless, indeed, his part in it be the very essence of the occurrence. In particular, we must be specially on our guard against the view—widely spread though it be—that the second gospel presents in written

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form oral communications received by the evangelist from Peter (on this hypothesis see GOSPELS, § 148).

We begin with those accounts in the synoptics which may at the outset be set aside as unhistorical.

(a) With regard to the story, found only in Mt. (14:28-31), that Peter went to meet Jesus on the Sea of Galilee, but through failure of faith

6. Walking on the water. began to sink and had to be rescued by Jesus, we find even so conservative

a writer as Bern. Weiss (*Leben Jesu*², 229) declaring that critical investigation imperatively demands that it be given up as a statement of prosaic matter of fact, whilst Reyschlag (*Leben Jesu*, 130) expresses the opinion that the desire of Peter that Jesus should bid him come to him on the water is, literally taken, simply childish, and that the miraculous power of Jesus was not bestowed upon him in order that he might be able to respond to every childish caprice. Both theologians are at one with the entire critical school in regarding the narrative as having originally been an allegorical-poetical setting forth of an idea, and that it came to be regarded as literal fact only by a misunderstanding on the part of the evangelist or of the writer whom he followed.

At the same time, it is by no means certain that it was Peter's denial of his master that was originally intended to be figured in the story. In that denial it was not his faith but his fidelity that failed the apostle. Had it been his faith, the underlying presupposition of the story would be that if only Peter had frankly confessed himself the disciple of Jesus he would have come off wholly unharmed. As matters actually stood, however, the worst consequences were really to be apprehended as results of such a confession, though nevertheless it was his duty to make it.

(b) We may be sure that the story of Jesus' walking upon the water was originally a parable intended to exhibit in a graphic way the thought that if his disciples have faith they will be able to walk with safety on the troubled sea (of life) (see GOSPELS, § 142*a*). The addition relative to Peter then brings in an illustration based on the opposite thesis; he who has no faith necessarily goes down unless he calls upon the Lord and receives help from him. This view itself, however, in which Jesus appears as the Lord of succour, shows by its very nature that it cannot have come from Jesus himself. He would not have designated himself, but, as in his genuine parables, a person by whom God is meant, as Him from whom help comes. Thus the later origin of the narrative, already rendered probable by its absence from Mk., is confirmed from another point of view. If this be so, we may perhaps go on to suppose that the reason why Peter came to be selected as hero of the story was because he was regarded as head of the church, and what is related of him was intended to be taken as applying to the entire church (so Pfeiderer, *Urchristenthum*, 517, (1) 1582).

There are other narratives also which require no detailed proof of their unhistorical character.

7. Other unhistorical narratives. (1) The statement in Lk. 24:12 that Peter visited the sepulchre of Jesus and found it empty is doubtful even text-critically, and when its substance is considered cannot be accepted (see RESURRECTION-NARRATIVES, §§ 2*c* and 21; GOSPELS, § 138*e, f*).

(2) Along with the historicity of the statements as to the women at the empty sepulchre must also be given up the historical character of the notice, found only in Mk. (16:7), that they received from the angel the injunction to tell the disciples and Peter that they should see the risen Jesus in Galilee. See GOSPELS, § 138*a, c, f*, RESURRECTION-NARRATIVES, § 21, and, as regards an allusion in Mk. 16:7 to a fact indirectly referred to in this, 2*a*, § 9*b*.

(3) As the withering of the fig-tree cannot be regarded as historical (see GOSPELS, §§ 137*b, c*, 141, 142*a*), the statement in Mk. (11:21) that Peter called attention to the fact on the following day also disappears. In

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Mt. 21:20 all the disciples together are already aware of it, for the tree at the word of Jesus withers away 'immediately'; the incident is not found at all in Lk.

It is difficult to form a definite judgment as to the story of the transfiguration of Jesus in

8. Transfiguration. Mk. 9:2-13 = Mt. 17:1-9 = Lk. 9:27-36.

(a) The form in which Jesus is here seen is, on the one hand, that of Moses when he came down from the mountain of the law, according to Ex. 31:9-35, on the other hand, that in which the exalted Christ was conceived of, according to 2 Cor. 3:7-16, where Paul cites precisely the passage just mentioned regarding Moses, and that of the angel at the empty tomb, according to Mt. 28:1 (cp Lk. 24:14 Mk. 16:5). Looked at on this side, the scene is accordingly designed to represent by anticipation the coming heavenly glory of Jesus, and at the same time, by the presence of Moses and Elijah, to exhibit it as a fulfilment of the OT. Viewed in this aspect, it can make no claim to historicity.

This would be difficult even were one inclined to concede that the 'metamorphosis' of Jesus did not happen as a physical reality but was seen only by the three disciples in a vision; difficult still even were there a disposition to reduce the number to one, say Peter, on the assumption that James and John were named in error partly because in other places also they are mentioned along with Peter on special occasions as being the disciples who were on terms of special intimacy with the master (see below, § 11*c*, 12), partly because, according to Ex. 24:9, three intimate associates, Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu (along with seventy of the elders of Israel) are also represented as having gone up with Moses to the mountain of the law. Even so, the question would still remain as to how it was that in the midst of the earthly life of Jesus Peter was visited by the thought which at once assumed for him the form of a vision. (On the psychological antecedent of a vision cp RESURRECTION-NARRATIVES, § 34*a*.)

(b) The transfiguration scene, however, has yet another main purpose. It contains the divine declaration that Jesus is the Messiah, in the words 'This is my beloved son.' This voice coincides almost exactly with that heard at the baptism of Jesus (Mk. 1:11 = Mt. 3:17 = Lk. 3:22). If, however, Jesus had already, even at that early date, been divinely proclaimed to be the Messiah, this second fact would necessarily rob the other of its value.

To avoid this the following supposition has been made: just as the divine voice at the baptism, according to the most modest, and therefore most trustworthy of the accounts (that of Mk.), was heard only by Jesus, the whole occurrence admitting of being resolved into an inner revelation communicated to him without external physical accompaniments, so also in the vision in which Jesus was transfigured only Peter (or Peter along with James and John) heard that heavenly voice. So, for example, Réville (*Jésus de Nazareth*, 220-220 [1867]), who therefore inclines to place the occurrence at a date shortly before the confession of the Messiahship of Jesus (Mk. 8:27-29 and 8). Bacon (*Amer. Journ. of Theol.*, 1902, pp. 216-217) goes a step further. He also supposes that it is a vision of Peter that is described, not, however, a vision which he had actually had, but one which is attributed to him through a transformation of the account relating to his confession that Jesus was the Messiah (Mk. 8:27-31). The transfiguration scene breaks the connection between Mk. 9:1 and 9:11, and comes from a source in which were contained this and other modifications of gospel narratives that were taken by the evangelist to be accounts of new facts.

(c) At the same time, there is no indication in the text that the divine voice was directed to Peter alone (or Peter and James and John); it is indicated with at least equal clearness that it is heard by Jesus. If, then, we have reason for believing that in the first period of his public life Jesus did not yet account himself to be the Messiah, but only a prophet and a reformer, this will incline us to recognise in the divine voice at the Transfiguration a reminiscence of the fact that he only received his divine authorisation to come forward as the Messiah at a particular point in the course of his ministry. The similar saying at his baptism will rest in that case upon an anticipation on the part of the narrators, to whom it was inconceivable that the designation by God of Jesus as the Messiah should have been postponed to any later date. On this assumption also, it becomes reasonable to assign the incident that lies at the basis of the transfiguration-story

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to a time shortly anterior to the confession of Peter; for so long as Jesus was not himself certain by divine revelation of the fact of his Messiahship he could not accept the proclamation of it by Peter.

(d) The occurrence itself admits very easily of being regarded as having taken place in the inner consciousness of Jesus. The participation of Peter, James, and John becomes in that case much less active. That they were present need not be denied; but their activity would then be limited to this—that, after awaking from sleep perhaps, they received a powerful impression of the wondrous majesty with which Jesus came to meet them after he had heard the heavenly voice. The terms in which this had been expressed they would not in that case hear directly for themselves, but would afterwards learn from the mouth of Jesus. The assertion in 2 Pet. 1:16-18 that Peter himself heard the voice upon the 'holy' mountain does not fall to be taken account of in the present connection, in view of the pseudonymous character of this epistle (see PETER, EPISTLES OF, §§ 9-12).

In the story of the stater in the fish's mouth (only Mt. 17:24-27), it has above all to be observed that the miracle is only announced, not described as having happened. All the safer, therefore, is the supposition that here we are in presence of a symbolical saying of Jesus.

3. Stater in fish's mouth.

The section contains two separate incidents, of which the one would be quite sufficient without the other. (1) Properly speaking, Jesus and his disciples do not require to pay the tax, but in order to avoid offence they do so. The incident contains the presupposition that Jesus is the Messiah alike whether the words attributed to Jesus were actually spoken by him, or whether they are erroneously put into his mouth; along with this it contains (2) also the exhortation to submit to existing institutions, and this applies equally well alike to the temple tax which was exacted in the time of Jesus, and to the Roman state tax which from 7 A.D. onwards was substituted for the temple tax in the case of Jews (Jos. BJ vii, 6, § 212) and, particularly under Domitian, was rigorously exacted from Christians also (see CHRISTIAN, § 6, vii, end).

It is in connection with the second of these main ideas that Peter comes more directly into the story; he is to fish for the means of paying the tax. As he is a fisherman by occupation, the meaning of this symbolical saying at once suggests itself; by the exercise of his craft he will easily be able to earn enough to meet this call upon him. This feature in the story may point to the authenticity of the saying as attributed to Jesus; but it may also quite well have been invented, as every one in later times knew that Peter had been a fisherman. After the death of Jesus it would have been less easy to have invented that other feature—that the produce of Peter's industry was to serve to pay the tax both for himself and for Jesus; for it is not easy to make out any allegorical application to later conditions of this earning of a double tax. Still, it must be admitted that this pericope is one of the most obscure in the whole gospel history.

Passing from these unquestionably unhistorical elements, we come next to a series of others which cannot be rejected at once, but, at the same time, can just as little be regarded as certainly authentic. To this category belong: (a) all those cases in which Peter is represented as having said something which in some other gospel is attributed to the disciples at large (Mt. 15:15 Lk. 8:45 Mk. 13:1; see above § 5 c, d) or is omitted altogether although the narrative to which it belongs is retained in that gospel (Mt. 18:21 as against Lk. 17:4, and Lk. 12:41 as against Mt. 21:44 f.; see § 5 c).

(b) To this class falls to be added one instance of a subordinate action (the preparation for the passover) which only Lk. (22:8) assigns to Peter (and John); see § 5 d; and also—

(c) The word which according to all three evangelists (Mk. 10:28 Mt. 19:27 Lk. 18:28) Peter is reported to have uttered: 'we have left all and followed thee.' If the evangelists are in other places so little at one as to the authorship of a given saying, agreement in this particular

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instance cannot here be taken as proving the accuracy of the report, for their agreement comes only from mutual borrowing. In any case, whether the word in question was spoken by Peter or by another the circumstance is too unimportant to allow us precisely here to place unqualified confidence in the eldest of the three who is followed by the other two. If Jesus blamably questioner this very fact still added to the importance of the latter (cp below, § 17); but such is not the case here. Moreover, the question must not be treated apart from the answer of Jesus ('shall receive a hundred fold,' etc.). If Jesus ever gave any such promise to his disciples, we may be certain at least that it was not in connection with a question so self-seeking as this. It, however, the narrative is open to suspicion on this most important point, it is impossible to feel confidence in such a relatively subordinate matter as the person of the questioner.

Other notices there are to which a historical kernel, or even complete historicity cannot be denied; on the one hand they were important enough to impress themselves on human memories, and on the other hand they were not so important as to tempt to a departure from historical accuracy (cp the principle laid down in GOSPELS, § 131, col. 1873, begin.). On this there is no difficulty in believing that Jesus on a Sabbath day healed Peter's mother-in-law and other sick persons, but on the following day withdrew himself into solitude and was sought out by Peter and his comrades with the view of bringing him back (Mk. 1:29-38 = Lk. 4:38-43; Mt. 8:14-17 has the healings only).

(b) That the name Cephas (Peter) was bestowed upon Simon by Jesus may in view of what has been said in § 1 g be regarded as wholly credible even if the date at which it was bestowed remains uncertain. According to Mk. (3:16) it was at the time when the apostles were first chosen. A more appropriate occasion but in that account historically established would be that of the confession at Caesarea Philippi with which Mt. (16:18) connects it (see MINISTRY, § 4, end). If Mt. already when Peter's call is recorded (4:18) and again at the choosing of the apostles (10:2) says: 'Simon, whom is called Peter,' he is, of course, not to be taken as intending to indicate the time at which the name was given, but simply as wishing to apprise his readers that this Simon was the man whom they already knew as Peter. Lk. (6:14) likewise has on the occasion of the choosing of the apostles the words 'Simon, whom he also named Peter.' By this, however, he perhaps does not mean to convey that the name was bestowed by Jesus then, but only that it had been bestowed by him at one time or another.

(c) Equally natural is it to recognise faithful remembrance in the statement that in Gethsemane Jesus took Peter, James, and John to watch with him, and that nevertheless they fell asleep (Mk. 14:32-42 = Mt. 26:36-40), even although we cannot be certain that this last happened three several times. This last doubt, however, is no reason for giving the preference to Lk. (22:40-46) who mentions the incident as having occurred but once, and that in the case of all the disciples. If as he unquestionably was acquainted with Mk. the simplification here must be explained as due merely to absence of interest in the details of the story.

In the case of the raising of Jairus' daughter also—

(d) No difficulty will be felt in recognising true remembrance in the statement that Jesus suffered the one last Peter, James, and John to go with him to the house or (besides the parents of the girl) to enter the room where she lay (Mk. 5:37-40).

If Mt. (9:23-25) has nothing about this, his silence is to be connected with the fact that here in other particulars also he is notably much briefer than either Mk. or Lk., just as he is in three other miracle narratives; that of the Gadarene herd of swine which immediately precedes (Mk. 5:1-20 = Mt. 8:28-34).

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34 = Lk. 5:26-30), that of the healing of the man sick of the palsy (Mk. 2:1-12 = Mt. 9:1-12 = Lk. 5:17-26), and that of the limping boy (Mk. 9:14-20 = Mt. 17:14-20), where Lk. also (9:37-43) is so short; there is also the story of the imprisonment and death of John the Baptist (Mk. 6:17-29 = Mt. 14:1-12) which Lk. has not at all. Lk.'s divergence (5:51-54) is presumably not so seriously intended as it has been represented above (§ 33) in verbal strictness to be—namely, that it was the parents and the three disciples who laughed Jesus to scorn. Perhaps when he wrote the words (5:52), 'and all were weeping and bewailing her,' Lk. was thinking not of the five persons named immediately before, but like Mk., of the multitude assembled within the house, and has only failed to bring this to clear expression. In any case he has retained the separation of the three disciples from the rest.

(8) As the occurrence is the only accredited one in the Gospel history which must have presented itself to those who witnessed it as a case of raising of the dead it is very conceivable that the presence of only three disciples should have impressed itself upon the memory. Whilst the raising of the widow's son at Nain (Lk. 7:11-17) and of Lazarus (Jn. 11:1-44; cp. JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, §§ 20*a*, 35*b*, 37*d*) cannot be regarded as historical, no more exception need be taken to the raising of the daughter of Jairus than to the resurrection of Eutychus (Acts 20:7-12), if only one take as literally the words of Jesus, 'the child is not dead but sleepeth,' as one does those of Paul, 'his life is in him.'

According to Mk. Jesus spoke these words before he had seen the girl, and it is very easily conceivable that information received from the father may have enabled him to form this judgment; but it is also possible that this element in the story arises from unconscious modification of the real fact and that it is Lk. who is in the right here when he represents Jesus as uttering the words in presence of the girl, even if this representation does not rest upon the direct testimony of an eye-witness but upon alteration of the text of Mk.

The account of Peter's call in Mk. 1:16-20 = Mt. 4:18-22 is an excellent example of shortening and condensation

of a fuller narrative by tradition. It is unthinkable that in this scene no words but these of Jesus should have been spoken: 'Come ye after me and I will make you to become fishers of men,' Peter and his comrades Andrew, James, and John must assuredly have had previous opportunity of making the acquaintance of Jesus and must on their side have had some conversation with him. No eye-witness could possibly give so colourless an account as that in Mk. and Mt. The later narrators, however, had no longer any interest in dramatic details or in the psychological processes which resulted in the decision of the four fishermen. The central action, the call given by Jesus, alone engaged their attention, and for the purpose of edification which they had in view when they circulated it, and as an example for the converts whom they wished to incite by it, the narrative may have seemed beautiful and precious just in proportion to the suddenness with which the call of Jesus came to Peter and his comrades, and the absolute promptitude of their obedience. Apart from this, however, Mk. and Mt. unquestionably present the most trustworthy account of the undoubtedly historical call of Peter.

The story of Peter's draught (Lk. 5:1-11) falls to be adduced here as a parallel although in so far as we are advancing from the less credible to the more credible order of narratives its proper place in the discussion would have been much earlier. It constitutes one of the few examples we have in the Synoptists of a consciously-framed allegory being put forward in the form of a seemingly historical narrative in order to set forth a particular idea; this idea is in point of fact quite clear.

(1) First of all it is certain that the scene is intended as a substitute for what we read in Mk. and Mt. about the call of Peter and his comrades; for Lk. nowhere narrates this last, and on the other hand introduces its main point at the end of the passage before us (5:10): 'from henceforth thou shalt catch men.'

(2) At its beginning Lk. places the scene in which Jesus teaches the multitude standing on the shore from a boat (5:26). Now, in Mk. (4:1*f*, 3) and Mt. (13:1-3) this is the scene in which certain parables are delivered; but Lk.

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avoids giving it in the parallel passage dealing with these parables (8:4). Thus we have in Lk. 5 an artificial composition from various elements and it becomes necessary to inquire into its purpose.

(1) Now the function of a fisher of men is exercised by means of teaching; if then we find Jesus engaged in teaching at the beginning of our pericope this indicates to us how the draught of fishes that immediately follows ought to be taken; namely, not as relating to takes of literal fish but in the deeper sense as relating to the capture of human souls. Thus the idea is precisely the same as that in the parable of the net in Mt. 13:47, only without its reference to the subsequent separation of the good fish from the bad.

(2) The narrative before us, however, admits of still more definite interpretation in detail. Simon with his comrades has toiled in vain the whole night through; now, on receiving a special command from Jesus, he makes an unexpected haul. This has already been rightly interpreted by the Tübingen school as referring to the difference between the practically fruitless mission to the Jews and the highly successful mission to the Gentiles. In the latter, Peter received a special Divine command and this was necessary in order to overcome his original aversion to such an undertaking (Acts 10:9-22).

(3) The launching forth into the deep also will admit of being interpreted as referring to missions to heathen lands as compared with the less venturesome putting out a little from the shore, although it is not said that the fruitlessness of the night's toil is caused by the proximity to the shore.

(4) The sin of which Peter becomes suddenly conscious (2:2) is thus by no means sinfulness in general—reference to this were but little called for by the circumstances—but definitely the sin of failure hitherto to recognise and practice the duty of evangelising the Gentiles as befitting and in accordance with the will of God.

(5) We are now able to perceive the significance also of the place where Lk. has brought in the calling of Peter.

He introduces it at a later point than Mk. and Mt. In particular it is preceded in Lk. by the rejection of Jesus at Nazareth (4:16-30), which on a small scale foreshadows the rejection of Jesus by the entire Jewish people (see GOSPEL, § 109*b*). It is appropriate that it should be followed by the command of Jesus enjoining the mission to the Gentiles, and is in harmony with the principle carried through by the same author in Acts (see ACTS, § 4, middle), according to which Paul preaches the gospel to the Gentiles in each city only after it has been rejected by the Jews. In the gospel, by placing the calling of Peter at a somewhat later period, the author has brought about the awkwardness that Peter has to be brought into close relations with Jesus even before his call, at the healing of his mother-in-law (4:38*f*)—even although his name is suppressed in 4:42, the parallel to Mk. 1:36—whilst the occasion of the draught of fishes, in itself considered, appears to be the first meeting of Peter with Jesus.

In this we may perhaps find a hint that Lk. saw the significance of this pericope as referring to the mission to the Gentiles (or perhaps even invented it? see below, 1) and in accordance with this gave it the place it now occupies.

(6) The naming of James and John as those who, according to 2:10*f*, follow Jesus along with Peter is still more noteworthy. Why is it that precisely Andrew, the brother of Peter, is absent—Andrew whom nevertheless Mk. (1:16) and Mt. (4:12) mention in immediate juxtaposition with him? It can hardly be by accident merely that by this omission the names left are the names of the three who according to Gal. 2:9 were the 'pillars' of the primitive church and who at the Council of Jerusalem, though at first averse, in the end gave their sanction to the mission to the Gentiles; it can hardly be mere accident, even although there the James intended is no longer the son of Zebedee but James the brother of Jesus.

(7) Further, be it noticed at how late a point they are introduced. The narrative so runs that almost down to its close Peter alone figures in it along with Jesus. Helpers such as are necessary where many nets are in use he certainly has, according to 27:4-6 and 27:9 (on 27:7 see below, 4); but it is not thought worth while to give their names, and they must therefore be regarded as subordinate persons like the hired servants in Mk. 1:20. After

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all have been grouped together in v. 9 by the phrase 'all who were with him' (παρεσθαι τους ουν αυτους) the addition 'as also James and John' (καθως δε και Ιακωβου και Ιωαννης) comes in strangely; but moreover, after they have been named, Jesus goes on to address the words 'fear not, for henceforth thou shalt catch men,' to Peter alone, whilst yet according to v. 11 James and John appropriate it also.

All this would seem to indicate that the narrative originally named Peter alone, and that the reference to James and John was only introduced into it afterwards. The object of its introduction in that case would have been to restore agreement with Mk. and Mt. by the naming of several apostles who had been simultaneously called and yet at the same time to restrict their number to that of the three 'pillars.' It will hardly, however, be safe to attribute any such intention to an interpolator; rather must it be put to the account of the redactor who had the plan of the whole book in his mind. If this be so, we shall have to suppose that Lk. did not himself invent the story of Peter's draught of fishes, but that he had met with it in writing or in oral tradition and that its meaning as denoting that the mission to the Gentiles was the institution of Jesus himself was fully manifest to him.

(b) Now at last we are in a position to form a judgment regarding the second boat mentioned in v. 7 and its occupants.

As they are spoken of as 'fellows' (αετοχοι) of Peter and his subordinates it might appear at first sight as if they ought to be identified with James and John who are called 'partners' (κοιτωροι) of Simon in v. 10. The inappropriateness, however, which has already been pointed out in the naming of James and John in v. 10 as additions to the 'all' (παρεσθαι) of v. 9 would by no means be got over by this identification; for the 'fellows' (αετοχοι) also of v. 7 are included in the 'all' of v. 9. But as the 'fellows' (αετοχοι) of v. 7 exercise an independent activity and have a boat of their own, their names, had they really been James and John, would certainly have been mentioned already in v. 7 and not held over till v. 10 where no independent activity is attributed to them.

Thus we must seek to ascertain their names from their work. They are called in to help because Peter and his comrades—in whose number James and John are thus included—are unequal to their task unaided. This applies to no one but to Paul and those with him. In actuality he was the originator of the mission to the Gentiles, and not one who had merely been called in to assist; but we must reflect that here the dominating presupposition is that it was by the original apostles that this mission was begun, at the direct command of Jesus, or of God. So Acts 19:22-157, so Lk. 24:47, so Mt. 28:19; so, still, Justin (Apol. i. 39, 45; 59:12, Dial. 42, begin.). On such a view of the matter, Paul and his comrades can only figure as helpers subsequently called in. The two boats by which the fish that had been caught were brought to land thus signify, not the mission to Jews and to Gentiles respectively, but the mission of the original apostles and that of Paul. That of the former was to the Jews at first but afterwards was extended to the Gentiles also, that of Paul was to the Gentiles only. Jesus from the beginning makes use of Simon's boat; but this eventually proves insufficient.

(c) Whether the touch in v. 6 that the nets threatened to break be simply a graphic decoration of the situation, or whether it too have an allegorical meaning—namely, that through the mission to the Gentiles the unity of the church both before and at the Council of Jerusalem, and in the dispute between Paul and Peter at Antioch (Gal. 2:11-21) was threatened with disruption, as, for example, is suggested by Carpenter (The First Three Gospels, 1860, vi, 51, pp. 206-208)—must remain undecided, as no such meaning is unmistakably suggested by the words. So much as this, however, is rightly emphasised by Carpenter—that the author of In. 21 found this reference in our passage; for his remark in v. 11 that for all the multitude of fishes the net remained nevertheless unbroken is clearly intended to be set against that of Lk., and indicates that the unity of the church had not come to

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harm. Already in Mt. 13:47 we find the net employed as a figure for the kingdom of heaven.

Peter's denial of Jesus is a fact as certain as his call. Even a thorough-going Paulinist would not have in-

18. Denial of Jesus

vented it against him—quite apart from the question whether in the absence of any tradition he would have found any credence had he done so. (a) On the other hand, it is possible to question whether it happened exactly there, or whether the number three belongs to a later development. That the scene gained in dramatic character as it was handed on by one narrator to another is shown by Lk. 22:60, according to which the eye of Jesus turned on Peter after the third denial—a circumstance of which Mk. and Mt. know nothing (as to the cause which rendered this change possible see below, § 106). Doubtless, merely in order to be able to explain how the whole night was passed, the interval between the second denial and the third is given in Lk. (22:59) not as 'a little while' (so Mk. 14:70 and Mt. 26:73), but as 'about one hour.'

(b) Still more insistent is the question as to whether and if so in what form, Jesus foretold the denial of Peter. From the outset we must regard as later additions the words of Jesus, found only in Lk. (22:32), which foretell not only the temptation that is about to come upon Peter, but also the ultimate stability of his faith, with the added exhortation: 'Do thou, when once thou hast turned again, establish thy brethren.'

Their principal theme already is that Peter is to be the first to believe in the resurrection of Jesus (see RESURRECTION, N. xxv, 71-73, § 37), and in presence of such a prediction relating to a more distant future the passing denial of Peter seems like an insignificant intermezzo. It is difficult to regard as possible such gentleness of judgment on the part of Jesus in this so grave a moment, even should one have no difficulty in attributing to him such a foreknowledge of the future as is presupposed by Lk. Besides, in Lk. the prophecy of the denial is placed in the supper chamber, not as in Mk. and Mt. on the way to Gethsemane.

(c) On the other hand, it is by no means improbable that, on the last evening of his life, in conversing about what lay before him, Jesus should have expressed a doubt as to the constancy of his disciples, that Peter should have declared his own with emphasis, and that the doubt should thereupon have been expressed anew and perhaps in very drastic form. If Jesus actually on this occasion uttered the prediction that Peter would in an exceedingly short time deny him, we still are not compelled to suppose that the prediction was meant otherwise than conditionally, to some such effect as the following: 'should it so happen that thou fall into grievous temptation to deny me thou wilt not have constancy enough to resist it. As for the third repetition there is much reason to apprehend that the prediction of Jesus as to this was afterwards made much more explicit than it had been, in view of what was known or believed to have actually happened.

(d) The same holds good of the specification of time: before the cock crows (Mt. 26:34=Lk. 22:34); and in an intensified degree of that given in Mk. (14:30) before the cock crows twice. Indeed, the additional statement—found only in Mk. (14:68, 72)—of the fact that the cock actually was heard to crow twice, is a clear sign of the secondary character of our canonical Mk. as compared with Mt. and Lk. (see GOSPELS, § 110:5).

Even the textual criticism of the passage seems to show that this datum is one which crept only gradually into the text of Mk. In v. 63 the addition και αλεκτωρ εβουησεν is weakly attested that it is omitted by WH and does not appear even in the margin; still, there is certainly a hiatus in v. 70 and straightaway the second time the cock crew' with any previous mention made of the first time.

(e) Lastly, the fact of the cock's having crows at all has been sometimes called in question by reason of the fact that, according to the Mishna (Rabbi Kammi 77:3) was forbidden to keep fowls in Jerusalem.

It was expressly permitted, however, we read, to purchase fowls from the Philistines, or to receive them as presents for this purpose (ib. 10:9), and it is testified that on one occasion a cock was stoned in Jerusalem because it had killed a human being (a child)

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(*Εδύρηθα*, 61; see all the passages given in Brandt, *Evangel. Gesch.*, 1291, 327.). Thus, the fact of the cock crowing cannot be shown to be unhistorical; yet neither can it be shown with certainty to be historical. Cock-crowings (*ἀεττοροῦσθαι*) is, according to Mk. 13:35, the third of the four night-watches into which the night was divided by the Romans (see *IVy*, § 4). This division into four is current in the NT (Mk. 13:35 = Mt. 14:25 Acts 12:4), although the Israelites originally divided the night into only three watches (Judg. 7:19, cp. *Isam.*, 2:13 Ex. 14:24 18:11 et. and, in all probability, also Lk. 12:39). As the second Roman night-watch which ended at midnight is called 'midnight' (*μεσσηνίαν*), we must suppose that the cock-crowing at which the third took its name originally denoted the time of Jesus' death, that is, about 3 A.M. The saying of Jesus could thus very easily have run in this form: 'before cock-crowing' (*ἴπ.*, before three o'clock to-morrow morning) though I have denied me, without any intention to predict that directly after the denial a cock should literally crow; and with equal ease might the view have arisen through a misunderstanding, that Jesus had actually foretold this detail, and that the prediction had been fulfilled.

Amongst the most certainly assured facts of the life of Peter must be ranked that of the confession he made

16. Confession at Caesarea Philippi

at Caesarea Philippi (Mk. 8:27-30 = Mt. 16:13-20 = Lk. 9:18-21). (a) Even Wrede (*Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*, 1901, pp. 115-124, 237-239) does not venture positively to pronounce it unhistorical although he also says that one need not shrink from such a view if it seem to be required.

According to Wrede, Mk. believed that Jesus had kept his Messiahship a secret from the people throughout the whole of his life, but had communicated it to his disciples, though without procuring understanding on their part. Not till after the resurrection of Jesus, according to Mk., did any real recognition of what Jesus was begin. Wrede believes that this view of Mk. is historically false, but nevertheless considers that it dominates the whole of his gospel, and further, that Mk. is not conscious of the frequency with which it is traversed by his repeated statements, according to which the Messiahship of Jesus all the same did not remain a secret. It must be urged, however, that the confession of Peter is little in harmony with either the secrecy observed about the Messiahship of Jesus or the failure of the disciples to understand it.

(b) Wrede endeavours, therefore, at least to lessen the importance of the confession as much as possible in Mk.'s connection, pointing out that it is only in Mt., which was written later than Mk., that Jesus put a high value upon the confession. It is the fact that in Mt. 16:13 *f.* only the designation of Peter as a rock can be regarded as historical, and this, too, without our being able to be certain that it was given to him just then (see § 11 *b*; MINISTRY, §§ 4, 5 *a*, *b*). It has further to be observed that by the form in which the question of Jesus is put in Mt. the scene is made unintelligible.

Whilst, according to Mk. (and Lk.), Jesus asks 'Who do the people say that I (*αὐ*) am?' he is represented in Mt. as having asked 'Who do the people say that the son of man is?' Mt. himself allows us to see that this is not the right form; for in the form of the second question of Jesus he comes with Mk. and Lk.; 'but ye, who do ye say that I (*αὐ*) am?' In so far as 'son of man' is a designation of the Messiah, according to the form of the first question in Mt., the answer—viz., 'Thou art the Christ,' would already have been given by Jesus in the question.

Yet this form of the question presumably is due not to unhistoricity on Mt.'s part, but to intention. Already in Mt. 10:23, 12:40, 13:47, and especially in 14:33 ('of a truth thou art the Son of God'), all which passages are wanting in Mk. and Lk., the Messiahship of Jesus has been proclaimed. At this stage, therefore, the appropriate question in 16:13 is no longer, 'Whom do the people say that I am?' but only, 'Whom, more exactly, do the people say that he who is already known as the Son of Man is?' Accordingly, in Mt., the answer of Peter does not run simply as in Mk. ('Thou art the Christ,' *ὁ ἐγὼ ὁ Χριστός*); similarly in Lk. 'the Christ of God,' *τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ*), but there is added, as the most important of all, the addition: 'the son of the living God' (*ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος*). This last title plainly must be regarded as expressing more than 'the Christ' (*ὁ Χριστός*) or than 'Son of Man,' and therefore denotes Jesus not as, let us say, in an ethical sense a Son of God after the manner of the OT, that is, as one who subordinates his will to the will of God as a son does in presence of his father, but in a metaphysical sense as a being proceeding in a supernatural way from

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God, a meaning which is not necessarily connected with either 'Messiah' or 'Son of Man.' Thus we have here a dogmatic development.

(c) Granted, however, that Mt. in the points just mentioned goes beyond the original record, it does not necessarily follow that he has also altered the situation in an unhistorical sense by the words assigned to Jesus in 16:17 which are not met with in Mk. or Lk.: 'flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee but my Father, etc.'

Even should Wrede be correct in saying that Mk. attaches to the confession of Peter just as little importance as to the words of the demoniac who, in his representation, more than once (14:25-9) applied to Jesus the same predicate as Peter applies here, and that on this account Jesus does not praise Peter, but, just as in the case of the demoniac, merely bids him be silent, this way of looking at the matter would simply be in each instance only a consequence of the view attributed by Wrede to Mk. that the Messiahship of Jesus had to be kept secret.

As a historical fact, however, apart from the representation of Mk., the occurrence could in no case have elicited such a judgment on the part of Jesus. For even in the representation of Mk. Jesus assuredly does not act upon the plan of concealing his Messiahship; he studiously seeks to elicit an expression of it from the disciples. It is presupposed in this that they have not as yet recognised him as Messiah. It is thus a moment of the greatest possible importance when the words 'Thou art the Messiah' are for the first time spoken by them.

(d) The injunction to tell no man is also, even without the theory of Mk. spoken of above, very readily intelligible in the mouth of the historical Jesus, inasmuch as he cannot have been without apprehensions lest the people should misunderstand his Messiahship, and perhaps set their hopes on him as one who was to free them from the yoke of Rome. Nevertheless, the scene retains its importance as marking a turning-point in the consciousness of the disciples, and can therefore quite appropriately be spoken of as a divine revelation accorded to Peter. In view of the importance it thus possessed, it is also easy to believe that it should have engraved itself upon the memory of the disciples and taken a secure place in tradition—unless one were to regard it as pure fiction. Against this, however, as Wrede also has perceived, there are various considerations, amongst them this, that it is assigned to a definite locality in the journey to Caesarea Philippi, which seems to point to definite recollection. On the point that Mt. 11:27 gives no ground for doubting the actuality of Peter's confession, see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 25 *b*.

17. Designation as Satan

Immediately on Peter's confession follows in all the synoptists the first prediction by Jesus of his passion, death, and resurrection (Mk. 8:31 *f.* = Mt. 16:21 = Lk. 9:22); and in Mk. (8:32 *f.*) and Mt. (16:22 *f.*) it is added that Peter had reproved his master, but was in turn rebuked and addressed as Satan. Here it must be again remarked that not only the predictions of Jesus regarding his resurrection, but also the detailed predictions of his passion and death are open to grave doubt, and least probable of all is it that precisely at the moment when Peter had uttered his confession for the first time—a moment which must have been one of the most joyful in all his life—Jesus should have expressed himself as he did (see GOSPELS, § 145 *a*, *f*). This is not equivalent to saying that Jesus on no occasion in the later period of his public life ever had or expressed the thought that suffering and death might be in store for him. On some such occasion may very well have happened the scene between Peter and his master which now stands immediately after the great confession. The expression 'Satan' by its very strength is its own guarantee that none of the later narrators could have invented it; in fact, the entire scene is wanting in the evangelist to whom tendency-criticism would have found least difficulty in assigning it (see above, § 5 *b*, *c*).

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III. ACCORDING TO THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

If we turn now to the utterances of the Fourth Gospel regarding Peter, we shall find that some of them rest upon those of the synoptists and have merely received a Johannine colouring; but that others, where they contain new matter, cannot lay claim to historicity.

(a) The nearest approach to the synoptic account (Mk. 14:26-31 and) is made by the Johannine in describing the prediction of Peter's denial (Jn. 13:33-35); yet even here we already see clearly the Johannine colouring.

It is not as in Mk. and Mt. the adjoining reference to the dreaded scattering of the disciples that gives Peter the occasion for making his promise never to leave Jesus; it is a specifically Johannine thought which in a quite similar manner has already been brought forward in 7:33 f., 8:21, and which, moreover, as we so often find in the Fourth Gospel, lends itself to misunderstanding as possessing at once an obvious external meaning and a hidden spiritual sense: 'Whither I go, ye shall not come.' Peter, like all the interlocutors of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel, takes it in the surface-meaning: 'Lord, whither goest thou? . . . Lord, why cannot I follow thee even now?' As regards the time at which this was said, Jn. agrees with Lk. against Mk. and Mt. (see above, § 15A).

(b) In the account of the arrest of Jesus a legendary development is apparent in the Fourth Gospel in so far as here (18:1) the name of Malchus the servant of the high priest is given; it is not mentioned in the synoptists. Equally legendary perhaps, but perhaps also deliberately followed, is the other development according to which Peter is named in the Fourth Gospel as the follower who wielded the sword whilst the synoptists merely say: 'A certain one of them that stood by' (Mk. 14:47), or words to the same effect.

To this, moreover, it has to be added that it is only in the synoptists that any motive can be found for the stroke; it is at the moment when Jesus is being seized (so Mk. and Mt.) or about to be seized (so Lk.) in consequence of the treachery of Judas. In Jn., on the other hand, the entire cohort of 500 (or 1000) men has fallen to the ground; Jesus voluntarily surrenders himself and all that he asks of his captors is that his disciples may be allowed to escape unharmed (18:4-9). Lastly, the word with which Jesus rebukes the sword-stroke receives a Johannine form. In Mk. it is not reported at all; Lk. (22:51) is content briefly: 'Suffer ye thus far.' Thus what lies at the basis of Jn. is Mt. 26:52-54; but in Jn. 18:11 this is compressed into the question: 'The cup which the Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?' By this question is set aside from the outset by the Johannine Christ a thought which the Jesus of the synoptists earnestly cherishes for a time—that involved in the prayer that 'this cup might pass from him—exactly as in 12:27, where the words are to be taken as a question: 'What shall I say? (Shall I say?) Father save me from this hour?' (cp JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 26A).

Jn. has left on one side the statement of Lk. (22:51) that Jesus healed the ear of the servant of the high priest. Perhaps the miracle seemed to him purposeless in such a situation, or hardly worthy of the dignity of the Logos.

(c) That the parallel to the confession of Peter (Mk. 8:27-30 and) is to be found in Jn. 6:66-71 is almost universally conceded. It is indeed the only scene in which, as in the synoptists, in answer to a question expressly addressed to all the twelve disciples, Peter as their spokesman makes a confession to Jesus; moreover, it follows soon after the miracle of the feeding of the multitude (in Mk. and Mt. after the second miracle). This makes the variations all the more remarkable.

The place is not in the neighbourhood of Caesarea Philippi but (according to 6:59) at Capernaum. Peter does not designate Jesus as the Messiah, nor can he; for this has already been done by Andrew (1:41), and indeed still higher predicates have been already employed by the Baptist (1:15-20-34), by Nathanael (1:49), and by Jesus himself (3:13-16 4:25, etc.). The contents of Peter's confession have thus lost, still more completely than in Mt. (see § 19B), that character of novelty which gives it its historical importance. The expression 'the holy one of God' (ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Θεοῦ) also, employed by Peter, is new only in the Fourth Gospel, but carries neither in the literal meaning of the words nor by virtue of the application made of it in Mk. 1:24=Lk. 4:34, by the demoniac in the synagogue of Capernaum (cp 'the holy one,' ὁ ἅγιος, Rev. 3:7 1 Jn. 2:20; 'Aaron,' the holy one of the Lord,' ἅγιος τοῦ Κυρίου, Ps. 104:1; 'the holy and true,' ἅγιος καὶ ἀληθής, Acts 3:14), transcending those previously made use of in the Fourth Gospel. Furthermore, the words of Peter are entirely in the Johannine dialectic style: 'words of eternal life' (cp 3:34-36 6:53 12:49 f.); 'we have

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believed and know' (cp 11:27 17:1 1 Jn. 4:19). Finally, we are to be absent of any word of recognition on the part of Jesus such as we find in at least Mt. 10:17.

(d) According to Jn. 1:44, Bethsaida is the city of Peter (and Andrew); according to Mk. 1:21-29=Lk. 1:13-15, it is also according to Mt. 8:5-14, it is Capernaum.

An explanation of the discrepancy it is suggested that Peter (and Andrew) originally belonged to Bethsaida; or vice versa, even had to the wholly inadmissible exegesis that according to the change of prepositions in Jn. 1:11 Philip was in virtue of his adoption the 'of' Bethsaida (ἀπὸ βηθσαϊδά) but by birth he was 'of' Capernaum the city of Andrew and Peter (ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἀβηθρον καὶ Κεφαῖν). In reality it is even uncertain whether the naming of Bethsaida has claim or only makes claim to historical accuracy. Cp 191110, col. 3702, n. 2.

In the account of the denial of Peter (Jn. 18:15-25)

(a) The most important differences as compared with the synoptists (Mk. 14:54-66-72 and) are that Peter goes

19. Denial. through the intervention of an 'other disciple,' and that his repentance is not recorded. Upon both these points see § 22, below. Legendary development is seen in the touch that he who gives occasion for Peter's third denial is said to have been one of the servants of the high priest, being a kinsman of him whose ear Peter cut off. Furthermore, the series of the three denials of Peter is broken, not, however, as in Lk. (22:59) between the second and the third, and not by the simple statement that an interval of about an hour had elapsed, but between the first and the second, and this by the account of the whole proceedings in the palace of Annas and of Jesus's being led away to the palace of Caiaphas.

(b) Spitta (*Die Gesch. u. Lit. d. Urchristentum* 1:158-162, 1893) conjectures the original order of the verses to have been: 12 f. 19-24 14-18 25 b-27.

That is to say; Jesus was brought from Gethsemane to the palace of Annas; here Caiaphas (not Annas) investigated the case, then Annas sent him to Caiaphas; thereupon arrived first the 'other disciple' and thereafter Peter in the courtyard of Caiaphas (not Annas) and Peter denied his master three times in unbroken succession. When, shortly after the publication of the work of Spitta, the Syr. sin. became known, it was found that in the main it followed the same order, viz. 27, 12 f., 14-18, 19-24 16-15 25 b-27. Thus here also the case is heard of a Caiaphas, but in his own palace, not in that of Annas; here also Peter comes into the court of Caiaphas not of Annas; here also there is a threefold denial without intervening interval and 1:25 a (now Simon Peter was standing and warming himself) which coincides with the close of 2:13 falls away, but the entrance of the 'other disciple' into the court of Caiaphas does not immediately precede, but happens some considerable time before.

(c) Notwithstanding this very large measure of agreement neither of these two rearrangements of the verses can be regarded as the original. If it was, as Spitta thinks, Caiaphas who dealt with the case of Jesus in the house of Annas, the expression in 2:24 that it was Annas who sent Jesus to Caiaphas is as awkward as it could possibly be. Syr. sin. has in point of fact avoided this awkwardness by reporting no hearing at the house of Annas at all. In this way, however, the addition in Syr. sin. of 'the chief priest' (τὸν ἀρχιερέα) to Caiaphas (Καϊάφαν) in 2:24 becomes all the more impossible if this verse follows immediately upon 2:13 in which Caiaphas is named as high priest of that year. Before all other vs. however, this question will obtrude itself: In what way, if it be not the original, could the present order of the verses have arisen?

Spitta's answer is that the copyist's eye wandered from 2:13 to 2:24 and wrote therefore its continuation (the present 2:14-18) by mistake immediately after 2:13. When he had reached 2:18, that is to say the middle of Peter's threefold denial, he became aware that he had passed over the entire hearing of Jesus, along with his removal to the palace of Caiaphas (10:24), and forthwith introduced these verses into his text immediately after 1:27. Only after he had done this did he proceed to finish the account of Peter's denial (25 b-27); but with a view to this, in order to resume the thread that had been dropped, he had first, in the exercise of his own discretion, to repeat the close of 2:13, and that in the somewhat modified form which we now have in 25 a. It is indeed hard to say in what possible sense we can call a man who goes to work thus a copyist. As if we did not see from a hundred examples how it was that copyists proceeded when they happened to have omitted anything; they placed it on the margin and inserted merely a *caeter* in the text. The

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same observation holds good, of course, if it was the order of Syr. sin. and not that of Spitta which the copyist altered into that which we now have. All the more does it require to be borne in mind that often the case is plainly the other way, the author of Syr. sin. has allowed himself the most arbitrary changes of the text!

It has to be added, however, that in his case it is possible to perceive a reason for the changes found in his text; he wished to make Peter's denial a nutty and to get rid of the repetition which he deemed irksome — of 7: 13 end in v. 257. For the converse procedure, on the other hand, the production of our present text out of that of Syr. sin. or that conjectured by Spitta, no reason can be imagined; and thus Spitta had no choice but to have recourse to his untenable hypothesis of a copyist who yet was no copyist nor yet a redactor either.

(6) Although Syr. sin. and Spitta have thought the present order of the text capable of improvement it nevertheless remains intelligible enough even without transposition. The new element in Jn. which neither Syr. sin. nor Spitta could or would remove is the fact that Jesus before being delivered over to Pilate was taken to two separate places, to the house of Annas and to that of Caiaphas.

According to Mk. and Mt. he is brought only to the 'high priest' (Mk. 14:53; Mt. 26:57 adds the name of Caiaphas) and from there taken to Pilate (Mk. 15:1 = Mt. 27:1). Mk. and Mt., however, record two sittings of the synedrium on the case; the first during the night, the second in the morning. Lk. knows only the second of these (22:66-71); in his narrative it is not until morning that the synedrium meets; in the night Jesus looks upon Peter after his third denial and thus he is still in the courtyard, not in the court-room, and in accordance with this representation is in the course of the night only mocked and buffeted (Lk. 22:63-65), which likewise is to be pictured as taking place in the courtyard. On this view it remains a possibility that Lk., like Mk. and Mt., thinks of the morning meeting of the synedrium as being held in the same high-priestly palace into which Jesus was brought from the first. The words (Lk. 22:6), 'they led him away into their council' (ἀνεπαγαγόντες αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον αὐτῶν), in that case mean only that they led him away (out of the courtyard) into the chamber of the same palace in which the synedrium meanwhile had assembled. This interpretation is favoured by 'their' (αὐτῶν). Yet it is also possible that Lk. thinks of the synedrium as assembling in another house—most easily in the place of their solemn meetings. The 'led away' (ἀνεπαγαγόντες) in 22:6 will then mean that they led Jesus into another house; and the word actually is so used in Mt. 27:2, and still earlier in 26:57

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= Mk. 14:54, as also are 'led' (ἀγαγόντες) in Lk. 22:1 and 'led away' (ἀνεπαγαγόντες) Mk. 15:1

(7) In any case Jn. was fully entitled so to understand it and accordingly to take from Lk. the transference of Jesus from one house to another.

Only what he thinks of as being the second house to which Jesus was brought is not the meeting-place of the synedrium; and on his premises he is right; for at the time when, according to Lk. (if this be his meaning), the place was being used, viz. in the morning, it was accessible, but it was not accessible in the night-time, when, according to Jn., Jesus was being transferred (before cock-crowing; see Jn. 18:24-27), as it was situated on the temple hill (Schürer, *op. cit.* 2: 192-194; E. H. U. 1: 160-163) the gates of which were shut at night. Thus there remains for Jn. as the second house to which Jesus could appropriately be brought, only the palace of the high priest. The house, however, to which Jesus is in the first instance brought is also called (Mk. 14:54 and 55) that of the high priest. At this point, therefore, come to the assistance of Jn. the statement in Lk. 3:2 Acts 4:5, according to which Annas also was high priest; and that the evangelist was following this is apparent (although he nowhere designates Annas as high priest) in the fact that he calls Caiaphas 'high priest of that year' (11:49; 18:11). In fact it has even been held that Lk. regards Annas, whom, alike in 3:2 and in Acts 4:5, he places before Caiaphas, as the real high priest in Jesus' time, and thus that he thinks with Jn., that Jesus was brought from Gethsemane direct to the house of Annas.

Be this as it may, in any case Jn. seeks to remove the discrepancies of the synoptists. He follows Lk., as he understands him, in so far as he represents Jesus as having been brought from one house to another; but Mk. and Mt. in so far as he represents some hearing of the case to have taken place during the night, only without the nocturnal meeting of the synedrium affirmed in Mk. 14:53 = Mt. 26:57, and then before the high priest alone—by whom Jn. understands Annas. In all probability therefore Jn. thinks of the meeting of the synedrium as having been in the house of Caiaphas, but without describing it.

(f) These points once cleared up, we are in a position to understand the story of Peter's denial in Jn. In making the denial begin directly after Jesus has been brought in after his arrest, Jn. is simply following Lk., who in fact knows of no hearing of the case at all by night; in representing the denial as having been interrupted he also is following Lk. in so far as in this gospel (Lk. 22:59) the series of the denials is broken by an interval of something like an hour; in Jn., however, the interruption is caused by the account of the first hearing which Jn., departing from Lk., takes from Mk. and Mt. Thus it becomes perfectly intelligible, and not to be regarded as a copyist's error, that the statement about Peter's standing at the fire and warming himself is repeated from 18:18 in 18:25a when the story of the denial is resumed. In precisely the same way Mk. 14:67 repeats from 7:54 that Peter was warming himself, and Mt. 26:69 from 7:58 that he was sitting in the courtyard. That Peter's arrival in the courtyard and his denial should at all costs be narrated without interruption cannot in reason be demanded; it is not so related even in Mk. and Mt., and if Jn. allows the interruption to come in at a later point than they do, this is mainly due, as has been shown, to the fact that he is here at first following Lk.

The call of Peter is described in the Fourth Gospel 20. Call. (1:35-42) in a manner entirely different from above, § 13).

(a) It occurs, not by the lake of Galilee, but in the neighbourhood of the Baptist, who has not yet been cast into prison (as he has in Mk. 1:14 Mt. 4:12 Lk. 3:19). but himself points his disciples to Jesus; those whom Jesus wins to his side do not appear as fishermen, but—at least the first two (1:35-40) and probably Peter also—as disciples of the Baptist. Peter is not called first, but only after his brother Andrew and an unnamed person by whom is almost universally understood the beloved disciple; of those who are represented in the synoptists as then having been called, John (even if it be that as intended by the companion of Andrew) remains unnamed, and his brother James is left entirely unnoticed.

¹ Even in the pericope before us, for example, an instance occurs in v. 16f. The portress is here called first 'the portress' (ἡ θυρωρὸς) simply, then afterwards 'the maid, the portress' (ἡ παιδικὴ ἢ θυρωρὸς). This is a noticeable circumstance and finds its explanation only in this, that when she is mentioned for the second time, it is said that she charged Peter with being one of the followers of Jesus. According to the synoptists this was done by a maid (παιδικὴν, Mk. 14:66 and 68), and in reminiscence of this Jn. subsequently added this expression to his 'portress' (ἡ θυρωρὸς). Syr. sin., however, has 'porter' for 'portress' in v. 16 and makes 'the maid, the portress' (ἡ παιδικὴ ἢ θυρωρὸς) in v. 17 into the porter's maid. As other examples of arbitrary alterations which (unless where otherwise stated) are quite peculiar to Syr. sin. we may mention: (Mt. 16:23) 'What do men say concerning me? who then is this son of man?' (on this, cp above § 16f.); or (Lk. 16:6b), 'and he (i.e., the steward) sat down quickly and wrote them fifty' and (16:7b), 'he sat down immediately [and] wrote them fourscore'; or (Jn. 8:57—'with age'), 'thou art not fifty years old and hast Abraham seen thee?' or Lk. 24, where as in D the last clause, 'because he was of the house and family of David,' is introduced after v. 8, and, moreover, altered into 'because they were both of the house of David.' Syr. sin. also knows how to make important changes in the text by simple addition. Examples are: Jn. 6:93 (it is the spirit that quickeneth the body; but ye say the body profiteth nothing), or 12:3 (now Mary took an alabaster box of a pound of ointment of pure good spikenard, of great price, and poured it on the head of Jesus while he sat at meat, and she anointed his feet), or Lk. 23:37 (addition); and they placed also on his head a crown of thorns). Of additions arbitrarily made for decoration or smoothing we may give such instances as (Lk. 11:29), 'no sign from heaven shall be given unto them,' or (Jn. 3:4, at close), 'because God is a living spirit' [Terz. and (11) e], of trials, etc., have simply: quia dicit spiritus est, or (11) e), 'Martha said unto him, Lord, why are they lifting away who were standing, came near and raised,' or (11) e), 'and she understood him and answered saying unto him: Rabbuli. And she ran towards him that she might touch him' [last clause also in 6c, the Ferrar codd. 13, 346, 543, 826, 828, syr. pal., syr. hkl., Vg. MSS mm, gat, armach, Cyril.

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(d) It would be perfectly useless to try to identify the two accounts. Harmonistic efforts confine themselves to the assertion that Jn. is describing an earlier occurrence than that recorded in the synoptists. That in Jn. is spoken of as the 'call to friendship,' that in the synoptists as the 'call to discipleship.' Any such distinction, however, is quite arbitrary. The 'follow me' (*ἀκολουθεῖτε μοι*) which Jesus addresses in Jn. 1:11 to Philip, holds good substantially, it does not need to be said, also for those called before Philip, for it is hard to see why we are to regard them as entering into less intimate relations with Jesus than he. The same verb, however (*ἀκολουθεῖτε*), stands in Mk. 1:13 Mt. 1:20 22 Lk. 5:11, where it is the 'call to discipleship' that is described. And even apart from this it would be quite contrary to history that Jn. should allow it to appear as if those disciples who had been called only to friendship remained henceforward continually in the company of Jesus (as in point of fact he does in 2:12 17 22 3:22 1:18 27 31-33, etc.), if the actual truth had been that they had again parted from Jesus and thereafter received from him the new call of which the synoptists speak. Similarly it would be quite contrary to history on the part of the synoptists to represent the calling of the four disciples as made at first sight without previous acquaintance on their part with the master, if the truth really were that three of them had already been called to friendship by Jesus.

This unhistorical distinction between the 'call to friendship' and the 'call to discipleship' is carried to the furthest extreme when the 'call to apostleship' is added as a third stage which is seen for the first time in Mk. 3:14-19 and, in the choosing of the twelve. If we find Jesus already saying to Peter and Andrew in Mk. 1:18 'I will make you to become fishes of men' (similarly Mt. 1:17 Lk. 5:10), how are we to describe this if not as a call to apostleship? The choosing of the twelve is not to be understood as if the four disciples who had already been chosen were now chosen a second time, and that to a higher dignity, but only in the sense that the other eight were newly chosen, the four who had been chosen already being now enumerated along with the others merely in order to make up a complete list of twelve.

(e) If then the accounts of Jn. on the one hand and the synoptists on the other are mutually exclusive, it is necessary to make a choice between them. The precise specification of the time and hour in Jn. (1:20 33 19 43 21) might seem here to be conclusive evidence that the Johannine account proceeds from an eyewitness; but this becomes plainly impossible when it is considered how here the Baptist and the first disciples are represented as possessing a knowledge regarding the Messiahship, and indeed also regarding what goes far beyond this, the divine nature of Jesus, such as in actual fact they cannot have possessed at least at so early a period, unless indeed we are prepared to reject as completely unhistorical the whole picture of the synoptists and especially the novelty of Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi. The supernatural knowledge also regarding Peter and Nathanael (Jn. 1:42 47 f.) which is attributed to Jesus is quite inconsistent with the synoptic representation.

(f) The unhistorical character of the Johannine account has therefore to be conceded even although we find ourselves unable to explain in detail in every case how it was that Jn. came to his far-reaching divergences from the synoptists. So much is clear—that he takes no trouble whatever to bring himself into line with them, but seeks to give a representation that is based purely on ideal considerations. Just as Jesus is already in the dialogue introduced as the Logos of God, and just as the Baptist straightway proclaims his Godhead, so also must the disciples be brought to him from the beginning through their recognition of this truth, and arrive at this recognition through the agency of the Baptist, whereby the latter brings to its most effective fulfilment his function as forerunner of Jesus. 'He must increase, but I must decrease' (3:30); this is the motto of the whole history of the call, in this also lies the reason why the first disciples of Jesus must previously have been disciples of John.

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(g) A further object Jn. has in view is the relegation of Peter to a subordinate place. Elsewhere (see 3:22) this happens only so far as the beloved disciple is concerned, but here we see it also in operation with reference to Andrew who elsewhere comes forward a little in the Fourth Gospel.

The cause of this feature lies perhaps in sympathy with the story of the walk to Emmaus, with regard to which it is to be noted that *John's Gospel*, 4:6-40 [122a] supposes that it is Jn. himself. Two disciples come to know Jesus as Messiah, the one is afterwards mentioned by name, the other not. On return to Jerusalem it is found that Jesus has appeared to Peter. Thus the last-named takes the third place.

(h) The tenth hour also (Jn. 1:9) Thoma thinks to be derived from Lk. 12:120; 'it is towards evening.'

Such combinations, however, are from the nature of the case uncertain. What is certain is that Jn. reckons the hour of the day in Jewish fashion (3:1) and this means here (3:19) that, to consider, in view of Jn. 2:6 ('It is the last hour'), that the author intends to divide the whole development of the work into twelve periods, which he allegorically calls hours, and that what he means to say is that the entire development was completed near the end when Jesus appeared, whereas the necessity for accepting Christianity. Or it is pointed out according to Philo (1:147 5:12-13 2:1-3:125, ed. Mangey) that the number of perfection, with which accordingly Christianity as the way of perfection begins.

Such a way of interpreting the 'hour' however, is not harmonious very well with the specific time of individual days in 1:20 33 43 21. In this specific time there may have much greater confidence in discerning the progress of the narrative from one step in the revelation of Jesus to another. In any case neither it nor the specification of the tenth hour, even if not quite satisfactory explanation of the latter has yet been found, can be urged as evidence that the author was an eyewitness of what he describes.

As with the call of the disciples, so also in the case of the footwashing, the Fourth Evangelist has not mentioned a synoptic narrative but has

21. Footwashing.

(1) Jn.'s silence as to the institution of the sacrament of the supper would otherwise be inexplicable. Equally inexplicable, however, would be the silence of the synoptists about the footwashing had this not actually happened. Even Lk., to whom appearances made in 22:26-27 records only the thought which has led to the footwashing, not the fact. One may, it is true, deny the historicity of the synoptists altogether if one is determined to maintain that they had heard nothing of so important an action of Jesus which must have been pressed itself so indelibly upon the recollection of those who witnessed it. On the other hand the historical narrative of the footwashing out of the passage just cited from Lk. (22:24-27) is very readily intelligible, and that too even without our supposing any dramatic fiction on the part of the evangelist (see JOHN'S SOUS OF ZENODOTUS, § 35 [f]). The transaction taken as a whole is the highest activity of ministering love (13:34 f.); in so far as it occurs at a meal, it stands on a level with a love-feast (*ἀγάπη*; Jude 12) and thus is a substitute for the sacramental supper which finally, by reason of the data on which he was working, could not report as having been held on the last evening of the lifetime of Jesus (see JOHN'S SOUS OF ZENODOTUS, § 22).

(2) The person of Peter comes into consideration in connection with a subordinate point only. He is treated out of reverence, about suffering his feet to be washed by Jesus, but is met with the answer: 'If I wash them not thou hast no part with me' (13:8). Who, however, Peter would have hands and head washed also, but is told: 'he that is lathered needeth not save to wash his feet but is clean every whit; and ye are clean' (13:10). From 7, 8 it follows that the footwashing is intended to be not a manifestation of love merely, but also at the same time in some sort a means of grace; from 7, 10 it follows that this means of grace has been preceded by another of a completer character—by which, especially in view of the expression 'he that is lathered' (*ὁ λεηρομένος*), one can only understand baptism. The

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meaning would then be: He that is baptised needs only a partial renewal of the effect of baptism.

If the effect of baptism is held to be the forgiveness of sins, the footwashing would represent a means of grace which likewise brings a forgiveness though not so comprehensive as that of baptism but only of particular sins committed after baptism. It is quite impossible that by this means of grace should be meant the sacrificial blood of Jesus. For neither does its action set in only after baptism nor does it admit of being conceived of as partial only; and moreover, in the circle of ideas of the Fourth Gospel it plays no further part (see JOHN, SON OF ZEPHEDAI, § 42, begin.). But also the thought of a second repentance following upon that sealed in baptism, as suggested in Hieronimus (17, n. 24, Mand. 4) is quite remote. The forgiveness of sins that constantly needs renewal after baptism is better seen in the sacrament of the supper, in accordance with Mt. 26:28: 'unto remission of sins.' With this it agrees that the eucharist is repeated, baptism not, and that the footwashing as representing the *agape* is intended to be a substitute for the eucharist.

(c) There is nevertheless the objection that forgiveness of sins does not figure in the Johannine conception of the eucharist (6:26-27) and just as little in the express interpretation of the footwashing which according to 13:3 is regarded rather as a means of communion with Jesus. This is the effect of the eucharist in like manner according to Jn., and thus we are led by this consideration also to the conclusion that by the footwashing the eucharist is intended. It cannot be denied, however, that here the figure of cleansing which is involved in the idea of washing has disappeared, and the picture thus loses its vividness.

(d) It becomes all the more necessary therefore to note that in Jn. 13, we have in all probability an authentic interpretation of the footwashing. As in 13:3 so also here we read: 'ye are clean,' only not 'by baptism' or 'by the supper,' but, 'because of the word which I have spoken unto you.'

This declaration is very like that made in 6:54. After very great weight has been laid in 6:53-54 upon physical participation in the sacramental meal, we find it nevertheless soon depreciated again in favour of a purely spiritual view which thinks of

the flesh profeth nothing; the words that I have spoken unto you are spirit and are life.' Just so in 13:3 also the mere reception of the words of Jesus is given as the means of purification in place of any sacramental act whatsoever. And this reception of the word, according to the conception of Jn. 13, consists specially in fulfilment of the command of love. On this view, 13:3 would mean: he who has been baptised is in need of no further sacramental acts; all that is needed is that he should follow the commandment of love. At the same time this does not perfectly suit either the words or the thought. If it is to fit the words these ought to run somewhat thus: 'he that is bathed needeth not to wash the feet of others'; and as for the thought — that which depreciates the value of sacramental acts — one misses the extension of it which one would expect to baptism also.

(e) The view indicated by 13:3 is thus better suited by the reading of ΣC , several Vg, MSS Orig, and Tert, according to which 'except the feet' ($\epsilon\lambda\ \mu\eta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \pi\acute{o}\delta\alpha\varsigma$) is wanting. In this case 'he that is bathed' ($\delta\ \lambda\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$) will no longer refer to baptism but to footwashing; he who has received the footwashing, that is to say who has taken to himself the command of love, needs no sacramental act or any other external institution but is quite clean.

Yet this view of the passage also is not wholly just to the tenor of the words. For this one would expect some such text as 'the whose feet are washed needs not to wash hands or head.' And further, even if one finds it possible to understand how the longer reading could have arisen out of the shorter as soon as 'he that is bathed' ($\delta\ \lambda\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$) had come to be taken as referring to baptism and the footwashing to the supper, at the same time the converse also is conceivable — that on account of the words 'he is clean every whit' it seemed inappropriate that the washing of the feet should still be required, and it was thought necessary to restore the meaning that washing of a wholly clean person is no longer of any use, by deletion of the words 'except the feet' ($\epsilon\lambda\ \mu\eta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \pi\acute{o}\delta\alpha\varsigma$).

At all events, whatever may be the proper interpretation of the footwashing, it is plain that in it Peter plays no better part than other persons in the Fourth Gospel, as for example Thomas (11:5), or Philip (14:8), or Judas the Caramanite (14:22), or Nicodemus (3:4), into whose mouths an unintelligent saying is put which is afterwards set right by Jesus (see JOHN, SON OF ZEPHEDAI, § 25c). The same thing has already been remarked in con-

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nection with the production of Peter's denial (13:6-10), where Peter is corrected for a misunderstanding by Jesus; we have found him also shown in an unfavourable light in so far as the sword stroke is attributed to him (18:10), and neither his repentance after his denial, nor any acknowledgement of Jesus after his confession, is recorded (18:27-31).

22. Peter and the beloved disciple.

(1) It is to the beloved disciple, however, in particular, that Peter is subordinated; to him he owes his introduction into the high priest's palace (18:16), and only after him (and Andrew) does he receive his call to the discipleship (1:17), and, further, Peter must avail himself of his soul (14:21) in order to learn who the betrayer is. If, following the figure of speech which we see in Rev. 12:6, 13-17, it is the Christian church that is to be understood by the mother of Jesus as she stands at the foot of the cross (Jn. 19:25) — a view which is rendered more difficult, it is true, than it would otherwise be by the presence of other women at the crucifixion — we should here find evidence of a very great depreciation of Peter, in the fact that she is committed to the charge, not of Peter, but of the beloved disciple. So also the conferring upon all the apostles of the power to remit sins or to retain them (20:23), if we are to suppose it have been already known to the Fourth Evangelist that this power according to Mt. 16:19 had been conferred upon Peter alone for the age of this passage (see GOSPELS, §§ 130, 131).

(2) It is to the account of their visit to the sepulchre, however (20:1-10), that we must specially turn, for elucidation of the mutual relations of Peter and the beloved disciple. On the historical character of this incident (see GOSPELS, § 138, a, c, f). Being, as it is, unhistorical, we may all the more safely assume that here it is intended to give expression to an idea. This idea would be perfectly transparent if the precedence of the one apostle over the other had been recognised without qualification. In point of fact a certain measure of precedence is assigned to each in turn. Or rather to Peter in one respect, namely that he is the first to enter the sepulchre, but to the beloved disciple in the twofold respect that he is the first to arrive at the sepulchre, and the first to believe in the resurrection.

Let us begin with what is clearest. When it is said of the beloved disciple that he believed in the resurrection of Jesus (20:9), it is included in this that Peter has not as yet come to do so. Now, in view of 1 Cor. 15:5 (and 1k. 21:4) it is quite impossible to assert that any one arrived earlier than Peter at the conviction that Jesus was arisen — unless it had been at the empty sepulchre; but the account of this is, as has been shown, unhistorical. If, nevertheless, a deeper truth is to be sought in it, the solution must be found in the conception of faith. Not in the holding the resurrection of Jesus to be a fact, but only in a right apprehension of the nature of the resurrection and of the risen one, can any one have taken precedence of Peter, a precedence represented as a precedence in time, because the truth has been clothed in the form of a narrative of a visit to the grave.

And if it is to the beloved disciple — that is to say, the ostensible author or guarantor of the Fourth Gospel (see JOHN, SON OF ZEPHEDAI, § 41d) — that this precedence is assigned, we also know wherein it consists; namely, in the spiritual view of the resurrection, according to which the risen one is identical with the holy spirit (see RESURRECTION-NARRATIVES, §§ 161, 296). Only by way of antithesis to this is it possible to gain a good sense for the statement that Peter was the first to enter the grave, and the first to observe all the clothes and their orderly arrangement. In other words, it is not to be denied to him (see 1 Cor 15:5 1k. 21:4) that he was the first to ascertain the outward tokens of the resurrection; herein he takes a relative precedence.

What has just been said still leaves unexplained the statement that the beloved disciple was the first to reach the sepulchre. And it would be difficult to say what precedence over Peter is intended to be expressed by this; for when it is stated that he was the first who in the deeper sense 'believed,'

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all has been said which could secure him a precedence over Peter in the matter itself. It appears, therefore, that in the question as to who arrived first at the sepulchre, it is only a precedence in point of time that is thought of—not, however, as if the beloved disciple actually had taken precedence of Peter in any matter of importance, but only in so far as he was at first held in higher estimation in the church than Peter. The most significant thing in the narrative is certainly this, that the beloved disciple in the beginning has precedence over Peter, but that afterwards Peter takes this precedence from him, and only in the end does the beloved disciple receive a higher valuation.

Now, it assuredly was not throughout the whole church that Peter in the first period was held in less esteem than the beloved disciple, that is to say, than the John of Asia Minor. We must reflect, however, that in the Fourth Gospel it is not the entire church, but only the following of the John of Asia Minor that is speaking. For the latter it really is true that the beloved disciple was looked on as the first witness of Christ, the risen one; but if it is added that Peter took his precedence from him, this can only mean that the estimate, according to which Peter was held to be the most eminent of all the apostles, had gradually found acceptance even in those circles which in the first period had given the first place to John. The purpose of the passage before us, then, is to restrict this high estimate of Peter, and to restore to John the place of pre-eminence.

(c) The last mention in the series of passages which seek to settle the relation between Peter and the beloved disciple, is found in chap. 21. Here, however, the tendency is in the other direction.

Along with other circumstances, this also supplies a reason why we should attribute this chapter to a different authorship from that of Jn. 1-20 (see JOHN, SAN or ZENKER, § 40; RESURRECTION-NARRATIVES, §§ 54, 96, 206). The history of the external evidence shows that for several decades after its appearance the Fourth Gospel found no recognition (JOHN, §§ 42-44). In chap. 21, vs. 24, clearly reveal the purpose to remove the mistrust with which it was regarded. This being so, the remainder of the chapter deserves to be scrutinised, with the view of finding whether it also subserves the same tendency. In point of fact this is actually seen to be the case, as soon as we suppose its depreciation of Peter to have been one of the causes that militated against the general recognition of the Gospel.

Therefore we find Peter now rehabilitated to a considerable extent. It is still the beloved disciple, it is true, who first recognises the risen one in the figure standing in the morning on the shore (21:7); but once he has learned who it is, Peter is the first to hasten towards him. Further, it is Peter who first goes a-fishing and who draws the net with its great take unbroken to the shore (21:11). Since this net signifies missions in general, and particularly the mission to the Gentiles, and its remaining unbroken symbolises the continued unity of the church (see above, § 14c, d, e, f), it is hereby recognised that Peter was the originator and the most important actor in the missionary activity of the church, including the mission to the Gentiles, and the guardian of the unity of the church. The leading position in the church is still more clearly assigned to him in the words 'feed my lambs' . . . 'tend my sheep' (21:15-17), which are a further development of Lk. 22:32, 'establish thy brethren'. Finally, martyrdom is predicted for him, and this as an honour (21:18, f.). For the beloved disciple there is left a much more modest part than he has in chaps. 1-20; he too, not only Peter, may follow Jesus, if in another manner than by death; a longer life is allotted to him than to Peter, and he has the advantage of bearing written testimony to the life of Jesus (21:20-24).

Let us now seek to gather together the results of the foregoing discussions of details, and attempt to form some estimate of the character of Peter.

23. Character of Peter.

(a) It is evident, in the first place, that we must refuse to avail ourselves of very much of the material that is usually employed for this purpose.

What value are we to attach to such inferences as that which deduces from his proposal at the transfiguration to build tabernacles for Jesus, Moses, and Elijah, or from the precipitancy

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with which in Jn. 21:7 he throws himself into the water, the 'impulsiveness' of Peter; or from his noticing the withering of the fig tree (Mk. 11:21) his powers of observation; or from his confession in Lk. 5:8, 'I am a sinful man' his humility; or from his hesitation about eating unclean animals (Acts 10:14) his unpreparedness to follow a divine leading; or from his being connected with the draught of fishes in Lk. 5:5 the opposite, or from his sinking in the attempt to walk on the water his little faith; or from the opposite wishes he expressed at the foot-washing (Jn. 13:8) his rapid changes of mood; or from his conduct at the sepulchre his 'practical and impetuous' character, or more particularly from his being second in the race, contrary to enter the sepulchre, his greater age as compared with the beloved disciple, and his greater boldness—if the incidents never really happened? What validity is there in the indications of the liveliness of his interest from the frequency of his questions, of his self-seeking nature from his question as to the future reward for leaving followers? Jesus, of his looking away from his use of the sword in Gethsemane, if there can be any certainty whether it was Peter at all who said or did the things in question? Or what ground is there for discerning the rapidity of his decisions and the sanguineness of his temperament from his following Jesus without previous acquaintance, if this inference rests not upon actual fact, but merely upon the excessively abbreviated manner in which the matter has been handed down to us? It is not at all impossible that many of these characteristics really did belong to Peter; but it is not permissible to deduce them from the NT data just referred to.

(b) Even when we restrict ourselves to those accounts which may with confidence be accepted, caution is still necessary lest we should take more out of them than we are entitled to do.

The emphatic remonstrance made by Peter against the idea of Jesus' passion is simply an evidence of a praiseworthy love and solicitude, such as assuredly every devoted disciple has in his heart; the reproachful 'Satan, thou mindest not the things of God, but the things of men' (Mk. 8:33) is spoken from quite another point of view, to appreciation of which Peter could be expected to have at that time attained. As regards the contrast between his promise not to be offended by what was to befall Jesus and his denial so soon afterwards, it will be better for us to say, let him who is confident that in a like position he would show himself stronger than Peter cast the first stone. Let us refrain, too, from drawing any inference as to character from his sleep in Gethsemane. Nor can we venture to deduce from his confession at Caesarea Philippi an inclination to sudden inspirations, rapid apprehension, and bold expression of new thoughts; for we do not know how far the confession was prepared for by previous hints of Jesus (see JOHN, SAN or ZENKER, § 25 b), or whether it could not have been uttered by the other disciples also.

(c) We can best arrive at the kernel of Peter's personality by contemplating the greatest fact of his whole life,—his faith in Jesus which, in the extraordinary circumstances in which he found himself led by psychological laws to his vision of the risen Jesus. As to this see, more especially, RESURRECTION-NARRATIVES, § 37. In this one fact is concentrated the whole result of his conviction of the imperishable value of that which Jesus had been to him, of the gratitude and reverence which he owed him, and of the unconditional trust which he had learned to repose in him and in his heavenly father. It is true that the triumphant struggle of his faith against the overpowering impression left by the death of Jesus was helped by something that cannot be reckoned to the character of Peter—by the vision he had by his illusion; and his denial had a share in the production of this vision. The value of his faith, however, is not lessened by this; for had it not possessed this super-empirical strength, the vision could not by the laws of psychology have arisen.

(d) The stage preliminary to Peter's resurrection-faith was the confession at Caesarea Philippi. If his obedience to Jesus' call at first bears witness merely to the depth of the impression which the words and person of Jesus had made upon him, and thus shows his soul to have had the religious hunger and the religious receptivity which found their satisfaction in Jesus, the confession carries us still further. It shows that under the influence of Jesus Peter was capable of purifying, elevating, and spiritualising those national and political ideas which as a Jew he, as matter of course, had entertained regarding the Messiah to such an extent that he was able to discern in Jesus the true Messiah. That he also, in other ways, showed himself

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steadfast and trustworthy, is shown by the surname Cephas which Jesus gave him; and the leading place among the apostles which he received even during the lifetime of Jesus, and maintained in a still greater degree after his death, is evidence enough that in more than one direction he must have been a very remarkable personality. This does not preclude us from observing that his pre-eminence was also associated with much weakness. It is, nevertheless, certain that he did and suffered far more than we now know.

(e) Both sides, the favourable and the unfavourable, are seen also in his relation to Paul and the mission to the Gentiles. His original line of conduct during his visit to Antioch proves that he was no such bigoted upholder of the Mosaic law as were James the brother of Jesus and the Judaists who made their way into the churches founded by Paul in Galatia (see GALATIANS, § 13). It must therefore be noted to his credit that he had grasped the true inwardness of the religion of Jesus better than they.

Even if, as regards outward conduct, Jesus must, generally speaking and apart from questions of Pharisaic strictness, be regarded as an observer of the law of the fathers—for otherwise the Judaising zealots for the law could not have claimed to be called his disciples at all—in his fundamental principles he was far beyond the position which would have made salvation in any way dependent on conformity with that law. The poverty of spirit, the purity of heart, the love to God and one's neighbour which he required are all of them things for which no discretion or any particular precepts is necessary, and moreover he asserted with an emphasis that increased the non-obligatory character of many ceremonial commands (see GOSPELS, § 145c). When accordingly Paul preached the admission of Gentiles within the pale of Christianity and the ending of the Mosaic law, he showed a better understanding of the inner meaning of Jesus than the apostles who actually ate and drank with him.

(f) In some measure this understanding had reached Peter also. But, unfortunately, not in sufficient measure. Thus it came to pass that he was outstripped by Paul, and the later development of the church depended only upon Paul not upon Peter. Indeed, instead of following Paul, if perhaps with slower steps, on the new path of freedom from the law, Peter allowed himself to be held back by the power of ancient custom of which James was the embodiment, and to be forced into the ranks of those who were opposed to Paul. In this connection are seen the most serious limitations of his spiritual activities, the absence of consistency in dealing with the new situation, and want of energy in opening up the new path. If it had depended on Peter, he would have preserved Christianity as a Jewish sect and condemned it to a maimed life. The elasticity of soul which was required for drawing and pushing the consequences resulting from the entrance of Christianity into the Gentile world was certainly not easy of attainment to one in Peter's situation; but for a true leader it was nevertheless indispensable. The conflict with Paul into which Peter was brought by his conservative attitude also unfortunately brought with it the result that, quite apart from the judgment we are called upon to pronounce as to his intellectual endowments, a deep shadow falls upon the character of Peter—deeper than upon that of Paul. Of Paul we know only that in his manner of expressing himself as against his Judaist opponents he exercised little restraint upon himself (2 Cor. 11:13-15 Gal. 5:12, etc.); Peter, on the other hand, can hardly be cleared of the charge of—even by actions, or at the very least by failures to act—having worked against the activity of Paul (see above, § 2 [f]).

R. LIFE OUTSIDE PALESTINE; AND DEATH

In the preceding sections the NT data regarding Peter have been practically exhausted, yet a very important part of his life still remains to be discussed—that relating to his activities outside the limits of Palestine, and to his death. Our information under these heads must thus be drawn almost entirely from the Church fathers and from legendary works of very doubtful trustworthi-

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ness. The examination becomes much more complicated and the results much more hypothetical than those we have hitherto had in hand.

Let us first take a survey of the countries in which outside of Palestine he is represented as having laboured.¹

(a) Origen is the first who tells us that Peter seems (*εὐαγγ.*) to have preached to the Jews of the dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia [*i.e.* the western coast of Asia Minor] (*Comm. in Gen. tom. 3, ed. de la Rue, 224 v; cf. Euseb. HE in 12*). The very form in which this sentence is cast shows us that the statement is not based on trustworthy independent information, but is merely deduced from 1 Pet. 1.

Nor is this all; the definition is a very mistaken one, for in 1:14-18 2:1f, 4:2f, it is clearly said that the readers of the epistle are Gentile Christians and in 1:12 with equal clearness that it was not the writer of the epistle who had brought the gospel to them. Not till we come to 2 Pet. 1:12 is it asserted that they had been preached to by Peter. On this showing we should have to suppose that he had come to them at some time after the composition of the first epistle; for according to 2 Pet. 3:1 the second epistle is addressed to the same readers as the first. This, however, is inconsistent with the address, according to which 2 Pet. is directed to the whole of Christendom; and Christendom is not here to be restricted, on account of (as it might at first sight appear) 3:1, to the five provinces named in 1 Pet. 1, which would be inconsistent with the manifest sense of the words, but contrariwise we must believe the author of 2 Pet. to have presupposed 1 Pet. to have been already addressed to the whole of Christendom. This presupposition comes before us in the Muratorian fragment where (c. 54-55) it is asserted that from the number of the churches to which Paul addressed his nine letters—viz. seven—and from the number of the epistles in the Apocalypse—also seven—we are to perceive that both writers are addressing themselves in their letters to the entire church. There are other reasons also for assigning 2 Pet. to the same date as this fragment, say about 170 or 180 A.D.

(b) The other spheres of activity, in which Peter is represented as having laboured along with other apostles are equally questionable. Alongside of such traditions there is often a simpler form in which Peter is not mentioned. Thus there readily arises the suspicion that Peter has been given as a companion to other apostles by legend merely.

Peter is said to have laboured with Philip in Assakia (Phrygia), with his brother Andrew and Matthias or Mattheus in the country of the Barbarians, that is to say, primarily, by the Black Sea, so that this legend coincides with a part of that already noted under a. As, however, there is also a country of the Barbarians by the Red Sea, we find Peter as the companion of Bartholomew in Egypt as well; and finally what is said of this last apostle is transferred to Judas Thaddaeus, so that Peter is made to be the companion of this Judas in Syria.

(c) We are told further that from Egypt Peter also made journeys to North Africa and to Britain, but in these cases he was alone.

(d) In Syria Peter appears not only with Judas Thaddaeus, but also without any companion, particularly in Antioch. Indeed, according to Eusebius in his *Chronicle*, or in his source (§ 26 c; Lipsius, ii. 125-27), that church was founded by Peter in the second year of Claudius, that is, in 42 A.D. This is in absolute contradiction with Acts 11:19-26. Nor is there any plausible reason for accepting the activity of Peter in Antioch to be found in the consideration that he could easily touch at Antioch in the course of his journeys from Jerusalem to Asia Minor; and just as little can we attach weight to the circumstance that it was precisely in Antioch that Simon Magus (q.v. § 11 b), whom it was one of Peter's tasks continually to confute, made his appearance. Thus it is tempting to conjecture that the statement as to the appearance of Peter in Antioch rests upon Gal. 2:11-21. If this conjecture is correct we shall have here an admirable example of the manner in which in the making of ecclesiastical legend the hostile relations of two apostles are ignored or even changed into a relation of friendly co-operation (cp § 40 b).

We learn even that Peter and Paul together in Antioch consecrated Marcianus as bishop of Syracuse, and Pancratius as bishop of Taorminum in Sicily (Lipsius, ii. 158 f.). But it

¹ For details here and in what follows we refer once for all to Lipsius, *Apokr. Apost. Gesch.* (1883-1890), and especially in the first instance to vol. 21, and the *Ergänzungsheft*, 226 f.

is only late authors who assign to Peter the bishopric of Antioch (Cod. Coislinianus, No. 120 [ed. Grosch, Jena, 1826] for two years, the Liber Pontificalis [6th and 7th cent.] for seven or ten years). Origen does not, even when he designates Ignatius (Hom. 6 in Luc., III. 938 b A, ed. de la Rue) 'episcopum Antiochie post Petrum secundum,' for these words are to be understood, in accordance with the expressions of ancient authors cited below (§ 29 c), in such a sense that Peter is not to be reckoned as included; so also Eus. HE iii. 36 2. Eusebius, who is represented as having been appointed by Peter himself (Const. Apost. vii. 40), passes for the first bishop of Antioch.

(c) It accords with the dating of 1 Pet. (513) from Babylon that Peter should be represented as having laboured in Babylonia and Persia. Whilst many accounts have it that he subsequently journeyed to Rome, the Syrian historians assign to him the lands of the Euphrates exclusively as his missionary field (Lipsius ii. 16 611-613, ii. 2145 f. 175). Cp § 43.

(f) The statement which has met with widest acceptance is that Peter laboured in Rome and suffered martyrdom there. As to this, see §§ 25-31, 37-41, 45.

(g) The missionary journeys of Peter through Macedonia, Greece, Sicily, and Italy are open to the suspicion that they have been assumed merely in order to make more clear his migration from Asia Minor to Rome and that for their details the journeys of Paul served as a pattern (Lipsius ii. 111).

(h) The representation that Peter laboured also in Gaul and in Spain appears to have arisen out of the desire of the Roman church to secure for itself the supremacy over these countries. Pope Innocent I. (402-417) expressly denies that in Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa and Sicily, or any of the intermediate islands, churches were anywhere founded by any one except priests who had been instituted by Peter or by his successors (Epist. 252, ap. Lipsius, ii. 217 107).

(i) We thus obtain as a preliminary result that apart from Rome only the claims of Antioch and Babylon or at most also of the shores of the Black Sea (Pontus) have some measure of plausible support in tradition; but of these that of Antioch is definitely ruled out by the data of the NT; for not only is the founding of the church there by Peter impossible, but also any lengthened stay there on his part, inasmuch as its Gentile Christian character was most marked and moreover it had been witness of his humiliation at the hands of Paul (Gal. 2:11-21). As for the claims of Babylon, see below, § 30 d, 43.

Let us first inquire what are our earliest authorities for a sojourn of Peter in Rome and his ultimate martyrdom there. (1) The first whom we can date with certainty is Dionysius, bishop of Corinth (about 170 A.D.).

From a letter of his addressed to the Church of Rome in the time of the bishopric of Soter there (about 166-174), in which he thanks the Romans for pecuniary help given to members of the Corinthian church, Eusebius (HE ii. 259) has preserved the following passage: ταῦτα καὶ ὑμεῖς διὰ τῆς τοσαύτης φιλοφιλίας τῆν ἀπὸ Ἡερρον καὶ Παύλου φεισίαν γεννηθείσαν Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Κορινθίων συνεκράσατε. καὶ γὰρ ἄμφω καὶ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν Κόρινθον φειθείσαντες ἡμᾶς ὁμοίως ἐδίδαξαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν οὐδὲν διδάξαντες ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν. 'So also by this so weighty admonition ye have brought together that planting made by Peter and Paul of the Romans and of the Corinthians. For indeed, these two both planted us in our Corinth, and likewise taught us; in like manner also after having taught together in Italy they suffered martyrdom about the same time.'

The meaning of these words is not perfectly clear [cp col. 4143]; but so much can be made out—that Dionysius means to designate the Roman and Corinthian churches alike as foundations of Peter and Paul. This is involved in 'planting' (φεισίαν).

1 As Eusebius in his enumeration (HE iv. 23 g) of the epistles of Dionysius known to him mentions only one to the Romans, we must suppose this to be the same as that which he had already made use of (ii. 25 g).

2 By this is doubtless intended the Epistle of the Roman church mentioned in iv. 23 11, which Dionysius is answering.

even if we should prefer for φειθείσαντες the reading of Syn. Luc., φειθήσαντες. At the same time, the expression εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν stands, in accordance with a linguistic usage which at that time was widely spread (see Winer, § 30 4 b), for εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, for the participle 'having taught' (φειθείσαντες) belongs to it, and thus φειθείσαντες, even if it ought to be regarded as the first reading, would not furnish the requisite completion to the second member of the sentence. This being so, the suggestion is very natural that εἰς . . . Κορινθὸν stands for εἰς . . . Κορινθίους, thus that φειθείσαντες ought to be retained—all the more because it is in keeping with φεισίαν. Ὁμοίως means properly 'in a similar one and the same place'; but as we may not be sure that φειθείσαντες, this will not at all suit the context. Here, in fact, we must discern another instance of the same confusion as that between εἰς and ἐν, in other words ὁμοίως must be meant. Dionysius, even if he does not expressly say that Peter and Paul came simultaneously to Corinth and simultaneously to Rome, nevertheless, as regards Rome at least, states that they taught there simultaneously; in fact 'in like manner also' (ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ) indicates very distinctly that he assumes them to have taught together in Corinth also.

This last assumption is quite irreconcilable with Acts 18:18 20 2 f.; and even were we to suppose that Dionysius thinks of Peter's visit to Corinth as having been at a different date from that of Paul, we should still be at hopeless variance with 1 Cor. 3:10-15 14 (see § 2 g). The statement of Dionysius accordingly can only rest on unwarranted inference from what Paul says regarding the Cephas party in Corinth (1 Cor. 12 3 21 f.).

Thus it is of no avail when Harnack (ACI. ii. [=Chronol.] 1242 f.) seeks to defend Dionysius by arguing that even according to Acts (8:14-17) the founding of a church becomes 'petrified' only after apostolic labours, so that Dionysius does not by the language he uses exclude any activity of other missionaries in Rome before the arrival of Peter and Paul. In the first place, Harnack's exegesis of the passage in Acts is not exact. What can be effected by the apostles alone is the bestowal of the Holy Spirit; that without this the founding of a church is not 'perfect' is not said, and does not at all suit the other case in which the same theory is found (19:17). This last passage has nothing at all to do with the founding of a church, but only with the spiritual gifts of speaking with 'tongues' and 'prophecy'. But, further, Harnack's defence of Dionysius, even were it valid, would apply only to what he says about Rome, not to what he says about Corinth; for, if Dionysius has followed the theory of Acts as this is expounded by Harnack, in the present case at all events Paul has complied with it, inasmuch as he brought about the gift of the Holy Spirit at once in his first ministry there, and thus Peter would have found no field there for his function as a founder of churches unless his arrival had been synchronous with that of Paul.

Thus it is impossible to absolve Dionysius from the charge of having, in the interests of a theory as to the co-operation of Peter and Paul, grievously distorted the history of his own church in a point as to which he of all men must be presumed to have been accurately informed. How then are we to repose confidence in such a 'witness' when he tells us about Rome? Perhaps his whole knowledge regarding Rome rests upon misunderstanding of 1 Clem. (below, § 28), of which he says (ap. Eus. HE iv. 23 11) that it is regularly read at Corinth in public worship.

(5) In Irenaeus (about 185 A.D.) the most important passages relating to our present inquiry are the following. According to Her. iii. 12 [1] Matthew wrote his gospel 'whilst Peter and Paul were preaching the gospel at Rome and founding the church' (τὸ θεῖον καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐκκλησίαν ἀποστόλων καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν). In iii. 31 [2] he speaks of the very great, very ancient, and universally known church founded and constituted at Rome by the two very glorious apostles Peter and Paul ('maxima et antiquissima et omnibus cognita a gloriosissimis doctoribus apostolis Petro et Paulo Romae fundata et constituta ecclesia'). Here Irenaeus's interest is to prove the apostolical succession of bishops. As it would be too laborious a task to do this for all churches he contents himself with the case of Rome.

(c) The list of bishops of Rome which Irenaeus proceeds immediately afterwards to give (iii. 32 f.) comes down to his own day (190) and ends with Eleutherius (about 174-180). It may be presumed that it was not drawn up for the first time at the date of his writing.

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It cannot indeed be maintained that Hegesippus—as his words in Eus. HE iv. 22.3 seem to say—drew up, after his arrival in Rome, a list of the bishops there down to Anicetus (about 154-160) as Lightfoot (Apost. Fathers, i. (= Clement of Rome) 173 f. 131 f. 202 f. 227-33) would have it (see MINISTRY, § 52 c. n. and Harnack, ACZ, ii. 1. 180-194); but on the other hand according to Harnack (op. cit. 124-193) and Erlas (Z. f. Kirchengesch. 22-5 [1901]) it is probable that Epiphanius (Her. 27) for his list of the bishops of Rome made use of the same Roman original source as Irenaeus, and that this, as in Epiphanius, ended with Anicetus, and thus perhaps was drawn up during his episcopate, or at any rate during that of his successor, Soter. Whatever its date, the form in which the list is now found gives no certainty as to what is the most important point in this connection—the question, namely, as to when it was that the reference to Peter and Paul was first introduced. Peter and Paul, then, after founding and building up the church, committed the office of the episcopate into the hands of Linus. To him succeeds Anencletus, and after him, in the third place from the apostles, Clement is allotted the episcopate (ἡμελειώσαντες οὖν καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀμακάριοι ἀποστόλοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας Λίτῳ τῆν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λειτουργίαν ἐνεχείρισαν. διαδέχεται δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀγκλάτος) μετὰ τούτων δὲ τρίτῳ τόπῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τῆν ἐπισκοπῆν κληροῦσι Κλήμης). Thus we find no mention either of Peter or of Paul as bishop of Rome. If Clement is designated as third from the apostles (ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων) probably all that is intended is to accentuate the unbrokenness of the succession, not to imply that if one chose to include the two apostles in the reckoning he would be not the third but the fourth or fifth in the series. Epiphanius, however, says: 'In Rome the first were Peter and Paul, apostles and bishops, thereafter Linus, thereafter Cletus, thereafter Clement, etc. (ἐν Ῥώμῃ γεγόνασι πρῶτοι Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος ἀπόστολοι καὶ ἐπίσκοποι, εἶτα Λίνος, εἶτα Κλήμης, εἶτα Κλήμης, κ.τ.λ.). After a short interruption, he resumes: 'The series of bishops in Rome shows the following succession.—Peter and Paul, Linus and Cletus, Clement, etc. (ἡ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκοπῶν διαδοχὴ ταύτην ἔχει τῆν ἀκολουσίαν: Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος, Λίνος καὶ Κλήμης, Κλήμης, κ.τ.λ.). If, however, Epiphanius makes Peter and Paul bishops of Rome, I then Irenaeus also, or another shortly before him, can have prefixed their names to the whole list which at an earlier date had begun simply with Linus. The list of bishops can have been subjected to the same supplementing process after Irenaeus's time also, before it came into the hands of Epiphanius (died 403), or after that of Julius Africanus (about 220) or of Hippolytus (about 234), or the two last mentioned of whom also made use of it, according to Harnack (193). A list of this kind, from the nature of the case, was not allowed to remain long unaltered, but could easily be 'completed' in the course of transcription whenever a copyist believed he had found a gap in it. Moreover, neither Irenaeus nor Epiphanius, whose editions of the list he before us as they wrote them, makes any statement that he is using an external document, and feels himself under obligation to reproduce it scrupulously. Thus for us no exact determination of its date is necessary; so far as Peter and Paul are concerned it does not with certainty take us back to a date before Irenaeus.

(d) In Clement of Alexandria Peter's sojourn in Rome is, as with Irenaeus, mentioned in connection with the writing of a gospel—in this case, however, Mk. not Mt.

From the Hypotyposes Eusebius (HE vi. 146 f.) has preserved a piece of information which Clement claims to have received from the presbyters of the older time (τῶν ἀνεκδοτῶν πρεσβυτέρων). After that Peter had publicly preached the word in Rome, and, filled with the spirit, had set forth the gospel (τοῦ Πέτρον δημοσίῳ ἐν Ῥώμῃ κηρύξαντος τὸν λόγον καὶ πνευματὶ τὸ πνεύματι ἐξείρητο), Mark at the request of many hearers set down these discourses in writing. Similarly in the Adumbrationes on 1 Pet. (ed. Potter, 1897): 'Marcus Petri sectator palam praeedicante Petro evangelium Romae,' etc. In the other passage where Eusebius transcribes the same matter from the Hypotyposes of Clement, though somewhat differently (HE ii. 151 f.; with regard to which cp. GOSPELS, § 147, end), Rome is presupposed, through the connection with ii. 145 f., to be the place. As the Gospel of Mark is alleged to have owed its origin to the evangelist's reports of the discourses of Peter, it is intelligible why Clement should not have mentioned Paul at the same time, even although he was convinced of the apostles having been together in Rome.

(e) Pseudo-Cyprian, De Rebaptismate, 17 (Cypr. col. Hanté 320), read in Pauli Praedicatione as follows: 'et post tanta tempora Petrum et Paulum post conlationem evangelii in Hierusalem et mutuam cogitationem et adorationem et rerum agendarum dispositionem [the reference is to Gal. 2 Acts 15] postremo in urbe quasi tunc primum invicem sibi esse cognovissent, et quendam

For this very reason if for no other we see that Epiphanius must have preserved the original form of the list. It also indicates, but little accuracy when he says at one time 'Linus, then Cletus' (Λίνος εἶτα Κλήμης), at another 'Linus and Cletus' (Λίνος καὶ Κλήμης), for the latter form of expression denotes, as we see in 'Peter and Paul' (Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος), contemporaneous tenure of office.

alia hujusemodi absurde ac turpiter conficta' ('and that after such long time, Peter and Paul, after the collation of the gospel in Jerusalem and the mutual consideration and discussion and arrangement of things to be done, had at last in the city, in a certain way, then for the first time become known to one another; and certain other things of this sort, absurdly and basely feigned').

In spite of the title Pauli Praedicatione this quotation is often regarded as coming from the book known by the title of Ἐπιτομή Πέτρον, in the belief that the title sometimes ran also: 'Preaching of Peter and Paul. Were this correct, we should have here the oldest testimony to the Roman sojourn of Peter, it being presupposed that the book was used not only by Clement of Alexandria but also as early as in the Apology of Aristides (see Harris, Apology of Aristides, in ISt. i. 180-9; Harnack, ACZ, ii. 1472 f.; cp. ORIENTAL CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, §§ 41, 36). But the question of the derivation of the quotation from it is so uncertain (it is answered negatively by von Ibschütz, for example, in ZW. xl. 113-15 127-131) that we need not pursue the matter further.

(f) The apocryphal Acta Petri, which relates the activity and death of Peter at Rome with detail, may be mentioned at this point as being possibly a witness of equal age, but must not be taken account of until after it has been carefully discussed (see §§ 32-39). So also with the Πράξεις Παύλου from which Origen (Hom. in Ju. 2012, ed. de la Rue, 432, c) quotes: 'as was said by the Saviour, "I am going to be crucified anew" ὡς ἰσθὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος εἰρημένον ἄνωθεν μέλλω σταυρωθῆσαι' (see §§ 33 f., 34 f., 39 a, c).

We proceed now to the testimonies which come from a somewhat later date.

(a) Tertullian supplies new data, if not indeed in adv. Marc. (15 legu) where he says: 'Romani . . .

26. Roman sojourn: later witnesses.

quibus evangelium et Petrus et Paulus sanguine quoque suo signatum reliquerunt,' or in Baptism, 4, where he ascribes the possession of the same salvation to those 'quos Joannes in Jordane et quos Petrus in Tiberi vivit,' etc., yet certainly in Praescr. haeret. 36: 'habes Romani . . . ubi Petrus passioni dominicae adequatur [by crucifixion], ubi Paulus Joannis [the Baptist's] exitu coronatur' [by beheading], and in Scorpiace, 15: 'orientem fidem Romae primus Nero cruciavit. Tunc Petrus ab altero cingitur [Jn. 21 18 f.] cum cruce adstringitur; tunc Paulus civitatis Romanae consequitur civitatem cum illic martyri renascitur generositate,' 'Paul acquires the Roman citizenship by right of birth when he is born again in the nobility of martyrdom.'

(b) Gains of Rome (under Zephyrinus, about 198-217) says in his writing against the Montanist Proculus (ap. Eus. HE ii. 256 f.): 'But I am able to show the "trophies" of the apostles. For if you will come to the Vatican or to the Ostian Way, you will find the "trophies" of those who founded this church' (εἶδ' δὲ τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχω δεῖξαι. εἰν γὰρ Βατικῆς ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Βατικανὸν ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν Ὀστίαν, εἴρησαι τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ταύτην ἰδρυσάντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν). By τρόπαια we are to understand here not 'places of burial,' as Eusebius does, but 'places of death.'

Even the literal meaning of the word ('sign of victory') admits this meaning only; for a martyr gained his victory only at the place of his death, not at the place of his burial. To understand the meaning 'sign of victory' we have only to make the further supposition that those who honoured the martyrs were able to show, at the place of death, some object or other that marked it out for those who visited the spot, and with which was associated some reminiscence, whether real or supposed, of what happened at the martyr's death. Thus in the Vatican was shown a terebinth, on the road to Ostia a pine tree, beside which Peter and Paul respectively breathed their last (Euseb. ii. 130).

Even apart, however, from its lexical meaning we may learn that τρόπαια cannot here mean graves. For the bones of the two apostles were not deposited in the places he mentions till long after the time of Gains; those of Peter after 384, in the Church of St. Peter, which was built at that date; those of Paul, according to the list of the depositio martyrum, in the famous chronicle of the year 354, as early as 258 A.D., by the road to Ostia (and before 354 in the basilica newly built there). In the same year, however (258; June 29), the relics of Peter,

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according to the same list, were transferred in catacombs, that is to say, into the catacombs of the piece of ground beside the Appian Way, half-an-hour outside of the Porta Appia, in other words, hard by the present church of San Sebastiano, which piece of ground was originally the only one that bore the name 'ad Catacumbas', a name which has never as yet been quite satisfactorily explained. Here an inscription of bishop Damasus (380-384) ran:—

hic habitasse prius sanctos cognoscere debes
nomina quisque Petri pariter Paulique requiris.

So far as Peter is concerned, this agrees with the fact that his relics had been removed to the church of St. Peter before this inscription was composed; as regards Paul the statement of Damasus is not easily reconciled with that of the list referred to above. Still, even if the list be correct it is certain that the relics of Paul had not yet, in the time of Gaius, their resting-place by the road to Ostia, and that those of Peter should have been removed to the catacombs would be very unlikely, if already in Gaius's time they had their resting-place at the place of his death, namely the Vatican. On the whole question see Lipsius ii. 139-404; Fabes, *Z. f. Kirchengesch.* 7 (1885) 1-49, and, as regards the special point, otherwise in 'Festschrift der Apostel Paulus u. Petrus' in *TL* xix. (=Nene Folge, iv.) (1890) 67-133. Ficker (*Z. f. Kirchengesch.* 22, 1901, 333-342) utterly denies that the inscription relates to the burial of Peter and Paul. His opinion is that in the view of Damasus they had during their lifetime resided at the spot where the inscription was found (p. 'habitasse,' and 'nomina' not 'corpora'). The inscription, he holds, was directed against the refusal of the Eastern Church, from 325 A.D. onwards, to accept any decisions from Rome, and against the argument urged in support of this refusal that Peter and Paul came from the East (the inscription in fact says, towards the end: Roma sinus potius meruit defendere cives). Only, as the locality where the inscription was found was a place of burial, it is very improbable that Damasus can have believed that Peter and Paul when alive lived here at half-an-hour's distance from the city.

(c) In immediate continuation of the passage relating to Peter cited above (§ 24 a). Origen proceeds: 'Who also in the end, being in Rome, was crucified head downwards, having himself desired to suffer in this way' (ὁς καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει ἐν Ῥώμῃ γενόμενος ἀνεσκολισθη κατὰ κεφαλῆς, οὕτως αὐτὸς ἀξιώσας παθεῖν). The *Acta Petri* (see § 33 g) deals fully with the reasons why Peter chose this particular manner of death. As regards Paul, Origen goes on to say that he suffered martyrdom in Rome under Nero.

(d) The *Philosophumena* (dating from about 235 and ascribed to Hippolytus), as well as other later writings, mentions the polemic with Simon, carried on at Rome by Peter (and Paul), with which we are acquainted through the apocryphal *Acta Petri* (and *Acta Petri et Pauli*). For details see § 39 d.

(e) Of later writers we at once mention Eusebius. He brings together all that has been hitherto mentioned, and will have it that Peter was bishop of Rome for twenty-five years, namely from 42-67 A.D. He thus places the Neronian persecution, in which according to him also Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom (*HE* ii. 255), three years too late. It is of a piece with this that he supports the theory, which he himself (*HE* v. 1814) takes from the Anti-Montanist Apollonius (about 200 A.D.)—a theory which already finds expression in the *Predicatio Petri* (above, § 25 c; *ap. Clem. Al. Strom.* vi. 543, p. 762, ed. Potter; for other supporters of it see Harnack, *ACL* ii. 1243)—that the apostles had been commanded by Jesus not to go abroad from Jerusalem till twelve years after his death. These twelve years Eusebius reckons as from 30 to 42 A.D. The variations met with in the different translations of his *Chronicle*, no longer extant in Greek, need not trouble us here. The only point of importance for our inquiry is that the reckoning of twenty-five Roman years was found, not invented, by Eusebius. According to Harnack (*ACL* ii. 116-120) he used the *Chronographia* of Julius Africanus, which closed with the reign of Elagabalus (218-222 A.D.).

(f) Thus, according to Harnack (201, 703 f.), the 'tendency legend,' that Peter sojourned in Rome for twenty-five years, arose and 'became official' between the time of Irenaeus, who as yet knew nothing whatever of Peter's twenty-five Roman years, and that of Julius Africanus, that is to say in the episcopate of Victor

¹ Quisque here = quicumque = whosoever.

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(about 189-198), or in that of Zephyrinus (about 198-217).

(g) The consequence of this is that Peter becomes no longer the founder merely, or joint founder, but the bishop also of the church of Rome, and that Paul, whom we still find even in Irenaeus, etc. (§ 26 a-d) at his side and on a level with him, is eliminated. This consequence, however, was developed only gradually.

The Roman bishop Calixtus (about 217-222) claimed, as appears from Tertullian's refutation (*Orth.* 21), the power to remit or retain sins, on the ground that he was the successor of Peter who, according to Mt. 16:18 f., had been invested with this power. So also his successors affirmed in Cyprian's time: 'Se successorem Petri tenere' or 'per successorem catholicum Petri habere'; and this is presupposed by Cyprian himself (*Epist.* 75:17, 55:8, 59:14, 71:3). According to the *Epistle of Clement* to James (2) that now stands preserved in the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies*, Peter, in appointing Clement bishop of Rome, hands over to him his *καθέδρα τῶν ἀποστόλων*, and vests on him the power of binding and loosing. The author (Hippolytus?) of the 'Little Labyrinth' against the *scilicet* Artemon (*ap. Eus. HE* 5:2) in § 3 styles Victor as *ἡγουμένους δέκατος ἀπὸ Πέτρου ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπίσκοπος*—thus no longer, as Irenaeus phrases it, *ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων*—(i.e. from Peter and Paul; see above, § 25 f.). Yet he continues to call Victor the thirtieth as Irenaeus had called Eleutherus, Victor's predecessor, the twelfth; thus he does not yet reckon Peter as the first member of the series. Similarly, Eusebius still counts Linus as the first bishop of Rome, and in accordance with this, gives the succeeding bishops the same numeration as Irenaeus does. While doing so he nevertheless adds (*HE* iii. 43) *μετὰ Πέτρου*, yet along with this not only *μετὰ τῆν Πάυλον καὶ Ἡερόν μαρτυροῦν* (iii. 2), but also *μετὰ Παύλου καὶ Ἡερόν* (iii. 2), *ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου* (iv. 1) and, precisely as Irenaeus has it, *ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων* (iv. 5 and v. proem. 1). For more precise details from Eusebius see Kneller, *Z. f. kath. Theol.* 1902, p. 229 f.

(h) It is in the *Catalogus Liberianus* (i.e. the list of Roman bishops brought down to Liberian, A.D. 352 ff.), forming part of the famous *Chronicle* of 354, that Peter is first spoken of unreservedly as first bishop of Rome: 'post ascensum ejus [Jesu] beatissimus Petrus episcopatum suscepit' (but here from 30-55 A.D.).

The *Ascensio Jesu* would seem to be a still older witness than any of those we have hitherto discussed, to the fact of Peter's martyrdom at Rome.

(i) Clemens (*ZWT*, 1896, 388-415; 1897, 455-465) held it possible to distinguish and isolate in 321-42 an apocalypse put into writing before the death of Nero (12 f. 121 v.).

27. Ascensio
Jesu.

which related to Nero's persecution of the Christians; and in 43 b, which at that date he knew only through Dillmann's Latin translation from the Ethiopic ('e dodecimum in manus eius tradetur'), he found an allusion to the death of Peter in that reign.

Harnack (*ACL* ii. 1714-716) disputed this hypothesis, including that relating to Peter; Zeller (*ZWT*, 1896, p. 457-77) accepted the latter, but like Harnack put the date of composition much later than Clemens had done, and therefore denied his trustworthiness as regarded Peter. Clemens at a later date was able to report (*Theol. Rundschau*, 1901, p. 75) that Vernon Bartlet (*Apocrypha*, 1896, p. 524) also had assigned *Asc. Jes.* 3:13-4:21 to the last years of Nero, but at the same time took the opportunity to add, without further discussion, that he himself no longer regarded that dating as probable in view of the Greek text recently published by Grenfell and Hunt (*Libertus Papiri*, i. 1909, 1-22). Charles, who makes use of this Greek text in his edition of *Asc. Jes.* (1909), holds that a hiatus in 4 ought to be filled by the insertion of *et* and the clause interpreted as referring to Peter: 'of the Twelve one will be delivered into his hands' (ἑξ ὧν δώδεκα [ἐ]στὶς εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ παραδοθήσεται). Harnack also gives his adhesion to this (*SBR*, III, 1900, p. 65 f.), but adds that the value of the statement regarding Peter will depend upon its date, and this he prefers to assign rather to the first half of the third century, than to any time within the second (*ACL* ii. 1574-577).

(k) Charles, however, holds that *Asc. Jes.* 3:13-4:21, 'the testament of Hezekiah,' ought to be dated between 88 and 100 A.D., not, as in *APOCALYPTIC* (above, p. 230), between 50 and 80 A.D. According to him the question turns upon 4:13 (p. 30 f.).

Charles renders the Ethiopic version, here the only text available for us, as follows: 'And many believers and saints having seen Him for whom they were to purg, who was crucified, Jesus the Lord Christ [after that I, Isaiah, had seen Him who was crucified and ascended], and those also who were believers in Him—of these few in those days will be left as His servants, while they flee from desert to desert, awaiting the coming of the beloved.' Charles adds: 'we see that two classes of faithful

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are discriminated . . . believers who had seen Christ personally, and believers who had not. . . . Of the two classes our text declares that few will be left.' As, however, the first class cannot well have survived into the second century, this passage must have been written before 100 A.D. On the other hand, it has to be remembered that this distinction of two classes could, if really intended, hardly be called a good one. The second class is spoken of as consisting simply of 'those who were believers in Him'; but the first class also consists of 'believers (and saints)'. Thus it would hardly seem to have been the writer's intention to distinguish two classes.

(c) In a private communication Charles now prefers to read: 'and many believers and saints who had seen Him . . . and who also kept believing in Him,' etc. By this conjunctural substitution of *oi* for the *bre* which the Ethiopic translation presupposes 'all reference to a second class disappears.' Charles continues to maintain, however, that the reference is to Jewish Christians who have personally known Jesus. But in this case we are compelled to ask: Is the persecution of the last days really to be confined to these alone, and are they alone to look for the Messiah, and other Christians not? Besides, the text even as restored by Charles still contains a very disturbing tautology, 'many believers and saints . . . who also kept believing in Him.'

Bousset (*Antichrist*, 1895, p. 87 f.) regards our passage as more largely interpolated than Charles does. But neither is his conjecture at all satisfying. As long as we hold by Charles' text, Zeller's interpretation remains the most probable one, that 'seeing' means a knowledge of Christ possessed by all Christians and not merely by those who were eye-witnesses of his earthly life (cp. Ju. 147 1 Ju. 36 3 Ju. 11). On this interpretation however all necessity disappears for dating the passage before 100 A.D. There are signs of a later origin, such as, for example, the distinction of bishops from presbyters (ΜΗΤΡΕΙΣ, ἑπισκοποι καὶ ποιμένες of 324 (and also 329 according to the Ethiopic version), or the representation of the circumstances of the resurrection of Jesus (315-17), which, at least in so far as it names Michael (and Gabriel), goes beyond that of the gospel of Peter even (see RESURRECTION-NARRATIVES, § 7c).

(d) Finally, it does not seem to have occurred to any one to ask whether or no the most important clause of all in the passage before us really belongs to the original text (43b): 'of the Twelve one will be delivered into his hands.' Charles (pp. lxxix-lxxxiii) has rightly perceived that it is not the living Nero who is regarded as Antichrist, but the dead one: in the form of Nero, we read in 423, Behar (=Satan; 2 Cor. 6:15, and cp. BELLAM.) will appear and will rule for 3½ years, immediately after which will be the end of the world (43-45). Of this Nero it cannot be intended to say that Peter is to fall into his hands in the year 64 A.D. Except in this one clause—if indeed it is to be referred to Peter—the whole of the rest of the description is purely apocalyptic; Christians will become godless (321-23), Behar will come in the form of Nero (42) and will persecute the plant which the twelve apostles of the Beloved have planted (Gk. 'will plant': φύτεύουσιν, 42c; as to this clause, cp. below, e); he will work miracles, and will cause himself to be worshipped as God, and will be cast into hell by the Lord (Christ?), who will come east from the seventh heaven (44-45). If in the middle of all this it is said of one of the twelve that he will fall into the hands of this Behar (43b), the one intended must, if the clause is to fit the context, be one who has survived the death of Nero.

The only notorious instance which the readers could have found referred to in these purely allusive words would be that of John with his cup of poison and his bath of boiling oil (see JOHN, SON OF ZEbedEE, § 8A). Yet it is not easy to see why this allusion should be referred precisely to Behar, coming in the form of Nero. This Behar is a purely apocalyptic form, whose deeds are with good reason described in quite general and indefinite terms. As real prophecy a prediction of any such deed would be not only bold but also out of keeping with the apocalyptic character of the representation of the time of the end; as *synthimion* *ex eventu* it is equally out of keeping; and, besides, the martyrdom of John is not a historical fact but first came to be believed at so late a date after the time of the emperor under whom it is alleged to have occurred (Domitian is usually named) as to make it absolutely impossible that at the time of the writer this emperor should be spoken of as the last to reign before the end of the world or that a reign of no more than 3½ years should be assigned to him.

Thus it becomes in fact probable that it is Peter

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rather than John who is intended. In that case, however, the clause must be regarded as a gloss. It is so regarded, it will be seen, not with the object of getting rid of a text that is inconvenient for the view of Peter's life taken in the present article, but purely for reasons affecting a right understanding of *Asc. Jes.* The deletion of the clause would be necessary even if it related not to Peter but to some other of the apostles who had suffered martyrdom under Nero.

(e) There are two ways by which the extent of the gloss can be determined.

If in the entire text the Antichrist is the subject, then it consists only of the above cited words in 43b. If, on the other hand, we should find ourselves constrained to understand the living Nero as being the subject of v. 3 (the subject according to v. 2, end, is 'Who himself (even) this king,' οὗτος αὐτός ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος), then the immediately following expression, v. 3a ('will persecute the plant which the twelve apostles of the Beloved have planted') must also be reckoned as belonging to the interpolation; for it is quite improbable that between two utterances regarding Antichrist there should stand one relating to the living Nero who must nevertheless be dead before Antichrist comes forward in Nero's form.

Why the clause should have been added by some ancient reader will become very intelligible if only we suppose such reader to have understood by Behar the actual Nero—as was done at first by Clem. in 1896 f. It thus appears that *Asc. Jes.* cannot be adduced as an earlier witness for the belief of the martyrdom of Peter under Nero than the documents dealt with in preceding sections.

Contrariwise: all the writings of an older date are profoundly silent on the subject of Peter's Roman

28. 1 Clem. 1 Clem. is at this point called for, partly on account of its fundamental importance, and partly because it is often 'in the other sense.

(a) After having pointed to the instances in the OT in which jealousy and envy are seen to have led to the most direful results, Clement proceeds: V. 1. 'Αλλ' ἵνα τῶν ἀρχαίων ἰποδειγμάτων πασιώμεθα, ἐλάβωμεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐγγιστα γενομένοις ἀληθῆς ἀδελφῶν τῆς γενεᾶς ἡμῶν τὰ γενναῖα ἰποδείγματα. 2. Διὰ ζῆλον καὶ φθόνον οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ δικαιοτάτοι στυλοὶ ἐδιώχθησαν καὶ ἕως θανάτου ἤβλησαν. 3. Ἀδελφῶν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἡμῶν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀποστόλοις: 4. Πέτρον, ὃς διὰ ζῆλον ἄδικον οἶχ' ἕνα οὐδὲ διὸ ἀλλὰ πλεονας ἰπῆνεγκε πόνους, καὶ οὕτω μαρτυρήσας ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον τῆς δόξης. 5. Διὰ ζῆλον καὶ ἔριν Παῦλος ἰπομονῆς βραβείον εἰδείξεν. 6. ἐπτάκις δεσμὰ φορέσας, φιλαδείφεις, λιθασθεῖς, κληρῆ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει, τὸ γενναῖον τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ κλέος ἔλαβεν. 7. δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέγμα τῆς δίσεως ἑλθὼν καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἰγυομένων, οἴτως ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον ἐπορεύθη, ἰπομονῆς γενόμενος μέγιστος ὑπογραμμῶς. VI. 1. Τοῖσι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὅσις πολιτευσάμενος συνηθροίσθη πολὺ πλῆθος ἐκλεκτῶν, οἵτινες πολλὰς αἰκίας καὶ βασάνους διὰ ζῆλον παθόντες ἰποδειγμα κάλλιστον ἐγένοντο ἐν ἡμῖν. 2. Διὰ ζῆλος διωχθεῖσαι γυναῖκες Δαναίδες καὶ Δίρκαι, αἰκίσματα δεῖνὰ καὶ ἀνόσια παθεῖσαι, ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πίστεως βέλαιον δρόμον κατήνησαν καὶ ἔλαβον γέρας γενναίων αἰ ἀσθενεῖς τῷ σώματι.

(51) 'But, not to dwell on the ancient examples, let us come to those champions who lived nearest ourselves. Let us take the noble examples of our own generation. (2) By reason of jealousy and envy, the greatest and most righteous pillars were persecuted, and contended even unto death. (3) Let us set before our eyes the good apostles; (4) Peter, who by reason of unrighteous jealousy endured not one nor two but many labours, and thus having borne his testimony went to his due place of glory. (5) By reason of jealousy and strife Paul showed the reward of patient endurance. (6) After that he had been seven times in bonds, had been driven into exile, had been crowned, had preached in the East and in the West, he won the noble renown of his faith; (7) having taught righteousness to the whole world and having come to the limit of the West and having borne his testimony before the rulers, he thus departed from the world and went unto the holy place, having become a very great example of patient endurance. (51) Unto these men of holy lives was gathered a vast multitude of elect ones who, suffering by reason of jealousy many indignities and

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tortures, became a most admirable example among us. (c) By reason of jealous women being persecuted as Damans and Dircea, after that they had suffered cruel and unholly insults, safely reached the goal in the race of faith and received a noble reward, feeble though they were in body.

(b) The word μαρτυρήσας applied to Paul (57) will be most fittingly interpreted as meaning, not 'having suffered martyrdom' (his death is indicated rather by the words ἀπηλλόγη τοῦ κόσμου) but rather 'having borne (oral) testimony' or, at most, 'having suffered tortures.' In the case of Peter, however (54), the first of these two renderings does not fit well; for οὐτω μαρτυρήσας seems intended to convey 'after that he had borne testimony' by the 'labours' (πῶρα) just mentioned. These, however, extend over his whole life as an apostle. That precisely his death was occasioned by some such 'labour' and thus was a martyrdom is not expressly said and therefore might be disputed. Still, since Peter is here cited as an instance of how the greatest 'pillars' 'contended even unto death' we refrain from doing so.

(c) In like manner it will be well to concede that 'among us' (ἐν ἡμῶν) in 61 does not mean 'among us Christians'—which would be tolerably vague—but 'among us Romans.' The reference is to the victims of the Neronian persecution (62) who were made use of for the presentation of mythological pieces. Still when it is said of the Neronian martyrs in Rome that they were gathered together with Peter and Paul, we are by no means to draw it as a necessary inference that Peter and Paul also died in Rome. To 'was gathered' (συνεληλύθη) in 61 what we ought rather to supply will be 'to the due place of glory' (εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον τῆς δόξης) or 'to the holy place' (εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον) of 547. Thus the common meeting-place referred to is not Rome but heaven, and accordingly the present passage says nothing as to the place of death.

(d) Neither in 51 does the author give any reason to suppose that he is thinking of all as having one and the same place of death. The oneness that unites those about to be mentioned and separates them from those who have been mentioned already is characterised as a oneness of time only: 'who lived nearest . . . our own generation' (τοῖς ἐγγιστα γενουμένοις . . . τῆς γενεᾶς ἡμῶν).

(e) As the writer is at Rome, by the 'limit of the west' (πέριμα τῆς δύσεως, 57) to which Paul came it would seem as if Spain must be meant. The fact, however, of a journey of Paul to Spain is, if the present passage be left out of account, nowhere asserted before the fourth century except in the Muratorian fragment (ll. 38, 39) and in the pre-Catholic Acta Petri (see below, § 337), and in view of the silence of the other witnesses is very much exposed to the suspicion of being merely an inference from Rom. 15:24, where Paul expresses the intention of extending his journey from Rome to Spain. Eusebius (HE ii. 222) speaks of a missionary activity of Paul after the captivity spoken of in Acts 28:31, but does not say where, and adds that thereafter Paul came once more to Rome and suffered martyrdom there. In the immediately following context (223-2) he refers the 'first hearing' (πρώτη ἀπολογία) of 2 Tim. 1:16 to the first Roman captivity. Here too, in view of the silence of other witnesses, there arises inevitably a strong suspicion that the discrimination of two captivities may have been suggested by this passage merely, whilst nevertheless πρώτη ἀπολογία in the nature of things ought to mean merely a first 'appearance' or 'hearing' as distinct from a second in the course of the same captivity, since the whole passage 49-18 is speaking of the details of a single captivity. For this inference not Eusebius but some one who preceded him must be held responsible; he himself introduces the whole story with a λόγος ἔχει ('the story goes'). If, however, Eusebius, who elsewhere puts forth so much that is false with the greatest assurance, here uses so cautious an expression as this, the matter, we may rest assured, is questionable in the highest degree.

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Harnack (JCL ii. 1230 f.) characterises the liberation of Paul from his first Roman captivity (and the journey to Spain) as an 'assured fact' (gesicherte Thatsache). His reasons are—apart from τὸ πέριμα τῆς δύσεως here—certain genuine fragments of Paul preserved in the Pastoral Epistles (2 Tim. 1:15-16; 1 Tim. 3:12 f.), for which one can find no room in the earlier life of Paul (a very precarious hypothesis, to say the least) and also chronological considerations according to which the first captivity came to an end in 59 A.D. whilst the martyrdom of Paul in the Neronian persecution (July, 64 A.D.) is an 'ascertained fact.' This last fact has no other 'secure' basis on which to rest than Harnack's interpretation of our present passage in 1 Clem. 57:1 the 'definite piece of information' (JCL ii. 1230) referred to above (§ 25 f.) of which Harnack himself wrote not so very long ago (on 1 Clem. 54: 1876): 'posteriori tempore . . . martyrii Petri vel inneris Romani, quorum testimonium nihil v. fere pretii est, sunt Dionysius Corinthius, Gajus Romanus, et Irenaeus,' etc. If these testimonies are of hardly any value with reference to Peter it is difficult to see that they are entitled to much confidence in what they say about Paul,—so far at least as the persons of the witnesses are concerned. The reckoning, however, which is suggested alternatively for adoption in our CHRONOLOGY, §§ 64, 80, according to which the first Roman captivity ends in 50 A.D., Harnack is able to maintain (23) only at the cost of assuming that Tacitus is wrong by a year as to the age of the imperial prince Britannicus. Spitta (Zur Gesch. u. Lit. d. N. P. Schrift. i. 1189) 1-108 iii. 1 [1890] postulates the liberation of Paul from his 'two-years' Roman captivity in the interests of a very bold division of the Epistle to the Romans into two separate epistles, the first of which was written by Paul before his capture, and the second (12:1-15:26) after his first sojourn in Rome. Conservative theology with almost complete unanimity postulates this liberation in the interests of the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles. In that case, however, the journey into Spain is only an embourgeoisement, as the Epistles in question presuppose rather fresh journeys of the apostle to the East (1 Tim. 1:3 3:14; 4:11 Tit. 1:5 3:12); but these returns are excluded by Acts 20:26 ('I know that ye all . . . shall see my face no more'), a saying which the author, even if it had reached him by tradition as a genuine utterance of Paul, would certainly have altered or omitted if it had not come true.

(f) The expression 'the limit of the west' (τὸ πέριμα τῆς δύσεως) itself would necessarily denote Spain only on the assumption that it cannot be taken otherwise than in a purely geographical sense. Since Paul, however, is the subject of the sentence, the writer can very possibly have meant a point that was for him the westward limit of his activities, in which case there is no longer any necessity to hold that Spain—otherwise so poorly attested as a field of Paul's activities—is meant. The writer, indeed, had he been very anxious to make it quite clear that Rome and Rome alone was intended, could have added 'his' (αὐτοῦ) to 'limit' (πέριμα); but it so happens that it is good Greek precisely to refrain from doing so. The passage is as every one sees highly rhetorical in character.

This being so it could surprise no one if the author, although himself a Roman, with Paul's starting-point in mind, calls Rome 'the limit of the west,' just as in Acts 13:47 it is called 'the uttermost part of the earth' (ἐσχάτον τῆς γῆς), and just as in Ps. Sal. (17:14 [12]) Pompeius sends his captive Jews 'as far as the west' (εἰς ἐπὶ δυσμῶν) or as Ignatius (ad Rom. 20) is transported 'to west from east' (εἰς δυσμὴν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς). In 1 Clem. itself east and west (ἀνατολῆς καὶ δυσμῶν) are used shortly before (55) as geographical indications of the range of Paul's activities, but from this it by no means follows that 'the limit of the west' must here be taken in an absolute sense and without any reference to the apostle's point of departure. In 1 Clem. 57 'having taught righteousness unto the whole world' (δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅσους τοὺς κόσμους) only repeats what was expressed in the preceding clause by 'having preached in the east and in the west' (κήρυξεν γενόμενος ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει) and similarly the phrase immediately following this last was 'the noble renown which was the reward of his faith' (τὸ γέννημα τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ κλέος λαβὼν) gives already a hint of his martyrdom which is more fully described in the succeeding section. Thus it is entirely in accordance with the structure of the whole writing if by 'having come to the limit of the west' nothing new is intended but only a renewed reference to the apostle's sojourn in Rome. Another important point is that none of the church fathers has found Spain in our present passage; otherwise Eusebius at least would not have left unnamed the place where Paul was believed to have laboured between his first and his second captivity, and the others would not have kept complete silence as to his liberation from the first.

(g) If on the other hand Spain were meant it would in that case become almost necessary to understand by the rulers (ἡγούμενοι) before whom Paul bore his testimony the Spanish civil authorities. There is not a single tradition, however, in favour of Spain as the place of Paul's martyrdom. That Rome was the place is nowhere doubted. The rulers (ἡγούμενοι) can,

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according to the usage of 1 Clem. (see MINISTRY, § 47^b, middle), mean any high political authority; but if Rome is referred to, the emperor and his advisers will be meant.

(h) We now come to the most important point - which is, that the entire passage before us is designed to set forth a parallel between Peter and Paul. Thus it becomes necessary to pay special attention to the points in which the parallel is not carried out. Now, at the very outset, we notice that the sufferings of Paul in the service of the gospel are much more fully particularised than those of Peter. We may be certain that the author would have been equally detailed in the case of Peter had this been in his power. Is it possible that in Rome so little that is definite should have been known if he had actually died there? In the case of Peter, further, no parallel at all to Paul's 'coming to the limit of the west' and his 'bearing testimony before the rulers' is offered. Had it been Spain that was in question, we should not have wondered to find that the same things could not be said of Peter as of Paul; but from what has been said in the foregoing paragraphs of this section, it will be seen that it is with Rome that we are dealing, and in this case it naturally becomes a point of great importance to notice that what is said is said of Paul alone. Yet, even if 'the limit of the west' were to be taken as meaning Spain, we should still have to reckon with the fact that the author of the epistle was not in a position to say of Peter that he had borne testimony 'before the rulers.' Even should 'the rulers' denote, not the emperor and his advisers but some other high authority, it is clear that the author knew nothing of any 'witnessing' (*μαρτυρεῖν*) of Peter before such an authority. How willingly would he not have adjoined it had any such tradition been within his reach! For he names Peter even before Paul. The phrase 'rulers,' however, makes it still more clear than does 'limit of the west,' that as regards Paul both must be sought in Rome. This being so, the fact that only of Paul is it said that he was 'a preacher in the east and in the west' (*ἀγγηξεν ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ διασεί*) acquires a new significance. In short, this writer was ignorant, not only of any 'witnessing' (*μαρτυρεῖν*) before the authorities (in Rome) on Peter's part, but also of any missionary activity of his at all in the west; yet he wrote in Rome about 93-97 A.D. (at latest, but not probably, about 120 A.D. See GALATIANS, § 9 [but ep also OLD-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, § 26]).

(i) This conclusion, however clear in itself, is often resisted on the ground that no other place than Rome is ever mentioned in tradition as the scene of Peter's martyrdom, and that it would be too extraordinary if Clement, while knowing the fact of Peter's martyrdom, should be ignorant of the place of it. But neither objection is conclusive.

If, let us suppose, Peter had perished while travelling in a distant land, at some obscure place, not as the result of ordinary process of law, but perhaps in some popular tumult, and if also such companions as he may have had perished along with him, then information of his death could reach his fellow-Christians only by report; and if, even at a later date, no Christian church arose at the place where it occurred, no local tradition as to his end had any chance of surviving. Let us only suppose, for example, that Paul had died of the stoning at Lystra (Acts 14:19) or of that with which he was threatened at Iconium (14:20), and either was unaccompanied or was accompanied even in death - what should we, what could Clement have known as to the place of his death? Yet, indeed, there is no need for this; Clement actually did know the place of Peter's death, and yet did not name it because this was not required for his purpose. In the case of Paul he does not judge it in the least important to name the place; all he thinks worth commemorating is that his appearance was made before the 'rulers,' (*ἔστη ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀρχόντων*), and in this way only indirectly do we learn the locality. That of Peter's death he could pass over all the more easily because he could take it for granted that his readers at Corinth knew it just as well as himself. It must not be forgotten that his object is not to tell them anything new, but to draw profitable exhortation for them from known facts.

(k) It is therefore quite useless to conjecture that Peter

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and Paul alone are selected out of the number of the apostles (notwithstanding that James the son of Zebedee might also have been mentioned; Acts 12:2), only because they were specially well known in Rome. Even if this were the reason, it still would be no proof of Peter's having ever been in Rome; even without this he was famous enough. What is more to the point is that both apostles were known in Corinth—in a general way as well known as at Rome—and over and above this in a special manner, because the church there had been founded by the one, whilst the other had been chosen by a party there as its head (1 Cor. 1:12-3:22).

(l) If Peter's death was not at Rome, then neither was it during the Neronian persecution, which so far as we know did not extend beyond that city. Even if it had so extended, however, Peter could not be regarded as one of its victims, according to the passage now under discussion, for in the provinces the persecution would naturally break out later than in Rome, whilst Peter and Paul, according to the order followed, and the 'gathering' (*συνεληθοσθη*) of 6:1, preceded the great multitude of Nero's martyrs. If they died in Rome we should have to think of this as happening immediately on the outbreak of the persecution. This, however, as we have seen, does not apply to Peter; and even in the case of Paul we have no right to assume it, although he did die in Rome.

The prevailing opinion, that if it was in 64 A.D., it was in consequence of the Neronian persecution that Paul was condemned to death, is very rash. The judicial procedure of Rome was not so utterly arbitrary as would be implied were it true that a prisoner who was kept day and night chained to a soldier should be found guilty of fire-raising, or of incitation thereto. The process against Paul followed its own course. That in the general hostility to Christians it was hurried on is likely enough, but hardly so rapidly that Paul should have preceded the great bulk of the Neronian martyrs.

At a date subsequent also to that of 1 Clem. we find allusions to the martyrdom of Peter, but without mention of the place. (m) It is not certain, it is true, whether Jn. 13:36 belongs to this category. When Jesus says: 'Whither I go thou canst not follow me now' he means his going to heaven, as is clear from 7:34-8:21 (to both of which passages express reference is made in 13:33); and that it is into heaven that Peter is to follow him has its parallel in 17:24. Nevertheless, it is open to us to understand also that the manner of the entering into heaven, that is, the manner of death, is to be the same for Peter as for Jesus. 13:37 may contain an allusion to this when Peter says 'I will lay down my life for thee.' It would be quite in keeping were we to understand the words of Jesus as meaning: 'Thou canst not follow me in this manner now, but later thou shalt be able.' The question, therefore, comes to be whether the writer already knew of the martyrdom of Peter.

On the assumption that the martyrdom is historical, it is very probable that he did. But even if it was legendary, the author, who wrote about 132-140 A.D., could very easily have heard about it. The question, however, whether he thought of the death of Peter as having happened in Rome, will depend for its answer on our determination of the date at which this opinion arose. He himself gives no indication.

(n) Jn. 21, the addition of a later hand (§ 22c), certainly speaks of the martyrdom; whether at Rome or no is a question to be decided in the same manner as in a.

(o) 2 Pet. 1:14 refers back to Jn. 21:18. Nowhere else, so far as we know, did Jesus say to Peter that 'the putting off of his tabernacle cometh swiftly,' and in view of the late date of 2 Pet. (see § 21:) its author's acquaintance with Jn. 21 is very possible, as also his acquaintance with the tradition that Peter had suffered martyrdom in Rome.

(p) In the Muratorian fragment the *passio Petri*

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is referred to in *L. 37*, and that, according to the almost universally accepted restoration of the text ('*semota passione Petri evidenter declarat*'), as one of the events by his silence as to which the writer of Acts makes it clear that he has incorporated in his book only such occurrences as had happened in his presence. Thus here also the martyrdom of Peter is regarded as a known event, and can very easily have been conceived of by the author (who wrote between 170 and 200 A.D.) as having happened in Rome. Only, as he says nothing as to this, the passage before us is not any more decisive on the question in hand, than the other three which have been already considered.

(e) In Rev. 18:25 ('*rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye saints, and ye apostles, and ye prophets*') the apostles seem to be thought of as in heaven, and must therefore, according to 19:11, have been thought of as martyrs. We may be certain, however, that not all the twelve apostles became martyrs, not to speak of the saints and Christian prophets of whom this would equally hold good. The passage is thus too exaggerated to justify us in inferring the martyrdom of Peter with certainty.

(f) In Maccarius Magnes (*Apocrit.* 3:22; about 400 A.D.) the heathen with whom he is in controversy says that Peter made a disgraceful escape from prison in Jerusalem (Acts 12:5-10), and was afterwards crucified after having been able to carry out the command of Jesus, 'feed my lambs' (Jn. 21:15), for only a few months. Harnack (*TLZ.* 1902, 603) will have it that this heathen was Porphyry, the learned opponent of the Christians in Rome (6th A.D. 304) and that what he says regarding the few months and the death by crucifixion has reference to Rome (in 44 the same opponent of Maccarius mentions the beheading of Paul in Rome, and thereafter, without specifying the place, the crucifixion of Peter) and is drawn from satisfactory Roman tradition. Carl Schmidt (below § 49), 167-171, observes, however, and with justice, that in Porphyry's time Peter's twenty-five years' sojourn in Rome had long been a recognised belief (so also Harnack himself; above, § 26 [f]), and on this ground supposes that Porphyry is drawing from the *Acta Petri*, according to which Peter arrives in Rome and dies in the interval between Paul's departure from Rome and his return; and in fact the divine prediction of the death of Paul in Rome (below, § 33 a) is the answer to the request of his followers that he (Paul) should not absent himself from Rome for more than a year.

All the more important in our present investigation are those writings which are silent upon the sojourn in Rome, and, so far as they were written after 64 A.D., also upon the martyrdom of Peter, although some such reference might have been expected in them. At the same time, this does not hold good of all of them in an equal degree.

(g) The Epistle to the Romans excludes with the utmost decisiveness the idea that at the time of its composition Peter was in Rome, or even without staying in Rome was exercising any sort of supervision over the church there. Had it been otherwise, Paul would most certainly have referred to the fact. He is at very great pains to indicate his right to labour in Rome. We may not here refer to his arrangement with the three 'pillar' apostles at the council of Jerusalem (Gal. 2:9: 'you to the Jews, we to the Gentiles'); for this arrangement not only was capable of various interpretations, but had also shown itself to be unworkable (COUNCIL, § 9). The practice of the Judaists, however, who forced their way into the churches founded by Paul and sought to turn them against him, had led him to formulate another principle by which division of labour in the mission field might be regulated—namely, that no missionary ought to invade the field once taken possession of by another ('not to glory in other men's labours'; 2 Cor. 10:15 f.). When, how-

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ever, he excuses and justifies his intention of visiting Rome, notwithstanding this principle, he always does so (1:5-13 13:20-26, as towards the church, whilst Peter had been its head he ought to have done so in the first instance as towards him).

On the assumption that 13:20-24, along with the whole of parts of chap. 13 (and 14) comes from a later time, it is sometimes been thought possible that here already the question of Peter's bishopric of Rome is presupposed. The expressions, however, are worded so generally that any such conjecture does not admit of verification, even when the late date of the sojourn is assumed.

(h) The Epistle to the Philippians, which according to 1:13 1:22 was very probably written in Rome, makes no mention of Peter. True, Paul had not exactly any urgent occasion to mention him in this particular epistle. Nevertheless, one may hazard a conjecture that 1:13-14 would have been somewhat less sharply worded had Peter been then at the head of the church in Rome (the still sharper passage 3:2-6 does not come into account here, as in all probability it is directed, not against Jewish Christians as 1:13-18 is, but against non-Christian Jews, and, in fact, against Jews of this class in Philippi).

(i) If the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians were written during the captivity in Caesarea, they do not need to be referred to here. On the assumption of their genuineness, however, it is equally possible that they may have been written from Rome. In that case, however, the apostle had no more pressing occasion, so far as his correspondents were concerned, for mentioning Peter (on the supposition that he also was at Rome) than he had in writing to the Philippians (the Epistle to the Ephesians, if we are to maintain its genuineness, we must necessarily regard as a circular writing). If, on the other hand, these epistles are not genuine but really date from the period of Gnosticism between 100 and 130 (see MINISTRY, § 25 a, n.), it has to be noticed that in Col. 4:10 there is a greeting from Mark who is held to have been the interpreter of Peter, yet none from Peter himself. We cannot, nevertheless, securely infer from this that the Roman sojourn of Peter was unknown to this writer.

Not (j) does he not say that the epistle which he is writing under Paul's name is meant to be taken as having been written from Rome (the place of composition remains obscure); the absence of mention of Peter (20 also) have its explanation in the fact that the writer cared only for Paul, not for Peter, and that he therefore introduced into his letter greetings only from such persons as, like Mark, had been fellow-labourers with Paul (unless, indeed, the list of greetings in 4:10-15 be a genuine fragment of Paul, for the details of which we must not hold the post-apostolic author of the whole epistle responsible).

The case of the Epistle to the Ephesians is similar. It too says nothing regarding its place of composition. In presence of the great interest it expresses in the unity of the church, and especially in the complete fusion of Jewish and Gentile Christians (1:22 f., 4:3-6 2:11-22, etc.), there was, in point of fact, an opportunity for allusion to the common activities of Paul and Peter. But as it avoids personal matters almost entirely, and designates the apostles and NT prophets in general as the foundation of the church and as holy (2:20 3:5), we cannot venture on any far-reaching inferences from the absence of any mention of Peter, and in particular must not infer with confidence that the author knew nothing of Peter's Roman sojourn.

(k) The second Epistle to Timothy is expressly dated from the captivity in Rome (1:8 16 f., 20), and names Mark along with other missionary companions of Paul (4:10), although perhaps (just as with Colossians) in a genuine fragment of Paul. Some mention of Peter (of his Roman sojourn was already known) would have been appropriate alike in the case of the genuineness of the epistle and in that of its spuriousness, but cannot be expected with certainty even on the latter alternative—which is certainly the one to be chosen (see MINISTRY § 24 [ep also TIMOTHY, ii, § 16])—since 2 Tim. unreservedly declares itself to be a 'Pauline' writing and an instruction

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addressed to a disciple of the apostle, and sees the unity of the church in its doctrine and organisation, not in what can be said about the persons of its founders.

(c) In Acts one of the main objects is to draw a parallel between Peter and Paul (see ACTS, § 4). A joint activity of the two in Rome would have been the best crown which the author could possibly have given to this work. Indeed, even without the contemporaneous presence of Paul, the arrival in the metropolis of the world of Peter, who with Paul passes as the real originator of missions to the Gentiles (10:1-11:18 157-11), must have seemed equally important with that of Paul, which is even made the subject of repeated predictions (19:21 23:11). If Peter is to be held to have come to Rome nevertheless, this is conceivable only as having happened after Paul's death, which the author did not wish to refer to for political reasons (see ACTS, § 5 i.), or on the supposition that the meeting of the two was a hostile one, and therefore will have been passed over by the author in the same silence with which he passed over the encounter at Antioch (Gal. 2:11-21). As for this latter supposition, however, it is surely an odd procedure to evocate a possibility, in order, thereby, to support a tradition which declares precisely the opposite of the possibility supposed—namely, a harmonious co-operation between the two apostles. If we disregard this attempt, we must infer that in the author's time, that is to say, somewhere between 105 (110) and 130 (see ACTS, § 16), nothing was known of a contemporary activity of the two apostles in Rome. On the other hand, there remains the possibility that Peter arrived in Rome after the death of Paul; only, neither is this vouched for by any tradition.

(f) The *Shepherd of Hermas*, which was written in Rome about 140 A.D., makes no mention of Peter. Nor yet, it must be added, of Paul. A book of so apocalyptic a character is, in fact, not to be supposed to concern itself with personal details from a past time. It is worthy of note that the rock (and the doors) of the tower which represents the church, are interpreted as meaning the Son of God (*Sim.* ix. 124, in agreement with 1 Cor. 10:4 and Jn. 10:79). This, however, proves only that the author was still unacquainted with Mt. 16:18—or that he has not allowed himself to be influenced by it.

(g) All the more eloquent is the silence of Justin Martyr, who wrote in Rome about 152, as to the Roman sojourn of Peter. He has much to say regarding the sojourn there of Simon Magus, but nothing of Peter's polemic against him, of which we are to hear so much by and by (§§ 33, 34, 40 a).

(h) Papias (*ap. Eus. HE* iii. 39:15) reports, as one of the communications of 'the presbyter,' that Mark accompanied Peter as interpreter; but it is very rash to assume that in making this statement Papias had Rome in his mind (see MARK, col. 2039, n. 1). If Papias wrote late enough he could have heard of the presence of Peter there; but of this he in point of fact says nothing. In particular, the agreement of Papias with the statement about Mark which Eusebius (*HE* ii. 15:2; cp GOSPELS, § 80 b) records has to be taken merely in accordance with the words cited in the other passage and by no means to be extended to everything which Eusebius introduces here with a 'they say' (*φασίν*), and which, by the connection with ii. 14:7, must in fact be interpreted as referring to Rome (§ 25 d). Still more certainly wrong would it be to extend the agreement of Papias also to what follows in ii. 15:2 after the mention of his name, where we read 'it is said' (*φασίν*) that Peter in his First Epistle means Rome by 'Babylon.'

(i) Ignatius writes to the Romans (43): 'I do not enjoin you, as Peter and Paul did' (*οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσουσι υἱῶν*). If this was in 170-180 A.D. (see MINISTRY, § 53, b-e), we might suppose the phrase quoted to rest on the assumption that Peter and Paul

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had personally laid their oral injunctions upon the Roman church, since, so far as written precepts are concerned, this could be said only of Paul, not of Peter. When Ignatius is addressing other churches he expresses the same thought without mention of Peter and Paul (*ad Eph.* 3:1, *ad Trall.* 3:3). Nevertheless we cannot positively affirm that the expression in the Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans inherently, and thus even if written at an earlier date, contains the presupposition that Peter had once personally visited Rome. As what he means to say is simply, 'I do not address myself to you as one having authority,' it was very natural to mention by way of example two famous names that did carry authority, even if they had not personally quite equal importance for the readers.

(k) 1 Pet. may here be noticed by way of appendix. Whether it is relevant to the discussion will depend on our interpretation of it, and this we are not yet able to settle (cp § 42). Babylon is in the Apocalypse 'the great city' (Rev. 18:21), 'the mother of the harlots and of the abominations of the earth, drunken with the blood of the saints, ruling over the kings of the earth, sitting upon seven hills' (17:5 f. 18:9)—in other words, Rome. It is certain, however, that no such mysterious name could have been bestowed upon the world-metropolis before the beginning of the Neronian persecution, and we may conjecture that it first owed its currency among Christians to the Apocalypse itself. Should 1 Pet., therefore, have been written before, or at the beginning of, the Neronian persecution, we may conclude either that the writer could not possibly have intended Rome by Babylon or at least that in referring to it by this name he could not count upon being understood. This he could do, if he wrote at a later date. But this possibility by no means excludes the other, that he may have meant the literal Babylon on the Euphrates.

That this city was at that date wholly uninhabited rests upon a too literal understanding of Pausanias (viii. 33:4 10:3 D): οὐδὲν τι ἔτι μὴ τοίχος, 'nothing is left but the walls' and Pliny (*HN* vi. 20 [30] 122): 'ad solitudinem rediit.' Cp Lucian, *Charon*, 23: 'Vonder is Babylon, the city with the noble towers, the city of vast compass; but soon it too, like Nineveh will be sought for in vain.' According to Strabo (xvi. 1:5, p. 738 or 1073) the city was only 'desert for the most part' (*ὀρειὰ καὶ ἠρόλη*); according to Diodorus (ii. 19) a small portion was inhabited. To understand rightly what is meant one must bear in mind the enormous compass (300-325 stadia, some 40 m.) of the city according to Diodorus (ii. 7:3) and Strabo (*loc. cit.*). Under Claudius the hatred of the Babylonians compelled the Jews in Babylon to take refuge in Seleucia; but there also their arrival stirred up fresh hatred and they were put to death to the number of more than 50,000 (*Jos. Ant.* xviii. 9:1, §§ 371-376).

Before entering upon the difficult field of the apocryphal literature it will be convenient to sum up the results of the preceding discussions of passages in the NT and the fathers.

31. Provisional conclusions.

(a) A twenty-five years' sojourn of Peter in Rome is out of the question. Romans and Acts are decisive against it (§ 30 a, c). Further, the manner in which Peter's presence in Jerusalem as a resident is taken for granted in Acts 15 and Gal. 2:1-10 in connection with the Council of Jerusalem, as also in Gal. 2:11-21 in connection with his subsequent visit to Antioch, cannot be satisfactorily explained by the favourite theory of prolonged interruptions of his Roman sojourn.

(b) As Rom., Acts (and Phil.) show (§ 30 a, b, c), Peter had never been at Rome at all at any date before or during Paul's sojourn there.

(c) Peter's bishopric in Rome (§ 26 g, h) is excluded by the fact that throughout the first century and indeed even down to the time of Hermas (about 140 A.D.), and particularly in Rome, no such thing as monarchical episcopacy existed at all (see MINISTRY, §§ 46 b, 47), as also by this, that according to Gal. 2:9 Peter's wish was to associate only with Jews and Jewish Christians, and according to 11:21 he was not in a position to take any tenable place in a mixed community. As bishop of the mixed community in Rome he would have been exposed to the same difficulties as in Antioch, and would

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soon have made himself as impossible in the one place as in the other.

(d) The theory also, that along with the other original apostles Peter remained for twelve years in Jerusalem and thereafter set out on missionary journeys is false, not only because it leads chiastically to a displacement of the Newoman persecution (bringing it down to 67 A.D.; see § 210c)—an error which would admit of rectification by a curtailment of the twenty-five Roman years—but also because it presupposes that the original apostles, contrary to Gal. 29, had carried out missions to the Gentiles. The twelve years, however, are themselves open to suspicion, not merely because twelve is a sacred number, but also because it could be easily arrived at by computation from Acts 12:17-18. Herod Agrippa I. died in 44 A.D.; shortly before, after his liberation from prison, Peter left Jerusalem. Thus it was possible to arrive at a sojourn of twelve years in Jerusalem for Peter in the first instance, and then, schematically, to extend the same determination of time to all the rest of the original apostles.

(e) Of all the spheres of activity assigned by tradition to Peter outside of Palestine, the only one that deserves serious consideration along with Rome is Babylonia (§ 241). In virtue of its large Jewish population Babylonia was very well suited to be a mission field for the apostle, and in a certain view of the passage is also presupposed to have been so in 1 Pet. 5:13 (§§ 30f, 42, 43).

(f) Clement of Rome, incomparably the most important witness (§ 281), is decisively against a Roman sojourn of Peter. All that can be deduced from him is—not indeed as anything certainly attested but yet as something which need not be gainsaid—only Peter's martyrdom, but outside of Rome and away from the western world altogether. Nor are we carried any further by the notices of his martyrdom enumerated in § 29 where no place is specified.

(g) If Peter suffered martyrdom it by no means follows from this mere fact, as Harnack represents the matter (*ICZ.* ii. 1710), that the martyrdom was in Rome.

We cannot even assent to Harnack's first sentence as certain, 'if the fact of the martyrdom was at that time notorious, the place of it was also known' (see § 283); and his second sentence, 'but never less any other church than the Roman had claim to the martyrdom of Peter' loses its demonstrative force as soon as the event is for a moment supposed to have happened at a place where, during, say, the next hundred years, no Christian church existed. The assumption is often made that for the martyrdom of any apostle a Christian persecution, or at least some formal process against the individual martyr, was requisite. Surely it would be well to remember 2 Cor. 11:25f., 'once I was stoned . . . in perils from my countrymen, in perils from the Gentiles.' At a place where an apostle had died in this manner memory of the occurrence would naturally be less vivid and tenacious than it would be in a place where there was a Christian church, and could easily drop into the background and finally fall into complete oblivion when the opinion became widely diffused that Peter had died in Rome. See, further, under (p), and § 495.

(h) Justin (about 152 A.D.) knows nothing of the Roman sojourn of Peter (§ 30g). This circumstance ought also to induce caution in finding a testimony for such a sojourn in Clement of Rome.

(i) Of the authors dealt with up to this point Dionysius of Corinth (about 170 A.D.) is the first to assert a Roman sojourn. Only, he does it in connection with so much matter that is fabulous that his 'distinct statement' (so Harnack, 710) must thereby be held to lose all credibility (§ 25d). The other statement, in all respects parallel to the assertion of Dionysius, that Peter founded the church of Antioch (§ 24d) is characterised by Harnack himself (705f.) as 'a gross falsification of history.'

(k) The list of Roman bishops seems to have the advantage over Dionysius that it rests on local tradition. Yet we have no certainty that it bore the names of Peter and Paul at its head before the time of Irenaeus (§ 25c).

(l) No value can be attached to the statements of Gaius as to the places of death of Peter and Paul (§ 26b) because in his time, or even ten years before his time,

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the second stage of the Roman Peter-tradition, the 'tendency legend' of the twenty-five years' duration of his sojourn, had already, according to Harnack, 'become official' (§ 26e,f.).

(m) It is not of Peter alone, but almost without exception, of Peter and Paul together, that the exponents of the above tradition affirm a sojourn—eventually being, in fact, an arrival together) and a martyrdom in Rome (§ 25f.). If Clement of Alexandria mentions only Peter, there is a special reason for this (§ 25d), and also in Origen (§ 26c) we have no reason to doubt that he thought of Peter as having died at Rome under Nero; as he expressly asserts that Paul did. If one decide in favour of Rome as the place of Peter's death (but see above, f/h), there is no longer any direct possibility of disproving that this event was practically contemporaneous with the death of Paul. This circumstance, however, is of no significance, for the presence together of Peter and Paul in Rome during the period described in Acts (and Philippians; see § 30e, f) is practically excluded, and thus can continue to be affirmed only when the hypothesis of a second captivity of Paul is called in—a hypothesis which is quite unhistorical (§ 23e,f.). See further, under A, and § 41f.

(n) Our decision must therefore decidedly be that Peter never was in Rome at all.

We read in Harnack (709f.), 'it is here presupposed [that is to say, throughout the whole of *ICZ.*] and never once has it been sought to prove that Peter really did come to Rome and suffer martyrdom there. This fact, so far as I am aware, has not disputed, save by those who give precedence to a certain ancient Simonianism, and in accordance with this ancient Peter was brought to Rome by 'tendency legend' in order to controvert, in the world-metropolis also, Simon-Paul who had taken his journey thither' (see below, § 497, f.). This assertion must now so far, at any rate, be qualified by the fact that at least one profane historian of repute, namely, Soltau (below, A), has come forward in support of the condemned thesis. As to the preceding discussion shows this much at least, that a conclusion has been arrived at without any resort at all to the Simon-romane.

It rests essentially upon a particular view of Clement and Ignatius (§§ 28, 30f) whom Harnack himself calls 'two very strong, though not absolutely secure, witnesses of the martyrdom, or of the sojourn of Peter in Rome,' upon a distrust of the 'testimony' of Dionysius of Corinth and his companions which was formerly shared (see above, § 28e) by Harnack himself, and upon a due regard to Justin's evidence, upon which Harnack is quite silent. Just as, according to Harnack, the 'tendency legend' of Peter's twenty-five years' sojourn in Rome became official between 180 and 217 A.D., so also in our view the fable of the simultaneous presence of Peter and Paul in Rome and the martyrdom of Peter there became official between 152 and 170 A.D.

(o) A point upon which the foregoing discussions have shed but little light is the question as to how this fable came about, and as to whether this fable also deserves the name of tendency-legend. Soltau, who uses the above sources only, points out (pp. 267, 41 = 404 f. 500; below, § 49) how strong was the effort on the part of individual churches to be in a position to claim an apostle as their founder (see JOHN, SON OF ZEBAIAH, § 10).

Now, the Jewish Christians in Rome, in their holy struggle against the Paganism of their land, had chosen Peter after Jesus as their spiritual head, and thus the belief was not unlikely to have had really originated in Rome at least as a matter of fact. As to the theory of Acts (5:42), upheld also by Harnack, as thereby came at the same time to appear to be the fable of that church. Towards this belief another element, I think, may have co-operated, namely, that Mark the interpreter of Peter lived subsequently in Rome, and thus the fable of the Romans possessed the pure doctrine of Peter. Mark, however, figures in Rome in tradition only in his quality of interpreter of Peter. The historian who, like Soltau, denies a sojourn in Rome to Peter cannot maintain it for Mark. That the fable of Acts 5:42 in this connection is illegitimate has been already argued above (§ 230).

Soltau's other conjectures of a special kind have also but little probability, and in the interests of his point of view it would perhaps be better to rest satisfied with the general contention that churches were

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eager to have apostles as their founders, and in the case of Rome, the world-metropolis, there was a special reason for wishing to be able to claim the two most prominent names of all, especially as these represented the two main currents of doctrine and practice within the church (see *Mysticism*, § 36). To this Erbes (*Z. f. Kirchengesch.*, 22 [1901] 215-224) adds, besides fuller elaborations of this fundamental thought, the easy misunderstanding of 1 Clem. 5 and of 'Babylon' in 1 Pet. 5:1 (see §§ 28, 30 b; but also §§ 39 c, 44 d). In fact even in the absence of still more special reasons for the rise of the fable of the Roman sojourn and martyrdom of Peter it would be necessary to maintain its fabulous character; for, rightly understood, all the witnesses testify with overpowering weight against it. The apocryphal literature, however, regarding Peter, with which we have not yet dealt, will yield perhaps more light.

(7) The points on which further light would be specially welcome are these: Did the belief in Peter's Roman sojourn and martyrdom exist earlier than 170? Did it exist, outside of Rome, even before Justin? In fine, did it exist so early that it can already lie at the foundation of 1 Pet. 5:1? Is it possible to account for its origin in spite of its erroneous-ness more completely than has up to this point been done; and, particularly, to explain also why hitherto we have met with Peter in Rome almost always only in association with Paul, and why his martyrdom is reported from no other locality than Rome (see above, *m. 8*)?

Of the apocryphal writings relating to Peter the first to be considered are those which admit of being grouped under the general designation of Acta Petri, in other words, as accounts of the missionary activities of Peter and of the close of his life. Of these, three groups are to be distinguished.

(a) The first group is pronounced Gnostic by Lipsius (*ib.*, 124-284, and particularly 283-275), and Zahn (*Gesch. d. NTlichen Kirchengesch.*, 2:232-235 [1802]), but Catholic by Harnack (*1. Cl.*, ii, 1549-560), Erbes (*Z. f. Kirchengesch.*, 1901, 22 161-174), and Carl Schmidt (below, § 49, 111-151). That they are wholly Catholic, however, the three last-named scholars are unable to affirm. As the settlement of the question is not indispensable for our present purpose, let us call them—to choose a neutral designation—the pre-Catholic Acta Petri. The employment of this designation must not be taken as meaning that the Acts in question are actually of earlier date than the Catholic ones—a question which in point of fact is doubtful (see §§ 35-37, 30 b)—but only that their standpoint is less in correspondence with the Catholic than that of the Catholic Acta Petri et Pauli. Another widely spread, though not completely prevalent, name for them is *Προδοα Πέτρον*. A characteristic story from them—that of a talking dog (§ 33 b)—is known to Commodian (about 250 A.D.; *Carm. Apol.*, 617-620 [623-626]). The date is assigned concurrently by Lipsius (1275) and Zahn (841) to 160-170 A.D., whilst Erbes gives it as 160, Carl Schmidt (*ib.*, 99-100) as 200-210, *i. e.*, shortly before the *Philosophumena* (above, § 26 d), and Harnack places it as late as the middle of the third century.¹ At the same time, it has to be noted that, in assigning the date he does, Lipsius means only that of the origin of the writing that lies at the foundation of our Acta Petri, the date of their present form being in his

¹ Apart from other indications, Harnack relies upon the assumption that the end of Simon Magus is told in a different way in the *Philosophumena* (6:25) about 235 A.D. from that in which it is told in the Acta Petri (he caused himself to be buried by his disciples, promising that he would rise again on the third day, but he did not rise after all; cp below, § 34 c, Simon Magus, § 8 (7)). All that this proves, however, is that the author is following another tradition, not that the Acta Petri were not yet in existence. The author of the *Philos. Aemena* is a zealous confuter of heretics had even strong reason for mistrusting the information of the Acta.

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opinion later: for example the Acts of the so-called Pseudo-Linus (see below, no. 7) he places (172 f.) between 400 and 450 A.D. Zahn (833) as against this disputes the contention that the Acta at an earlier date had a different form from their present, and Harnack holds that there is no reason at all for assuming a Gnostic basis for them; it is merely an abstract possibility (559). Now, Eusebius (*III.*, iii, 32) includes the Acts of Peter (*Ἡράκλειος Πέτρον*) among those writings which were never handed down to Catholic circles, and with this agrees his general survey of the NT literature in *m.*, 254 b, according to which the Acts of Paul (*Ἡράκλειος Παύλου*) belong to the Antilegomena, in other words to his middle class (so also *ib.*, 35), whilst on the other hand the 'Acts of Andrew and John and the other apostles' (*Ἡράκλειος Ἀνδρέου καὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων*)—those of Peter thus included—belong to his last class, that of books written by heretics in the name of apostles, and never cited by any Catholic writer, but 'altogether strange and impious' (*ἄτοια παντὴ καὶ διασεβῆ*). In accordance with this is the very close relationship, if not identity of authorship which Lipsius (265 f., 272 f.) and Zahn (860 f.), again in agreement, find between our Acta and the Gnostic Acts (*Ἡράκλειος*), or Circuits (*Ἡγεμόνας*) of John and other apostles, attributed to Linus (Charmus, James (*Apocr. Anekd.*, 2^{op.}, xxiv-xxviii; in *Texts and Studies*, 5^{o.}, 1897) positively affirms the identity of the author of the Leucian Acta Johannis with the author of the Acta Petri, whilst Carl Schmidt, 60-90, explains the agreement from use of the Acta Johannis by the author of the Acta Petri. Franko (*ZAVH.*, 1902, 315-335) seeks to support the Gnostic character of the original form of the Acta Petri by means of a pronouncedly Gnostic fragment which he translates from the Ecclesiastical Slavonic. Thus for every one who does not hold the present form of the Acta Petri to be Gnostic, there is very urgent occasion for finding, if possible, a Gnostic primary form of it. So far as our present purpose is concerned, however, we may dispense with further detailed inquiry as to this point.

The principal writings in which those pre-Catholic Acta Petri have been preserved for us are as follows: (1) Actus Petri cum Simone, from Paul's departure from Rome for Spain, and the arrival of Peter in Rome, until the death of Peter; in Latin, in a MS at Vercelli, therefore known also as Actus Petri Vercellenses. (2) The conclusion of these Acta, namely the end of Peter's contention with Simon, and the entire martyrdom of Peter, exists in Greek in a Codex at Mount Athos. (3) The martyrdom alone, also in Greek, is found in an Ecclesiastical Slavonic, (4) a Coptic, and (5) an Ethiopic translation. All six have been edited (or collated) in *Acta Apost. Apocr.*, 1st ed., Lipsius (and Benet), 1891, 45-101; *n. s.*, 1 for the first time in *JIT.*, 1886, pp. 10-16, 175 f. Of the other family, which, apart from its divergences, is distinguished by its more copious style of narration, we possess (7) the martyrdom of Peter which is ascribed to Linus the first bishop of Rome (see above, § 24 c) (*in Acta Apost. Apocr.*, 1-22). Lastly there is—closely related as regards details of the text—(8) the Passio Apostolorum Petri et Pauli which is incorporated with the Latin recension of Josephus' *Jewish War*, dating from 37-135 (or about 105?) A.D., and which also includes certain events before the martyrdom of Peter.² As for the contents, everything of a non-Catholic nature has been so carefully removed that the text belongs rather to the next following class. The mutual dependence of the texts just mentioned has been determined by Zahn (34-306, 345, *ib.*, 2), followed by Harnack, otherwise than it is by Lipsius (100-173, 194-208); this, however, may be left out of account in our present investigation.

(b) The Catholic Acta (see Lipsius, 284 366) are, as already seen in Pseudo-Hegesippus (see above, *a* [8]), not Acts of Peter only, but Acts of Peter and Paul. Both contend conjointly with Simon Magus in Rome and there suffer martyrdom.

(1) The Latin form, in which this writing is wrongly attributed to a certain Marcellus who is named in it, dates from the sixth century (Lips., 1. 60). It begins: 'Cum verisset Paulus Romanum.' The parallel is (2) the Greek text in a codex of the

² This Latin recension is entitled 'Hegesippus (a distortion of Josephus) de exilio Hierosolym.' add. Weber et Casari, 1594. The section forms bk. iii., chap. 2, and is to be found also in a Marburg Universitätsprogramm (20th Aug. 1860; cp Lipsius, 194-200; Schürer, *GH.*, 1st 73 f.).

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library of St. Mark in Venice, beginning: *Ἰαβουρος οὐκ ἔσται* *Ἰαβουρος οὐκ ἔσται* *Ἰαβουρος οὐκ ἔσται*. Both are met with in juxtaposition in *Acta Apost. Apost.* 1:118-177. *Ibid.* 178-222 is found (1) a longer Greek text in which, in particular, at the beginning occurs a description of Paul's journey through Italy, beginning: *ὄψεσθε μετὰ τῆς ἀφίξης τοῦ ἀγίου Παύλου ἀπὸ τῆς Πανδομεδαίτης* (this name is obtained by combination of *πανδο* or *πανδομα* and *μαδαίτης*, Acts 27 or 28). No. 2 evaluates, according to Lipsius (284-299), the relatively original form, which, however, is not older than about 450 A.D. (1705-11). On the other hand he supposes that there had been a Catholic original form of this account of Peter and Paul, which arose soon after the middle of the second century, and thus approximately at the same time with the pre-Catholic *Acta Petri*, and may have been known of the Fathers cited in § 26, to at least Tertullian, Origen, and Eusebius (pp. 341-357). *Fishes* (*Z. f. Altösk. u. N. H.* 24, 1901, 172-192) tries even to make it out to be older than the pre-Catholic *Acta Petri* which he assigns to about 100 A.D. and would find traces of its employment as early as in the *Prædication* Pauli in Pseudo-Cyprilian (above, § 24), whilst according to Lipsius (124-127, 317-318) it has only in isolated points preserved traditions of older date than the pre-Catholic *Acta Petri*.

(c) The third main group is made up of the following three compilations.

(1) A Latin *Passio Petri et Pauli* in a MS of the Laurentian Library at Florence, relating to the conflicts with Simon, and the martyrdom of the two apostles, beginning with the words 'in diebus illis, cum introissent Romanam beatus Petrus et Paulus'; in *Acta Apost. Apost.* 1:212-214; (2) a 'Passion of the holy and chief apostles Peter and Paul' which forms a special section of the Ecclesiastical Slavonic translation mentioned above (number 43); (3) the 'Virtutes Petri' and the 'Virtutes Pauli' in the collection of apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, wrongly attributed to the alleged disciple of the apostles Abdias and entitled 'Historia certaminis apostolicæ' or 'Historia apostolicæ', Bks. 1 and 2, printed, e.g., in Fabricius, *Codex apocryphus N.T.* 2, begin. All these pieces are, according to Lipsius (280-299), too recent to be of importance for our present investigation.

Of the abundant contents of this literature only the most important points can here be noted.

(a) According to the pre-Catholic *Acta Petri*, Paul journeys at the divine command from Rome into Spain, after it has been proclaimed by a voice from heaven that he will afterwards be put to death in Rome by Nero (ch. 1). After some days it becomes known in Rome that a wonder-worker named Simon, who calls himself

the great power of God (*magnum virtutem dei*) is at Antioch. On the following evening he appears before the gate of Rome, over which he has promised to fly, disappears and then appears once more on the other side of the gate. Shortly after, he gains so great a repute that even almost all the Christians go over to him (1).

(b) Simultaneously God lays his command on Peter, on the expiry of the twelve years during which he had been ordered to stay in Jerusalem after the death of Jesus (above, §§ 20 c, 31 d), to journey to Rome by way of Caesarea in order to contend with Simon (2). Here Peter, who has been eagerly awaited by those who have remained faithful, and is joyfully welcomed, goes to the house of Marcellus a former disciple of Paul and present follower of Simon, and by means of a dog that speaks with human voice, causes Simon to be summoned forth (§ 32 a). Marcellus comes out and acknowledges his sin, that he has been devoted to Simon and has even set up to him a statue with the inscription, 'Simoni iuveni deo' (3 f). The dog, which Simon within the house has asked to deny his presence, foretells to Simon the *imminens et corruptor vite reprobata* the impending curse, but outside the house promises Peter a hard struggle with Simon, and dies (1). Challenged to a further miracle, Peter takes from a window a 'sardis' (pickled sardine), throws it into a pool and makes it swim (12 f; something very similar is related of Jesus when he was three years of age in the Latin Gospel of Thomas [14; see *Evangel. apoc.*, ed. Tischendorf, 164 f.).

(c) Peter tells that while he was still in Jerusalem, Simon had stayed with a rich woman in Judæa, named Eulola, and by means of two of his companions whom he had made invisible, had robbed her of all her gold, and soon afterwards had offered a portion of it, a golden Satyriscus, to a goldsmith named Agrippinus, for sale. Peter, warned beforehand in a vision, had them arrested; Simon thereupon disappeared altogether from Judæa (17).

(d) A disputation between Simon and Peter in the presence of senators, officers of state, and the whole people, is arranged for in the forum. Peter begins to the effect that Simon is condemned (*Conprehensum*; cp SIMON MAGUS, § 4 a). He reproaches him with concealing the fact that for his theft from Eulola (above, c) he has been driven from Judæa. 'Didst thou not' he continues, 'in Jerusalem (*ch*) fall at my feet and at those of Paul (*ch*) when thou believest the healings wrought by us, and say: 'I beseech you accept from me a price, as much as you will, that I may be able to lay on my hands and do like deeds of power' (*virtutes*); cp SIMON MAGUS, § 1 c). Simon makes answer by disputing the divinity of Jesus inasmuch as one who is born and crucified, and has a Lord, cannot be God (21).

(e) Peter now again challenges Simon to work a miracle, saying that he himself will then counterwork it (24). The

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prefect Agrippa causes one of his people to come forward and kill Simon put him to death, but Peter to bring him to life again. Simon whispers into the ear of the youth, who then upon dies. Peter bids Agrippa take the head of the dead man who again returns to life (25, 27). Peter also raises from the dead the son of a widow (25, 27), but when requested by the mother of the dead Senator Nicostratus to do the like for her son, suggests that this should be undertaken by Simon. Simon accordingly bends over the dead man's head and shows the people how he raises himself up, lifts his head and moves, and opens his eyes. Peter further demands, however, that Simon shall cause him to speak and walk. After Simon has been taken away from the corpse by the prefect, it lies lifeless as before. Peter brings Nicostratus back to life after having begged the people not to bury Simon as they were proposing to do (29).

(f) After some days Simon promises to fly to God in presence of all the people. Next day he actually does fly aloft above the temples and hills of the city. Peter prays to Christ to make him fall, but allow only one leg to be broken. And this is what actually happens. Simon dies of his injury at Terracina (31).

(g) Induced by Peter's preaching, the four concubines of the prefect Agrippa—namely Agrippina, Nicotia (Linnæ: Euphemia, Euphemia, Dork (Linnæ: Dionis)—break off their relations with him (32 = Linnæ 2, where, however, Peter has previously been thrown into prison by Nero, because the time of his heavenly reward drew nigh). In like manner Xantippe the wife of Alumnus, a friend of the emperor, withdraws from the society of her husband. The two men accordingly resolve upon the flight of Peter (32 = Linnæ 3). Xantippe causes him to be informed of this, and Peter agrees to flee. Outside the city gate he meets him. Peter asks: *Domine, quæ radia?* Jesus answers: *Koniam venis iterum crucifigi.* Peter changes his mind and joyfully turns back (32 = Linnæ 3-6). Agrippa sentences him to be crucified (36 = Linnæ 8). Arrived at the cross, Peter becomes fastened to it with his head downwards, and, his request having been carried out, expounds at some length the mystery of the cross, especially that of crucifixion with head downward (37 f. = Linnæ 11), and dies. Marcellus carries off the body and buries it in his own (Marcellus's) tomb (40 = Linnæ 14).

(h) Nero is wrath with Agrippa for acting on his own responsibility, he himself having mutilated still worse things in Rome (according to Linnæ, on account of the loss of his friend Simon), and for a time refuses to speak to him (according to Linnæ, Agrippa loses his office and dies under the torments of a divine judgment). Nero's rage flares forth against the Christians who remain; whereupon there appears to him at the night an angel who severely chastises him (according to Linnæ, at the instance of Peter who likewise appears to him), so that he ceases from his persecution of the Christians (41 = Linnæ 17).

In the case of the Catholic *Acta Petri et Pauli*, we shall pass over, along with many other things, the additions of the longer Greek text.¹ Of the common points the most important are the following.

(1) When Paul comes to Rome from Spain, according to the shorter Greek text; from Gaudamete, according to the longer (cp § 32 b) the Jews beg him to violate his ancestral faith and to convert Peter, who is doing away with the whole Mosaic law (ch. 1). Paul declares himself a true Jew who holds by the Sabbath and the true circumcision (below, § 19 c), and promises to bring Peter's doctrine to the test (2). The two have a cold meeting (3 f.). Next day Paul reconciles the Jewish and the Christians, who have been disputing about the presentment of the Kingdom of God, by pointing to the promise to Abraham which applies to both (5-7). To the same effect Peter points (3 f.), and with great results, so that the Jewish rulers of the synagogue and the pagan priesthood stir up the people against them and seek to bring Simon the magician into honour.

(2) In consequence of the preaching of Peter, Livia (1) (who perhaps is meant) the wife of Nero, and Agrippina the wife of the prefect Agrippa (in § 11 f.) [cp she is his concubine] withdraw themselves from the society of their husbands (1 a). (3) Simon performs feats of witchcraft, also before Nero the flies, for example, through the air; Peter works miracles of healing, casting out of devils and raising of the dead (10-11). Nero causes both, along with Paul, to be brought before him, and hears them. As Peter appeals (16-18) to the written report of Pilate to the emperor Claudius (16), Nero causes it to be read aloud (19-21). Peter asks that Simon shall read his thoughts, but this Simon is unable to do (22-27), complaining that Peter had already treated him thus in Judæa and all Palestine and Caesarea (23). Simon reminds the emperor that he (Simon) had caused himself to be beheaded and had risen from the dead, thus proving himself to be the Son of God. The fact, however, was that in the dark place where the beheading happened he brought it about that a ram was beheaded in his stead (31 f.).

(4) At two separate points in these proceedings Nero asks Paul why he is saying nothing. On the first of these occasions Paul simply warns the Emperor against Simon (29); on the

second (32 b), he begins, of Paul's journey through Italy (§ 32 b), extends over twenty-one chapters. Therefore the numbering of the chapters of this text will always be higher by twenty-one than that given in our citations here.

(5) The account, with which it begins, of Paul's journey through Italy (§ 32 b), extends over twenty-one chapters. Therefore the numbering of the chapters of this text will always be higher by twenty-one than that given in our citations here.

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second, in answer to Nero's express question, he gives information as to his date-time which consists in mention of all the miracles and of the martyrdom (41-43). Peter confirms all this (59) and Paul again in turn confirms the words of Peter (41).

(1) Simon continually brings forward new charges, amongst which the charge that Peter and Paul are circumcised (40-42). Peter propounds the counter-question, why then is Simon also circumcised, and himself answers it to the effect that he had to receive the people in order to succeed with them and that he had given himself out to be a Jew (44). Simon declares that he is circumcised because such was at that time God's command (45). Paul asks why, if, according to this, circumcision is a good thing, Simon has given over circumcised persons to judgment and to death (43). When Peter describes the Christian's devotion as being faith in God the Father in Christ along with the Holy Ghost, and the creator of all things, Simon declares that he himself is this God (43).

(2) Simon pledges himself on the following day to fly into heaven (47) and also to fly. At Simon's wish Nero for this purpose causes a wooden tower to be erected on the Campus Martius and on the following day the whole people and all the chief persons, with Peter and Paul, come together (51). Paul asks Peter that his own task is to pray but that Peter is to carry out all that is needful since he has been first chosen by Nero to be an apostle (52). Simon promises, when he shall see them into heaven, to cause Nero also to be carried thither as an angel, and begins to fly (47). Paul says to Peter: Why delayest thou? Is that which thou hast in mind (53). Peter adjures the angels of Simon who are bearing up Simon, to let him fall. Simon falls upon the Via Sacra and breaks into pieces (56); the Latin and the longer Greek text add that thereby his blood, is doubtless meant to be joined together but first stones which can still be seen to the present day in proof of the triumph of the apostles.

(3) Nero causes Peter and Paul to be put in irons, and Simon's body in the expectation of his rising again to be publicly attended to for three days (57). He orders Peter and Paul to be chastised with iron rods and then to be put to death in the 'mammalia' (or circus, in which also naval displays were held) but finds the advice of the prefect Agrippa very reasonable that Peter as the author of the death of Simon ought to be executed, but Paul as comparatively innocent to be beheaded. In Paul's case this sentence is carried out on the road to Ostia (57). Peter at his own request is crucified head downwards (58). From his cross he reproves the people, who are wishing to kill Nero, and relates how a few days before, in his flight from the desires of Agrippa, he himself had been met by Jesus, who had said he wished to be crucified in place of Peter (61). Peter then dies (62).

(4) I do not come on the scene prominent men who had been from Jerusalem on the apostles' account; these along with Marcellus, the former follower of Simon, bury the body of Peter under the terebinth hard by the Naumachia on the Vatican. These Jerusalemites foretell the soon approaching death of Nero. In point of fact, in consequence of a popular tumult, Nero had to fly into the wilderness, where he died of hunger and cold; his body was devoured by wild beasts (63).

(5) Certain pious men from the East sought to carry off the bodies of the martyrs; with the result that an earthquake immediately ensued in Rome, and the inhabitants attacked the Christians, who at once took flight. The Romans deposited the bodies of Peter and Paul outside the city (the Latin and longer Greek texts add at a place named Colaninthus on the Appian Way) and a quarter of them for one year and seven months; at the expiry of which time they brought them to the final resting-place which meanwhile had been in preparation (66). The death-day of the apostles was June 29 (67).

Many points in these interesting compositions invite inquiry; but we must here confine ourselves to the one fundamental question, that, namely,

35. Conclusion from the Catholic Acts.

as to the relative priority of the pre-Catholic and the Catholic Acts. If we are to settle the point as to whether Peter ever was in Rome, it is of the utmost importance to know which of the two assertions, that he was there along with Paul, and that he was not, was the original one.

(1) Now here it would be quite useless to discuss the question as if it were whether the priority belongs altogether to the pre-Catholic Acts or altogether to the Catholic. In a literature which exhibits so little unity almost every indication of posteriority must be regarded as a later interpolation, and cannot be deprived of its evidential value.

In the pre-Catholic Acts Agrippa and Marcellus are two chief figures, in the Catholic their appearance is quite secondary; at the same time, however, in the Catholic Acts the rebukes of Agrippa against Peter, and the fact of the large attachment of Marcellus to Simon are mentioned, although it is only in the pre-Catholic Acts that they are really described (§§ 4, 6, 4, 11). Peter's flight and his meeting with Jesus are in the Catholic Acts introduced in an awkward way as if by Peter himself while on the cross; in the pre-Catholic

Acts they are related by the author himself in their proper place. But all these and similar expressions in the Catholic Acts can be traced back to later interpolation.

(2) One such interpolation is plainly seen in the episode of the men who come from Jerusalem 'on the apostles' account' and bury Peter (33-34). According to the representation as it stands at present, the pious men from the East who wish to carry off the bodies appear to be distinct from the Jews; Peter, it must be said, shows himself much less in robbery than in burying; but on the other hand the coming from the East suggests much less the motive of burial than that of plunder. If this be so, not two classes of persons from the East were intended, but only one, and the story is an indication that the body of Peter had not originally its resting-place in Rome but in the East. It is only from the Roman point of view that the proposed removal is thought of as a robbery; in reality it is a veiled reminiscence of the fact that the apostle died in the East. That as the whole story is an appendix merely, and moreover has been distorted by additions, it is impossible to build anything on it. It would seem to be meant to explain either why for a while it was impossible to find any burial-place of Peter in Rome or why it was shown not at the spot where he died but outside the city in the case of ground *ad Vaticanum* (see further, *Erbsch. J. J. G. 22* (1891), 190-200).

(3) The difference between Peter and Paul in the manner of their death and in the place of it (also according to Galus, see § 26) is noticeable, especially as for the beheading of Paul his Roman citizenship which could have been adduced, is not. After Nero has ordered (to Nero) the same manner of death for the two apostles, the opposite advice of Agrippa and its success cannot but seem strange. It seems intended to explain the fact that two separate places of death of the apostles were known. This fact raises doubts as to the simultaneity of their deaths and thus tells against the priority of the contents of the Catholic as compared with the pre-Catholic Acts. Against the priority of the whole book it cannot, however, have this effect, as this feature can easily have been introduced later.

(4) Let us therefore fix our attention in the first instance upon one point that is really central, namely the tendency of the Catholic Acts. It is quite manifestly Petro-Pauline. The appearance as if Paul will have to come forward against the preaching of Peter we may be sure has been deliberately produced at the outset, in order that the complete agreement between the two may afterwards become all the more conspicuous. Peter confirms all that is said by Paul, and conversely. The controversies between Jewish and Gentile Christians are set to rest by both. Both carry on a joint polemic against Simon, and both are on this account together condemned to death.

(5) Although, however, Paul in the doctrinal discussions is represented as completely on a level with Peter, it cannot at all be denied that in the conflicts with Simon the part he plays is quite subordinate. In these everything of importance is said and done by Peter. In order to have any part at all, Paul has to be twice asked by Nero why he says nothing, and even then he does not intervene in the action with Simon, but merely expatiates upon his own doctrine. The few words which are put into his mouth in the further dealings with Simon cannot alter our judgment that his figure came only at a later stage into the picture which originally brought Peter alone face to face with Simon. This conclusion is confirmed in the best possible way by what Agrippa says in arguing for a different sentence, that Paul is relatively innocent and therefore deserves a milder punishment, as it is also by the facts that only eleven words, neither more nor fewer, are devoted to the account of his beheading, and that it is nowhere said that he was buried. Here accordingly we have one point at any rate in which the posteriority of the main contents of the Catholic Acts as compared with the pre-Catholic is clearly discernible. Cf. further SIMON MARYS, § 56.

Or are we to suppose, nevertheless, that the pre-Catholic Acts, on this principal point at least—that of Peter's presence in Rome without that of Paul—are the more recent? The circumstance that, in their begin-

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ning as it has come down to us, Paul travels from Rome to Spain shortly before Simon, and after him Peter, come to Rome, and that Peter dies before the return of Paul to Rome, which has already been predicted (§ 33*d*), can be taken as showing that the author deliberately wished to set aside the contemporaneous presence of the two in Rome as that was reported in the Catholic Acts. At the same time, should one choose to take it so, it would be necessary to be able to show some reason which could have led him to wish this.

(7) No such reason is to be found in the dogmatic sphere, as if Peter and Paul were not at one in their doctrine and the author therefore did not wish to make them come upon the scene together. Of any incompatibility in their doctrine this author knows as little as does the writer of the Catholic Acts; on the contrary, Peter is anxiously expected in Rome by Paul's disciples (§ 33*d*).

(8) On the other hand there is much that is attractive, at first sight, in the view of Eibes (*Z. f. Kirchengesch.* 22 [1901], 170-179) that Paul was in the pre-Catholic Acts taken away from Rome from the same motive as we have already (above, § 26*g*) seen to be operative in the time after Irenaeus. Peter had to be the sole head of the church of Rome, in order to be able to figure as the first bishop there. If, however, the author really had this interest at heart, we shall have to pronounce his mode of giving effect to it to be very unskillful; for in the account he gives Paul is in Rome both before and after Peter, and after an explicit prediction suffers the death of a martyr there (§ 33*g*).

(9) On the assumption of so specifically Roman an interest as this we should further expect to find that the pre-Catholic Acts would in other respects also betray the same interest. But of anything of the sort there is surprisingly little. The burial place of Peter is here the private tomb of Marcellus (§ 33*g*), not, as in the Catholic Acts (see § 34*d*), a famous site like the tomb on the Vatican, where he is said to have died. Further, we find nothing about any functions of Peter which could be regarded as episcopal.

(10) It is clear, on the contrary, that the author's interest is in his stories as such, without reference to the scene where they were enacted. He takes manifest delight in the grotesque miracles of his hero, of which only a limited selection has been given above (§ 33, *Z. f. 11*); but these could just as well have been transferred to any other place without diminution of the author's interest in them. Moreover the detailed parts of his narrative are but little united by any common idea.

The death of Peter is, strictly speaking, traced to his conversion of Agrippa's concubines and Albinus's wife to sexual abstinence; his a more general Simon is added as a motive for it only in Pseudo-Linus (§ 33*h*); indeed, the imprisonment of Peter, related only by Pseudo-Linus, before the conversion of those ladies is surely traced back to the consideration that the time has now drawn near in which his death and his labours claim their reward (§ 11, *b*).

(11) The author's interest really attaches itself to Rome in two points only. The final issue of the whole is that Nero desists from persecution of the Christians (§ 33*h*), and the controversy with Simon brings Peter to Rome for the reason that Simon is presupposed as active there before him. Yet even here it is hard to discover anything which might answer to the episcopal position of Peter in Rome. The cessation of the persecution is not brought about by the living Peter, but only after his death and only according to Pseudo-Linus through the appearance of Peter in Nero's vision by night; the bringing of Peter to Rome is connected with the person of Simon, and Simon is controverted by Peter everywhere, not in Rome merely, he is expressly stated (§ 33*e*, *f*) to have been already controverted by him in Judaea.

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(12) Further it has to be remembered, that the contents, in respect alike of doctrine and of presuppositions, though by some designated as Catholic, are nevertheless by others regarded as Gnostic (§ 12) and thus cannot easily be brought into connection with the main Catholic 'tendency' already noted, to establish for Rome some sort of episcopal dignity of Peter. Elements to be taken into account in this connection are such as these: the mystery of the cross, the docteric Christology, the background of miracle, the use of apocryphal citations, and the lack of but little of which were we able to take account in § 33. See in Lipsius, ii, 125-129.

(13) There is a further point in connection with which one might be inclined to suppose that a simultaneous presence of Paul along with Peter in Rome had been deliberately suppressed by the author of the pre-Catholic Acts, in the interests of his theory about Peter as the head of the church of Rome, the point, namely, that Peter is represented as having come to Rome as early as in the second year of Claudius, in other words, in 42 A.D.

See Ludemann, *Prot. Kirchengesch.*, 1887, p. 950*f*; similarly also Harnack, *Alt. u. U. 1705*, with the difference that he mentions no definite name (least of all the author of the pre-Catholic Acts, which he assigns to about 250 A.D.), but only a date of things that began to set in about 250 A.D., and that he seems to assume with less definiteness than Ludemann a conscious purpose in the alteration of the history. This view is worthy of attention, if only because by means of this dating the twenty-five years of Peter's Roman sojourn are made possible, and yet also because such an artificial separation of two persons would find an apology in the procedure, which in all probability the writer of the canonical book of Acts has followed in antedating the appearance of Simon (8:24), and the date is brought by Paul to Jerusalem (11:27-30, 12:25, 20:28-30, & *May*, 8, § 14*d*, *e*).

Only, here also we must call attention, as before (§ 30*b*), to the unskillfulness with which in that case the author of the pre-Catholic Acts has carried out his purpose, supposing he had it. Not only, according to him, is Paul by express prophecy to come to Rome after Peter's death and suffer martyrdom there, but he is represented as having also been in Rome before Peter, in other words, before 42 A.D. (§ 33*a*). What, therefore, can be clearly made out here is not any tendency but only gross ignorance or indifference regarding chronology; for before 42 A.D. Paul had at best only entered upon his first missionary journey, and not even the Council of Jerusalem had yet taken place.

(14) Therefore, also, no value can be attached to the conjecture of Eibes (above, § 30*b*), that the author betrays his knowledge of the constant activity of Peter and Paul against Simon at Rome and his personal activity there, by the statement that it was in Jerusalem that he together encountered Simon (§ 33*d*).

If Jerusalem can be a slip of memory for Rome, as we will call Paul be a slip of memory for Peter, if any such tendency as is supposed by Ludemann and Eibes was operative, it must have led not merely to the obliteration of Peter's presence in the conflict with Simon in Rome, but also to the obliteration of his presence in Rome altogether, so that it is no longer possible, in view of the too fondly established date of his death there—at least of his presence in Rome before Peter.

(15) As for the real origin of the fundamentally erroneous dating of Peter's arrival in Rome in 42 A.D. it has, in the first instance, to be noted that we find here of such a date in the Chronicle of Eusebius, but must carry this back to its source (§ 29, *c*). From an earlier period we have the datum established, that 12 twelve years after the death of Jesus—i.e., 34 A.D., from 30 to 42 A.D., Peter remained in Rome with the other apostles in Jerusalem (§§ 26*e*, 31*d*). As at the same time, or perhaps still earlier, Justin informs us, but without specification of any definite year, that Simon the Magician came to Rome in the reign of Claudius; this is repeated by Irenaeus (i, 16[21]), and, indirectly, by Eusebius when (*HE* v, 146) he says of

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Peter, without living the year, that he came to Rome in that same reign of Claudius in which Simon came. According to ii. 17, Peter in the reign of Claudius must there have met Philo, who, according to ii. 18, had already come to Rome in the reign of Claudius Calpurnia.

(1) On this point the most important views are as follows:—

Investigation would be superfluous, if Kreyenbühl (*U. aug.*, a. 11 *antiquit.*, 110-11, 205) were right in his conjecture that by Claudius it was I Landinus (Nero) who was originally meant (Nero was adopted by his predecessor I Landinus). This, however, is surely too bold. Harnack (*U. Z.* iii. 1, 242) thinks the definite date of 42 A.D. for the arrival of Peter in Rome cannot come from the date given for Simon Magus, since for the latter no definite year was assigned; but that it can only be derived from the tradition of the twelve years' sojourn in Jerusalem (30-42 A.D.). On p. 295, he says that the twenty-five years' sojourn in Rome 'is derived from the admittedly questionable Simon-Magus-Peter-Clément tradition which brings Simon to Rome in the reign of Claudius. The legend brought Peter as his opponent to Rome in like manner under Claudius, and then left him there.' If this latter view is set in contradiction with that quoted immediately before, the reference back to the tradition concerning Simon Magus cannot apply to the exact period of 42-67 A.D., and therefore neither also to the precise year of 42 as the date of Peter's arrival, but only to the vaguer statement that his arrival fell in the reign of Claudius, the precise year, as we have seen, must, according to Harnack, be computed merely from the twelve years in Jerusalem. Lipsius (ii. 136) had merely stated this last view, adding that with this datum for Peter the approximately singular date of Simon Magus was also given. Ludemann (above, *a*), starting from the view shared by him with Lipsius, that Simon's appearance in Rome was unhistorical, and that all that is said regarding this had been derived from statements regarding Paul (see *Strom.* viii. 1, 12, 120, 121), insists that the Simon legend must have assigned the appearance of Simon Magus in Rome, like that of Paul, to some date under Nero, and finds just for this reason a 'tendency' to change in the dating under the reign of Claudius. Only, when it is the meeting of Peter with Simon that is in question, there come into competition, on Ludemann's presuppositions also, two conflicting dates, as soon as that of Paul, which determines that of Simon, and that of Peter do not from the first coincide. In stopping the tradition, therefore, a change had to be made, and this in the present instance can easily have fallen in favour of that of Peter, should the author have judged this view the more trustworthy.

(2) For our present main purpose, that of determining the question of priority as between the pre-Catholic and the Catholic Acts, it results anew from what has been said that we are under no necessity to write with Ludemann a 'tendency' change of dates to the pre-Catholic Acts, or with Harnack even to regard the statement of Dionysius of Corinth (above, § 23) as to the (approximately) contemporaneous arrival and martyrdom of Peter and Paul in Rome as fitting in with history and as supported by earlier testimony. Even from the side of the Catholic Acts no objection can be raised against the date 42 A.D., as having been assigned without 'tendency' for Peter's arrival in Rome. According to the Catholic Acts Peter is in Rome before Paul; for how long before is not stated. This can be taken as an after-effect of the statement that he was there from 42 A.D., and the subsequent arrival of Paul can be explained as means of the 'tendency,' which we shall discuss in a later section (see § 40 *b*), to make him appear in Rome along with Peter, just as the statement of Dionysius of Corinth is capable of being understood as a further development of the same tendency, to the extent of making the arrival of the two (nearly) simultaneous. Justin alone constitutes a serious objection against Lipsius's derivation of the date 42 A.D.; for all that he does is to place Simon in Rome in the time of Claudius without saying a word about his contact with Peter. Upon this point, however, we shall best be able to form a judgment in another connection (see §§ 39-41, 42 *d*).

The statements as to the day of death of Peter and Paul also promise light on the question as to the relative priority of the pre-Catholic and Catholic Apocryphal Acts. (a) 20th June, which is given in the close of the Catholic Acts for both apostles, not

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only fits in exceedingly ill with the Neronian persecution to which the martyrdoms are so readily referred—it arose out of the burning of Rome in July 64—but also rests upon a confusion. For 20th June is the day of the removal of the relics of the two apostles which took place in 258 A.D. (above, § 26 *b*). The confusion is found first in the *Martyrologium* of Jerome. Another commemoration is on 22nd February. So far as Peter is concerned, the day on which he assumed the episcopal office, in Rome or in Antioch, is said to be untraced (pp. Lipsius, ii. 143-48). According to Eibes (*U. Z.* 1911), it is the true anniversary of Paul's death (a latter bold assumption), whilst for Peter its historical character cannot be at all established.

(b) It would be natural to suppose, if the same day of the same month is given for the death of the two apostles, that the year must, of course, be also the same. A whole series of ecclesiastical writers from Prudentius onwards (last half of 4th cent.), however, place the death of Paul exactly a year later than that of Peter, others only a day later, namely on 30th June (see Lipsius, ii. 123-244).

Harnack (*U. Z.* ii. 1308-9) leaves the last-mentioned date (a day later) untraced, and argues from the identity of the month-date that the difference of the year date is inadmissible. He therefore supposes that the death year of the one apostle was known the fourth century onwards for some unknown reason separated from that of the other. He himself sees that this is a very difficult hypothesis, and would be inclined rather to hold the identification of the two years to be the secondary stage, 'were it not that the legend has as a constant element the identity of the days.' In making this remark, then, he has simply let out of account not only the dating, which separates the two events by only a single day, but also the pre-Catholic Acts altogether, for these not only preserve quite different years for the deaths of Peter and of Paul, but also quite different days, since they do not name any day at all. In order to suggest something or other which could possibly have led to a large separation of the years originally regarded as identical, Harnack refers to various sorts of legends about the death of the apostles which are unknown to us, and adds: 'Lipsius thinks of old Gnostic prophecies (*Herzog und Haack*, but none such ever existed). Whether they existed we do not need to inquire here, for it is by no means the case that Lipsius relies upon writings that can only be hypothetically inferred; he builds upon our pre-Catholic Acts, which even for Harnack himself exist, if not from a date, rather than about 250 A.D., yet at all events from more than two years before Prudentius.'

(c) As soon as due heed is paid to this, it becomes clear that the separation of the deaths of the two apostles by a year or a day is nothing but a compromise between the church's assertion of the simultaneousness of the two events, and the opposite tradition set down in the pre-Catholic Acts. On Harnack's own principle, accordingly, we must regard the coalescence of the days as the secondary stage, and on this point also the pre-Catholic Acts have preserved the older stage as compared with the Catholic Acts.

Whoever regards the simultaneousness of the two apostles' appearances in Rome and then compares further with Simon as the secondary form of the tradition (§ 37) is all the less in a position to doubt that this form of the tradition must necessarily have carried with it that of the coincidence of their deaths. That the difference of the days goes back to non-Catholic sources (to which our pre-Catholic Acts are to be reckoned according to § 6 *b*) is expressly stated in the decree of Pope Gelasius (22 *ap. Euboeus, Liber Gelasii de scripturis*, 1. 47, 195, 202, 208) dating from the year 494, yet perhaps even from the time of Damasus, 362 A.D.; (Lipsius) qui non diversis, ut heretici garriunt, sed una temporis, una coetempore die gloriosa morte cum Petro in urbe Roma sub Caesare Neroniano agonizans coronatus est.

Having reached this point, let us now endeavour to sum up the provisional conclusions that seem to be deductible from our study of the 39. Conclusion from Apocryphal Acts, in the same manner as has already been done in § 31 from the data of the N.T. and Church fathers. (a) In the most important points we have seen that the contents of the pre-Catholic Acts are the more original as compared with those of the Catholic; namely, that Peter without Paul

engaged in controversy with Simon in Rome and suffered martyrdom. This, however, is confirmed by the Catholic Acts also, inasmuch as we can see that in them Paul has been introduced into the picture as the fellow comitant of Peter against Simon only by an after-thought (§ 35c). In view of this fact, one would have to postulate the existence of some such representation as that of the pre-Catholic Acts as a foundation for that of the Catholic, even if it were not actually extant. All the less is there any reason for trying to discover in the pre-Catholic Acts 'tendencies' by which they would be shown to be secondary as compared with the Catholic Acts.

Let it be added that the *Acta Pauli* do not alter our judgment upon the two Acts now under discussion. They tell us (in *Acta Pauli*, 488c: 110-115) that Paul, awaited by Luke and Titus, came (returned?) to Rome, revived from the dead Petrus (the cup-bearer of Nero), preached Christ to Nero himself, and was for this sentenced by him to death; all this without any mention at all of Peter and Simon.

(b) Even if we refrain from trying to frame a hypothesis as to the relative priority of the several Acts (or their sources) regarded as literary monuments (§ 35a), the priority of the most important points in the contents of the pre-Catholic Acts is, nevertheless, a result of very great importance. In spite of this priority it remains open to us to hold that the oldest forms of pre-Catholic and Catholic Acts alike arose approximately at the same date, but in different Christian circles (§ 32b), and both of them in the time before the rise of the idea of the Roman bishopric of Peter, and thus before about 180-217 A.D. (§ 20 [f]). This last idea is discontinued, not only by the pre-Catholic Acts (§ 36f), but also quite as much by the Catholic with their co-ordination of Peter and Paul (§ 35d).

(c) The theological views and presuppositions also alike of the pre-Catholic Acts (§ 36 [f]) and of the Catholic, fit into the same period (from about 160 A.D. onwards). The essence of Christianity is in the Catholic Acts summed up in belief in one God and his son Jesus Christ, and in an earnest morality, and salvation is sought, quite as in *Didache*, 9:10-12 f., in recognition of the truth and in the life eternal; Peter, precisely as in the canonical book of Acts (see ACTS, §§ 4, 7), does away with the Mosaic law, and Paul appears as a true Jew, with the sole difference that he substitutes for the fleshly circumcision the circumcision of the heart (Rom. 2:28 f., 4:11 f. against Gal. 5:2 f.), etc. (§ 34a, d, e, and more fully in *Lapsius*, ii. 135-358). The interest also in composing the differences of view between Jewish and Gentile Christians (*ibid.* 340-349) was no longer a lively one in the later time. The *Acta Pauli* (above, a) likewise belongs to this same period.

(d) Thus it is in itself a possible thing that many, even of the older of the Church fathers mentioned in §§ 25 f., 29, may have drawn upon our apocryphal Acts: e.g., Dionysius of Corinth, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Gaius from the Catholic; the Muratorian fragmentist and Clement of Alexandria, who do not name Paul along with Peter, from the pre-Catholic Acts (as for Clem. Alex., however, cp §§ 25 d, 41 b), the *Philosophumena* from both, since in a very significant way we find it following both traditions within the compass of a single line (620): Simon 'journeying as far also as Rome, fell in with the apostles, whom Peter opposed in many ways' (*ἔως καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίδημισας ἀντιπρὸς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πρὸς ἃν πολλά Πέτρος ἀντι-κάστην*).¹ At the same time in no single case can one be sure that the fathers named had really come by their information by reading and not by oral communication, and thus it becomes impossible to fix the date of composition of the Acts by that of any of these Fathers.

¹ *The Didachia apostolorum* (60), the *Apostolic Constitutions* (9), Eusebius (*HE* ii. 11-13), and others (see *Lapsius*, ii. 1321, n. 5); also mention Peter alone as the controvertor of Simon.

(e) It has already been stated in § 31a as one of our results that, so far as the evidence of the NT and the Church Fathers goes, Peter never was in Rome at all. The question now emerges anew, whether our examination of the apocryphal Acts supplies any fresh material which might help us to understand how it, nevertheless, came about that tradition carried him there. The new element we find in these Acts is the importance which is attached in them to the conflict with Simon. On this account, Erbes (*Z. f. Kirchengesch.*, 22, 1901, pp. 12-16, 177-179) makes the following combination: Simon was, according to Acts 8:0-24, confuted by Peter in Samaria and, according to Justin (see SIMON MAGES, § 2a), attained to divine honours in Rome, in the conviction that these could not have continued for any time, it was assumed for Rome also that Simon was confuted by Peter there. As further, according to the Epistle of the Corinthians to Paul, which together with the (apocryphal) third Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians belonging to it, has been shown to be a constituent part of the *Acta Pauli*,² Simon made his appearance in Corinth also, and led astray members of the church there, on which account Stephanus (so here for Stephanos, cp 1 Cor. 1:16 16:15) and his fellow-writers by the speedy return of Paul, it was found fitting to represent Paul as the opponent, not here only, but also in Rome. Such motives can, indeed, have been operative, and must be added to those mentioned in § 31c.

(f) Nevertheless, these motives do not solve every question. According to Erbes, they can have become operative only when, through Justin, there had become widely spread the mistaken notion that a statue had been erected to Simon in Rome. The question whether the formation of a legend of this kind was possible at a still earlier date is thus wholly foreclosed. Rightly, a would seem, since Justin mentions only Simon in Rome, but neither Peter nor Paul as his opponents (§ 37: end). It will be shown, however, later (§ 40: a, b) that there are conditions which point to a much earlier date for the origin of the legend. Their investigation is only hindered by the position of Erbes.

(g) All that has hitherto been said still leaves unexplained one matter which, nevertheless, is plainly one of primary importance in the Catholic Acts: the Pauline interest. Why was it so urgently necessary to accentuate the harmonious agreement of Peter and Paul? Who was there to dispute this after the middle of the second century had been passed? With this in view, is connected the further question: Why was it so urgently necessary to controvert Simon? Why is it that we learn from the NT so little concerning him if he had been in the East, and in Rome, even from pre-Pauline times, so formidable an enemy of Christianity? Are the two questions perhaps so intimately connected that one and the same cause rendered necessary the confuting of Simon, and the bringing into prominence of the harmony between Peter and Paul? For further light upon this, we must try to find new material. Thus, our examination of the apocryphal Acts ends not so much in solution of our main problem, as in the raising of new questions regarding Peter's Roman sojourn.

The body of literature still remaining for our consideration with reference to the question whether Peter was ever in Rome, consists of the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions*. We begin with the following results derived from a careful examination elsewhere (see SIMON MAGES, §§

¹ Carl Schmidt has obtained this result from a Coptic translation not yet published. See his communication in the *Annuaire Heidelberger Jahrb.*, 1897, pp. 117-124, and *Heidelberger Anzeiger* of it in *TLZ*, 1897, pp. 625-629. For the Coptic text, see the report of it in *TLZ*, 1897, pp. 625-629. For the Coptic text, see the report of it in *TLZ*, 1897, pp. 625-629. For the Coptic text, see the report of it in *TLZ*, 1897, pp. 625-629. For the Coptic text, see the report of it in *TLZ*, 1897, pp. 625-629.

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3/. 9-11). The Simon who is opposed in these writings by Peter was originally the apostle Paul, yet in a form which has been distorted by the hostility of the authors. Only later were Gnostic features added to him, and thus in his figure the Gnosticism of the second century was contrived. This does not concern us here. The fundamental idea was that Peter must everywhere follow 'Simon' (who seeks in his travels to win adherents for himself everywhere) in order to refute his pernicious doctrines by disputations, and to outdo his magical arts by still greater wonders. If not in writing, yet at all events orally, there was current a coherent, comprehensive form of this romance in which Peter followed 'Simon' to Rome also.

(b) The thesis which has been based on this foundation since the days of Baur is the following. Peter was never in Rome. It was merely the idea of the romance—that he had to follow 'Simon' everywhere—that led to the assertion of his having come to Rome also. This was, in the end, accepted for a fact in churchly circles also, and this all the more readily because it subserved churchly interests. For, since Paul had notoriously been in Rome, it now became possible to appeal to the activity of both these leading apostles in the metropolis. Their mutual relation was, of course, represented as one of the most absolute agreement. Thus, to the assertion that Peter had withstood Simon, it ceased to be possible to attach the original meaning, according to which Simon stood for Paul; Simon must figure as a third person, and Paul could range himself on the side of Peter. So the Catholic Acts and the Church fathers from Dionysius of Corinth (about 170 A.D.) onwards. Some of them name only Peter as the opponent of Simon in Rome (§ 39*d*), just as the pre-Catholic Acts do. This stage in the development of the legend is now definitely perceived to be the earlier.

(c) The whole development, however, is seen to present a perversion of historical truth such as it would be almost impossible to surpass, and which throws a lurid light upon the hostility to history, as well as upon the power, of the idea of a Catholic church. For something analogous see § 24*d*. Even although we are not at this distance of time able to say with certainty how far the churchmen who had a hand in this transformation were conscious of the falsification of history which was being brought about by their action, the effect of it, at all events, was that the Catholic church, while gratefully accepting from sources so questionable as in its view the Clementines were, the statement of the presence of Peter contemporaneously with Paul in Rome, at the same time changed the mutually hostile attitude of the two apostles into a friendly one, and gamed from a very hostile and embittered exaggeration of the real antagonism between Peter and Paul the best foundation it could show for its claim to world-wide dominion.

(d) To many students this combination appears from the very outset inadmissible, because they are unable to believe in the possibility of a falsification so gross and audacious as that of representing Peter as having been in Rome if this was really not the fact. As against this, however, it must be borne in mind that the statement in question was not at first put forward as the assertion of a fact, but merely as an incident in a romance; the authors of which had not the remotest notion that strict adherence to historical fact could be reasonably demanded of them and whose only thought was as to how they could give fullest utterance to their hatred of Paul.

It is Justin, in particular, who shows how this romance came to be regarded as actual history only by slow degrees. Justin takes from it the datum that Simon had actually appeared in Rome, and in fact he was able to credit it because it seemed to him to be attested by the statue which he found in Rome. The other datum, that Peter also had been in Rome and come into conflict with Simon, he did not accept—in all probability because

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it did not seem to him to be supported by the traditions with which he had become acquainted in Rome itself (p. 304; 31*b*, 37*c*, 39 [7], SIMON MAGUS, § 11*c*, 7).

How this feature in the romances should on the other hand afterwards have come to be accepted as history is not difficult to understand, when we reflect how admirably it subserved the idea of the Catholic church and remember, further, that the Pauline features of the figure of Simon had already been greatly disguised by the Gnostic touches that had been added to them.

(e) Sohau, who does not accept this whole combination nevertheless concedes (p. 15) that the Simon-legend if it did not give rise to that of Peter's Roman sojourn, at all events favoured its spread; and Harnack (above, § 17*d*), who accepts Peter's Roman sojourn as historically true, declares nevertheless that the Roman legend had the effect of causing Peter's arrival in Rome to be assigned along with that of Simon himself to about 42 A.D. That mere ideas, though historically unfounded, were enough to produce a false representation that Peter had come to Rome is assumed by Sohau and Erbes (above, §§ 17*d*, 30*c*) in a process of reasoning which is not nearly so simple or cogent as that by inference from the *Homilies* and *Recognitions* which is now under discussion. Thus we need not shrink from it. Sohau (p. 15) says further that the Roman sojourn of Peter is incredible also because according to the apocryphal Acts it is full of the wildest fables about the conflict with Simon. The combination we are now contending for goes only a single step farther and finds in these fables the foundation and not merely the adornments of the unhistorical statement that Peter had been in Rome.

The only assertion calling for serious attention here is that which claims for the tradition as to Peter's Roman sojourn that it arose independently of the Simon legend.

41. No counter-testimony.

First of all, it is pointed out that no Church father affirms that Peter and Paul came to Rome simultaneously. We shall not insist, in reply, that Dionysius of Corinth (above, § 25*a*) is not very far from making this affirmation. What is more to the point is that neither also does the Simon-legend say, or need to say, that Peter's arrival at all places was simultaneous with that of Simon. In fact it rather gives to Simon in each case some space of time within which he may win the people over to his side, and only after this has happened does it bring Peter upon the scene (cp. for the pre-Catholic Acts, above § 33*a*, *b*). Moreover, as soon as it is Peter and Paul who have to be dealt with, there come into consideration a variety of historical data which cannot be brought together at one point of time so easily as would be the case with incidents in a mere romance (above, § 37*d*). Besides, for the Catholic use that is made of this romance, it is no longer a simultaneous arrival but merely some sort of contemporaneous activity of the two apostles that is of interest. Thus even considerable intervals between the arrivals of the two apostles would not of themselves be any evidence that the allegation of their having been in Rome together does not rest upon the Simon romance.

(f) What would be more important would be the existence of a tradition which spoke only of the presence of Peter in Rome, without mentioning that of Paul. Such a tradition seems to be found in Clement of Alexandria; but, as has already been shown (above, § 25*d*), since Clement in the connection in which he was writing had no occasion to mention Paul, it does not follow that he was not aware of his activity contemporaneously with Peter. In the pre-Catholic Acts (above, § 33*a*) Paul sets out from Rome before Peter's arrival there, and is represented as returning only after the death of the latter. Here accordingly is a case where we actually had Peter without Paul in Rome. Not, however, without Simon; and this is the important thing. In one form or another Paul in Rome is always by his side, as a foe or as a friend. There exists no tradition regarding Peter in Rome, which rested content with bringing him personally to Rome; every such tradition connects with his presence there some declaration as to his relations with Paul. It is

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this circumstance that gives so great inherent probability to the supposition that the allegation of his peaceful cooperation with Paul in Rome (which, even irrespective of the pseudo-clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions*, we have already found to be inadmissible: see § 31 *n*) arises from a transformation of the tradition as to his conflict with Paul in the same place.

The transformation cannot possibly have taken place in the opposite direction. In such a case the conflict with Simon would have first begun to be alleged at a date so late as would render it impossible that Simon could be Paul, Paul having by this time come to be held in general reverence. If, therefore, the transformation in this direction were to be insisted on, it would be necessary first of all to set aside everything that has been brought forward in SIMON MAGUS (§ 42) with a view to showing that Simon is a caricature of Paul.

(c) Thus we are precluded also from attaching value, as evidences for a tradition independent of the Simon legend, to those passages of the Church fathers which mention the contemporaneous activity of Peter and Paul in Rome without at the same time mentioning Simon Magus.

In those passages it is already the transformed Simon legend which we have. It can take the form of representing Peter and Paul as making common cause against Simon (so the Catholic Acts, the *Philosophumena*, etc.; above, §§ 34, 20*d*, *e*); but it does not need to do so. Inasmuch as on this presupposition Simon at once appears as a Gnostic merely, he loses for the Church fathers all that independent interest which he possesses in the Simon romance. Moreover, in many cases the connection does not admit of his being mentioned. Such passages accordingly prove still less than do the converse cases in which Simon is spoken of as being in Rome without Peter (see SIMON MAGUS, § 11, *c*, *f*).

(d) The only kind of evidence that would be conclusive in the matter, would be the production of a statement relating to the presence of Peter in Rome, which could be shown to belong to a time when the Simon-legend could not yet have exercised an influence on the shaping of the history. Such a statement, however, is to be found neither in Clement of Rome (above, § 28), nor in any of the other writers named in § 29 *f*. At the same time, if one reflects that the Simon legend could have begun to exert its influence even in its oral form (see SIMON MAGUS, § 10*a*), and thus sharing and shortly after the lifetime of Paul, it will be seen that the attempt to find a testimony to the presence of Peter in Rome which shall be wholly independent of it must be regarded as hopeless from the outset.

Only 1 Pet. offers any inducements to any such attempt (cp above, § 30 *b*).

(a) In fact, however, this epistle cannot supply us with a decisive answer that Rome is meant by Babylon. Neither, indeed, it is true, with a secure negative answer. Stress

has often been laid upon the consideration that the order of the provinces to which it is addressed—Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia (*i.e.* the W. coast of Asia Minor) and Bithynia—is not a suitable one if the epistle was written from Rome. But neither is it suitable if Babylon was the place of origin; it is not arranged in such a way that the five provinces can be brought into line on any hypothesis as to the writer's view-point. Yet neither does the mention of Babylon (513) contain the slightest hint that the name is to be taken in any secondary sense.

The case is quite different when in 4 Ezra 11—that is to say, in an apocalypse—Babylon on the Euphrates, where Salthiel, the father of Zerubbabel, is living in the thirtieth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, *i.e.* in 537 B.C., is named with some sort of suggestion that the statement is to be taken as a veiled one, and that in reality, the book having been written towards the end of the first Christian century, Rome ought to be understood. In like manner the case is different from that of 1 Pet., if, according to a Sibylline prophecy (117-142 158 *f*, 118-144 157 *f*) Nero, 'the great king of great Rome . . . shall flee from Babylon' (*ἡς μεγάλης Ῥώμης βασιλεὺς μέγας . . . φεύξεται ἐκ Βαβυλώνης*), and a great star shall fall into the sea, 'and shall burn up the deep sea and Babylon itself and the land of Italy' (*καὶ φλέξει ποταμὸν βαθυὸν αὐτὸν τε Βαβυλώνα Ἰταλίαν γαίαν τε*). Here care is taken by the naming of Rome and Italy to warn the reader that he is not to suppose Babylon on the Euphrates to be meant, just as in Rev. 17 15 by the note that the many waters on

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which the great whore—*i.e.*, according to 17 5, Babylon sits (17 1) are nations, and not literal waters.

(b) In the case of 1 Pet. the position of matters is that a decision as to the presence of Peter in Rome cannot be gained by interpreting Babylon one way or other, but contrariwise our interpretation of what is intended by Babylon will be determined by our independent conclusion on the other point. It now was in mind that in Rome itself, as late as 152 A.D., it was known nothing of Peter's having been there (above, § 29), and thus that the Simon-romance which brought Peter to Rome was not yet at that date in church circles. For history, it becomes extremely improbable that the romance should have been accepted in 112 A.D. by the author of 1 Pet. (on the date see CHRISTIAN, § 2) and made the basis of his designation of the place of writing, although it had been in circulation in strict Jewish-Christian circles from a time when Paul was still alive, or at any rate shortly after his death. If this were then the dating from Babylon tells us still further, it was that about 112 A.D. Peter's chief activity was supposed to have been exercised between his departure from Jerusalem and his death; and it tells us so even if it should so happen that the Epistle was in fact all composed in Rome.

Thus we are thrown back upon the scattered notices referred to above (§ 24) regarding the various fields of activity, apart from Rome, which tradition has assigned to Peter.

(a) Among all these, only Babylon and perhaps also the Black Sea coast can be considered seriously. According to Lipsius (1616*a*) the tradition that

Peter laboured along with his brother Andrew on the shores of the Black Sea goes as far back as to the second century. 1 Pet., however, in its allusion to Babylon as a mission-field of Peter takes us still further back than any of the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles made use of by Lipsius.

(b) It is specially interesting to observe that according to late redactions (for example, in Euphanus Monachus in the 9th cent.) Peter takes leave of Andrew in order to travel westward, and that thereafter the other apostle called Simon, surnamed Zelotes or the Cananite, suddenly appears as Andrew's companion. The journey into the West plainly originates in the wish to bring the tradition of Peter's activity in Asia into connection with that regarding his labours in Rome. The appearance of the second Simon on the other hand, points to a substitution for Simon Peter. Whilst at first there was no idea that any other than Simon Peter was intended, it was inevitable, as soon as the later idea of his departure for the West had come to be accepted, that the Simon who was named in the subsequent course of these tales of the apostles should be taken to be Simon the Cananite.

(c) The same vacillation between the names of Peter and the Cananite recurs also in what is called the Babylonian. According to the Acts of Judas the Disciple, Peter laboured with Judas in (S) and Mesopotamia; according to other accounts (chiefly western) Simon the Cananite laboured along with Judas in Babylonia as well as in Persia, and they suffer martyrdom together in Samir in Coelebs. By this last statement the combination as to Babylonia and Persia is thus being put in combination with that as to the coast lands of the Black Sea (above, *a*). Lipsius conjectures that here also Simon the Cananite was erroneously taken for Simon Peter after the triumph of the tradition that Peter had laboured in Rome (1 27 10 611-613, II, 2 145 *f*, 173-175).

(d) Seuffert (*ZHT*, 1885, 160 *f*) urges against the combination would be convincing only if evidence of the Babylonian sojourn of Peter earlier than the date of 1 Pet. could be adduced; otherwise, it remains possible that in 1 Pet. Rome is meant by Babylon, and thus that Peter's sojourn in Rome was at that time presupposed, but that afterwards in consequence of a literal interpretation of 1 Pet. 5 13 the place of sojourn was removed to Babylon, while at a still later date, with

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a view to harmony with the tradition of his Roman sojourn, Simon the Canaanite was put in his place as sojourning in Babylon. We shall not here urge how difficult must at any time have been a literal interpretation of 'Babylon' in Peter, if Rome had already come to be so generally accepted as the scene of Peter's labours, that the author could have omitted an being understood, although he could have omitted the word Babylon. The essential point is this: in the view which we here uphold, Babylon must have been meant literally by the author of 1 Pet., because at that early date he had not as yet any idea of Peter as having ever been in Rome; in harmony with this view are those apocryphal Acts which represent him as labouring in Babylonia, so that the substitution of Simon the Canaanite in his place is found to be due to a subsequent alteration.

Even if Babylonia was Peter's most important field of labour, it does not by any means immediately follow that he died there. If it is certain that he did not die in Rome, there is all the more reason for asking whether any other place can be named with any probability.

44. Where did Peter die?

(1) Erbes (*Ztschr. f. Kirchengesch.* 22, 1901, 150-151) names Jerusalem.

In the pre-Catholic Acts it is not Nero who sentences Peter to death but the city-prefect Agrippa. By Agrippa, it is argued, cannot be intended the M. Vipsanius Agrippa who died in 12 A.D. Along with Agrippa is mentioned, as a persecutor of Peter, the emperor's friend Albinus, whose wife withdrew herself from his society from motives of chastity (above, § 314). In this Albinus Erbes discerns the procurator Albinus who succeeded Festus in Judaea in 62 A.D., and who had a faithful high-born wife; while Agrippa on the other hand he identifies with King Agrippa II, who was master of north-eastern Palestine from 53 to 100 A.D. (see Heine, § 11). King Agrippa is not known to have been married, and Erbes presumes his domestic circumstances to have been similar to those of the Agrippa of the pre-Catholic Acts. It is in Palestine only, not in Rome, that the two men can be shown to have been contemporaries; the city-prefect of Rome in a Latin recension of the Pseudo-Barnabas (chap. 13, in *Acta Apost. Apoc.* 1273; also, in chap. 28) discussed above, § 124) is named not Agrippa but Clement. But further, King Agrippa II. has been confined with Herod Agrippa I, who, according to Acts 12, cast Peter into prison in Jerusalem. It is his liberation from this captivity, Erbes thinks, which constitutes the basis of what is related in the Catholic and pre-Catholic Acts as to Peter's flight from Rome (above, §§ 346, 347). As to his death, on the other hand, Erbes conjectures that in reality Peter suffered crucifixion under Aulus towards the end of 64 A.D., and that Mt. 23:34 contains an allusion to this fact. Among the messengers of Jesus of whom he says to the Jews, 'some of them shall ye kill,' allusion is made to James the elder (Acts 12:2); it is Paul who is alluded to in the words 'some of them shall ye scourge in your synagogues and persecute from city to city,' and he whom the Jews 'shall crucify' is not the second bishop of Jerusalem, Simon the son of Clopas, whose crucifixion (under Trajan, according to Hegesippus in Eusebius, *HE* iii. 32) falls too late to allow the possibility of its being referred to in Mt., but Simon Peter, Erbes, but it is to say, accepts as historical the statement which Eusebius (*HE* 3:11) introduces with a *ἄνευ ἀμφιβολίας*—on the face of which formula see above, § 286)—that after the death of James the Just in 62 A.D., all the surviving apostles met in Jerusalem in order to choose a successor to James—namely the Simon referred to above. Peter after this continued in Jerusalem until the outbreak of Nero's persecution of the Christians in Rome, and in Jerusalem as a result of the activity of several zealous procurators by this persecutor, he was crucified in Rome. It was in this manner, it is urged, that it became possible for Peter to be regarded as one of Nero's victims, and his death to be at the same time transferred erroneously to Rome. The twofold destruction of Jerusalem, first by Titus and afterwards by Hadrian, explains how it was possible that the fact of its having been the scene of Peter's death should have got out of memory. The whole combination, however, notwithstanding other arguments, brought by Erbes to its support, cannot be recapitulated here, is much too bold for acceptance.

(2) On the other hand, there is no difficulty in the proposition already set forth (§§ 287, 317), that Peter died in an unknown and obscure place, perhaps without legal process, perhaps on a journey, perhaps without any companion, so that no tradition recording it survived which could have asserted itself against the steadily advancing belief that he had died in Rome. Here accordingly we must rest, as we have to more detailed accounts, in particular none from Clement of Rome, from whom we should most naturally have expected them. When Soltan lays it down (pp. 23-25) that no one disputes the martyrdom of Peter in

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the time of the Neronian persecution, though it was not in Rome, the date is by no means to be accepted.

But neither have we any other means of learning the date of Peter's death. In particular, we may not say with Krenkel (*Christus u. Lucia*, 1704, p. 153, n. 3) that he must have died before Paul's last journey to Jerusalem because Paul, according to Acts 21:15, at that date found no one but James at the head of the Church there.

That Peter never was in Rome has already been inferred from the NT and the Church Fathers (§ 31).

45. Conclusion as to Peter's activity and death outside of Palestine.

Discussion of the apocryphal Acts showed, further, that Peter's presence in Rome was presupposed in Church circles not merely after 170 A.D., but perhaps even from as early a date as 160 A.D., that the purpose of his presence there is to be sought entirely in the conflict with Simon Magus (and in the martyrdom), and also, so far as the Catholic Acts are concerned, in the desire to bring into prominence his harmonious accord with Paul (§ 30). Not till we came to the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions*, however, were we able to perceive that under the name of Simon it was originally Paul that was controverted, and that nothing but the fundamental idea of the Simon-romance that Peter must necessarily follow 'Simon' everywhere gave rise to the allegation that he had come to Rome also. It is these writings, moreover, that first point the way clearly to a recognition of the fact that in the apocryphal Acts also the figure of Simon has an anti-Pauline basis (SIMON MAGUS, § 5). At the same time it was also through the *Homilies* and *Recognitions* that we first became aware that the harmonious co-operation of Paul with Peter in Rome was a fundamentally altered form of their hostile meeting in Rome reported in the romance—an alteration made in the interests of the Catholic Church. Lastly, they showed us that this romance had already arisen and begun to take shape in the lifetime of Paul and the period immediately following. In church circles, however, it did not find acceptance until Gnostic features also had been given to Simon and thereby the Pauline features had been so greatly obscured that it became possible to assume a harmonious instead of a hostile conjunction of Paul with Peter in Rome. Thus we see that the key to the whole riddle is found only in the *Homilies* and *Recognitions*, and how great is the injustice done to themselves in the complete neglect of these by those scholars, like Erbes and Soltan, who seek to reach the right conclusion that Peter never was in Rome by other and much less conclusive arguments, or who like Hamack accept the tradition of the presence of Peter in Rome as true history.

But also the anti-Pauline basis of the Acta Petri is completely unknown when Carl Schmidt (below, § 46), 83-90, arguing correctly from the view of Hamack, declares it to be an 'assured result' that the whole legend contained in it about the meeting between Simon Magus and Peter has been derived by the author from combination of what Justin says about Simon with the fact of the Roman martyrdom of Peter, adding that Simon is exclusively the magician, and that the author remains without any idea that Paul is concealed under this mask, because the Pseudo-Clementines were not yet in existence.

In truth the interest of the Catholic church succeeded very well, thanks to great skill, persistence, and unscrupulousness, in obscuring the actual facts of the case (cp the suppression of the tradition according to which Barnabas was the first preacher of the gospel in Rome; BARNABAS, § 4); yet it is not wholly impossible for us to bring them again to light.

Still, the whole question, after all, is a purely historical one. A claim on the part of the bishop of Rome to supreme authority over the world would not be established even if it were a fact that Peter had been in Rome or that Mt. 16:18 *f.* as well as 1k. 22:32 or Ju. 21:15-17 were genuine. In § 26g, *h* it has been shown how late was the date at which Peter came to be

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regarded as bishop of Rome in spite of this presupposition. In Peter's lifetime there were no monarchical bishops at all (MINISTRY, §§ 46b, 47), and even if there had been, his office was that of an apostle, never that of bishop. And even if he had been bishop, his special dignity would not have passed over to his successor; for apart from the fact that the apostolical succession was not believed in till a date long after the lifetime of Peter (MINISTRY, § 37), it is in itself an empty doctrine. Tertullian has well expressed this as against Calixtus of Rome (*Pudic.* 21, middle): 'qualis es, evitens atque commutans manifestam domini intentionem personaliter hoc [Mt. 16:18 f.] Petro conferentem?'

Only a brief account of later traditions can be given. The wife of Peter (1 Cor. 9:4 f.) is said to have been a daughter of Aristobolus, brother of Barnabas. Peter by prayer inflicts gent on his own daughter Petronilla in order to preserve her from danger with which she is threatened on account of her beauty.

47. Later traditions.

To show that he has the power to do so he heals her, but forthwith permits the malady to return. This is related in a Coptic fragment with the subscription *ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ Ⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩ* (discussed by Carl Schmidt (below, § 49), 1-25 and already in *SB. III*, 1896, p. 341 f.). Thus the conjecture of Lipsius (ii. 1203-206) is confirmed that the Acts of Nereus and Achilles and the Acts of Philip from which he adduces the same story derived it from the old *ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ Ⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩ*. Yet the Coptic fragment gives the beginning to the effect that a heathen, Ptolemaeus, had carried off the daughter of Peter (here she does not yet bear the name 'Petronilla') but brought her back when she had lost her health. Clement of Alexandria clearly knew the story, as he says (*Strom.* 3, § 52, p. 535, ed. Potter; also *op. Eus.* *HE* iii. 301), 'for Peter indeed and Philip both became fathers, and only with regard to Philip adds, "Philip also gave his daughters in husbands" (see *Philit.* § 46, col. 152c). According to *Strom.* 7:11, § 83, p. 869 (*op. Eus.* *HE* iii. 302) Peter's wife suffered martyrdom before his eyes. He himself is said to have been bald (cp the 'tonsura Petri'). For a detailed description of his appearance, from John Malalas after older authorities, see Lipsius, ii. 1213, n. 1. Of the miracles of Peter reference may be made here to that mentioned in the 'Acta Petri et Andreæ' according to which, in order to convince a certain rich man named Onesiphorus of the truth of Christianity, he causes a camel to go twice through the eye of a needle, and afterwards, again twice, another camel with a woman of loose character on its back.

We possess no genuine writings of Peter; nor can the speeches attributed to him in Acts lay any claim to authenticity notwithstanding their archaic colouring (§ 48, ACTS).

48. Writings § 14. On the Canonical Epistles see PETER (EPISTLES), and CHRISTIAN, § 8; also, on 2 Pet., above, § 24a. An apocryphal writings of Peter, a book of Acts (not, however, claiming to be by him), a Gospel, a 'Preaching' (*Ⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩⲛⲁ*) and an Apocalypse are enumerated by Eusebius (*HE* iii. 32). Cp *ANCRYPHA*, §§ 284, 301, 312; Zahn, *Gesch. d. NTlichen Lit.*, 2:747-751, 2:108-112; Harnack, *ACL*, ii. 1470-1475, 6:20-25. On the 'Preaching' of Peter see also above, § 25c. Of the gospel of Peter the second half is fully considered under RESURRECTION-NARRATIVES, § 5, *et passim*. Lastly, mention must be made of the Epistle of Peter to James prefixed to the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies*, on which see SIMON MAGUS, § 15.

On the life of Peter generally see the Bible Dictionaries; also Harnack in *EB* and the literature relating to the life of Jesus and the apostolic age. Of Catholic

49. Literature. accounts may be named (the very title is characteristic) that of Janvier, *Histoire de*

St. Pierre, prince des apôtres et premier pape (Tours, 1902). Against the Roman sojourn of Peter: Baur, *Tüb. Ztschr. f. Theol.*, 1841 d, pp. 136-206, and *Paulus*, 1845, pp. 212-243 = *ib.* 1, 1866, pp. 243-272; Lipsius, *Chronol. der röm. Bischöfe*, 1860, especially pp. 162-167, *Quellen der röm. Petrusfrage*, 1872, *ITT*, 1876, pp. 161-165, and *Apokr. Ap.-Gesch.* ii. 1, 1887, pp. 131-133; Zeller, *ZIT*, 1877, pp. 21-56; Erbes, *TU* 19:1, 'Todesstige d. Paulus o. Petrus', 1890, and *Z. f. Kirchengesch.* 22, 1901, pp. 147, 161-224; Soltan, *Petrus in Rom.* in 'Sammlung gemeinverständl. wissenschaftl. Vorträge' (ed. Virchow and Holtzendorff, Hft. 340 = Neue Folge, Serie 15, 1900, pp. 469-509). In support of the Roman sojourn of Peter see Hilgenfeld, *ZIT*, 1872, pp. 340-372; 1876, pp. 57-80; 1877, pp. 486-508; Joh. Deliusch, *St. Petrus*, 1874, pp. 213-260; Schmid (Roman Cath.), *Petrus in Rom.* Lucerne, 1879; Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers* i. 68. (Clement of Rome), 2:281-302 ('S. Peter in Rome') and also 1:201-245 ('Early Roman Succession'); Harnack, *ACL* ii (2) *Chronol.* 1240-243, 702-710 *et passim*; Clemens, *Preuss. Jahrb.* 106 (Oct.-Dec. 1901) 405-417; Kneller, *Z. f. kath. Theol.* 1902, pp. 33-60, 225-247, and (against Erbes) 351-361; Carl Schmidt, 'Die alten Petrusakten', in *TU* 24 ('Neue Folge' ix) 1, 1903 (a work which did not appear until the present article was already in print). Cp also SIMON MAGUS, § 15.

T. W. S.

SIMRI

SIMRI (סִמְרִי), 1 Ch. 20 to AV, RV SIMIRI.

SIN (סִן; for S's readings see below) an Egyptian city, Ez. 30:15: 'and I will pour my fury upon Sin (AVMS, Pelusium), the strength of Egypt'. It is probably parallel to Noph-Memphis (7: 13), Patihos, Zoin, Iams and No-Thebes (17: 14), in direct parallelism to N. (Corull; Noph-Memphis after S). Verse 16 names together Sin (but S—except Q which has Σαῖς) 7: 15—Syene, and thus with great probability (17: 12; see SYENE, No, and Noph; in 7: 17 f. less important cities are enumerated. As in 7: 16 S seems to be right, only 7: 15 remains for Sin. Nothing can be concluded from the parallelisms, especially because the text (No) occurs 3 times in the present Hebrew text; has been corrupted in several places, except that Sin must have been a very important city; in view of the parallelism with Memphis (S, see above), it would seem to belong to northern Egypt. More important is the designation 'strength' (RV stronghold, 17: 12) of Egypt, which seems to point to the eastern frontier of the Delta. S renders Σαῖς (accusative of Sais or transliteration of Sais) *Tanw* (of course incorrectly, as Tanis is Ζωνή, 17: 15, Vg. *Pelusium*). Modern scholars have always adhered to the Vulgate's identification with Pelusium, because Pelusium would meet the requirements best on the basis of the Aramaic word *spanin*, Syriac *spanā* 'mud' which seemed to furnish the Semitic equivalent for the Greek *Ἡλιούσιον*—i.e., mud-city (cp Lutetia). This identification has been often repeated by Egyptologists (cp Steinbock, *Revue sur Assyr.* 1860 as late as 1869) but on the basis of erroneous conclusions (Bingsch, *Deut. Geogr.* 1091; cp Dunichen, *Gesch. Ass.* 2:3, 4) had assumed that Coptic *ome*, 'dirt, mud', furnished the etymology for the great fortified frontier-city *Amel*, and that the latter, consequently, was Pelusium. The city in question—*Amel*—had its official etymology rather from a word meaning 'prince of Lower Egypt', but this might have been artificial. The city itself was, however, discovered by the excavations and investigations of Petrie and Griffith, at the modern Nebisheh, 8 miles SE of Tanis; cp Petrie, *Tanis II* (on the proposed identification with Tahpanhes, see TAH-PAN-HES.) For the identification Pelusium-Sin there remains only the fact that Pelusium (or a fort near it?) is called by some Arabic sources (*cp* *Lehmann*) a piece of clay, lump of mud); but this seems to be only a translation of the Greek name on a popular etymology of Pelusium which also Strabo (803) derives from the muddy surroundings.² At any rate a comparison of the words *Sin* or the Aramaic *spanin* with Arabic *fin* is inadmissible for the Semitist. Pelusium, besides, does not seem to have had any importance before Greek times; Herodotus (2:14, etc.) knows it as the entrance to Egypt, and in this capacity it appears in many Greek writers; but no hieroglyphic name for it has been found so far, and it is not unlikely that cities more to the East (see above on Amel-Nebisheh) had formerly the strategic position of Pelusium. According to Strabo (803), Pelusium was 20 m. distant from the sea; in his time it was much decayed, although later it was still the seat of a Coptic bishop. The Coptic name was ΠΕΡΕΜΟΥΝ, Arabic *Pariwan*. The easternmost branch of the Nile was known as the Pelusiac; the Pelusiac mouth is now dried up completely, and the insignificant ruins of the ancient city are situated in the desert.³

It will be seen, therefore, that the popular identification with Pelusium rests on very feeble grounds. Itome (see above) was most likely guided by the Aramaic

¹ The ambiguous letter Q had here the value of Alpha (cp judge from demotic transcriptions).

² Other classical writers think of mythical persons such as Pelens, Pelusius, etc. See Wiedemann's excellent commentary on Herodotus (p. 204).

³ On these and the history of the city see Wiedemann, *op. cit.*

SIN, WILDERNESS OF

etymology given in his time to the old name by Jewish scholars. It seems quite plausible that Ezekiel's Sin was a fortress similar to (perhaps not very far from) Pelusium, but of a somewhat ephemeral importance. In the critical sixth century B.C., fortifications and garrisons along the entrance to Egypt between the sea and the modern Ballah-lakes seem to have changed considerably, and even before the great revolution caused by the Persian conquest in 525 B.C., the withdrawal of the large garrison to a better location may have reduced a populous city to the position of an obscure village. This must have been the case with Ezekiel's Sin, as it could no longer identify it.¹

[Cp. *Crit. Bib.* on Jerk, 29 to 30 14-16, where an underlying **סין** is supposed. That Ezekiel's prophecies have been worked over by a redactor who changed the geographical setting, is pointed out in PROFFER, § 27. The 'Shuim' supposed to be referred to would be that in the Negeb. See SMITH, 109.]

SIN, WILDERNESS OF (סִין) (סִינַי), Ex. 16, etc. See GEOGRAPHY, § 7, and WANDERINGS.

SIN OFFERING (חַטֹּאתַיִן), Lev. 13, etc. See SACRIFICE, §§ 28 ff.

SINAI AND HOREB

Two names (§ 1).
Cosmological theory (§ 2).
Hearing on Horeb-Sinai (§ 3).
Babylon and Egypt (§ 4).
Musi (§ 5).
Mizraim and Sabeans (§ 6).
Magan and Meluha (§ 7).
Amaria period (§ 8).
Mā'in (§ 9).

Hebrew traditions (§ 10 ff.).
Oldest Arab. civilisation (§ 12).
Moses story (§ 13).
Mount variously placed (§§ 14-16).
Early sacred places (§ 17).
Seraf and J. Mūsā (§ 18).
Gal. 4:25 (§ 19).
Various views (§ 20).

Sinai is the usual name for the mountain where, according to one tradition, Yahwé had his seat and where, accordingly, Moses received the divine commands. Sinai is, therefore, the mountain of the giving of the law.

Even the most superficial observation does not fail to note that the mountain where Yahwé dwells has also another name—Horeb. In pre-critical days the explanation offered and accepted was either that Horeb was the name of the whole range and Sinai that of the individual mountain, or, alternatively, that Horeb designated the northern part of the range and Sinai the southern, and more especially the highest point of this. Criticism shows that the various sources can be sharply distinguished.

(1) Horeb is the name of the mountain where Yahwé has his seat in E (the principal passage is Ex. 31; next come 176, where it occurs in a passage of the nature of a gloss, and 336. In the last cited passage, however, the words 'from Mt. Horeb'² are out of place, having been introduced into the text from the margin; it properly belongs to the E section 337-11, and more particularly to 2:9: 'when Moses entered into the tent the pillar of cloud descended from Mount Horeb and stood at the door of the tent'). In this as elsewhere E is followed by D, and the mountain is called Horeb throughout in Dt. (16:41o etc.) except in the older non-deteronomic song (33:2), the opening portion of which is a counterpart to the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5 ff., cp Ps. 68). (2) On the other hand the mountain of Yahwé is called Sinai—generally Mt. Sinai (22:3) in J (Ex. 19:1 31:4) and P (Ex. 16:1 24:16 34:2 ff. Lev. 25:1 26:10 27:34). A 'wilderness of Sinai' (סִינַי) is spoken of only in P (Ex. 19:1 ff. Lev. 7:38 Nu. 10:9 91). This is in agreement with the fact that Sinu came to be the more usual name, the later form of the tradition having as usual gained the upper hand.

We have no information from the older times regarding the Sinaitic Peninsula and the adjacent parts (see

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below), and it is, therefore, impossible to speak with any definiteness as to the relative frequency of the two names or their connotations. On the other hand, we are able to arrive at a quite clear perception of the idea that was connected with their use in the circle of legend and of the facts which caused the change of usage.

In the thought of the ancient East every land that can be looked upon as a geographical or political unity—and so also 'the promised land'—is regarded as a reflected image of the earth and of the cosmos (*K. 173*:176); the points which fix the limits of the earth as a whole must, therefore, reappear also in the lesser cosmos, the country, and once more, again, in the district. It is precisely by this that the land is shown to be a natural unity—i.e., a unity determined and ordained by God. According as a twofold or a fourfold division is adopted, the earth is defined by two or four points; E. and W., or N. and S., or else E., S., W., and N. So also the year and the day are divided into two halves or four quarters in accordance with the corresponding points in the course of the sun. Any one of these two or four points can be taken as the beginning of the year or of the course of the sun; the year can begin in spring as in Babylon, or in winter as with us (following Egyptian-Roman reckoning), in autumn as in the time before the rise of Babylon (end of the third millennium B.C.) in Hither Asia, and, therefore, with the Canaanites and the Israelites; lastly, in summer. The beginning selected corresponds with the nature of the divinity who is principally worshipped. Because Marduk is the god of spring the year is held to begin with spring, and because in the W. the western (i.e., the autumn) god prevails, an autumn new year prevails in western lands, including Canaan, as long as there is independence.

In this connection between the year—i.e., the course of the sun—and geographical conceptions we can already discern the essential character of all oriental religion and science, which is to regard all that is and all that happens as flowing from the activity of the deity. But the deity reveals himself primarily and before aught else in the heavenly bodies and their motions; for the deities of Babylon and of all Hither Asia—as the OT itself abundantly shows—without exception bear an astral character.¹ The heavenly bodies which most plainly reflect the deity in its working, in other words the most conspicuous forms of the divine manifestation, or, in ordinary language, the gods, principally worshipped are the moon, the sun, and the five planets. Their periods of revolution mark the divisions of time—month, year, and larger cycles—and compel attention by their importance for the course of natural life (*Gen.* 1:4 8:22). In the Babylonian view of these seven great divinities the planet Venus is associated with the moon and the sun, so that the three together become rulers of the Zodiac (the *Sapak Samé*—i.e., the highway of heaven, along which the seven travel). 'He (Bel) appointed Sin, Samaš, and Ištar to rule in the Zodiac.' These three have each of them four quarter or two half phases; for Venus, as an inner planet, shows the same phases as the moon, and the positions of the sun in the two or four seasons of the year are reckoned also as phases. The four remaining planets represent each one phase (one quarter) of the greater stars; thus Jupiter (Marduk)=the spring-sun, Mars (Ninib)=the summer sun, Mercury (Nabu)=the harvest sun, and Saturn (Nergal)=the winter sun.

To each of these four planets accordingly belongs one of the four points which regulate the sun's course and thus the universal order. When the division is by two, Mars and Saturn are eliminated; the reckoning in that case is by the two solar phases from equinox to equinox (spring to autumn, or autumn to spring). The sun,

¹ For what follows cp *Wi. AOF* 3:185 ff., and in *Der alte Ori.* 4:1, 3, parts 2 and 3.

¹ As reading Sas (סִין) for Sin would furnish a good emendation, but is forbidden by the place being described as a fortress.
² סִינַי. There is nothing in the Hebrew corresponding to RV's 'forward.'

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moreover, is regarded as the god of the underworld, for the stars as they approach the sun become invisible, in other words, have their abode in the underworld. Now, this 'underworld' aspect of the sun corresponds to Saturn (Nergal), the winter sun or the god of the underworld (Pluto). To the moon accordingly (since the full moon is in opposition to the sun) belongs the opposite pole of the universe and the opposite planet Mars (Ninib), which represents the summer sun. By a complete reversal of all our modern notions, the sun is the deity of winter or the underworld, the moon the deity of summer and the upper world.

Now when the sun takes up the position which properly belongs to it in the universe, that is, when it is a winter sun, it is at the *most southerly* point of its course in the zodiac; and the corresponding full moon being in opposition is at the most northerly point. In other words, the sun is at the Saturn-sun point, the S. pole of the ecliptic, the moon at the Mars-moon point, the N. pole of the ecliptic.

The course of nature shows a similar cycle; day is succeeded by night, summer by winter, and in the larger periods of time, the year, a similar procession is repeated. Everything that happens is divine ordering, the godhead is constantly manifesting itself anew in changed attitudes and changed activities. Thus Marduk becomes Nabu in autumn, and conversely. The same holds good of the N. and S. phase (summer and winter) of the sun or of the godhead in general; they pass each into its opposite. Further, the four (or two) quarters of the world present themselves in various aspects according to the character of the worship exercised at each given place, and according to the different methods of reckoning there employed. The Babylonian view, with the Marduk (or spring) cult, takes as its point of orientation (Mohammedan *qibla*) the E. (= that which is before, ܩܒܠܐ), and thus for it the N. is to the left, the S. to the right, and the W. behind. To the older view, which faces westward, the N. is to the right and the S. to the left. This arises for a later time the possibility of an interchange of diametrically opposite points, according to the point of view assumed by each writer in his theory. Hence the phenomenon constantly observed in all forms of mythology, and therefore also of cosmology, that opposites pass into one another, that a given form bears also the marks of its antithesis.

The selection of the two names, Horeb and Sinai, and their cosmological meaning thus become clear. As soon as scholars discovered the importance of the moon worship in ancient Babylonia, and the name of the moon-goddess Sin, the explanation of the name Sinai as Mountain of the Moon became natural. Proof, indeed, for this explanation of the word can be had only when the significance of this mountain in the cosmic scheme as a whole has been made out; but this is accomplished precisely by means of the other name of the mountain of Yahwé—Horeb.

The earth—and so also on a smaller scale each land and each separate district—is imagined as a mountain with two summits,¹ the 'mountain of the countries' of the Babylonians and Assyrians (*šad mātâte, urug kur-kurra*). According to the orientation in each case (and as regulated by this the time at which the year was held to begin, and so forth) these two points are conceived of as E. and W. (equinoctial), or as N. and S. (solstitial). The E. (or N.) point is that of the light half of the day or year, the W. (or S.) that of the dark half. For when the sun is in the E. the day (or the year) begins, when it is at the northern point of its path it is midday or midsummer, and so on. This is the thought which lies at the bottom of the religious observances on Elbal and Gerizim² (Dt. 11 29 27 11 ff. Josh. 8 30 ff.);

¹ Cp. Hommel, *Anfänge u. Abhandlungen*, 344 ff.; Winckler in *MitG.* 1901, 241, 233.

² Both are brought into connection with the goddess worshipped

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Gerizim is the mount of blessing, Elbal that of cursing, that is, of the light and dark halves respectively, of good and evil omen (right and left are the lucky or unlucky sides according to the orientation); on each mountain stand six tribes, for each half of the year has six signs of the zodiac or six months.¹

When the two summits of the *šad mātâte* are the N. and S. points of the cosmos they belong respectively to the moon and to the sun. If Sinai takes its name from the moon-goddess Sin, Horeb is derived from the sun, for the name means Mountain of Glowing Heat (ܩܘܪܝܢܐ and ܩܘܪܝܢܐ), the sun at the most northerly part of its course (our sign of cancer, summer-solstice) is the glowing sun. Thus Sinai and Horeb both express like cosmological conceptions.

Making the moon point the most northerly of the ecliptic belongs to the old Babylonian order of ideas,

4. Babylon and Egypt.

according to which the moon stands at the head of the pantheon and the sun is regarded as god of the underworld. The opposite is also equally admissible: the moon being regarded as the star of the night and the sun as the power that quickens nature, as the star of the upper world, and as supreme deity. In this last interpretation, and, indeed, as the sole expression of the godhead, Chuen-aten (Amen-hotep IV., see *Egypt*, § 29) sought to carry out a monotheistic worship of the sun. This would be of importance if it were held proven that it is Chuen-aten that is intended by the Pharaoh of Joseph.² It would seem, in any case, as if a like view underlay the designation of Sinai (as of Horeb), for the mountain upon which Yahwé reveals himself lies on the S. of the promised land. If, now, Yahwé has his dwelling on the moon-mountain situated in the S., clearly the underlying cosmic orientation is the Egyptian one which regards the S. as being above (corresponding to the course of the Nile), whilst the Babylonians had the conception (corresponding also to the course of the Euphrates) according to which it is the N. that is above—the N. pole of the cosmos, as also of the ecliptic (this last the moon-point). For the highest godhead dwells above on the summit of the *šad mātâte*. To it, therefore, belongs the highest part of the ecliptic (the path of the sun) as of the sky; the portion which lies to the N. of the zodiac and thus around the N. pole. The Egyptian view presupposes the opposite conception, and, therefore, looks for all these things in the S.

The assumption, accordingly, which should look for the seat of the highest godhead in the S. of the country, would rest more upon Egyptian conceptions, though at the same time for the present we must hold fast that the Egyptian doctrine and the Babylonian alike are daughters of a common view of the universe, and that their relation to this is somewhat the same as that of the political doctrine of two modern European civilisations to European culture and conception of the universe; diverse in details, the views of the two are on the whole identical. It is in agreement with this that the rise of the nation of Israel is carried back by legend to Egypt; and that the region where the nation found its god—i.e., the expression of its political unification and its political-religious right to an independent existence as a people, in other words, to sovereignty—was still known to legend as *Misri* (see *Mizraim*, *Mosais*). Egypt and *Misri* alike are also in the Babylonian con-

at Shechem, who is identical with Tammuz—i.e., the god of the two halves of the year. Joseph and Joshua are the corresponding heroic figures; *Wi. 61 275 ff.* cp. *ff.* Joseph is mentioned principally in connection with Shechem, Joshua's life-work culminates in Shechem (*Josh.* 24). For Joshua the attainment of Shechem is what the arrival at Mt. Selo was for Moses; Marduk (Moses) dies when the sun reaches the western point where the kingdom of Nabu (winter half of the year) begins.

¹ The number twelve always symbolises the twelve signs of the zodiac.

² The deduction would be that the doctrine of Yahwism consciously links itself on to this monotheism as its predecessor; see *KAT 730 211*.

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ception the land of the sun, representing as they do the S. so far as the earth is concerned; but the S. of the sky is the celestial underworld where the sun has his place during winter, and thus in the Babylonian conception in the case of a revelation of the deity in Musri a reference to the Egyptian doctrine of the sun is presupposed.

Fresh light would certainly be shed on this side of the question should we ever come into possession of

5. Musri. fuller information as to the state of civilisation and the religious and political conditions of the region in question (Musri) in early times. In the present state of our knowledge all that can be affirmed is that, the higher the antiquity we reach, the higher also the civilisation so far as the ancient orient is concerned. The Amarna period—that which comes under consideration in the present discussion—already seems to presuppose a retrogression so far as Palestine is concerned, and this would imply like conditions for the S. also. It is quite a mistake to picture to oneself the Sinaitic peninsula and the adjoining parts of Arabia as having then been under the same conditions as prevail to-day. We already know enough to justify us in affirming that these parts in ancient times were not wholly given up to nomads, and that the country possessed ordered institutions and seats of advanced civilisation. The Nabataean state about the time of the Christian era, and that of the Ghassanids at a later period had their earlier predecessors (see *K. IT*² 136 ff.). All of them were states in touch with the civilisation of their respective periods—pre-eminently with that of Egypt and Assyria-Babylonia—just as much as that Nabataean kingdom with which we are in some measure acquainted through the monuments that have come down to our day and through the notices in classical authors. It is by no means impossible that we may yet come into possession of monumental evidence with regard to the region of ancient Musri dating from times which we at present ordinarily think of as completely without either history or civilisation. This, at least, is even already clear, that long before the period assumed for the sojourn of the Israelites oriental civilisation had been at work in these parts in a higher degree than was at a later date shown by Islam.¹

Above all, it has to be pointed out that we are in no position to decide definitely as to the state of civilisation

of those regions during the times in question, as long as the countless records of S. Arabia, the inscriptions of the Minneans and the Sabaeans, have not been made accessible and investigated. The commercial states of S. Arabia exercised political ascendancy also in these regions at the time when they flourished; they extended their civilising influence as far as to the havens of the Philistines and the gates of Damascus,² and even left behind them in those parts a civilisation that can be directly traced to them.³ Very specially it is from the Minnean-Sabaean inscriptions that, after what the cuneiform inscriptions and Egyptian documents have yielded or may yet yield, we may hope for glimpses alike into the political relations of the Sinaitic peninsula and adjacent regions, and still more into their civilisation—in other words into the spiritual development of the peoples and times by which the occurrences of the period of Israel's sojourn in Sinai were determined. It is chiefly on these inscriptions that we must depend for any knowledge as to the civilisation and manner of thinking—the *genius* (*geist, génie*)—of the Semitic peoples in that quarter, where they received their purest development, and from which, in a certain sense, the tribes of Israel also took their origin (*K. IT*³ 8).

¹ Against the notion of Arabia and the 'Arabian spirit' as being the sole basis of 'Semitism' see Winckler, 'Arabisch-Semisch-Orientalisch' in *MFG.* 1901, 42.

² The 'Huzra' inscriptions are in an alphabet which shows a prevailing S. Arabian influence.

³ Cf. the 'Libyân' inscriptions (ed. D. H. Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien*, 1889).

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All that we as yet have come to know in the way of actual historical fact regarding the Sinaitic peninsula and adjacent regions, is still in the highest degree inadequate. The oldest monuments are the Egyptian inscriptions in Wady Maghâry and those of Sarbut el-Khadan (Egyt., § 45). The Pharaohs designate the people whom they have subjugated there by the name of Mentu. The still extant mines show how it was that the much prized *miskat* (malachite, or 'kupfergrün') was obtained. The oldest known Pharaohs exploited the country for this: Snefre (first king of the Fourth Dynasty), Chufu (Cheops, the builder of the Great Pyramid), various kings of the Fifth and the Sixth Dynasty, Useresen II. and Amenemhet of the twelfth; the last whose name is recorded in any inscription is Rameses II.

Babylonian references can be adduced only in a general way in so far as already in the earliest times we

have evidence of a lively commerce between Babylonia and the whole of Arabia; the information in our possession does not enable us to go into details. The Babylonian designation for Arabia is 'Magan and Meluha' and the two expressions are used distinctively, the one (Magan) to denote the eastern and southern part—that situated nearest to Babylonia, the other (Meluha) to denote the N. and W. The district of Sinai would thus form part of Meluha. It need hardly be said that in the many centuries of Babylonian-Assyrian history the relations with the two countries waxed and waned in importance with the fluctuations in political power and in the developments of trade; so also did the degree of knowledge regarding the regions of which we are speaking vary and the connotation of the names grow or shrink. Thus at certain times what was spoken of as Meluha will have been not much more than the northern fringe and the road to Egypt. The derivation of the name of the characteristic product of the Sinaitic peninsula—malachite—from Meluha seems obvious.

The ideas of antiquity as to the form of the earth are very far removed from the actual facts. Thus it is an essential element in the Babylonian conception that the whole of the southern part of the earth is regarded as a continuous territory stretching from utmost Nubia (Ethiopia) through South Arabia to India. The Red Sea and the Persian Gulf have nothing like their true importance assigned to them. Thus if 'Magan and Meluha' in the widest sense covers the whole of what lies to the S. we must include in Magan India and in Meluha Ethiopia (*K. IT*³ 137). This will explain how it is that Cush, the name of the upper valley of the Nile—thus the land to the S. of Musri = Egypt—designates also those lands which in Arabia are situated to the S. of Musri.

It is often possible, therefore, in cases where there are no special indications to guide us, for us to be in doubt as to what special regions ought to be understood by the names Magan, Meluha, Kus, Musri—precisely as we are when we hear 'America' or 'Africa' vaguely mentioned. It is thus beyond our power to determine with precision whence it was that Gudea prince of Lagas derived the material for his buildings which was brought (we are told) from 'Magan' and from 'Meluha.' We cannot be sure whether the usual opinion, which takes Sinai with its malachite to be meant by Meluha as the mountain of the *santu* stone (H. R. 514 b 17), is correct, for we are not in a position to say what the *santu* stone really is.

The Amarna letters seem to show that, essentially, the Egyptian sovereignty did not extend beyond the borders

of southern Palestine. This is in agreement with the supposition that it was

6. Amarna period. precisely in these times that the newly immigrating tribes of the 'Hebrews' from North Arabia, to which also the Israelites belonged, pressed forward into the regions of civilisation. We may take it,

accordingly, that this period was marked by a retrogression from the prosperity of a somewhat earlier time. It is impossible to tell with any certainty who were the 'Meluhah-people' whom Rab-Addi, prince of Gebal, summoned to his aid along with the Egyptians; it is, however, likely, in the known circumstances, that the Egyptian troops did not consist in the main of bands of Bedouins from Sinai and Midian; more probably Nubians are intended.

With the single exception of the inscription of Rameses II. in Wādī Maghara we have no information

9. **Ma'in.** from these times relating to the regions at present under consideration; but this is precisely the period which covers the time of Israel's sojourn in Sinai. It is what usually and naturally happens; of times during which great states have not dominated the border lands we hear nothing. So far as our present light carries us, however, it would seem that to this period also belongs the development of the power of the S. Arabian kingdom of Ma'in (Minæans). For this kingdom was annihilated sometime in the eighth or seventh century B.C., and its beginnings must therefore be carried back at least as far as to the thirteenth century.¹ A period of weakness in the great civilised states has also always been favourable to the rise of petty states and to the development of separate kingdoms on the borders of the region of civilisation; and a period of prosperity in the trading states of S. Arabia—far as we are able to trace their history also occurred precisely at such a time. We may venture, therefore, to hope some time or other to obtain some information regarding the regions of Sinai from the inscriptions of the Minæans just as we are indebted to a Minæan inscription of about the ninth century for an illustration of the conditions prevailing on the S. Palestinian borders (Haley, 535 = Glaser, 1155).² We must, accordingly, figure to ourselves the Minæan rule in those parts as having been after the manner of that of the Nabataeans. Just as these bore rule in the Sinaitic peninsula and left settlements and inscriptions behind them, so we may be certain that the rule of the Minæans had a determining influence on the civilisation and therefore also on the religion of those parts. As the Minæan rule in el-'Ula in N. Arabia has left its traces in numerous inscriptions, so we must suppose Minæan settlements to have existed all along the caravan routes to Palestine and to Egypt.

We must conceive of the relations between the regions of Sinai and S. Arabia in those days, then, somewhat after the analogy supplied by Islam; they were not a mere El Dorado of Bedouin tribes who had remained stationary in some primitive phase of development and had remained wholly untouched by the civilisation of the orient and its knowledge (which is identical with its religion). Of course we are to believe that Bedouin tribes also did live there, and these were doubtless not genuine representatives of old oriental civilisation exactly as the peasant of to-day does not represent modern science and philosophy; but they were just as far from remaining untouched by it as any section of a population can be from remaining altogether outside of the influences of an enveloping civilisation. And the higher the oldest civilisation, the more lasting must have been its effect upon all sections of the population. True, the Bedouin is never anything but a bad Moslem; still he is one; his religious and other conceptions are influenced by Islam, and if anywhere among the Bedouins of Arabia any intellectual or political movement, any impulse towards higher forms of development arises, it must in these days associate itself with Islam, just as in those days any similar movement was inevitably associated

¹ *KAT*²⁰ 141. O. Weber in *MIVG*, 1897, 1.
² See Winkler, 'Ma'in: El-Hajr-Ma'in' in *MIVG*, 1898, 1; Hommel, *Antiquité et Arabie*, 230 ff. (Hommel would give the inscription an earlier date).

with the doctrines which then dominated the East and Arabia with it.

Tradition itself brings this out very clearly in so far as it has not been naturally shaped with the design of

10. **Hebrew tradition.** representing the nation of Israel as a purely religious community, but proceeds upon the ordinary presuppositions as to the national conditions of national life, the older tradition does so. To the sphere of Ma'in belongs the region of Midian and this last comes within the sphere of influence of the S. Arabian states. The Elohist¹ here also exhibits the original and natural view. He presupposes that Israel was led on before Moses² and that Yahwe first revealed himself to Moses during his sojourn at Horeb (before the Exodus (Ex. 18). In E. JETHRO the father-in-law of Moses—whom, however, the author never calls priest of Midian³—still appears quite clearly in a rôle which connects him with the worship of the god of the place—the Yahwe of Horeb (Ex. 18). When the Yahvist proceeds to make him priest of Midian he is giving true expression to the dependence of Mosesism on the civilisation prevailing there (writing of course from the standpoint of his own time—the eighth century—when Musri actually was a state, see *KAT*²⁰) although in turn he suppresses the old representation, made by the Elohist, of a connection between Yahwe and the older culture of those regions in favour of a more spiritualised doctrine thrown into stronger contrast with the ancient traditions.

Every historical delineation, however, can only depict past conditions in terms of the conceptions of the

11. **Value of traditions.** historian's own time. Our oldest source can indeed conceive and set forth the subjects it deals with in the lively colours of its own age; but the question as to the value of the historical contents of its narrative is to be carefully distinguished from that as to the correctness of its apprehension and representation of the milieu. The historical value of the accounts themselves is to be judged of solely by the antiquity of the date, i.e. by the possibility of a genuine historical tradition. The date at which the sources E and J were finally fixed in writing is to be sought somewhere in the eighth century; how far these in turn rest on written authorities, the only ones possessing historical validity—we do not know; but in no case can they be supposed to go so far back as to the days before the monarchy. An oral or popular tradition about earlier times possesses no direct historical value; no people preserves definite recollections of its career going more than two or three generations back. What any Israelitic or Judahite source hands down to us from the tradition of its own people must always be judged therefore by reference to the possibility of historical—i.e., written—sources having been used (*KAT*²⁰ 204 ff.). What does not rest upon these possesses no other value than that of the purely theoretical doctrine of an ancient writer upon a subject of which he knew nothing. And such theories are of course of less value, not more, than those of modern science.

A Judahite-Israelite historical tradition in the sense just indicated is excluded for the times of the sojourn in Sinai; even were we to regard these as historical we could not carry the tradition back to the Sinaitic time. On the other hand, in the present case, as with the whole body of tradition relating to the patriarchal period

¹ According to the present writer's view the oldest source; see *KAT*²⁰.

² Stade, *GIT* 131; Gen. 35; Josh. 24.

³ Whether his name was Jethro in E. or whether he was not rather called Hobab the Kenite may be left an open question. On Hobab see Nu. 10:29; Judg. 1:16-17. For our present inquiry it is indifferent which name belongs to E and which to J. The view which speaks of him as a Kenite appears to be the older and in that case would belong to E. This, however, would imply that Horeb was thought of as being not in the Sinaitic peninsula but much nearer the Israelite territory, in the region of the tribe of Kain (p. 15).

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(A.AT²⁶) as above, we have always to apply the distinction drawn between 'nation' in the ethnological sense and the same word in its *kulturgeschichtlich* and therefore also its religious sense. In the view of antiquity and therefore of Judah there was no such distinction, and hitherto the tradition has always been told over. The nation is alone the bearer of religion, of truth, of civilisation, and thus of the right that alone is divine, and all tradition as all thought is valid for this people alone, alongside of which no others possess any right in any truth. In reality every nation, like every individual, belongs to the world around it in all its ideas and in the treasures of its material and spiritual possessions. The nation of Israel is therefore in an ethnological sense to be distinguished from that spiritual movement—or religion—of which it is represented by tradition as having been the bearer, but in which in its purity neither a complete nor an exclusive part can be claimed by the nation as an ethnological whole. The religious idea in its purity was grasped only by the spiritual leaders in Israel, and these, as we now know, and as indeed is in itself self-evident and in accordance with the nature of things, stood in spiritual connection with those of the great civilised nations. It is therefore possible that for the Sinai-period, as well as for the rest of the body of patriarchal legend, the historical tradition at bottom has a connection with older extraneous sources, a connection, the object of which is to set forth the relations between the religion of Yahwé in its principles and the religious and spiritual movements of the leading lands of civilisation: Abraham comes from Babylon; Joseph goes to Egypt; the revelation of religion, the close of the development, takes place in the region of a third civilisation, and is brought into clearly expressed connection therewith in the oldest tradition

12. Oldest Arabian civilisation.

by means of the figure of Iethro. Thus for the special question as to how we are to picture to ourselves the life of the tribes of Israel before the immigration we are again led back to investigation of the history of the oldest Arabian civilisation. Whether we may venture to hope for a satisfactory answer to this question, whether we shall ever find in that quarter the definite starting-point for those movements of a combined religious and political nature which are presupposed in the figure and the activity of a Moses, may perhaps seem doubtful when it is considered how far we still are even in the case of the Babylonians, notwithstanding the much greater fitness of the information we actually possess or may still hope for, from having reached any indication as to the historical facts of which perhaps tradition is taking account in what it hands down to us respecting Abraham and Jacob. Possibly we are somewhat better off in the case of Joseph (see JOSTET, col. 2501).

Thus, for any conception as to the general lie of things, the conditions under which this great movement (to assume its historicity) may possibly have been brought about, we must be content to fall back upon historical parallels; and these are very numerous. The first rise of Islam, and many of the religious political movements within Islam, enable us to form a conception of the manner in which also the national unification of Israel must have come about. The nation must have a god, and therefore also a worship; in this manner only does it come to possess a claim to an independent existence as a political unit. The law according to which it lives and without which a nation cannot exist is in all oriental antiquity revealed by God and in every case rests upon (divinely imparted) knowledge. All knowledge and all law is thus of divine origin,—is religion. Hence political movements generally assume a prevalently religious character, the secular demands being based upon divine right. So it was with Mohammed and many other prophets in Islam; so also in our own Middle Ages down to the Reformation.

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The activity of Moses or, if you will, the political developments which form the groundwork of the Moses legend must be regarded

13. The Moses story.

as having been a movement of this sort. The Sinai-period would in that case represent in some sense the crowning of the work, the giving of the charter, in a word the political organisation of the movement. As such it is represented even in the legend, and there can be no doubt about the matter. For the theophany, etc., see MOSTY, § 11.

The attempt at a historical criticism of the Exodus legend and its culminating point the legislation at Sinai, proceeds on the assumption that the Bedouin manner of life with its forms of organisation must supply also the key to any historical contents this episode may have as also to those of the whole legend of the early history of Israel. The 'Semitic peoples' are regarded as 'nomads' who develop their distinctive views and so also their religion from the midst of their primitive surroundings. The essence of their forms of organisation is held to find its clearest expression in the Arab Bedouin life as this is disclosed to us in Arabian poetry and in the tradition of Islam based upon this.

On this view the form of organisation that lies at the root of the Israelite national consciousness is the tribal. It is indisputable that this is the view presented also in the OT, and that Israel also in actual fact, exactly like other peoples of the East in a similar comparatively low stage of culture, is not unacquainted with this view and this form of organisation. This being so, the god who was to be the god of Israel, had of necessity to be the god of the leading tribe which had had on the hegemony, and thus made its tribal god into a national god in the same way as its chief or sleek raised himself to the position of king of the nation. Stade (*AT I*) supposes Kam to have been such a tribe, because the father-in-law of Moses (see above) the priest is brought into connection with Kam. Carrying this further, we should then have to suppose that the sanctuary of the god, and thus the tribal centre of worship, must be thought of as being at the place which the corresponding legend thinks of as Sinai (*Wt. AT I 20 ff.*)

This, however, would give only the one side of the legend, that which corresponds to the ethnological character of the entire conception, and looks upon the nation of Israel through the eyes of antiquity. All that follows from this is that in Judah-Israel, that is to say in the historical period or period of the monarchy, a tribe, royal house, and worship was in the ascendant which traced its home to the Sinai-region. The religious or *kulturgeschichtlich* side of the question will have to be kept quite separate. Whence did the worship, which is that of the nation of Israel in the *kulturgeschichtlich* sense, receive its real contents, its doctrine? Legend answers the question with the word revelation; but if the matter is looked at from the historical and genetic point of view, it is necessary to assume a doctrine which had grown up on the soil of the ancient civilisations. For it is peoples of civilisation, not nomads and peasants, that develop new and higher ideas in the struggle with those of a lower and now no longer sufficient view of the world. Religion, *i.e.*, ethic and law.

The question which arises out of the possibility that Sinai or Horeb had been the centre of worship of a clan or tribe that had the pre-eminence in Judah-Israel leads us to consideration of the position of this mountain. For even though we are able to prove that cosmological ideas are here involved, many analogous phenomena show that the localities so viewed need not necessarily be pure figments of theory, that, on the contrary, a localisation of these theoretical ideas is the general rule. As is usually the case,

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however, so also in the present instance, a comparison of the different sources shows that relative objects of worship, or the earthly copies of heavenly places, are located by the various sources or traditions in very diverse situations. This holds good of the mountain upon which Yahwe dwells, exactly as it holds good of any other seat of deity. Every nation or every tribe, must necessarily point to it within its own domain; but as in every nation and state various strata of culture and population are represented, and in the course of time also various doctrines arise, so, in like manner, different localisations can be handed down in the various strata of the tradition. A classical example of this is presented by Mts. Ebal and Gerizim (see above, § 3). The tradition (J) which places them beside Shechem has held its ground victoriously. In their cosmic meaning, however, as the two summits of the Mountain of the World, they can be shown to have been held in reverence also in other seats of worship, in the territory of other gods as well as at Shechem (Ephraim). So, for example, in the domain of worship of the once more extensive tribe (Winckler, *GI* 2) of Benjamin, in the region of Bethel. This is the meaning of the gloss in Dt. 11:10 (cp GERIZIM, § 2): they are situated near the Gilgal, the political centre of Benjamin which stands in connection with the sanctuary of Bethel. Ebal and Gerizim are other names for Jaichin and Boaz in so far as these stand for definite cosmological ideas (N. and S., or E. and W. point) precisely as Sinai and Horeb do. Thus no difficulty ought to be felt if the mountain of Yahwe also is placed in various localities. The view which brings it into connection with the Kenite tribe and which we must regard as the oldest, doubtless has in mind not the Sinaitic peninsula, but the region to the S. of Judah, that is to say Edom. This still finds clear expression in the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5:4): 'Yahwe, when thou goest forth from Seir and comest down from the mountain (שׂר = Ass. *šdr*; see FIELD, 1) of Edom'; similarly also in Dt. 33:2¹ (see PARAN, and cp We. *Proz.* 359, and Di. *ad loc.*). In like manner 1 K. 10:8 originally placed Horeb (thus belonging to E., the oldest source on which Dt. rests) in the region of Edom, that is, of Ken, for Elijah cannot have undertaken any remote desert journey when he is already at the point of fainting at the close of a single day.² The forty days were first introduced in order to establish a parallelism with the Moses-legend.³ The words of the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5:5) indicate that even the tradition which used the name Sinai was influenced by the same view with regard to its situation. This would go to show that the Yahwistic tradition also—for Dt. follows E (cp. § 1)—looked at matters in the same light. J and E, however, comprise the whole tradition which comes from the times of Judah's national existence. This would be in entire agreement with all that we have to presuppose for a period, the conceptions of which must have confined themselves within the limits of the actual and possible. The free play of fancy, as well as the enlargement of the claims of Judah to territory outside of its proper limits, could first come to their rights only after the nation had been torn away from its native soil, when Judah had come to be no longer a nation but only a religious community, the sphere of whose activity was

15. Pre-exilic.

limited only by the bounds of the civilisation of Inner Asia.

limited only by the bounds of the civilisation of Inner Asia.

The writing which arose out of such ideas as these is what is now known as P; we could, almost, therefore have guessed beforehand that the transference of the cosmic idea of Sinai as the seat of Yahwe to the Sinaitic peninsula proceeds from this source or from the view upon which this source is based. It finally became the basis for a conception of Israel of its proper significance and of its past—which could never have arisen in the times in which Judah had a national existence. All those alterations and transpositions of geographical ideas which extend Israel's power far beyond its historical frontiers¹ are post-exilic. With this it would agree that the list of stages, the precise itinerary of Israel's journey to Sinai and from Sinai to Canaan, is peculiar to P.

The localisation of the Mt. of God in the Sinaitic peninsula must thus in the end belong to a late—that is, post-exilic—date. Thus we cannot assign to it a historical value, nor can it prove anything for the knowledge of the older views of Israel, or of the religious and cosmographical conceptions of Judah before the exile. For the intellectual contents of the Judaism codified by P, however, the inquiry as to the site assumed for the mountain by P would be unimportant; the essential thing to notice is that it has been transferred from regions which the national consciousness had regarded as adjoining (in the S.) to regions more remote.

Yet in this case we must also leave it open as a possibility that the transposition was not made in a wholly arbitrary manner. The old orientals knew their world, and even the waste mountain *mount* of Sinai was not for them a mere land of fairy tales in which all things are possible. Just as little as the localisation of Ebal and Gerizim beside Shechem or beside the Gilgal (Bethel) was possible without some definite point of attachment in the adjacent cults, would it have been possible for the mountain of Yahwe to be transferred to the Sinaitic peninsula without a similar reason.

On this point, also, history fails us as well as the data of archaeology: we possess no fact from the older time which would enable us to prove the existence of a centre of worship in the peninsula of Sinai. About this time, in all likelihood, Qedar (*KAT*²⁰) ruled in the then Musri and Meliha's predecessors of the Nabataeans. In view of the likeness of all oriental worships in their fundamental thought, it is very easily possible that in pre-Christian times also the same spots which Judaism pointed to as its Sinai, and Christianity afterwards took over were already holy. What we can learn of the cults of those regions shows the same forms of worship and secret doctrine as Christianity has taken over from the ancient East. The worship of the morning-star (Lucifer—i.e., the 'Ahtar of the southern

Arabs) is to be supposed to have existed there from the earliest Minorian times, and all subsequent conquerors successively took it over in its essential features. 'Ahtar, however, is, alike in substance and in form, essentially identical with the Marduk of Babylon. Marduk is the spring sun and the morning sun, which is also represented by the kindred body which is the morning star, according as the sun is regarded—as in Babylon—as a masculine divinity, and the morning planet Ishtar as the feminine, or 'Ahtar is regarded as masculine and the sun as feminine—as with the Arabs (see *KAT*²¹). The worship of the morning star is borne witness to by Strabo about 400 A.D. as being that of the Saracens of the Sinaitic peninsula, and the Nabataean Dushara merely gave to the primeval deity a Nabataean name. The mystic doctrines of his worship are exactly the same as those of the vernal god at all his seats and the same as were taken over by Christianity. Thus Isidore

16. Post-exilic.

17. Early sacred places.

¹ Cp Dt. 33:14, where Rennan, Wellhausen, and Steuernagel read יְהוָה יֹשֵׁב סִינַי, 'the who dwells in Sinai.'

² Wi. *GI* 123; Sinend, *Afische Kel.-gesch.* 35. [See also PROPHET, § 79. Kittel (*HK*, *Kön.* 185) still supposes the Horeb of the narrative to be in the Sinaitic peninsula; so too von Gall, *Altisrael. Kultstätten*, 15 (cp Ritter, *Ertkunde*,² viii, 2, Abschn. 1, p. 576). A somewhat keener criticism of the text, however, is adverse to this view (see *Crit. Bib.* on 1 K. 10:8). Cp the remark on col. 1272, lines 14 ff.—T. K. c.]

³ Ex. 24:18 [P]. The forty days of absence in the wilderness (cp the temptation of Jesus). On the significance of the number see Wi. *GI* 283-285 (cp Nestor, § 81).

¹ The conception of Aram as Damascus, of 'eber ha-nahar of Syria, and so forth. See Wi. *GI* 2.

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Characenus (see Hesyehius, *i.e.* *Souabari*) knows him as 'Ithoussus,' that is, the son of the virgin Semele, who as summer and winter deity is the Tamuz of the Canaanites—*i.e.*, the Marsik (and Nehu) of the Babylonians, the Horus of the Egyptians (*MIG*, 1901, p. 278). This is not, as might perhaps be thought, a copying of Christian doctrine; on the contrary, both alike spring from the same root, the primeval oriental one. So too, we hear in the regions of the Sinai peninsula down to the time of Mohammed, at Halsa (= Halasa) of the worship of the *alone* God whose worshippers as *dhū-halasa* and whose designation ultimately means, as indicated, the only God.¹ Here, also, the assumption of 'Christian influence' is merely a distortion of the question; we are dealing with ancient oriental doctrines and seats of worship which, with new masters, changed only their names, not their forms or the fundamental thoughts underlying them. If, accordingly, that writing and body of doctrine of Judaism which sets forth monotheism in its strictest and most abstract presentation, namely P, removed the seat of Yahwé to the peninsula of Sinai, it may very well have connected it with actual seats of worship which in their worship set forth doctrines similar to those of Halsa.

Thus arises, finally, the question as to the value to be attached to the identification of the mountain in the Sinaitic peninsula for which the claim is made that it was the mountain of revelation. If what has already been said be accepted, the only possible question is as to an identification of the doctrine of late exilic Judaism with localities that had already, at an earlier date, been rendered sacred by a worship that was analogous so far as outward form was concerned.

By tradition two mountains have from the first been put forward, each as having been the mountain of revelation, and the question between them has continued under discussion down to the present day; these are Mt. Serbäl in the W. and Jebel Müsa in the heart of the mountain *massif* of the peninsula.

If we are to attach any value to the tradition at all, then unquestionably Mt. Serbäl has most to be said in its favour. The oldest witnesses, from Eusebius down to Cosmas Indicopleustes, testify to it, and the numerous *lauras* or monastic settlements show that the first centuries of Christianity paid honour to the holy sites in Serbäl and in Wädy Pirän near the episcopal town of Theirän situated there (which is mentioned by Ptolemy in the second century). Jebel Müsa was first declared to be a holy place by Justinian (527-565), who there founded a church in honour of St. Mary the Virgin. There is no earlier tradition in its favour. On the other hand, the reasons are transparently clear why, from henceforth, the dignity thus conferred upon the new site should remain with it.

The monastic settlements on Serbäl were exposed to the attacks of the Saracens and were more than once devastated by them (so, for example, in 373 and again in 395 or 401, of which later incidents Ammonius and Nilus have given us accounts as eye-witnesses). Justinian supplied by his argument in favour of the sacred site the necessary support by erecting a fort also which gave the monks the protection they needed against the Bedouins, so that they gradually withdrew from Mt. Serbäl to the safer neighbourhood of Jebel Müsa. The true reason for the abandonment of Serbäl and the transference of its associations elsewhere, however, is most likely to be sought in the fact that in the fifth century the monks of Pharän were threatened by the orthodox symbols as Monothelæte and Monophysite heretics. Justinian's measure was therefore dictated by policy and was simply a confirmation of the decisions of the councils.

Even if we choose to assume a connection of the post-exilic but pre-Justinian identification with the institutions of an older cultus, the sole witnesses that we have, the Nabataean, testify decidedly for Serbäl.

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Many Sinaitic inscriptions,¹ which essentially contain merely the names of passing pilgrims and date from Nabataean times onwards, are found in by far the greatest numbers in the Wädy Mokattah (Valley of Inscriptions) of the Serbäl group—the Masä group comes far behind it in this. The inscriptions can, however, be regarded as the idle scribbles of passing trade caravans; without a doubt they are connected with the sanctity of the spot, and for the most part are the work of pilgrims.

If in these circumstances the question as to what mountain was thought of in later times is in itself considered, one of little profit, we have the additional difficulty which stands in the way of the identification of the other sites which might be supposed to be certain by the narrative of Exodus (Kephale). It is doubtless true, indeed, that Judaism in the ancient East in general, had a definite conception of the lands of which it spoke. If, accordingly, one wanted to describe a definite route of the Exodus, he was quite able to do so. The Sinaitic legend, like all OT narratives, is full of such allusions, and in order to bring in these allusions by aversion to that arbitrariness which is connected with our modern ideas of geography, the Sinaitic Sinai was thought of as the earthly counterpart of a cosmical idea then must also the geographical locality before P—indicate on the way to a corresponding phenomena of the heavenly path of the animating point of the universe; but it may well be questioned whether, when this was being done, the representation so condensed and so excerpt like that of P, sufficient points of attachment would be given to render possible a comparison between the writer's representation and the actual geographical facts.

For the partisans of Jebel Müsa there still remains the secondary question whether the actual Jebel Müsa itself was the mountain of the giving of the law, or whether (so Robinson) this is not rather to be sought in the Ras es-Safsäf, NW of Jebel Müsa.

From the point of view of historical criticism the Sinai question has, in common with so many other questions of biblical archaeology and geography, received but little attention. That the separate particulars regarding the occurrences and dates of the Sinai episode have but a limited attestation lies in the nature of the legends themselves, and in the form of their development. It is, however, upon an unritical faith in these that all those researches and constructions rest, of which the most important are those of Lepsius (*Keise von Theben nach der Halbinsel des Sinai*), and the works of travel by Burckhardt, Ruppell, Fraas, Robinson, Palmer. The geographical details are presented clearly but uncritically in Ebers (*Durch Gosen zum Sinai*). As the Sinai-peninsula is pretty frequently visited by tourists, the handbooks also (see, *e.g.*, Baed. *Pal. 2^{de} 1900*) give the needful particulars as to the topography of the region. An attempt to apply the principles of geographical and historical possibility to the explanation of the biblical narratives was made by Greene, *The Hebrew Migration from Egypt* (2 ed., London, 1873). The stay in Egypt is, as usual, taken to be historical, and then it is conclusively shown that a 40-years stay in the desert and the march through the Sinaitic peninsula are impossible, that therefore an exodus from Egypt to Palestine could have been achieved otherwise than by the ordinary caravan-route (Greene proves his point; only the real historical impossibility lies rather in what he assumes; the stay in Egypt). Although he takes no account of variety of sources (p. 119) Charles Becker (*Discoveries of Sinai in Arabia and of Midian*, London, 1872) is led so far by his sound sense on the right track in his attempt at identification as to find Sinai in the territory of Midian. Only, here too, all the data of the legend are treated as available for geographical definition.

The allegorical interpretation of Sinai as Hagar by Paul in Gal. 4:25 rests doubtless upon the same astral-logical and cosmological identifications.

19. Gal. 4:25. as does the double name of the mountain. For if there is also a play upon the name of Hagar, that in the writer's mind cannot be the Arab, *hagar* ('stone')—for this does not mean rock—but the

¹ The Sinaitic inscriptions are discussed by M. A. Levy in *ZDMG* 14 (1860), 393-400, after the copies of Lepsius in *Denkschrift über Ägypten u. Aethiopien*, etc., 6 Blatt 14-21 (Inscriptions of Wädy Mokattah). The inscriptions have been collected by Euting, *Sinaitische Inschriften*, Berlin, 1891.

¹ See *MIG*, 1901, p. 278, on the meaning of *dhū-halasa* in the same sense as Mohammed's *ahlas* (Sur. 112). Flusa = Halasa according to Tuch (cp WRS, *Rel. Sem.* 2). On Halasa see Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 423 (also BEWED, NEGER, § 7, *ZDMG* 1891).

SINIM, THE LAND OF

Arab. *hagr*, 'midday,' i.e., culmination point.¹ This it becomes synonymous with Horeb. The culmination point — i.e., the N. point of the ecliptic — corresponds, however, in the old cosmology to the N. point of the Universe (the N. pole), and this is represented upon earth by the terrestrial Jerusalem, of which the heavenly antitype is the heavenly Jerusalem (*συνστοιχεί δὲ τῆ γῆ τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ*).

[Von Gall (*Uttar Kultstätten*, 15) regards the identification of Horeb and Sinai as a post-exilic confusion (see Mal. 3:22 Ps. 106:19). Originally they were distinct. Horeb lay in the

20. Various views.

Sinaitic peninsula, Sinai in Midian, on the W. coast of Arabia (cp We. *Proleg.* 359; Moore, *Judges*, 140, 170; Stade, *Entst. des Volkes Israel*, 12). But see remarks above on 1 K. 19:8, and cp Moses, § 5. Not all critics, however, admit that the prevalent opinion is free from serious objections. Hübinger (*KHC. F.*, p. 16) remarks that there are difficulties attending all attempts to locate the mountain of legislation. If we had only Judg. 5:4 before us, we should naturally seek for the mountain near Kadesh, at any rate 1 K. 19:8 does not favour a site in the Sinaitic peninsula. Captain A. E. Haynes, R.F. (of the Palmer Search Expedition) placed Mt. Sinai in the desert of El Fih, on the way from Egypt to Kadesh (*PEFQ*, 1866, p. 175 ff.). Sayce (*Crit. Mon.* 263 ff.) considers a site in the Sinaitic peninsula to be excluded by the presence of an Egyptian garrison in charge of the mines, and places Sinai in the eastern mountains of Ser. Cheyne (*E. Heb.*, vol. 3208) prefers some mountain group near Kadesh on text-critical grounds, which favour the supposition that the Moses-clan was admitted to the *inc. canubia* and to religious communion by a tribe of Mishites (not Midianites) or Kenites which dwelt near Kadesh.²

As to the names 'Sinai' and 'Horeb' the most different theories have been offered. Gossens (*Thes.* 648) suggests 'midday' as opposed to *צפון* 'day.' The usual critical theory connects *צפון* with *צפ*, 'Sun,' the moon god; the plausibility of this is manifest (see § 3), even without referring to the fact that as late as the end of the sixth century A.D. moon worship was practised by heathen Arabs in the Sinai peninsula (Kühlg. *Beitr.* 105; ZDHW 3:297). The article *ZIN*, however, suggests another explanation; both *צפ* and *צפון* may be corruptions of *צפון* (parallel corruptions are frequent); consequently *צפון* may be a corruption of *צפון*.³ This would correspond to *צפון*, regarded as a corruption of *צפון* (see Moses, § 5); tradition knew no other name for the sacred mount than 'Ishmaelite,' 'Ishmaelite.' A more obvious explanation is 'drought' (from *צפון*, 'to be dry'), or as V. Jekler explains, 'glowing (heat)'; see § 3, end. Lagarde, however (*Ueb.* 85), connects with Aram. *צפון*, 'to plough.' — (C. K. C.) It. w.

SINIM, THE LAND OF (ארץ סינים) ἡ ἀνατολική [BNAQ], *terra australis*: Pesh *ܣܝܢܝܡ*, Is. 49:24.

Formerly biblical geographers were inclined to see here a reference to China, the land of the *Sinai* or *Thinae* of the geographer Ptolemy (Ar. and Syr. *zou*). It was not supposed that the writer knew of Jewish exiles in China, but that he wished to express the idea that from the very furthest possible point the children of Zion should return. The theory, first suggested by Arias Montanus (16th cent.), has been both defended and opposed with

¹ On the reading of Gal. 1:25, and on the bearing of the text-critical problem on the question here discussed, see HANCOCK, § 13.

² The theory is that this is the view of things out of which the representation in our Hebrew text has arisen. It is based on a new edition of the form of the Moses narrative.

³ The alternative would be to connect *צפון* with the name of the Babylonian Moon-god. The same connexion would then have to be supposed for the other members of the group of probably related names *צפון*, *צפון*, *צפון*, *צפון* (cp SAYL, SUGOI, SUIVI, etc.). On the ground of numerous phenomena, not all of which are indicated in the present work, the writer hesitates to suppose this connexion.

SINITE

much learning (see Strauss Torney in Del. *Z.* 688 ff., cp *ibid.* 188 ff.; Che., *Geogr. I.*, 230 ff.; Terran de Lacompère, *Revue* [1886-7], 45 ff., 183 ff.), but the philological and historical difficulties have decided recent critics against it (see Dillm.-Kittel, *Idlum*, Cheyne in *SBOT*, Marti). China became known too late, and we should expect *צפון*. In accordance with his theory of the place of composition, Dillm. thinks of the 'Phoenician Sinites' mentioned in Gen. 10:7; Klostermann, Cheyne (in *SBOT*), and Marti would read *צפון* and see a reference to SYENI [צפון]—i.e., Assuan on the Nile.

If however (1) the view expressed elsewhere (PROUTY, § 43) is correct, and the Prophecy of Restoration refers to the return of the Jews from a N. Arabian captivity, and if (2) the geographical horizon of Gen. 10 has been expanded, so that only a keen observer can discern its original limitation to the Negeb and Arabia, the problem of 'Sinim' is solved, and the remark of Skinner and Marti that it is a hopeless enigma is refuted.

Critically investigated, the etic names of Gen. 10:7, 8 (which have been transformed by the redactor) are probably as follows:

Kenaz (or Kain), Missor, Rehoboth, Ishmaelite, Aganite, Gesurite, Horite, Jerahmeelite, Sinite, Aradite (or Arpudite), Misyite, Magahite.

That the name 'Sin' was firmly rooted in the Negeb is shown by the occurrence of 'Sin' for a wilderness (Ex. 16) and of 'Sinai' (in Musri; see Moses, § 14, SINAI, §§ 4, 15) for a mountain. From this point of view, Dillm.'s theory was a step towards the true solution. Whether, however, Sin, Sin, Sinim are original, and connected with Sin the Babylonian moon-god, may be questioned. Analogy favours the view that Sin like *Zin* (q) is a corruption of *צפון* (Ishmaelite); see SINAI, § 20, and cp SUDAN.

Filling up one obvious lacuna, the passage now becomes —

- 1. These come from Jerahmeel (יהרמלי),
- And 10, these from Zaphon.²
- And 11, these from Arabia (ערב),
- And these from the land of Sinim (q), Ishmael.

SINITE (צפון) — i.e., the Sinite; **ACENNAION** [צפון] **CEINAIQ** [Jos. *Ant.* 1:62]; **SINAI** [צפון], a mountain (Phoenician) in Gen. 10:7; **CH. LEXOM. B. ACENNAION** [צפון]. In Ass. inser. (*Sinaita*), as well as in *U. T.*, the name is grouped with Arka (ARKELE) and Simela (ZEMARILE), in the former sometimes also with *Uru* (e.g., *KH*, 172 n. 27:8) which I had, *Idl.* (*U. T.* 282) proposes to find in *Kal'at el-Hon* N. of Tripoli and W. of *Hama*. In spite of the different syllabary it is no doubt the same as the land of *Sin* mentioned in the monolith of Shalmaneser II., immediately after Irkamit (ARKELE), *U. T.* Arvad and Usnat (cp *Sin*); the king bears the characteristic name Adumbal (cp *צפון* *U. T.* 100, 138, etc.). It is less certain whether Sin is to be found in the list of N. Syrian cities visited by Thomas III.⁴

Apart from such help as the above evidence yields, the site of 'Sin' is uncertain. The identification with *Sin* near the *Nahr*, *Irka* (see GEOGRAPHY, § 19) finds some support in the Tang. rendering 'Orthosai.'

¹ This clever and much-regretted scholar thought of the Jews of the *Sinae* on the slopes of the Hindu Kush. They are enumerated in the Jews of Mann, in the Mahabharata, the *U. T.* of India, in the *U. T. v. 2. 1. 1.*, to the Ranyana, the *U. T.*, and elsewhere, a body of evidence which goes back to centuries before the Christian era. They are now, it is added, in a number, and still live in the same or nearly the same locality.

² Dillm. and Marti (cp also *SBOT*) omit *צפון*, as a corruption from *צפון*. This arises from their completely misunderstanding *צפון* (see ZIMMIS), and involves inserting new stichoi, *צפון* *צפון* *צפון*. See *Crit. Bib.*

³ See *C. C.*, *KH* 172:101; the older reading is *Sin* *U. T.*, p. 172:101.

⁴ *U. T.*: *Sin* *U. T.* 208 and *Sin* *U. T.* 208; the former may mean 'Sin the binder' (cp Ass. *arkal*, 'bind'); see WMM, *U. T.*, p. 208.

SION

the ruins of which town are probably situated a little to the S. of the Nahal 'Irka (see ORTHOSTA). This, however, seems too close to 'Irka, and it might be better to look further N. and find a trace of the name in the Nahal 'Sina (or Nahal-el-Melek) about two hours N. from Banyas on the road to el-Ladikveh (Ladicea); or Bied.¹⁰ 411. But the Ass. stannu (=stannu) presupposes the form שָׁנָה (cp. Fr. Del. loc.), which is certainly older and presumably more correct than the MT שָׁן (with which S. Vg. agrees), and the difficulty of reconciling the two forms is a grave objection to the identifications hitherto proposed. The same applies also to the suggested connection with the fortress of Sana (Strabo, VII, 118; D. S. 100; S. A. 1).

SION. 1. [שָׁן]: שָׁנָה [RAF]. שָׁנָה [L.]; D. 143. See SIRON.

2. שָׁנָה, 1 Macc. 1:37, etc. See Zins.

SIPHMOOTH (שִׁפְמוּת [G.], שִׁפְמוּת [H.]), one of the places where David, when in Ziklag, had allies, 1 S. 30:27 (שָׁפֶת [B]), but also, in Ziklag, had allies, 1 S. 30:27 (שָׁפֶת; שָׁפֶת [B]). The idea that the name may be connected with שָׁפֶת (Nu. 31:6) is rejected by Wellhausen as impossible. But there is reason to think that the geographical references both of Nu. 31:6-12 and of 1 S. 30:27-31 have been misunderstood and consequently misrepresented by the editor; originally both passages referred probably to the Negel (cp. RIMM).

In Nu. 31:11 Shepham and Riblak (i.e., probably Jerahmeel) are mentioned together. So too in 1 S. 30:29 (שָׁפֶת, which corresponds with Siphmoth, is mentioned after מַאֲזִיחַ (=Ma'ath, a region in the Negel), and in 1 S. 31:11 and S. agree in combining Siphmoth (שָׁפֶת) with Eshtemoa (שֶׁטְמוֹא [L.], שֶׁטְמוֹא [H.], and Rival (שָׁרְיָלוֹס) i.e., Jerahmeel. We also find a gentilic SIRMUTH [L.], which certainly belongs to the last. This view may require us to substitute 'Rehoboth' for 'Hebron' as David's first centre after leaving 'Ziklag,' and to suppose 'Eshtemoa' to be identical with SHEMA [L.]. It is at any rate plausible. T. K. C.

SIPPAL (שִׁפָּל), a Rephate slain by Sibbechan the Hushathite: 1 Ch. 20:4 (שִׁפָּל [B]), שִׁפָּל [A], שִׁפָּל [B]. In 2 S. 21:18 he appears as Saph (שָׁפ [B]), שָׁפ [A]. The Pesh. in the superscription prefixed to Ps 113 [114] has: 'For David, when he slew Asaph (Saph, brother of Gilyai [Goliath])' (cp. S.). In 2 S. 21:18 S. reads שִׁפָּל, which, as Klostermann has shown, presupposes the form שִׁפָּל (a name analogous to the further abbreviated ASAPH), and this may be near the correct reading, a being easily dropped after the final 'p' of שִׁפָּל.

SIRACH. The present article will deal with those portions of the Hebrew text of Ben-Sira that have been published since the completion of the article ECCLESIASTICES (March 1900). To the list of new fragments given there (col. 1166, n. 4) we have up to this time (Jan. 1904) added only 18 (1-11, 19, 20, 5, 7, 11, 37, 10, 22, 24, 26) published, with facsimile, translation, and annotations, by M. Gaster in JQR for July 1900. The material now published includes 15 (1, 10, 18, 11, 19, 12, 20, 5, 7, 11, 25, 8, 11, 10, 22, 24, 26, 30, 11, 33, 11, 35, 9, 38, 27, 33, 15, 51, 11); about two-thirds of the whole book.

The new fragments agree in the main in character with those previously known, but also differ from them in some interesting particulars.

1. Adler fragment. The passage published by Adler, 72, 121, 135, 136, is written astrophically, agreeing in this regard with MS A of Schechter and Taylor (A¹ 1). The text is corrupt; but in most cases it is possible to emend it with considerable probability. It has one line (82) and one marginal note (101), and over several words (10, etc.) there are placed dots indicating

¹ This suggests that Sin has derived its name from the moon (SIN).

SIRACH

the necessity of correction. 93 f. 102-116 are provided with vowel-points and accents, and a few other words are pointed in whole or in part.¹ It thus appears that the passage has been revised by a scribe who, unfortunately, did not possess the material or the ability to correct the more serious errors of the text. Doublets occur in 81, 93, 103, 111, 112, 27, 28, 11, 27, 28, in 81 the second clause is corrupt in the first, correct in the second, and, as the first clause of the second is nearly identical with the SYRIAC (S¹) employing the word שָׁפֶת in a SYRIAC non-Hebrew sense, the verse may have been revised in accordance with the SYRIAC, or it may offer a variant reading which was followed by S; 103, 111 is defective, 112 is complete and independent of S and S; 112, S, 27, 28, S nearly (emend 11 שָׁפֶת to שָׁפֶת); 112, 27, 28, S nearly (S renders שָׁפֶת badly by 'children'). The agreement of the two complets of a doublet with S and S respectively may suggest imitation of these versions by H, and in some cases doubtless there has been imitation.² On the other hand, in a number of complets, as 733 (unless 73 is error for 731 867^b 11 119 31 11 15 10 57 10 17 22 11 28, in spite of the occurrence of a couple of SYRIACS, it is clear that the text of H is not dependent on S or S. The obvious cases of dependence are rare, and the impression made by the passage as a whole is that it represents a genuine, though corrupt, Hebrew text.

That the MS has passed through the hands of an Aramaic-speaking scribe is shown by the occurrence of SYRIACS: שָׁפֶת (S¹), שָׁפֶת (S¹), שָׁפֶת (S¹), and probably שָׁפֶת (S¹) (cp. S. שָׁפֶת by שָׁפֶת). There is no case of an Aramaic in the present text; but there is an indication that in the text from which our S was made the word שָׁפֶת occurred in the sense of 'create'; in 103 H reads: 'pride is not becoming (שָׁפֶת), for which S has, 'pride was not created' (שָׁפֶת), whilst the שָׁפֶת of Symeon's Heb. MSS; it would seem, therefore, that in some Heb. MS or MSS שָׁפֶת was employed in the sense of שָׁפֶת.³ An example (S¹) of apparent translation from SYRIAC is given above, and a probable second example is found in 112, which seems to be a corrupt doublet (שָׁפֶת for שָׁפֶת). For quotations from this portion of Ben-Sira in Saadia and the Talmud, see below (S¹).

(b) Levi fragment.—The fragment 362, 381 (C¹ 100), edited by Lévi in KZ, Jan.-March 1900, with facsimile, translation, and annotations, offers a new revision of material already published (by Schechter and Taylor in their 'Ben-Sira,' and G. Margolouth in JQR, Oct. 1890). Unlike the latter it is written astrophically, this, however, is a difference to which no importance can be attached. It abounds in scribal errors, has harsh constructions (as in 371), and employs late Hebrew expressions (for example, 37, 37, in the sense of 'quiet, misthine').⁴ In general, however, it is superior to the text of MS B of Schechter and G. Margolouth. It sometimes accounts for the errors of the versions; for example, its שָׁפֶת in 362 shows how the readings שָׁפֶת and שָׁפֶת arose. In a couple of cases

¹ Saadia remarks that the text of BS known to him was provided, like the biblical books, with vowel-points and accents. If the statement is to be taken literally, it points to a MS written more carefully than those that have come down to us.

² On the interpretation of doublets see the remarks of Noldike in Z. I. II, 1900, p. 1. H. S. Margolouth in JQR, I, April 1900, calls attention to a doublet in Ben-Zer's translation of Ben-Sira (101), in which one completer agrees with S, and the other with S.

³ שָׁפֶת (14) is probably scribal miswriting for שָׁפֶת.

⁴ So Lévi in JQR, Dec. 1900. Noldike (Z. I. II, 1900, p. 1) and Houtsma (Z. I. I, 1900) hold that שָׁפֶת 'create' is a genuine Hebrew stem. The fundamental sense of the stem may be 'divide, cut up' (as Noldike suggests), whence, on the one hand, 'sumber, arrange, create,' and, on the other hand, 'destroy.' These meanings are variously distributed in the Semitic languages; but no North-Semitic dialect, as far as our documents go, employs the stem in the sense 'create.' This particular sense is found only in Arabic, in which it is the usual one. Still the possibility of this sense in Hebrew must be admitted. Cp. König, Die Originalität d. heb. Sprachtexte, 1897, and Rüssel in St. K. v. 1901, p. 579.

⁵ שָׁפֶת here appears to be identical with Aram. שָׁפֶת 'society' שָׁפֶת, the writing שָׁפֶת may represent a local pronunciation, or may be a scribal error for שָׁפֶת.

(37^b 23) L agrees with H against C. The most interesting feature of this fragment is that in many cases its text is identical with the marginal readings of MS B, whence it appears that these readings are not the emendations of the scribe but are derived from another MS. This MS was not identical with C¹ since it sometimes differs from this latter; but the two are derived from one earlier text. It is probable (as Levi points out) that the marginal readings in the rest of B (the Cowley-Neulamer fragment) come from the same or a similar source, and we thus have an indication of the existence of a third family of Ben-Sira manuscripts in addition to those represented by A and B.

(c) *Selections.*— Still a different type of text is presented by three fragments containing selections from Ben-Sira: one, containing 423^b 10 f. 547^b 9-13 3610^a 2517-19 22-24 2613^a and bits of 253 11 20 f. published, with annotations, by Schechter (in *IQR*, April 1900); a second, containing 618^d 19 23 15 714 6 17 20 f. 27-25, published, with translation and annotations, by Lévi (in *RFI*, Jan.-March 1900); and a third, containing 18 11 (one word) 32 f. 191 f. 205 7 37 19 22 24 26 20 13, published, with facsimile, translation, and annotations, by Gaster (in *IQR*, July 1900). Possibly a number of such selections existed; this would be a natural result of the popularity of the book. Groups of complets, taken from different parts of Ben-Sira, occur in the Talmud; for example, in *Sanhedrin*, 100^b. In such cases the object is to bring together the aphorisms relating to some one subject (women and the household in *Sanh.* 100^b); these need not have been taken, and probably were not taken, from a book of extracts; but they may have suggested the compilation of such books. In the fragments under consideration, whilst the complets show a variety of subjects, a certain unity is observable; in that of Schechter the chief points are the desirableness of moral firmness and the wickedness of women; in that of Lévi, the pursuit of wisdom and the cultivation of humility; in that of Gaster, the characteristics of the wise man. For the sake of distinction these books of extracts may be designated by the letter E.

The Schechter fragment (E^{sch}, = his C) is in tolerably good form, having only two badly corrupted passages, 511 and 513 (11^a) (= 3610^a). It accords now with the Greek, now with the Syriac, differing in this regard sometimes in the same complet. Often it goes its own way, being sometimes (as in 512) of a curtness that suggests originality; and its irregular oscillation between C and S indicates that it is not based on either of these versions. It is in general agreement with the Greek in several cases in which MS A^{sch} agrees with the Syriac.

The Lévi fragment (E^{lev}, = his D) coincides in material with part of MS A^{sch}, and gives a better text than that of the latter. From 618 to 720 it is nearer to C than to S, and in the remaining complets is nearer to S. It is carefully written; there are two or three scribal miswritings of letters, and a word is omitted in 76 and probably also in 72. It contains no Syriacism or Arabisms, and has the tone of an independent text.

The Gaster fragment (E^{gast}) resembles E^{sch} in agreeing sometimes with C, sometimes with S. In several complets (18 3 f. 191 206) it serves to explain the errors of one or both of the versions; clearly in some cases these last are free renderings of H. The Hebrew text is corrupt or defective in 191^b 205, and has apparently one Syriacism (37 19, 227) for 227^b.

With the light got from the new fragments we may now speak more definitely than was possible two years ago of the conclusions to be drawn

3. **Genuineness of the Heb.**— From the whole of the Ben-Sira Hebrew material. In the first place, we may consider the facts that make for the genuineness of the

¹ In the expression *לִּי אֶפְרַיִם* in the expression 'like a bear,' while C and S read 'like sackloth'; if אֶפְרַיִם is GK corruption of אֶפְרַיִם, H here follows a Greek text.

Hebrew text—that is to say, against the supposition that it is a translation from versions.

(a) *Talmud.*—The question of the quotations from Ben-Sira in the Talmud is complicated by the conditions of the Talmudic text as well as by the peculiar habits of the Talmudic doctors: their frequent disregard of literalness, and their fondness for grouping clauses or complets from different parts of the book and adding or interweaving passages from the canonical books. Quotations are not necessarily authority for the wording of the original, but may testify to a form or forms current in the Talmudic period, and may help to establish the original text.¹

There are indications (though, for the reasons mentioned above, these are not clear) that the two versions of the Jerusalem and the Babylonian, had, in some cases, at least, different texts of Ben-Sira. Thus *Jer. Talm.* Hag. 77^b agrees with H in the 11^a word of *Talm. Bab.* and Saad. have a different word in the last word, but in the rest of the complet a wholly different reading (perhaps based on Jer. Talm. in the same passage *Bab. Talm. Hag.* 13^a (and *Jer. Talm. Bab.*, Gen. 8) has a doublet, in which the first is identical with the form in C and S whilst the second, although diverging from *Jer. Talm.*, C, S, and H, agrees with H and Saad. in one peculiar expression (222^b); in this doublet we may have an indication of at least two forms of the Ben-Sira text in the fifth century, one of which is here represented by C and S, and the other by H (there being also in this latter scribal variation, possibly, however, both complets are original, and H is taken one, and C the other). In 717 the 'house' of H is supported by *Ibbot* 17 (against C and S) and *Ibbot* 17 and the versions agree in reading 'humble' instead of H 'humble pride'; in both cases the readings of the versions are the better. A noteworthy group of selections from *Eccles.* 9 occurs in *Talm. Bab.* *Sabb.* 100^b, *Yebam.* 63^b, the order of lines being: 36 37 (in part), 38 (to which is added *Prov.* 7^a 2), 39, 40 (emended), C and S being different; 36 where H has a doublet agrees in part with one form of H in part with the other; in 6 the text of *Bab. Talm.* seems to be in disorder, or to be very free; it has 'his side' (*צַדְקָתוֹ*) instead of 'with a married woman' (C and S and, by emendation, H 222^b), and 'to mangle' instead of 'to not drink'; 38 is a slightly expanded form of emended H (= S). In 11 16 20 13 the Talmudic text is substantially the same as that of H and C, S. It is in general more correctly written than H, which is full of scribal blunders; yet the two are sufficiently near to suggest that our H rests on a genuine Hebrew text. We cannot be surprised at scribal errors, omissions, additions, and additions in a text of the tenth or eleventh century when we find similar occurrences in the Talmud as well as in the versions.²

(b) *Saadia.*—The resemblance between Saadia and H is very close, the differences between the two being little more than variations of diction, and frequently lying sometimes with one, sometimes with the other, in 55 f. (H 122, Saad. 122) and 66 (H 82, Saad. 82) the wording of H is the better, but in 62 the order of words in Saadia is the more correct; on the other hand in 61 13 11 the Aramaic 13 11 of H is probably to be traced into the 222 and 222 of Saadia. He appears to have

¹ On the quotations in the Talmud and Saadia see the notes of the authors mentioned above, *ibid.* 107, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

² Bacher suggests that *Jer. Talm.* Hag. 77^b is an abbreviation of the abbreviation 77, which doubtless is 777.

³ Rashi, 222^b 228. The text of *Bab. Talm.* Hag. 13^a is beyond after H and the versions. But in *Jer. Talm.* Hag. 13^a only 'strong drink' and 222^b only 'wine' (S. 11) was in *Jer. Talm.* has both terms, possibly accounting for the difference between H, C, and S.

⁴ On the Syriac of *Eccles.* 9 f. see Lévi, in *RFI*, 1900, p. 37.

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had a text that was substantially identical with ours; his citations may be considered to establish, as far as they go, a text of the tenth century, though of its history we know nothing.¹ Its special similarity to that of our Hebrew MSS may be a result of the proximity in time of the two. Saadia also quotes us from the 'Wisdom of Eleazar ben Ira' a passage that is found in our Ben-Sira (12:7), and the text quoted by him differs from that of our Hebrew in only a couple of unimportant forms (H אֵלֶּיךָ, Saad אֵלֶיךָ; H אֵלֶיךָ, Saad אֵלֶיךָ);² the natural conclusion is that the book of Eleazar ben Ira (if this name really belongs to a separate author and is not a corruption of 'Eleazar ben Sira') contained extracts from Ben-Sira or from some work based on Ben-Sira.

(c) *Relation of H to G and S.*—It is a common remark that the Hebrew MSS of BS fall into two divisions: those that more resemble the Greek, and those that are nearer the Syriac; to the former division belongs the B-group, to the latter the A-group. This classification holds in a general way, but may easily be pressed too far. Even in the earlier A and B material there are a number of passages that are adverse to such a classification, and many more appear in the new fragments. The division into these two classes has, however, been held to indicate that our Hebrew is a translation from the Greek or the Syriac. With the new material at our disposal it may be said that this supposition, as an explanation of the Hebrew as a whole, seems to be definitely excluded. It appears to be set aside by the irregularity of the accordance of H with G or S, by its not infrequent divergence from and correction of both the versions; by its relation to the quotations in the Talmud and Saadia, and by its tone, which in many places is free and independent and is characterised by an aphoristic curtness that a translator would not be likely to attain. We must rather account for the general relation between H and the versions by supposing that H is the descendant of early texts, some of which were the basis of G, others the basis of S. The omissions in S call for fuller treatment than they have yet received. They may be due in part to the frequent baldness of this version for clearness and condensation, in part to the defectiveness of the MS from which it was made.

(d) *Diction.*—The testimony of the new fragments confirms the judgment of the language expressed under *LEVI-STASTICUS*. After allowance has been made for obvious scribal errors the diction of H does not differ materially from that of Koheleth. Aramaisms and New-Hebrew forms and expressions may well have been employed by Ben-Sira himself (such forms occur even in the Book of Proverbs), and, as regards the fragments, there was no time, from 200 B.C. to 1000 A.D., when Jewish scribes would not be likely to insert familiar Aramaic words—the more that the text of Ben-Sira was not protected by canonical sanctity. The vocabulary of the fragments furnishes abundant material for lexicographical research.³ The limits of the 'New-Hebrew' vocabulary are not sharply defined; at present it is hardly possible to draw the line distinctly between 'Neohebraisms' and 'Neo-Arams', and there is a similar indistinctness (though less sharply marked one) as to Aramaisms. In respect of purity of style the fragments differ among themselves:

¹ The question whether the 'Sefer ha-Giduy' (in which the date is 200) is the work of Saadia is discussed by D. Margulies, Harkavy, and Bacher in *JQR* 12 (1902-1903). There seems to be no good reason to doubt its genuineness.

² H אֵלֶיךָ, as elsewhere, Saadia is nearer than H to the classic usage; the scribes of H (except in C and AV 19) are fond of the short *el*, *el*, *el*. But this usage, though distinctive for *el* MSS, is not a mark of the date of a Ben-Sira text, since it occurs in late QI writings and in the Talmud.

³ On this point (cf. the *Comms.* of Levi and Ressel); the *Comms.* of Nidke and Hantsma (see above, col. 402 n. 4); Schwab, *Levi-stasticus*, *Christus*, 1-100 (1902); Frankel, in *Hebr. Studien*, 1-100, 17-18; 177; 178; 181. See also *Levi-stasticus*, above, col. 281 f.; and various discussions in *JQR* and *KAT*.

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Clev is relatively free from faults; parts of A and B are greatly disfigured. The blemishes testify mostly to the number of hands through which the MSS have passed, not to the work of a translator. The aphoristic curtness of style of the fragments has been referred to above.

On the other hand, whilst the fragments produce a general impression of originality the text appears in

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some passages to have been translated from or conformed to that of a Version or of the Talmud. Some instances of probable and apparent imitation of Versions are mentioned above (*LEVI-STASTICUS*, § 5), and others have been pointed out by critics; most of the examples cited relate to the Syriac, a few only to the Greek.¹ These cases, which are relatively not numerous, do not prove a general translation or imitation, but exhibit the procedure of particular scribes in the passages in which they occur. The same remark is to be made of cases in which H appears to follow the Talmud;² such imitations by late scribes are natural. The corruptions of the BS text began early and continued a long time; there was little to restrain the fancies and the negligence of copists. Taking into consideration the two sets of facts, the evidences of originality and the evidences of slavish imitation, the more reasonable conclusion seems to be that the text of the fragments is in general genuine, but full of corruptions.

It is hardly possible at present to make a helpful classification of the Heb. MSS of Ben-Sira; for such a classification we need more Heb. material. An obvious and simple principle of division would be the relation of the fragments to the two main

groups of Greek texts (G¹ etc. and G² etc.) or to the two Greek and the Syriac. But, in addition to the fact that the relations of the versional texts to one another and to the original Hebrew are not clear, there is the difficulty that the fragments show a confusing variety of similarity and dissimilarity to the Versions and to one another. This is true of all the Heb. MSS so far published: in the same paragraph, and even in the same complete, the text sometimes turns from one version to another, or, abandoning both, goes its own independent way. It is obvious that it has experienced a variety of fortunes, and that, whilst it sometimes corrects the Versions or is corrected by them, in some cases goes back to sources different from theirs. It can be, therefore, only a rough classification that is based on resemblances to the Versions. The direct testimony to the Hebrew text is contained in the Talmud (about 700 years after the composition of Ben-Sira's book) and Saadia (about 400 years after the Talmud). The Talmudic readings differ a good deal from our H, but Saadia is substantially identical with the latter; the differences between the citations in the Talmud and those in Saadia may be taken to represent roughly the changes undergone by the Heb. text in the interval between the two. The text of the Talmud is in general accord with the un glossed Greek (G¹), but is free from the scribal variations that crept into the latter; it may, thus, represent a Hebrew text (perhaps as early as the 2nd cent. of our era) which was in substantial accord with the Gk. text that underlay our two main Gk. recensions. This Heb. text was probably the basis

¹ On the *Acrostic*, 51230, see Taylor, in Schiechter and Taylor's *Wisdom of Ben-Sira*, p. 355 n. 1; 1901, in *KAT*, 180, gives a number of cases of imitation. But 1901 is only a case in point. H 277 is not a translation of corrupt S, but a variant of earlier H 277, which was a scribe's correction of original H 277. If H had translated S (277) it would have written 277. See *KAT* 201 n.

² A probable example is given by Professor Levi, in *JQR*, Oct. 1901, p. 15, and another by Professor Margulies, in *J.A.S.*, April, 1902. Cp Bacher, in *JQR*, vol. 12 (1902-1903), p. 286 ff.

SIRAH, WELL OF

of our fragments. We may suppose that the Heb. (handed down through Jewish circles) and the Gk. (made 132 B.C., and transmitted by Alexandrian Jews and by Christians) did not differ materially from each other in the second century A.D. After that time their separate ways: the Gk. (under what circumstances we know not) fell into two divisions, with one of which the Syriac stood in some close relation; the Heb. was not similarly divided into families, but was roughly treated by scribes, who obscured its readings, and in a few cases copied or imitated the Versions, especially the Syr. Our Hebrew fragments, after they have been freed, as far as possible, from scribal errors, must be classified according to the degree of their purity or impurity, and according to their peculiarities of diction. Such a classification, however, yields no very striking or important results—the differences between the fragments in correctness and style are not great. They must be examined and judged every one for itself. So far, they have not contributed much to the restitution of the original text in passages in which the Versions are obscure. They often confirm one or more of the Versions, and sometimes correct or explain words or lines; but in general the text of Ben-Sira remains nearly as it was before the discovery of the fragments. These, however, apart from the emendation of the text, have called forth renewed study of the book, and have added to the vocabulary of the Hebrew language.

In addition to the works on Ben-Sira given above (col. 1175) the following may be mentioned:—Rachberg, *Ethiö. Apocryph.* (1835); Daubanton, in *Theol. Stud.* 4 (1826);

- 6. Literature. Houtsma, in *Th. F.* 313 (1900); Ryssel's *Comm.* in *St. Kr.* (1900-02) (completion of his edition on the Hebrew text); Grimmé, *Mémoires et études d. l'apocryphe heb. d. Manuscrit. A. d. F. Elzévir.* (Fr. trans.) (1900); Kartz, *Die Scholien d. Greg. Abulf. Bar-Heb.* 2, *Weisheit d. Josua b. Sira* (1892); and various short arts. in *JQR*, *KhJ*, *ZATW*, *Kiev. Bibl.*, *Th. Kuudschan*.

SIRAH, WELL OF (בְּרֵךְ הַסִּירָה), 'walled cistern'? עץ on סִירָה, *PRISON*, § 2 (19), 2 S. 326, the name of the spot from which Abner was enticed back to Hebron, after he had concluded his interview with David (see *ABNER*), and had set out on his return journey northward. Josephus calls it Ἰσραήλ [Ἰσραήλ]—i. e., בְּרֵךְ נֶאֱרָר—and says that it was 20 stadia from Hebron (*Ant.* vii. 15). Rosen has called attention (*ZDMM* 1246) to a spring and reservoir, situated about a mile out of Hebron, a few steps to the W. of the old northern road, and now called 'Am Sirah'. Grove (*DB* 58) c. 'Sirah') and Couder (*Tentative* 256) agree that this may be the ancient 'well of (the) Sirah', instead, Couder goes so far as to say that "this may be considered one of the few genuine sites in the neighbourhood of Hebron". It is true, the original form of the name may have been בְּרִיקָה, *Schirah* (i. e., 'enclosed'), for *S*¹⁰ gives ἀπό τοῦ φηλατος τοῦ σείραου, where μ may of course be disregarded (φ σηλατω = Silohi), *S*¹⁰ φρ. σείρα. Vg. α. εἰσὶν ἑστὴν *Sira*: Targ. טַרְגַּי דְּסִירָה אַף אִפּוֹ טוֹף אֲדָאָר׃ הַרְזָ אֲפּוֹסֵדֵסֶרֶט (בְּרִיקָה). It is more probable, however, that 'Hassirah' covers over some gentile or ethnic, and if 'Hebron' is a corruption of 'Rehoboth,' and David's first kingdom was really in the Negeb (as some recent articles in the present work assume), some gentile or ethnic of the Negeb—such as אַשְׁדּוֹר, Ashdun (עַשְׁדוֹר, Herod)—is to be expected.

SIRION (סִירְיֹן, סִירְיֹן), CASIOP [BAFI.] in *DL*; ὀρθόσπασμος [ΩSARTU] i. e., סִירְיֹן, in *Ps.*, a 'Sibthian' or Phormidian designation of Hermon, *DL*.

¹ For some illustrations of the diversities of Lk. readings see N. Peters, 'Die schulis li-topis he Uebersetz. d. B. Elias' s. *St.* in *Bibl. Stud.* 3 (1875).

² The word is written on a large tablet, the other also, but none would be a single word or expression.

³ On topographic peculiarities see Schaller, in *Synagoga* and Taylor's *B. Sira*, and Couder in *JQR* for July, 1893.

SKIRT

39 *Ps.* 296. It is also recognised by Pesh. in *DL*, 141 עֲרִיקִיתָיִךְ for עֲרִיקָתְךָ; and in *Jer.* 1814, by Gratz and Couder, according to whom, to show the unreasonableness of Israel's desertion of Yahweh, Jeremiah asks 'Does the snow of Lebanon melt away (עֲרִיקָתָם) from the rock of Sirion' (real עֲרִיקָתָם for עֲרִיקָתְךָ, 'from the rock of the field')? It is not clear, however, that 'Sirion' is the right form, it is hardly confirmed by the Ass. *DL* 141 (A. 11. 159, 181; cp *Del. Par.* 101, 103).

It is probable that 'Hermon' was also a designation of the mountains of 'Jerahmeel'. In *38 Ps.* in its original form it may have described the territory of Cushan, where the god reigned; similarly *DL*, 348. 'Sirion' can now be explained like 'Hermon,' it represents an ethnic—perhaps עֲרִיקָתָם (see *DL*).

SISAMAI, RV SISMAT (סַסְמַי, or סַסְמַי [see *DL*]); CACOMAT [BA], CACAMEI [L.], a Jerahmeelite, 1 Ch. 246.

Baethgen (*Beitr.* 65) and Kittel on 1 Ch. 246 call attention to the Ph. name סַסְמַי in a bilingual where *BA* has *Sisama* and Baethgen, following Renan, accepts סַסְמַי as a divine name. But in spite of Kittel's implied suggestion (see *SISAMAI*) it may well be questioned whether Sisma can be סַסְמַי (the name of the god) Sisa-m. Of all the other names in 1 Ch. 246 there is hardly one which cannot be at once with some certainty pronounced to be a clan-name. The names which fall into this class are Shalim, Jehonah, and Ehselma, names which may plausibly be regarded as related to Ishmael and Jerahmeel. סַסְמַי and סַסְמַי have sometimes arisen by corruption out of סַסְמַי and סַסְמַי; it is possible that סַסְמַי represents סַסְמַי (from Cushan) (= the N. Arabian Cush). Cp *Shoshan*, *DL*, 734, the name of a Midianite slave, which may represent סַסְמַי (Cushan); see, however, *SUS-SHAN*.

SISERA (סִיסְרָה), § 51; on meaning, see *BAWA*.

CEICAPA [B], CUCAPA [AL]; in *Judg.* 53, HAY [A].

1. The leader of the Canaanites opposed to Deborah and Barak (*Judg.* 4 f.). The narrative, however, is inconsistent, and presents Sisera in a twofold aspect: according to the poem (5) he is the greatest of the confederate Canaanite kings, whilst the prose account (4) represents him merely as the general of Jabin, king of Hazor, and as having his abode in Kishson, Martu; see *HARUSHTI*. See further *DEBORAH* and *SHAMGAR*. In the latter article the little name Sisera is considered; it has probably not a Hittite but a N. Arabian origin. If the *Nethimim* are the same as the *Che*, *Amer. J. of Theol.*, July 1901 pp. 145-7, Ethianites or N. Arabians, the explanation here would be confirmed (see, however, *NETHIMIM*, § 2, below). The royal city of Sisera (for Jabon, *DL* 67 *ly*) is not the Hittite city Kadesh (see *HABAKUK*) but the place known as Kadesh-barnea (Kadesh of the march).

2. The name of a family of (post-exilic) *Nethimim*, *DL* 24 (B om. *סִיסְרָה*) [AL]; *Neh.* 7:5 (*סִיסְרָה*) [A], *DL* 120, om. L. B); 1 *Esd.* 5:32 (*סִיסְרָה*) [BA, ASEBEE [AV], SEBEE [KV]).

SISINNES (ΣΙΣΙΝΝΗΣ), governor of Syria (Cappadocia) and Phoenicia, 1 *Esd.* 6:7. The name is probably that of a faithful courtier of Darius, *Art.* 1:28, 3:64 (Σισσηης). On its possible origin, see *TAIYIM* for corresponding name in Ezra, *Neh.* 1.

SISMAT (סַסְמַי), 1 Ch 246 f. RV, AV SISAMAI

SISTRA. See *MUSIC*, § 3 (3).

SITNAH (סִיטְנָה), ΣΙΤΝΑ [MH], om. F.; the name of one of the contested wells in the story of Jacob and Abimelech, *Gen.* 26:2. The name still lingers in *REHOBOTH*.

SITHRI (סִיתְרִי), *Ex.* 6:22 RV, AV ZATHRI

SIVAN (סִיבָן), *Esth.* 8:9; *Bar.* 1:3, 8:4, *S.* 3:10, § 2

SKIRT. 1 *Ch.* 12:28 (RV [AV], *DL* 28, 281) *עֲרִיקָתְךָ* (for *עֲרִיקָתָם*). The word is written on a large tablet, the other also, but none would be a single word or expression.

¹ In the original of *DL*; cp *DL* on *DL* 141.

² In *DL* 141 the word is written on a large tablet, the other also, but none would be a single word or expression.

SKULL

šēl (שֵׁל, Is. 47:24, RV 'tram') is derived from a root meaning 'to hang down'. It is only the mantle that has a skirt or tram, and in this lies the whole point of Is. 47:2, the 'tender and delicate' maidens remove the veil and flowing robe to perform the work of slaves.

2. *šēl* (שֵׁל, *šēl*), rather 'corner' or 'down-flowing end'. See FEISLER, and cf. *šāk*.

3. *šēl*, *šēl*. See COLLAR, 2 (vol. 8:58).

I. A.

SKULL. See CALVARY, GOLGOTHA.

SLAUGHTERMEN (Gen. 37:36 AV⁹⁸, etc.). See EXECUTIONER, 1.

SLAVERY. The word does not occur in EV. 'Slave' is found only twice in AV (Jer. 2:14, and here only in italics as an explanation of *šēl* שֵׁל 'home-born slave'; Rev. 18:11 for *šūmārū*), and twice in RV (In. 21:14, 24:7, 2:72277, 'deal with as a slave [margin, chattel]'; AV 'make merchandise of'). The Heb. *šēl*, 'chattel', is rendered 'servant' (1 K. 2:3) etc.

Among the Hebrews, as in the ancient world in general, there was no such thing as free labour in the modern sense; men servants and maid-servants were the property of their masters—in other words, were slaves.

We must carefully dissociate this word, however, from certain ideas inseparably connected with it in the modern Christian world. In the Hebrew conception there was no such profound difference between the slave's relation to the head of the house, and that held by the other members of the family. Free-born wives and free-born children are legally all alike under the power of the master of the house. The father can sell his children as well as his slaves to another Israelite. The slaves are not regarded as beings of an inferior order, but are true members of the family, and, though destitute of civil rights, are nevertheless regarded as fellowmen, and, indeed, if of Israelite descent, are held in as high esteem as freemen who at the same time are foreigners. Considered in itself, therefore, there is no degradation attaching to slavery. This is sufficiently shown by the one notorious fact that a man would not infrequently sell himself into slavery, and voluntarily remain in that condition.

In the legal and actual standing of the slave the point whether he was an Israelite or not was exceedingly important. The bulk of the slaves in ancient Israel would seem to have belonged to the non-Israelite category. In the main they had become slaves—as all ancient law sanctioned—through the fortune of war.

There existed, indeed, also in Israel the barbarous custom of the *Absum* (see BAN). The war being regarded as a war of *Yahwe*, the entire booty was often devoted 'to *Yahwe*'; that is to say, every living thing was put to death, and every lifeless thing destroyed (see, e.g., 1 S. 15). In the otherwise humane Dt. even, by the women and children of conquered towns are to be spared—*i.e.*, made slaves. Desire of gain doubtless often interposed as a practical corrective of this cruel precept, and it is probable that, as a rule, the custom was to turn to account as slaves, as the men as well as the women (1 S. 15:1 K. 20:10 f. et c.). Israelites, as we may be sure, had frequent opportunities, it so needed, for buying slaves in foreign markets. Their Canaan neighbours, with whom they always had close commercial relations, were famous throughout the land as slave-dealers (cp. Am. 1:6). The 'strangers' (the *gēr*) must also, occasionally at least, have found themselves compelled to sell themselves or their children. And, lastly, the slave population was constantly augmented by the birth of children to slaves in the home of their master—the *peled* *šēl* (שֵׁל) of Gen. 14:14, children who, of course, were themselves as slaves.

The master's right of property in his slaves of foreign birth is rendered *šēl* (שֵׁל) ('the brilliancy of his glory') and *šēl* (שֵׁל) respectively.

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origin was unlimited. He could sell them, or give them away to Israelites or non-Israelites as he chose. Yet these slaves, too, were by no means left absolutely defenceless to the caprice of their owner. The old consuetudinary law interposed energetically on their behalf. The master was not entitled to kill them; the killing of a slave was a punishable offence—a provision which becomes all the more noticeable when it is remembered that in the case of children the father did possess a limited power of life and death (see LAW AND JUSTICE, §§ 10-14). With the Greeks and Romans this power was, as regards slaves, a matter of course. The master's right of punishment was in Israel, further restricted, and the slave protected from serious maltreatment, by the rule that the slave became entitled to his freedom if his master in chastising him had done him some lasting bodily injury, such as the loss of an eye or of a tooth (Ex. 21:27 f.). Even in such cases, indeed, the principle that the slave was the property of his master was not lost sight of. The law exempted the master from punishment if an interval of at least a day had elapsed between the maltreatment of the slave and his death. The presumption was that the death had not been intended, and it was held that the master had suffered penalty enough in the loss of his property, 'for he is his money' (Ex. 21:20-21). The killing or maiming of another man's slave was also regarded only as injury done to property, for which compensation was required. Thus, if a slave were gored by a vicious ox the owner of the ox had to pay a compensation of thirty shekels to the owner of the dead slave for his negligence in not looking after an ox known to be dangerous. The sum mentioned clearly represents the average value of a good slave at the time of the enactment. The owner of the ox was not liable to any further penalty, however, though when a free man was killed in like circumstances the case was one of murder and the owner of the ox was punished with death (Ex. 21:28 f.). The runaway slave also enjoyed the protection of ancient custom. The prohibition of extradition indeed is not met with in express terms earlier than Dt. (23:15 f.); but we may safely take it that ancient custom, at least, did not require extradition as a matter of course. The decision in each case, as it arose, lay in the discretion of the city to which the fugitive had betaken himself. Shimei, for example, must in person come and fetch his slaves who had fled to Gath (1 K. 2:39 f.). Lastly, the slave was protected against over-driving by the institution of the *šabbath*, which, in the view of the ancient law-giver, aimed specially at the benefit of slaves and the lower animals (Ex. 23:12 Dt. 5:12 f.).

The legal position of the foreign female slave was still better. She was often her master's concubine, as is shown by the loan-word *peleget* (פֶּלֶגֶת; cf. פֶּלֶגֶת), which the Hebrews doubtless got from the Phoenicians. Dt. (21:10 f.) gives precise regulations for the case of an Israelite owner who seeks thus to appropriate a female captive. He is not allowed to take her at once; she must after coming into his house shave her head and pare her nails and bewail her father and mother for a full month, after which her master may espouse her. This regulation, also, we may safely assume to have rested on ancient custom.

It must further be remembered that to ancient feeling there was nothing degrading in the idea of the master of a female slave being her lord also in her lady's own home, as it were, in modern fashion. As is shown elsewhere (see MARRIAGE), the free woman also became a wife by purchase, and the essential difference in the position of a concubine wife is, in this, that her master is not at liberty to sell her, as regards the foreign concubine, indeed, the law speaks only in Deuteronomy, her master must buy her if he will, and put her away, but that also certainly comes from ancient custom. It is now held among the Arabs (as a *šāhret*, thing of a master to sell a slave who has been his concubine especially, she have borne children to him, and the law is not antiquity even if it is summed a time (cp. WRS. *K. 16* 17).

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Slaves of Israelite descent were in the minority. Kidnapping of slaves within the tribes of Israel was severely prohibited both by law and by ancient usage (Ex. 21:16), though this did not prevent its occasional occurrence (Gen. 37:26 ff.), in which case, however, it was prudent to send the victims abroad. There were, however, other ways in which Israelites could become the property of Israelites. The Hebrew parent was at liberty to sell his children into slavery, only not to a foreigner; and doubtless there were many cases in which poor men availed themselves of this right (Ex. 21:7). The insolvent debtor also was sold (K. 4:1 Am. 2:6; Neh. 5:18). So too the convicted thief, who was unable to make good his theft (Ex. 22:3 ff.); according to Josephus (*Ant.* iv, 82) he was in this case given to the person he had robbed (cp a provision in the law of the twelve tables). Finally, in cases of great poverty, a last resort was for a man to declare himself and his family the property of some well-to-do person (Lev. 25:39-42). What is related of the patriarch Jacob may also have frequently occurred; a suitor who was unable to pay the *mhār* or purchase-money demanded for the bride would voluntarily hire himself as a slave for a fixed time to the father of the girl (Gen. 29:18; cp MARRIAGE, § 1).

The position of such Israelite slaves was considerably better than that of those of foreign origin. The main difference, so far as the law was concerned, lay in this, that the foreign

slave remained a slave all his life, whilst the Hebrew slave had a legal right to manumission, and within a definite time had to be released for nothing. According to the Book of the Covenant the slavery of an Israelite lasted six years; in the seventh year he again became free (Ex. 21:2 ff.). The story of Jacob warrants the conjecture that in the original custom the Hebrew slave served for seven full years, and that later, and under the influence of the Sabbatical idea, the beginning of the seventh year was taken as fixing the date of the release (cp Stade, *GGI* 179). By the seventh year of course is meant, not the Sabbatical year of a still later time, but a relative term reckoned from the date of the beginning of the bondage. If the slave had brought a wife along with him, she, and doubtless also then children, became free along with himself. If, however, he had entered into bondage alone and afterwards as a slave had received a wife from his master, she and also the children remained the property of the master (Ex. 21:7 ff.). Manifestly, in the case of a wife being given to a slave, only a foreign woman could be intended, for the Hebrew female slave the master had either to take to himself or give to his son (see below). A characteristic light on the whole position of the Hebrew slave is shed by another fact, the law can presume that in many cases the slave will prefer not to use his legal right to his liberty, but will voluntarily elect to remain in bondage. The rule just mentioned, regulating the retention of wife and children, must frequently have produced such cases; another cause will be mentioned later. If the slave desired to remain with his master in perpetuity, his master was to bring him before 'Elohim' and there fix his ear with an awl to the door-post (Ex. 21:5 ff.; cp Dt. 15:16 ff.). Interpreters are not agreed as to whether by 'Elohim' we are to understand the sanctuary, and that the declaration could only be duly made there. See vol. 3223, note 2. Deuteronomy says nothing about the sanctuary, but doubtless assumes that the ceremony will be in the house of the master. This might be a result of the concentration of the cultus at Jerusalem; but it might equally well be held to show that neither also did the ancient custom refer to the Book of the Covenant proscribe a ceremony at the sanctuary, and that by 'Elohim' is meant the house-hold gods, the Penates which in old times were found

¹ See Nowak, *U* 137, and especially Perducat, *U* 7, 16 (see also an edition in her *Bibliothèque*, 28-272 ff., 11-14).

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in every house (cp e.g., 1 S. 10:13; see TURPIN). The ceremony can have had no other meaning than that the ear of the slave—that is, his obedience—was firmly nailed to this house and pledged to it for all time coming.

Elsewhere also boring the ears is met with as a sign of slavery, e.g., among the Mesopotamians (Juv. 1:2), Arabs (Lev. 19:28), the Lythians (Neh. *Ann.* iii, 131), and others (see *U* 137, Ex. 21:5 ff.).

Deuteronomy advances a step (15:12 ff.), and requires of the master that he shall not send his slave empty but shall give him a liberal present from his threshing floor and winepress. Here we catch sight of another motive which may have often induced the slave to remain in voluntary bondage: the emancipated slave, if quite destitute, was in worse economic state of freedom than before—left to his own resources, exposed to every hardship and oppression. The man who had no land of his own, the position of a hired working man, or any other favourable opportunity of earning a livelihood, was hardly attainable at all, or attainable only to a very limited degree. Many a man might therefore prefer slavery with comfort to freedom with destitution. The precepts of Deuteronomy are not complied with. The legislator himself feels that he is leaving much to the discretion of masters, and thus exhorts them all the more earnestly (15:17): "It shall not seem hard to thee; . . . for Yahweh thy God shall bless thee [therefore] in all that thou doest." What we read in Jer. 34:9 ff. is significant of much; in the case of a great distress, when Jerusalem was under siege, Zedekiah ordered the inhabitants of the city to free their Israelite bondmen and bondwomen, and so to fulfil the commandment that had been so neglected. But hardly had deliverance come and the siege raised before the liberated slaves were again reduced to bondage.

P will not have any such thing as slavery for an Israelite. If an Israelite finds himself driven to poverty to sell himself into slavery, he is not in reality to be regarded as a slave, but as a free wage-earner or *gēr* (Lev. 25:39-42).

5. Year of Jubilee. For all Israelites together are the servants of Yahweh, who brought the nation up out of the land of Egypt; they must not therefore treat one another as slaves (Lev. 25:45). In the matter of emancipation, however, the law had to yield to the force of custom; but the emancipation of the Hebrew slave was no longer to occur in the seventh year of his slavery, but only in the year of Jubilee, every fiftieth year. In this year (Lev. 25:40) all land reverts to its original owner; the liberator, who thus has the means of subsistence secured for himself and his family.

The ancient *Dahler*, *U* 14341 ff. (1) interpreted this law, having in view only those slaves who, when the year of Jubilee came, had not yet been six years in bondage, and for whose Jubilee release exists as an institution with that of the seventh year's release, finds no support in the text itself; (2) (cp *U* 14342) interprets the law as relating only to those slaves who, previously, at the seventh year's release, had voluntarily entered into bondage, and who now in any case have to be freed in the year of Jubilee; had this been meant, it would have been said.

It is only in the case of his having been compelled to sell himself to a *gēr* or foreigner in the land, that the law offers the Israelite the possibility of an emancipation. In such a case he cannot reckon on the same favourable treatment as with a brother Israelite. Here, if emancipation was possible, the right of which belonged originally to the nearest kinsman, the brother or uncle of the father's side, but also to the bondman himself, if meanwhile he had come into possession of means, the price of redemption also was fixed by law, and was of a sense very favourable to the slave or his kinsman. The purchase-money originally paid by his possessor was to be regarded as a sort of hire paid in advance for the years of service from the date of purchase to the next jubilee and above this a sum proportionate to the

¹ An indirect confirmation of what has already been said.

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time which may have been spent up to the time of the jubilee year was to be paid as redemption-money, so much for each year (Lev. 25:47 ff.). Such a regulation early presupposes post-exilic conditions. Before the exile the case of an Israelite being compelled to sell himself to a foreigner was hardly conceivable. The foreigners in the land were few, and were themselves in a position more closely approaching that of the slave than that of the freeman (see LAW AND JUSTICE, §147). Since the exile, however, a large non-Jewish population had settled in Judaea, and, to the great misfortune of the Jews, had attained a position of wealth and prosperity in marked contrast with that of the poor returning exiles.

In so far as these laws are bound up with the idea of a year of jubilee they of course were never carried into actual effect any more than the year itself was observed. But the idea underlying them nevertheless gained the upper hand; the idea, namely, that for an Israelite to own his brother Israelite as a slave is irreconcilable with the essential nature of the theocracy. The poor who had sunk to such a degree of poverty realised the ignominy of such a position as they had never done before; essentially they knew themselves the equals of their rich brethren and the possessors of equal privileges. When in Nehemiah's day the severe stress of the times had compelled numbers of the poorer people to pledge themselves and their children to their richer brethren to save themselves from starvation, the situation was shocking to them, and they turned to Nehemiah. Nehemiah took their part, censured the nobles and wealthier classes for their impety, and succeeded in inducing them to free their poor brethren from their mortgages (Neh. 5:1 ff.). This fundamental principle—that no Jew can ever be a slave—was taken over by the later Talmudic law; even the thief, who had been sold for his crime, was not to be regarded as a slave (Winter, *op. cit.* 10 ff.). And when the manifold wars of Seleucids and Ptolemies again and again reduced multitudes of Jews to slavery under heathen masters, redemption was regarded as a sacred duty and a glorious service (1 Mac. 3:4; 2 Mac. 8:1).

The same legal principles apply substantially to the Israelite slave; but in the older period the release at the end of seven years, and not only, the woman being her master's concubine. If an Israelite girl was sold by her father to a master—of course happened only when he was unable to sell her as a *chushban*—the purchaser was bound to treat her as his wife in every respect, he had to set her at liberty for nothing, the purchaser did not desire to marry her at all, he could give her his son as concubine. If, however, he did not wish this more than he could sell her only to a purchaser who wished her for a concubine, not to a foreigner; but, holding this position, she could not become a freewoman in the seventh year. As till we reach the time of Debs we find the privilege of release in the seventh year claimed for her with the option of voluntarily remaining in slavery. It appears that in the time of D the custom according to which the female slave had the option of concubine no longer prevailed. According to Talmudic decisions a wife can never be sold as a slave; but the owner had the right to sell his daughter as long as she was under the age of three (Winter, *op. cit.*).

From what has been said it will be manifest that the position of slaves, in its legal aspects, was not specially hard, and custom even in various respects often coming short of the law. Other important respects demanded more. From what we read about slaves we gather that they were regarded as members of the family, and that the law provided for them well being as for that of his own children. The whole manner of their relations with their masters shows that they were treated, not as mere chattel creatures, but as men with minds of their own, and that they were free to express their opinions.

It is interesting to get information about Samuel, who was an Israelite slave, and that it is his slave who tells him about the law (1 S. 10:27). It is also the slave who advises Abigail

to make peace with David—quite against the will of the master of the house—and she follows his advice (1 S. 25:14 ff.). Eliezer in the patriarchal legend figures as the proprietor of the household, and is invested with a sort of guardianship over Isaac, the son of the house (Gen. 24:1 ff.). Compare also the relation of Ziba to Meribbaal, Jonathan's son (2 S. 9:1 ff., 10:1 ff.). The slave could even marry the daughter of the house (1 Ch. 2:14), and, fathering a son, become the heir (Gen. 15:2 ff.).

In the last resort this favourable position of slaves arose from the fact that as members of the family they were admitted to the family worship. To the ancient view this came as a matter of course. The slave could not have his own worship, his own god, as he is to be; he must necessarily participate in the worship of the master of the house. So Eliezer prays to the God of his master Abraham (Gen. 24:2, etc.). The Priestly Code expressly demands the circumcision of slaves (Gen. 17:12). This, too, must have been in ancient times a matter of course. Otherwise the alien slave would have been a continual source of religious pollution for the whole house. This also is the tacit presupposition of Deuteronomy when in its humane concern for the slave it requires that he be allowed to participate in sacrifice and feast (Deut. 16:11). The non-Israelite, the uncircumcised person, could not possibly be admitted to a share in the sacrificial meal. The slave, being admitted to the family worship, becomes in the earliest times when ancestor-worship comes in capable of continuing this worship and thus of inheriting (see above). It is in this standing which the slave enjoys as a co-religionist and fellow-worshipper that the most powerful possible motive is found for his master to treat him with kindness and fatherly care, just as to-day, in Islam, slaves as fellow-believers are treated with all humanity. The brotherhood in the faith in Islam now, as in Israel of old, is not, as unfortunately it has come to be in the Christian world, a mere empty phrase, but a very real force.

See, besides the handbooks of Hebrew archaeology, Michaelis, *Mon. Recht*, § 177; Saalschütz, *Das mosaische Recht*, 2:20 ff.; the articles on slavery in Winer, *Sebnel*, and Herzog-Plitt, *Faith's*; the monographs by Meier (Die *Schattenside der Sklaven bei den alten Hebräern*, 1880), Mandl (*Das Sklavenrecht des A. T.*, 1886), Grünfeld (*Die Stellung des Sklaven bei den Juden nach bibl. u. talmud. Quellen*, 1886), Winter (*Die Stellung des Sklaven bei den Juden in rechtlicher u. geschichtlicher Beziehung nach talm. Quellen*, 1886).

7. Bibliography. Riehm, *Herzog-Plitt*, *Faith's*; the monographs by Meier (*Die Schattenside der Sklaven bei den alten Hebräern*, 1880), Mandl (*Das Sklavenrecht des A. T.*, 1886), Grünfeld (*Die Stellung des Sklaven bei den Juden nach bibl. u. talmud. Quellen*, 1886), Winter (*Die Stellung des Sklaven bei den Juden in rechtlicher u. geschichtlicher Beziehung nach talm. Quellen*, 1886).

SLEEVE (סב), Gen. 37:3 ff. 2 S. 13:13 RV^{mg}. See TENSIC, § 1.

SLIME (סלם, ἀσφαλτος¹; in Ex. ἀσφαλτι-τιςσα, *hémō*, as distinguished from *hōmer*, 'mortar, clay' always denotes the raw material, RV^{mg} correctly 'bitumen' (Gen. 11:3, 14:10 [where Var. Bib. suggests 'naphtha'], Ex. 2:3 [see PITCH]). On the philology of the two terms see Franke, *Acron. Fremde*, 161, and on the biblical passages cited, see BABEL [TOWER OF], SODOM AND GOMORRAH, and MOSES, § 3 (101, 3207), respectively, and esp. generally BABYLONIA, § 15; BATH-MEN; CLAY; DEAD SEA, § 6; MORTAR.

SLING. Two Hebrew words have been so rendered.

1. סלם, *šlām*, *šepherānā* = *šepherānā* in Job 41:20, *šūnā*; 1 S. 17:40; 2 S. 18:14; 2 Ch. 26:14; 1 Ch. 11:20; 2 Ch. 9:1; 1 Ch. 11:47, 48.

2. סלם, *šlām*, *šepherānā*, Prov. 26:18, AV and RV^{mg} (RV 'the p. of stones'; see Franke, *Acron*). The least probable translation is that of AV ('the p. of stones'), the sense of 'sling' seems impossible of proof. Like *šepherānā* in Ps. 68:2 the word is probably corrupt.

3. *šepherānā*, 1 Mac. 6:13 ('instruments for casting iron and stones, and pieces to cast darts and slings'). See Str. 36, 64.

In 1 S. 17:44, the text (which in AV is corrupt) has a reference to AV and RV will suggest, *šepherānā* as a noun of 'possible' apparently meaning 'slings stones'. The word *šepherānā* in 1 Ch. 11:20 seems to have read *šepherānā* 'and with flints (of the sling)'. But this does not at all suit. We must look further. There are many parallels for this correction of *šepherānā* in

¹ Derivation unknown. Possibly Semitic though the suggested form with the root found in the Heb. *špāl*, 'besmear,' does not commend itself.

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an acre of land'; cp AcRt), into **צָרְזָר**, 'the garrison' (see p. 13). The scribe first wrote **צָרְזָר**, and then, having omitted the article, wrote it again more correctly **צָרְזָר**. Out of **צָרְזָר צָרְזָר**, by transposition and corruption, **צָרְזָר צָרְזָר** arose. 'Fellies' (**צָרְזָר**) also appears in 1 Mac. 10:73; slingers, it is implied, would find a lack of sling-stones in the Philistian plain (cp ELLI, T. K. C.).

From its simplicity, it might have been inferred that the sling (**צָרְזָר**), an improvement upon the simple act of throwing stones,¹ was one of the earliest forms of weapon. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that it was employed in quite remote times by shepherds as a protection against wild animals, by agriculturists to drive away birds (Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 1381), and also by hunters (Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, 132 [1878]), and by the light-armed soldier in warfare (*Ibid.* 120; for the Aralians cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 2479). In Palestine the shepherd carried a sling, in addition to his staff, and a bag to hold his smooth stone bullets (1 S. 17:49); and the Benjamite warriors are supposed to have been renowned for their effective use of this weapon, employing it as well with the left hand as with the right (cp Judg. 20:16 1 Ch. 12:2). In Judith 9:7 it is mentioned as one of the weapons in which the Assyrians trusted.

We possess illustrations of the sling from Egypt, from Assyria (Layard, *Nimrod* [1852], 332), and from Rome. The Egyptian slinger is in the act of throwing (Wilk. 120). The sling is made of a plaited thong,² the centre being broad enough to form a receptacle (**צָרְזָר**, *kiph*, 1 S. 25:29) for the stone.³ One end seems to be attached to the hand, the other being simply held; the part of the sling in which the stone is lodged is loosely supported by the other hand. The sling is swung over the head (cp Eccles. 47:1), apparently with some such motion as in bowling, the loose end flying into the air. The stones are carried in a bag which hangs from the shoulder. In the illustration from Rome the sling (*fundula*) seems to be of the same kind (see Rich, *Dict.* under 'fundula'); but only one hand is employed, whilst the stones are held in a fold of the slinger's mantle by the other.⁴ The slingers seem to have worn, as a rule,⁵ no armour and to have carried no other weapons (Eiman, *Anc. Eg.* 524; cp Rich, under 'Funditores'). A. Lang (*Homer and the Epic*, 375 f.) explains why there are so few references to the sling in Homer (see II. 13:599 766) by the remark that Homer scarcely ever speaks at all of the equipment of the light-armed crowd; the sling 'was the weapon of the unarmed masses, as of David in Israel.'

The sling is still used in Syria, in Egypt, and in Arabia. You may still come upon young Syrian shepherds practising with their slings (see, e.g., Harper, *In Scripture Lands*, 140); Doughty speaks of Arab boys 'armed as it were against some savage beast with slings in their hands' (*Ar. Des.* 1439), but Thomson (*Land and Book* [1844], 573) only saw it used at Häsbeiyā, on Mount Hermon, by boys in 'mimic warfare.'

It was long in use among Europeans, too, even the simplest form of it (see above) surviving. Thus it was used by the Anglo-Saxons, though 'whether for warfare or the chase alone, it is not easy to determine' (Hewitt, *Ancient Armour in Europe*, 158 f., fig. on p. 50). Hewitt also gives later instances (1 cc; see the interesting plates, xxvii. 1. 16); it was used in battle as late as the sixteenth century (Bosch).

¹ Still skillfully exercised by the Arabs (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 2234 52), as it was amongst the N. American Indians (Schwob, *craft*, as quoted in Keller, *Lake Dwellings* [ET], 114); 'there is evidence to show that, as an amusement, it was "very common amongst the ancient races"'. The practice seems to have continued, even among the Romans, in addition to the other; the *ancora*, as distinguished from the *funditores*, throw the stones with their hands (see Rich, *Dict.* under 'Funditores').

² Slings were also made of 'twisted hair, sometimes human hair' (Schubert, *Mon.* 437 18th ed.).

³ Cp Keller, *Lake Dwellings* [ET], 114; 'broader in the middle, in order to keep the projectile as in a hood or cap.'

⁴ 'Like the bow, the sling gained its real importance after the Carthaginian wars, owing to the skill of the Balearic allies' (Hewitt, *Ancient Armour in Europe* [ET], 158 f.).

⁵ There were, no doubt, exceptions. Cp K. Haefler, *The Life of the Greeks and Romans* [ET], 574 f.

SMYRNA

SLUICE (**שָׁרְיָה**). Is. 10:15 AV, after Tg. Most moderns render, 'all those who work for hire (**שָׁרְיָה**) will be grieved (**שָׁרְיָה**, cp 1900, 1) in soul'. So virtually RV.

SMITH. 1. **שָׁרְיָה**; see HANDICRAFTS, § 1. cp CHADRASHIM.
2. **שָׁרְיָה**, *magister*; 2 K. 24:1 26 Jer. 24:29, everywhere (cp 1. above).

SMYRNA (**ΣΜΥΡΝΑ** Will. 2M. Tl. Rev. 11:1, or **Σμύρνη**, Rev. 2:8).¹ Smyrna is a very ancient town, its

history falls into two distinct periods associated with two distinct sites, and 1. **History of old city.** Smyrna (**ἡ παλαιὰ Σμύρνη**, Strabo, cp Paus. vi. 51) stood at the N.E. corner of the bay under Mt. Sipylus above the alluvial plain of the river *Barnabitis*. It was said to have been built by the Amazons (Strabo, 550), in whom we may trace a tradition of the Hittite occupation of Lydia. To them also was ascribed the foundation of Ephesus, Cyme, and Myrina.²

The Amazons were primarily the priestesses of that Asian nature-goddess whose worship the Hittites introduced into western Asia Minor (see EPHESSUS, DIANAK). Upon the arrival of the Greeks in Asia Minor the town was occupied by the northern section, who are called the *Phoians*; but the Cyprianians seized it by treachery, and thenceforth it ranked as an Ionic city (Herod. 135). Its position gave it the command of the trade of the valley of the Hermus which flows into the gulf and made it the most powerful rival of the Lydian capital Sardis, which lay on the middle Hermus, about 60 K. to the East. Hence a primary object of the policy of the Lydian dynasty of the Mermeds was to make themselves masters of Smyrna and the other Greek towns on the coast (see Lydian).

Smyrna successfully resisted the attack of Gyges (Paus. iv. 215 ix. 29), but succumbed to that of Alyattes (about 580 B.C.; Herod. 116). Smyrna was destroyed, and its inhabitants dispersed in villages, 'it was organised on the native Anatolian village system, not as a Greek πόλις' (Rams. *Hist. Geog.* II/62 n., cp Strabo, 646, **Ἀδῶν δὲ κατασπαράτων τῆν Σμύρνην περὶ τετρακῆσια ἐτη διετέλεσεν οἰκουμένη κενώσασθαι**). The trade of Smyrna was taken over by Phocæa, which, like the other Greek towns, was absorbed in the Lydian empire; when Phocæa in its turn was destroyed by the Persians, Ephesus became the chief commercial city in this region. Some of the extant early electrum or gold coins with the lion type, usually classed as issued by Sardis, may really be mementoes of the early commercial greatness of Smyrna (so Rams. *op. cit.* 62).

Alexander the Great, warned, it is said, by a vision (Paus. vi. 51), conceived the design of restoring Smyrna

2. **The new city.** as a city. This design was actually carried into effect by his successors Antigonus and Lysimachus; the earliest undoubtedly Smyranean coins are in fact tetradrachms of Lysimachus bearing the turreted head of Cybele with whose worship Smyrna was always prominently associated. New Smyrna thus arose, nearly three hundred years after its destruction. The new site, about three miles (Strabo, 634, **περὶ ἑκοστί σταδίων**) S. of the old site, was on the shore of the gulf, at the foot of Mount Pagos, the last western member of that chain of hills which, under various names (Olympus, Timolus, divines the valley of the Hermus from that of the Cæstus). The natural beauty of the mountain-girt plain was remarked by the ancients.³

The architecture of the city was worthy of its setting. The streets were laid out in straight lines at right angles

¹ **Σμύρνη** is read in the 'western' text for **Μύρνη** in Acts 2:9 in 11. The more ancient form of the name, down to the end of Trajan, was **Σμύρρα** or **Σμύρρα**; later it was written in the familiar form **Σμύρνα** (**Σμύρνα**). See the coins, and cp Rams. note on *loc. cit.* 303.

² The part of Ephesus which owed its foundation to the Amazons was called *Samornia* or *Smyrna* (Strabo, 550). *Ἄστυ Μυρῆνα* is evidently the same word, initial **Σ** being lost, as in *μυρῆνα* for *μυρῆνα* (Smyce on Herod. 135).

³ *Timolus*, *II/53* 11 mentions *Ἄστυ οὐκισμῶν* in the same locality, explicitly so; Strabo, 646, **καλλίστη τῶν παλαιῶν ἀποδομῶν τῆν ἐπιπέδου ἐν ὅρῳ τετρακῆσμιον, κ.τ.λ.**

SMYRNA

SNAIL

to one another, after the system of Hippodamus of Miletus, who had so laid out Thuri (443 B.C.) and the Piræus for Pericles (for the Ἰπποδάμιον ἔργον see Aristot. *Pol.* 447a 11 = 1110a 21 f.). Extending from the temple of Cybele, the 'Golden Street' ran right across the city to the opposite temple of Zeus 'on the Heights.' The only drawback was that, being unprovided with drains, the streets were sometimes flooded by storm-water (Strabo, 649). Many temples (those of Cybele, Zeus, the Nemesis, Apollo, Asklepios, and Aphrodite Stratonikeia) were the chief, a Stalium, an Oileion, a Public Library, an *Honcurium* dedicated to Homer, a Theatre (one of the largest in Asia Minor), and several two-storied Stoa (Strabo, *l.c.* στωαὶ τῆ ἀρχαίας τερροπόλεως, ἰσχυροὶ ἦσαν ἄσπυροι) made Smyrna one of the most magnificent cities of the East. Few remains of this ancient splendour survive.

Smyrna also possessed a good harbour, which could be closed (Strabo, *l.c.* λιμὴν κλειστός). Apart from the prosperity arising from the fact that the bulk of the trade of the Hermus valley passed through its port, the territory of Smyrna was very fertile and produced much wine.

The people of New Smyrna were gifted with political sagacity which stood them in good stead in dealing with the Seleucids and afterwards with the Romans. The decree is still extant (243 B.C.) in which mention is made of the temple of Aphrodite Stratonikeia, which was by a sort of false etymology or play upon words associated with the honour paid by the Smyrnaeans to Stratonice, wife of Antiochus I. (see *CGI* 3137 = Hicks, *Manual*, no. 176). In return, Seleucus II. declared both the temple and the city to have rights of asylum. By this pronouncement the city was removed from his jurisdiction and probably exempted from the necessity of providing troops or of receiving his garrisons (see Holm, *Gk. Hist.*, E.F. 4449). During the war with Antiochus the Great the Smyrnaeans embraced the Roman cause and were, upon its conclusion, granted the privileges of a *civitas sine fœdere libera et immunis* for their loyalty (ep Polyb. 21.48 and *CGI* 3202, 3204 f.).

When the Romans finally occupied Asia, Smyrna became the centre of a *conventus iuridicus* which embraced the region from Myrina to Teos and the skins of Mount Sipylus as far as Magnesia (Pliny, *HN* 5.17; Cic. *Pro Clu.*, 29). In the war with Mithradates it retained its loyal attitude (ep Tac. *Ann.* 4.54). The sole exception to the course of prosperity arose when Tiberius, one of Caesar's murderers, took refuge within its walls and was besieged by Dolabella, who finally captured the city and put Tiberinus to death (Strabo, 646; Dio Cass. 47.2) Cic. *Phil.* II.).

According to Tacitus (*Ann.* 4.56), the Smyrnaeans had, as early as the consulship of Marcus Porcius Cato (195 B.C.), erected a temple dedicated to *Roma*. On the ground of their constant loyalty, and this display of it, they made claim before Tiberius in 20 A.D. to the privilege of erecting a temple to the emperor. Out of the list of the contending Asiatic cities Sardis and Smyrna were preferred, and Smyrna won the day (see NEUCIROS). There is extant a Smyranean coin bearing on the obverse a figure of Tiberius in the centre of a temple, with the inscription Σεβαστῆς Τιβέριου (Eckh. 2347).

It is not surprising to find, therefore, that Asia Minor being under the Empire the 'paradise of municipal vanity' (Mommson, *RG* 5.82), Smyrna vied with its neighbours in the accumulation and assertion of empty titles. Like Sardis, Pergamos, and other cities (see Mommson-Marg. *Röm. Staatsrecht*, 143), she held the title of metropolis.

Her great rival in this respect was Ephesus, who enjoyed the high-sounding titles πρώτη πόλις καὶ μέγιστη, and ἀρχαιοπόλις ἢ Ἰωνία. What exactly the possession of the title πρώτη implied that the mutual strife for this 'primacy' (ἀρχαιότητα) should have been so keen (cp Aristides, *Or.* 1.72; *ibid.*; Dio Cass. *l.c.* 2.19 R.) is not certainly known; but probably it was connected with the question of precedence at the games of the *ἑσπέρων Ἀγῶν* (see ASIAR II). The strife between Smyrna and Ephesus continued until the emperor Antoninus settled the dispute (Philostr. *Op.*, ed. Kayser, p. 231.24, καὶ ἀρχαίη ἢ Σεβαστὰ πρώτη ἐκώσθη).

The obverse of SMYRNA richly illustrates the above points. From the time of its ruin by Alyattes to that of its restoration, there was, of course, no issue of coins. The usual silver coins of Roman Asia, the *Aurei* and *Aureoli*, in the case of Smyrna bear the legend SMYRN, with the head of Cybele as a symbol. The obverse of the gold coins bears the honorary titles Νεωπόρις: πρώτη Ἰωνία, ἡ πρώτη Ἀγῶν ἑσπερίων τῶν ἀσθενῶν καλλιῆ καὶ μέγιστη, the third Neosote here asserted begins towards the end of Sept. Soterius. Certain coins bearing a figure of Homer sealed

were called *Ὀμηρεῖα* (Strabo, 646), and perhaps reproduced some statue in the *Honcurium*. In addition to the worship of the Snyrene Mother (Cybele) to which the epithet Σεβαστῆρ on certain coins refers, the cult of the Nemesees was largely practised in Smyrna, and on some coins are seen figures of two Nemesees appearing in a vision to Alexander and charging him to restore the city (Paus. vii.51 f.). The Griffin, a frequent Smyranean type, symbolises this worship, just as the Lion symbolises that of Cybele.

Points of contact between the above and the address in Rev. 23 f. are not very obvious, though not entirely wanting. Probably many phrases would fall upon the ears of those for whom the

message was intended, with a force which is now quite lost. Especially may this have been the case at Smyrna, where much importance was attached to a method of divination from chance phrases (Paus. ix.117, 'divination by means of voices . . . is, to my knowledge, more employed by the people of Smyrna than by any other such people'). Outside the walls there was a 'sanctuary of voices.' It has been suggested, therefore, that the words with which the message opens would come with peculiar force to those who perhaps had heard similar phrases in the pagan mysteries. Similarly, the phrase 'crown of life' (17. 17, τὸν στεφανῶν τῆς ζωῆς) must inevitably have suggested or have been suggested by a prominent feature of life at Smyrna—the public Games (cp Paus. vi.143 f. for a striking incident occurring at one of the celebrations held at Smyrna, in 68 A.D.). It was on such an occasion that the Asiarch Philippus was forced by popular clamour to do out the aged Polycearp to death (155 A.D.). The Games were characteristic of pagan life, and socially, though not politically, they would serve as an effective touchstone of sentiment. The fact that on the occasion of Polycearp's martyrdom the Jews also took part in accusing him of enmity to the state religion, is strikingly in accord with the words of Rev. 29, where the Jews of Smyrna are called 'a synagogue of Satan.' The that overcometh must also be used with reference to the gymnastic and other contests familiar to the Smyrnaeans. It would, however, probably be a mistake to confine the suggestiveness of the phraseology too narrowly.

The 'crown of life,' for example, may also have associations connected with the complimentary crown bestowed upon municipal and other officials for good service. It is also noteworthy that many Smyranean coins show a wreath or crown within which is the Lion symbol, or a magistrate's name or monogram (see illustration in Head, *Hist. Numm.*, 508). This emblem also might enter into the complex associations of the words, which it is the task of historical imagination to revivify.

Smyrna, now *Ismir*, is the commercial capital of Turkey. Plan, with very full account of ancient remains and modern town, in Murray's *Handbook of Asia Minor*, 707. For the older Smyrna, see Curtius, *Beitr. z. Arch. und Topograph. Kleinasiens*, Berl. 1872. W. J. W.

SNAIL occurs twice in the OT as the translation of two terms.

1. *שָׂנַי*, *shonay* (Lev. 11.30), where, however, some kind of *luzuko* (q.v.) is meant (RV 'sand-lizard').

2. *שָׂנַיִל*, *Sabbilul* (Ps. 58.3 [9]), a word of uncertain etymology, which is found in the Targ. under the form *שָׂנַיִל*. The rendering 'snail' is probable and is supported by the Palm. *Shabbith*, 77b, where Rashi, in his commentary, explains it by *limace*. Fwahl, with less probability, follows S and Vg. (*ἀσπὸς*, *cor*) and renders 'melted wax.' Some land snail is probably referred to, and the allusion to its melting away may have reference to the trail of slime which the mollusc leaves behind it as it crawls, or may refer to the entrance of these animals into cracks and crevices, where they are no more seen at the approach of the dry season. The land and freshwater mollusca of Syria are large, numerous and varied, and it is interesting to note that the Dead Sea contains no molluscs, whilst the sea of Tiberias has a rich molluscan fauna. Bliss's *Manual of Marine Life*, 110) found a quantity of snail shells; 'snails had doubtless been used for food.' [A

SOAP

representative of the king Pt'u (not Pharaoh) of Musri ... Northern Arabia ... was in 1071 ...

SODOM AND GOMORRAH

[Heb. שֹׁדֹם [A] Jos. Ant. vi. 1. שֹׁדֹם] Sodom was fortified by Rehobocum ... Shoco AV שֹׁדֹם [BA] שֹׁדֹם [L] שֹׁדֹם [Jos. Ant. vi. 1. 1.] ...

Very remarkable is the form of a K 17 in Q, which substitutes for So, 'Adramelech, the Ethiopian, residing in Egypt' ...

SOAP, or SOPE

in modern language, means a compound of certain fatty acids with soda or potash, the potash forming the 'soft,' the soda the 'hard' soap of commerce ...

The word 'soap' is used in L.V. to translate the Heb. שֹׁדֹם, a derivation of שֹׁדֹם, cp שֹׁדֹם, 'cleanness' ...

Canon Tristram states that considerable quantities of soft soap are, at the present day, manufactured in Palestine ...

SOCHO (שֹׁכֹחַ) Josh 13:18 AV, RV Soco, a name in the genealogy of the tribe of Judah, cp Soco, 1

SOCHO (שֹׁכֹחַ) in Josh. 13:18, but Ke. שֹׁכֹחַ as in Ch., where RV has Soco; in S. and K. שֹׁכֹחַ [Kt.] שֹׁכֹחַ [Kt.]; שֹׁכֹחַ B.A.V.

A town in the Shephelah of Judah, grouped with Lemeth, Ahilun, Azekah, etc. (Josh 15:35 שֹׁכֹחַ [B]) and mentioned with Azekah in the description of the encampment of the Philistines in US 17:11 ...

In both passages Q has שֹׁכֹחַ or שֹׁכֹחַ, R' by a curious mistake ...

The reading שֹׁכֹחַ is represented a plur. form; cp Fox, 175 ...

The need of the present writer ... that the geographical ... of the OT narratives has often been misunderstood ...

2. A second town of this name is grouped with Shamin, Jathir, etc., in the mountain district of Judah (Josh 15:35 שֹׁכֹחַ [B]) ...

SOCHO (שֹׁכֹחַ) Josh 25:20 RV Soco, EV Soco (17:1). Cp SOAP.

SODI (שֹׁדִי) Gen 14:2 AV, RV Sodi, a name in the genealogy of the tribe of Judah ...

SODOM AND GOMORRAH

Biblical references (1-11). New theory (1-2). Critic of analysis (1-2). Strucken's 'dry' deluge (1-2). ...

SODOM (שֹׁדֹם; SODOMA [SODOMITE]) plur., SODOMITE (שֹׁדֹמִי) Gen. 19:4 and GOMORRAH (שֹׁמֹרָה) Gen. 19:4

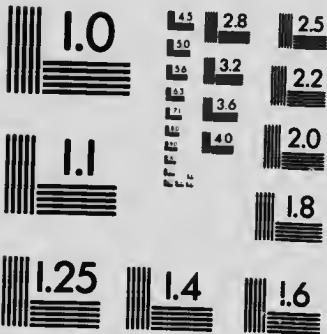
1. References. שֹׁדֹם [BA], in LXX and plur.; in NT (AV GOMORRHA) plur. except in Mt. 10:15 according to Treg. [but not L. WH] with GOM. [10] ...

et aliter in composition, but Soco both unapparent. Both Lusebus and Jetone strangely confuse Soco with Socoah-beneath (2 K. 17:39).



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'Sodom and Gomorrah'¹ (virtually equivalent to 'Sodom'); (2) the circumstances leading up to the culminating act of wickedness committed in Sodom; and (3) the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah and other cities, and the escape of Lot and his two daughters. The sin of Sodom is often referred to as typical of horrible and obstinate wickedness, Is. 1:10-30 Jer. 23:14 Dt. 32:32; and its destruction as a warning, Is. 1:7-13 Jer. 49:18 Zeph. 2:9 Dt. 29:22 Am. 4:11 Lam. 4:6 (for EV's 'iniquity' and 'sin' read 'punishment'). Sometimes, too, it is mentioned alone as the destroyed guilty city, Gen. 19:13 ('this place' = Sodom) Is. 1:7-8 Lam. 4:6 (cp Gen. 11:17 ff. [but in v. 17 ^G inserts *איִלְיָאֵס, גֹּמֹרָא*], where the king of Sodom figures alone); but Gomorrah is often mentioned too, Gen. 13:10-18:20 19:24-28 Is. 1:7-8 Jer. 23:14 Am. 4:11 Zeph. 2:9 Dt. 32:32. 'Neighbour cities' are also referred to in Jer. 49:18 50:40; cp Ezek. 16:46 ff. ('Sodom and her daughters'). In Hos. 11:3 Admah and Zeboim, and in Dt. 29:23 [22] Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboim are given as the ruined cities; cp Gen. 19:10 and 11:2, where in like manner these four cities are mentioned together. In Wisd. 10:6 the inexact phrase 'Pentapolis' is used (see RV). The description of the sin of Sodom in Ezek. 16:46-50 is evidently based on the legend known to us from Gen. 19, and similarly that of the punishment in Dt. 29:23 [22] agrees with that given in the traditional text of Gen. 19:24-26. Allusions to the fate of Sodom appear to occur in Ps. 116 [but see below] 140:11 [1] Job 18:15 Is. 34:9 ff. Jer. 20:16 Ezek. 38:22. Curiously enough, in a geographical passage (Gen. 10:19), Sodom and Gomorrah and Admah and Zeboim are spoken of as if still in existence. These are the data relative to the history of Sodom and the other cities supplied by the traditional text.

The references to Sodom (Gomorrah is rarely added) in the Apocrypha and in the NT are as follows—2 Esd. 2:8 5:7 7:35 Eccles. 10:2 Wisd. 19:14 Mt. 10:15 (Mt. 6:11 [not in best texts] Lk. 10:12) Lk. 17:20 Rom. 9:29 (quotation) 2 Pet. 2:6 Jude 7 Rev. 11:8 (cp Ezek. 23:3, etc.).

Before proceeding further it is necessary to refer briefly to the critical analysis of the section in which the Sodom-story is contained (Gen. 18-19:38). That 7: 23 belongs to the Priestly

2. Critical analysis.

Writer is admitted; its true place is probably after 13:12 (P), which states that 'Lot dwelt in the cities of "227"' (rather *שֵׁרָאֵם*, 'Jerahmeel'). With regard to the rest of the section, it is admitted that there has been a prolonged process of editorial manipulation. Only thus indeed can we account for the singular combination of passages which refer to Yahwé as the speaker and actor with other passages which indicate three men as charged with representative divine functions, and for the not less singular fact (1) that whereas Abraham's hospitality is claimed by 'three men,' Lot receives into his house only two men, who are called in the present text of 19:1 'the two *mal'akim* (EV 'angels'), and (2) that in 19:17, whereas the first verb is in the plural ('when *they* had brought them forth'), the second is in the singular ('*he* said'); so again, 7: 21. It was long ago suggested (and the same idea has lately been worked out by Kraetzschmar²) that there have been imperfectly fused together two versions of the story of 'Sodom,' in one of which Yahwé was said to have appeared in a single human form, and in the other in a group of men; whether we regard these men as 'elohim' (cp Gen. 1:26 3:22 11:7) or divine beings, the choice of whom is Yahwé, or as '*mal'akim*' (commonly rendered 'angels'), does not affect the critical inquiry. It is impossible, however, to work out this theory to a satisfactory result; the original narrative may have been modified by editors, but we cannot to any large

¹ Regrettably we abstain from drawing out the beauties of the story in chap. 18. For parallels to the divine visit see Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, pp. xxxiv-xxxvii, and 314 ff.; cp also Hom., *Od.* 17:482 ff.

² 'Der Mythos von Sodoms Ende,' *ZATHW* 17:81-92; cp *Neue Hymn.* 1:2 v.

extent admit the theory of independent literary strata. Fripp, therefore, was justified in attempting to show that in the earliest form of the story Yahwé himself is the only speaker and agent. Comparing this story, however, with analogous stories in Genesis and elsewhere, it is much more natural to suppose that the original form three men—i.e., three 'elohim'—were spoken of, and that the distinction between Yahwé and the other two remained—see 18:26b—to talk with Abraham and the 'two *mal'akim*' who went to 'Sodom' was due to the same later writer who, as Wellhausen (*U 27*) has rendered probable, introduced 18:17-19 and 26:1-2. This passage which reveals the existence in the writer's mind of doubts as to the divine justice, such as we know to have been felt among the Jews in later times. It may also reason to think that the references to Lot's wife (19:15 f. 26; contrast 7: 21) and the whole of the 19:1-26 episode, together with the account of the birth of Moab and Ben-ammi (?), are later insertions, though, by 19:15 means so late as the two insertions in ch. 18 mentioned above.²

Here, however, we are chiefly concerned with the contents of the Lot-story (ch. 19). We are told that it is a punishment for disregard of the sacred law of hospitality, and for a deadly sin committed at least in intention, 'Yahwé rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from Yahwé out of heaven, and overthrew those cities, and all the Plain, and all the inhabitants of the cities, and that which grew upon the ground' (19:24 f. RV). Is it possible to explain the origin and meaning of this story, accepting provisionally the form in which it is given in the traditional text?³

3. Lot-story not historical.

The story is historical (however laxly the word be interpreted) ought to be at once denied by those who have read the earlier legends of Genesis in the light of the comparative critical method. If the Deluge is not historical, and if Abraham and Lot are mythical creations of the popular imagination, how can the strange story in Gen. 19, for which, as we shall see, there are so many parallels in folk-lore, be regarded as historical? It is surely no answer to appeal to the accordance of the phenomena of the catastrophe of Sodom with those which have happened elsewhere in 'similar geological formations,' or to the justification of the traditional description of that catastrophe by 'authorities in natural science' (but not in historical criticism) and by some competent critics of the OT. For the narratives of the Hebrew *Origines* must be accepted or rejected as wholes. Plausible as Dawson-view⁴ may be, that the description of the catastrophe of Sodom is that of 'a bitumen or petroleum eruption similar to those which on a small scale have been so destructive in the region of Canada and the United States of America,' and the more ambitious theory of Blanckenhorn,⁵ that the catastrophe, which was a real though not a historical event, began with an earthquake continued with igneous eruptions, and ended with the covering of the sunken cities by the waters of the Red Sea, it would require great laxity of literary interpretation to assert that this is what either the Yahwé-story narrative, or the earliest references in the prophets intend. As Lucien Gautier remarks (above, p. 104): 'The text of Genesis speaks of a rain of fire and brimstone and a pillar of smoke rising to heaven, but nothing

¹ *Composition of the Book of Genesis*, 50-53 (1892), and *ZATHW* 12:23 ff. (1893).

² In an essay in the *New World*, 1:243, only the geological myth in 7: 26 relative to the pillar of salt is recognized as a creation. Gunkel (*DK*, Gen. 183 ff.) holds that Lot's wife plays no part in the original story, and that the *Zour* episode is a later insertion, but he claims 7: 26-28 for the original story.

³ Knobel has, at any rate, noticed that the Sodom story of 19:1 closes the second stage in the early narrative, corresponding to the Deluge.

⁴ *Espositor*, 1:265 (1), p. 74; *Modern Science in Bible Land*, 4:26.

⁵ *ZATHW* (see end of article).

SODOM AND GOMORRAH

of an earthquake, nor of an igneous eruption, nor of a inundation.' Nor can we venture to pick and choose among the details of the story in Gen. 19.

It is of no more use to justify with some plausibility two or three expressions in a part of the Sodom-story by means of 'scientific' lore than to make it out to be, modestly put, not impossible that the Theban ruler, king of Ham, may have invaded Palestine at a time when Avraham may have lived. If 'authorities' in natural science sometimes speak as if Gen. 19 were in part historical (more plausibly based on a tradition of a real occurrence), we must remember that historical criticism and natural science are both studies which require a special training, and if critics of the OT even in the nineteenth century have thought that they could (here and in the Helong-story) disengage a true tradition of a prehistoric natural fact from the mass of superimposed legend, one may remark in explanation that these critics belong to a transitional period, and that the criticism of today has to throw off the weaknesses which it has inherited from the past.

The chief extra-biblical passage in which distinct reference is made to the destruction of the cities as historical is in Strabo (xvi, 244), where, after describing the rugged and burnt-up rocks, existing patch, round about Moasada (i.e., the stupendous rock-fortress Masada, near the SW. shore of the Dead Sea), the geographer mentions the native tradition that here thirteen cities once flourished. The ample circuit of Sodom their capital city, he says, still be traced. In consequence of an earthquake, and of an eruption of hot springs, charged with bitumen and sulphur, the lake advanced suddenly (*ἡ λίμνη προέβη*); some of the cities were swallowed up, and others were deserted by as many of the inhabitants as could flee. Josephus (*Jiv.* 84), speaking of the lake Asphaltitis, upon which the country of Sodom borders, uses similar language:— 'There are still the remains of the divine fire, and the shadows (*σκιάς*) of five cities are visible as well as the ashes produced in their fruits.'² It is hardly possible to avoid taking these reports together, and assuming that Strabo's informant was of the Jewish race. If we reject the claim put forward by critics in behalf of the statement in Gen. 19 24 f., we must still more certainly reject the statement of Strabo as historical evidence.³

¹ *E.g.*, besides the late Sir J. W. Dawson, Canon Tristram (*The Land of Israel*, 356). Describing a valley at the N. end of the salt-range of Uslum, he says: 'The whole appearance points to a shower of hot sulphur, and an eruption of bitumen upon it, which would naturally be calcined and impregnated with its fumes; and this at a geological period quite subsequent to all the diluvial and alluvial action of which we have such abundant evidence. The catastrophe must have been since the formation of the valley, and while the water was at its present level—therefore probably during the historic period.' Blankenship, however, is more in touch with biblical critics. In his *Geog. and Hist.* he expresses his adhesion to the views (then just published) of Sachs-Schwarz, and says: 'This makes it plain that while it is certainly very probable that the account in Genesis is a tradition of a natural occurrence which was real but not "historic," the Yahwistic form . . . is altogether different from the original tradition, which is rather to be sought in the references and figurative statements of the prophets' (*ZDPV* 21.9 [1882]). Whether this stress on the prophetic references, only two of which can be at all early, is justifiable, need here be discussed.

² See also Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.37. The reference may be (1) to the fruit of the *Asphodelus* *Calceolaria procera*, of the family *Asphodelaceae*, which Hasselquist (*Travels*, 1766) calls *poma sodomitica*, and found in abundance about Jericho and near the Dead Sea. He says that they are sometimes filled with dust, but 'only when the fruit is attacked by an insect which turns all the inside into dust, leaving the skin only entire, and of a fearful colour.' The tree, says Tristram (*NHB* 44), grows to a height of from twelve to fifteen feet, and the fruit is 'as large as an apple of average size of a bright yellow colour, hanging three or four together close to the stem.' It easily bursts when ripe, and 'supports a very singular orthopterous insect, a very large black and yellow cricket, which we found in some plenty on all the trees, but never elsewhere.' But (2) Tristram's suggestion that the fruit of the colobynth is meant deserves attention. See Goulet (WLD). The fruit, though flat of aspect, has a pulp which dries up into a bitter powder, used as medicine. But to suppose that the phrase 'the vine of Sodom' (*Gen.* 49.12) has any reference either to the colobynth or to any other botanical plant, is plainly a mistake (see the commentators).

³ Still more obviously worthless for critical purposes is the statement of Froben (Justin, xviii. 3.3) that the Phoenicians were forced to leave their home beside the *Assyrium stagnum* by an earthquake. Bunsen took this *stagnum* to be the Dead Sea.

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From the point of view which is here recommended it is all-important to bring the Sodom-story into the

right class of myths or semi-mythic legends. It is not necessary that

4. Possible classification. mythic stories of the same class should all give the same particulars; it is enough if they agree in some leading 'motive.' Lack of space prevents us from mentioning more than a few such stories. Let us refer first to the story of the punishment of the guilty city Gortyna. 'The people of this city had a lawless existence as robbers. The Thebans, being their neighbours, were afraid, but Amphion and Zethos, the sons of Zeus and Antiope, fortified Thebes by the magic influence of Amphion's lyre. Those of Gortyna came to a bad end through the divine Apollo.' 'The god utterly overthrew the Phlegyan race by continual thunderbolts and violent earthquakes; and the survivors were wasted by a pestilence.'² Usually, however, it pleases the creators of folk-lore to represent the punishment of wicked cities as consisting in their being submerged by water. Homer (*Il.* 16. 184 ff.) speaks of the pernicious floods which Zeus brings by autumnal rain-storms on godless, unjust men. The well-known story of Philemon and Baucis (Ovid, *Met.* 8.611-724) belongs to the same subdivision. Similarly a place on the Lake of Thun is popularly said to have been destroyed because a dwarf was refused hospitality during a storm by all the inhabitants except an aged couple who dwell in a miserable cottage.³ A French journal of folk-lore contains a long series of folk-tales about these swallowed-up cities, most of which have a moral.⁴ It is true, the moral may be omitted. Thus, according to Prof. Rhys,⁵ each of the Welsh meres is supposed to have been formed by the subsidence of a city, whose bells may even now sometimes be heard pealing merrily.

For further European examples see Tobler, *Im neuen Reich*, 176 ff. (1873); Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 546 f., and esp. Usener, *Religionsgeschichtl. Untersuchungen*, 324. A story similar to that of Lot told by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Hsüen Tsang, who travelled in India (7th cent. A.D.), may be added. There was a city called Holoakoka, which was very rich but addicted to heresy. Once an Arabar (one made free by insight) came there, and was treated inhospitably: earth and sand were thrown upon him. Only one man had pity on him, and gave him food. Then said the Arabar to him: 'Escape; in seven days a rain of earth and sand will fall upon the city, and no one will be left, because they threw earth upon me.' The man went into the city and told his relations; but they mocked him. The storm came, and the man was the only one who, by an underground passage, escaped (Paulus Cassel, *Mischl. Stadtbl.* 7 [Berlin, 1882]).

A similar story is also told in Syria. The well-known Birket Râm, two hours from Biniâs, which is evidently the crater of an extinct volcano, is said to cover with its waters a village, whose population, under aggravating circumstances, refused hospitality to a poor traveller. Usually, however, such villages or cities in Arabian legend are classified as *maktubât* 'overturned ones,' which at any rate implies destruction by other means than a flood; one thinks at once of the technical term *mahpukah* ('overturning') used in the OT for Sodom and Gomorrah, and of Job 15.28 where the wicked man is described as dwelling in 'desolate cities . . . which were destined to become heaps.' E. H. Palmer tells us⁶ how the Arabs of the neighbourhood account by a myth for the blocks of stone at the base and on the summit of Jebel Madara; stones here take the place of the brimstone and fire in our present form of the Sodom-story. Nor is it only in et-Tih that stories of ruined cities are handed down among the Arabs, and that the desolation is accounted for by the

Bun. as A. von Gutschmid (*Beitr. zur Gesch. des Orients*, 26) pointed out, the *Assyrium stagnum* is certainly not the Dead Sea, but the lake of Bambyke (Malug or Hierapolis).

¹ So in effort Pherecydes (*Fragmenta*, 125).
² Pausanias, 9.30 (Fraser).
³ Tobler (*op. cit.*).
⁴ *Revue des traditions locales*, 1899-1900, 'Les villes englouties.'

⁵ *The Arthurian Legend*, 270 ff.
⁶ *Desert of the Exodus*, 416.

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infidelity and the abominable deeds of the former inhabitants.¹ Wetzstein in Dehtsch's *Job*, Ger. ed. 197) gives a number of such stories, one of them contains a detail illustrative of the 'pillar of salt' which was once Lot's disobedient wife. At the source of the Kakkad (in the Lailan) this explorer saw some erect and singularly perforated jasper formations, called *el-farida*, 'the bridal procession.' Near them is its village, *Chana*, which, in spite of repeated attempts, can be no more inhabited. It remains forsaken, according to the tradition, as an eternal witness that ingratitude, especially towards God, does not escape punishment.

To put aside such facts (of which only a selection has been given) as irrelevant, and to substitute for them the speculations of 'authorities in natural science' inversely critical methods, would involve a serious lapse from sound critical methods. The case of the Sodom-story is parallel to that of the Creation-story, and still more of the Deluge-story, in the Hebrew *Origines*, to explain which in any degree by taking account of the subtle theories of geologists would detract from the clearness and validity of the approximately correct solutions of the critical problems involved. It is now beyond gainsaying that naive races, in viewing certain striking phenomena of nature, suggestive of special divine interventions, are led, by a mental law, to form mythic narratives respecting calamities which have happened to individuals or to populations under circumstances which in the most widely separated regions resemble each other. The Sodom-story in the traditional text can be in its main features explained as such a mythic narrative, and cannot otherwise be accounted for in any way that is not open to well-founded critical objection.

There are no doubt several difficulties which still remain to be dealt with. (1) There are some features

5. Difficulties.

in the Sodom-narrative which remind us of the strange story in *Judg. 19*; the introduction of these features requires explanation. (2) There is one reference (*Gen. 14:3*) to the site of the ruined cities which suggests that they were swallowed up by the waters of the Dead Sea; if the text is correct it appears to contradict the statement in *19:24*, which makes no reference to a flood. (3) The expression 'overthrow' (*שָׁדַד*) in *19:25*, strictly speaking, inconsistent with the representation in *7:24*, Blumkenhorn, it is true, has a speculative justification for the expression. But the fact that 'overthrow' became the 'technical term' in literature for the destruction of Sodom may well make us hesitate to follow this eminent geologist. (4) It is almost as difficult to localise Sodom and Gomorrah as to localise Paradise.

It is only on the last of these points that we are tempted at present to dilate; but here we prefer to adopt the clear and full statement (*HG*, 595-81) of Prof. G. A. Smith. (It should be mentioned, however, that the question is, for us, of importance only in so far as it opens up problems as to the successive phases of the Sodom-story. The historical character of the narrative could not be rescued even if the geographical difficulty referred to were removed.)

There is a much-debated but insoluble question whether the narratives in Genesis intend to place the cities to the N. or to the S. of the Dead Sea.

For the northern site there are several reasons - that Abraham and Lot posse upon the cities from near Bethel, that the name Circle of Jericho is not applicable to the S. end of the Dead Sea, that the presence of five cities there is impossible, that the expedition of the Four Kings, as it swept N. from Kadesh-Barnai, attacked Hazazon Tamar, which is probably Engedi, before it reached the Vale of Siddim and entered the king of Sodom and his allies; that the name Gomorrah perhaps exists in *Tal'at Amrith*, near *Beit el-Khakhak*; and that the name of Zoar has been recovered in *Tell Shigzar*.

On the other hand, however, at the S. end of the Dead Sea there lay throughout Roman and medieval times a city called Zoara by the Greeks and Zughor by the Arabs, which was identified by all with the Zoar of Lot. Jebel Usdum is the uncontested representative of Sodom. Hazazon Tamar may be not Engedi, but the Tamar of Ezekiel, SW. of the Dead Sea. The name "Kikkar" may surely have been extended to the S. of the Dead Sea, just as to-day the Ghor is continued for

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a few miles to the S. of Jebel Usdum; Jewish and Arabic traditions fix on the S.; and, finally, the natural conditions are more suitable there than on the N. to the descriptions of the region both before and after the catastrophe, for there is still sufficient water and marsh on the eastern side of the Ghor to suggest a *paradise of the Lord*, while the shallow bay and long marshes are better than the ground at the N. end of the sea for the secret of the overwhelmed cities.

Such is the evidence for the rival sites. We can only wonder at the confidence with which all writers dogmatically decide in favour of one or the other.

It may be added that Grove (in Smith's *HG*, 595) 'Salt Sea') has argued at length for a northern site as the real one. He is supported by Canon Tristram (*Land of Israel*, 390-393) and Prof. Hull (*Proc. Soc. Sci.*, 195). The latter writes thus, 'From the description in the Bible, I have always felt satisfied that the cities lay in some part of the fertile plain of the Jordan to the N. of the Salt Sea, and to the W. of that river, and when visiting the ruins of Jericho, and beholding the copious springs and streams of that spot, it was applicable to it would be the expression "that it was well-watered everywhere" (*Gen. 13:10*), the flood occurred, May not the more modern cities near Jericho have arisen from the ruins of the Cities of the Plain?' We may add that the name 'Jericho' most probably comes from *יְרִיחוֹ* (Jeroham, Jarham) = *יְרִיחוֹ* (Jerahmeel).

Up to this point we have accepted the biblical texts in their present form. The gains of the critical method upon these texts have not been trifling or unimportant; but the difficulties connected with the story of the destruction of Sodom have not all of them been overcome.

The passages which have now to be criticised textually are *Gen. 10:19*, *13:10*, *14*, *19:17-25*, *19:30*, *Am. 4:11*, *Is. 17:11*, *11:8*, *Zeph. 2:6*, *Is. 11:6*.

(a) *Gen. 10:19* defines the territory of the Canaanite as extending 'from Zidon in the territory of Canaan as far as Gaza; in the direction of Sodom, Gerar, Admah, and Zebaim, as far as Lasha.' But can this be right? Zidon, Gerar, Gaza, Sodom, Lasha? That the rest of *Gen. 10* has first of all become corrupt and then been manipulated by an ill-informed redactor is clear; can *7:10* be an exception? Evidently 'Canaanite' should be 'Kenizzite,' and most probably the names in *7:19b* should be Ishmael, Jerahmeel, Shuh.¹

(b) *Gen. 13:10*. The awkwardness of the clause that 'Yahwe destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah' has been noticed by critics; how could Lot know anything of the impending catastrophe? Other interpolations have also been noticed and yet neither the true limits of the passage, nor its meaning, have been fully understood. If we apply the right key, a full solution of the problem becomes possible. Read - 'And Lot lifted up his eyes and beheld that Jerahmeel was everywhere well-watered [before Yahwe, etc.], like the garden of Eden, [like the land of Misrim in the direction of Misrim?]' The description derives its points from the circumstances that Paradise was localised by early traders in the land of Jerahmeel. (Cf. PARADISE, § 6.) It is most interesting fact that of our restoration of the text accepted Sodom and Gomorrah were, like the Paradise, placed by Israelish writers in Jerahmeel.

(c) *Gen. 14*. The huge difficulties arising out of this passage are well known. Critical opinion has for the most part to the view that it is a post-exilic Midrash in honour of Abraham, but that it contains some material drawn directly or indirectly from a Babylonian source.²

¹ 'Ad'ish' and 'Zebaim' were naturally added after the redactor had succeeded in producing 'Sodom' and 'Gomorrah'.

² The words within [] are interpolated. 'Misrim' means the capital of Misrim.

³ Moore, however, whilst not questioning the present text,

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Gunkel even thinks that the scenes between Abraham and Melchizedek and the king of Sodom sound like popular tradition. He also remarks that the old tradition speaks either of Sodom and Gomorrah, or of Admah and Seboim;¹ the combination of the four seems to him to rest on a later fusion of the current traditions. Winkler, too, deals with the question of the names. In 7, 10 we hear only of the two kings of Sodom and Gomorrah (S and Sam, שֵׁם וּמְרִיָּם; the verb is plural). This critic, however, thinks that, as in 18, 2 and 19, 24, both Sodom and Gomorrah are regarded as subject to the same ruler; later editors, amplifying as usual, increased the number of kings. Far be it from us to deny the acuteness of previous critics, especially Winkler;² it appears to the present writer, however, that a keener textual criticism is urgently needed to bring out the real, as opposed to the imaginary, problems of the narrative. The true story seems to have stated that in the days of Abram war broke out between Jeralmeel king of Geshur (disguised as 'Shinar') or Ashkur (disguised as 'Arioch') and Ishmael king of Selm (or Selmim?). For twelve years the latter had been Jeralmeel's vassal; after this he rebelled. A year passed, and then king Jeralmeel came and made a raid among the Jeralmeelites of Zarephath, Rehoboth, and Kadish. The king of Selm came out to oppose him; but he and his army were put to flight; the city of Selm was plundered, and Lot was one of the captives. News of this came to Abram the Hebrew, who lived at Rehoboth (miswritten 'Hebron') and was in close alliance with the Jeralmeelites. At once he called together his Kenite and Jeralmeelite neighbours,³ pursued the spoilers as far as Rehob in Cushman, and brought back the captives and the property which the spoilers had taken. On his return two kings came out to meet him. One was the king of ZIKLAV (Ilfalush?), a specially sacred city, whose king was also priest of the God of Jeralmeel,⁴ and solemnly blessed Abram—a blessing which Abram acknowledged by the payment of tithes (cp Gen. 28, 22). The other was the king of Selm, who offered Abram the whole of the recovered property. Abram, however, generously refused this, swearing by Yahweh, the God of Jeralmeel, that he would not commit such a sin against Jeralmeel's land,⁵ or receive anything that belonged to the king of Selm, lest the king should thus be entitled to say that he (and not Yahweh) had enriched Abram. Only the clans which accompanied Abram—Eden [Aner], Heles [Eshel], and Jeralmeel [Mamre]—required their just share of the spoil.

The war was therefore between two branches of the Jeralmeelite race, and Abram the Hebrew, himself half a Jeralmeelite,⁷ interposed in the hour of need for his neighbours and relatives. Selm, generally miswritten שֵׁם (MT Sodom), but once שֵׁם (7, 18 MT Salem), was not situated anywhere near the Dead Sea, but in Jeralmeel. Whether the earlier tradition really knew anything of a place called 'Gomorrhah' is already

doubtful. The Vale of Siddim, or rather the Siddim, which the traditional text (7, 3) identifies with a piece of water called 'the Salt Sea' together with the bitumen-pits also referred to in that text (7, 10) disappears, when the text has been closely examined in the light of results of textual criticism elsewhere.¹ See *Crit. Bib.*

(A) Gen. 19, 17-25. 'Zoar, on the SE. edge of the Dead Sea, covered over now by the alluvium, once lay in a well-watered country with a tropical climate. The Israélite tradition is surprised that this little bit of land has escaped the ruin of Sodom, and explains this treatment by the intercession of Lot who desired Zoar as a place of refuge. Thus the legend of Zoar is a geological legend. At the same time it contains an etymological motive: the city is called *Sodom*, because Lot said in his prayer, "It is only *my* *small*" (something small)." So Gunkel (*Gen.* 19, 2), according to whom the Zoar episode (including the incident about Lot's wife) is a later offshoot of the legend. We accept Gunkel's analysis (see § 2, n. 4), but cannot venture to accept his interpretation of the legend. The stress laid on שֵׁם in 7, 2 suggests that the real name of the city was שֵׁם, and thus agrees with the view that Sodom was neither N. nor S. of the Dead Sea, but in Jeralmeel. 'Zoar' therefore, needs emendation into 'Mismur.'² The Zoar-episode has been retouched; originally it was, not a geological, but an etymological myth.

But was it only the Zoar-episode that underwent manipulation? Textual criticism enables us with much probability to answer this question. There are several reasons for suspecting that the text of 7, 24 is corrupt. (1) The verb שָׁטַף in 7, 25, as many critics have remarked, does not accord with the description in our text of 7, 24.³ (2) The reference to bitumen-pits in 14, 1 (see 1) and to 'fire and brimstone' in Ps. 116 (see 2) are due to corruption of the text. Taking our passage in connection with Ps. 116, we should not improbably emend it thus:—

And Yahweh caused it to rain upon Selmim and upon 'Amorrah (and upon Rehoboth seven days) from heaven.'⁴ This is of importance with regard to the original form of the legend. Note that in 7, 25 'those cities' is equivalent to שֵׁם וּמְרִיָּם, i.e., שֵׁם וּמְרִיָּם, 'all Jeralmeel.' 'Sodom' is not the only city which is caught in the net of its own wicked deeds. We cannot but expect a reference to some other place besides Sodom and its appendage Gomorrah. That in the original story the implied accusative 'caused to rain' was not 'brimstone and fire,' but 'rain,' is in accordance with 7, 25, where שָׁטַף, 'to overturn,' may be illustrated by Job 21, 15, 'he sends them (the waters) out, and they overturn the earth.' 'From Yahweh out of heaven' (as the traditional text reads) has never yet been adequately justified.⁵ The Jer. distinguishes between the Word of the Lord and the Lord. Similarly the Christian Council of Sirmium, 'Pleni Dei filius a Deo patre.'

(B) Gen. 19, 30. The traditional text is so extraordinary that we quote it in full. 'And Lot went up out of Zoar, and dwelt in the mountain, and his two daughters with him, for he feared to dwell in Zoar; and he dwelt in a cave, he and his two daughters.' Kautzsch-Socin agree with EV, except that they render גֵּר, 'Gehänge' (mountain-country); they also remark in a note that MT has 'in the cave' (בְּמַעְיָן), 'perhaps with reference to a definite locality which was connected with Lot.' We are then told (7, 31) that, in order to continue the family, the two daughters agreed to 'make their father

thinks the assumption of a special source for the few details about the campaign superfluous (*Gen. Studies*, § 7, n. 1, 197).

¹ Abimah and Zedolim, however, take the place of Selmim and Gomorrah only in a single passage (Hos. 11, 8), which is not free from the suspicion of corruption.

² *100^e 101^e B.*; *GT 22-42*.

³ Selm being probably a name belonging to the Negeb, cp Sem'el, Ism'el.

⁴ Read in 7, 14 שֵׁם וּמְרִיָּם וְכָל אֲרָצוֹת הַיַּבֵּשׁ, 'Three hundred and eighteen,' in which Hitzig sees Gematria, and Winkler (*GT 2, 27*) an astronomical number, is simply due to an editor's manipulation of corrupt repeated fragments of שֵׁם וּמְרִיָּם, 'Jeralmeelites.'

⁵ שָׁטַף, like שָׁטַף in 21, 33, comes from שָׁטַף, 'to tread like a thread to a shoe-latchet, and if I would take anything, is impossible. S relieves the construction by omitting the second שָׁטַף. But the parallelistic arrangement is thus destroyed, and the improbability of the alleged proverb, 'Not a thread nor a shoe-latchet,' remains. Read אֲרָצוֹת עַל-אֶרֶץ שֵׁם וּמְרִיָּם.

⁶ 'Abram' = Ab-rah-am = Ab-jeralmeel; see רַבְרָבָא and cp Targum.

¹ The gloss on שֵׁם in 7, 3 is so absurd that Winkler even identifies the שֵׁם with lake Hildah in the N. His theory is a monument of ingenuity, but will not stand. שֵׁם surely comes from שֵׁם וּמְרִיָּם, and שֵׁם וּמְרִיָּם from שֵׁם וּמְרִיָּם (cp a more frequent transformation of the latter word, שֵׁם וּמְרִיָּם, שֵׁם וּמְרִיָּם, simply שֵׁם וּמְרִיָּם, 'the city of Jeralmeel').

² The presumption is that שָׁטַף everywhere should be שָׁטַף; each alleged occurrence, however, needs to be separately considered (see *Crit. Bib.*).

³ According to Gunkel, the raining of brimstone from heaven is analogous to the Assyrian custom of strewing salt on the site of a destroyed city (cp *SALT*). But surely when the rain of brimstone fell, Sodom had not been destroyed. Nor is the custom referred to (which is really a symbol of consecration, see Ezek. 43, 24, and cp *SALT*, § 3) illustrative of Yahweh's raining brimstone.

⁴ Read שֵׁם וּמְרִיָּם וְכָל אֲרָצוֹת הַיַּבֵּשׁ, 'From Yahweh out of heaven.'

⁵ Ewald (*GT 2, 23*) quotes this passage in support of the theory that Yahweh was originally a sky-god. He compares Mic. 5, 7, 'as dew from Yahweh.' But it is the tautology that is startling.

drink wine,' and to 'lie with him.' Gunkel rightly points out that the original narrators of this story can have seen nothing wrong in the transaction; the circumstances which they have described rendered law and custom inoperative (cp Lot). But the awkwardness of the passage is evident. How could Lot have been afraid to remain in the city, which had been divinely granted him as a refuge? One can understand his taking refuge in a cave in the mountains, if he was unaware that Zoar had immunity from destruction; but the present form of narrative is intolerable. And whence was the wine spoken of obtained? Gunkel proposes to assign 75, 102, together with the rest of the passage relative to Zoar, to a supplementer. But it is not plain why, if the original narrative brought Lot safely to a cave in the mountains, a supplementer should have complicated matters by the introduction of the 'Zoar-episode.' It would be simpler to omit the cave-episode as an afterthought (to account for the names Moab and Ammon).

But this is not the true remedy, which is—to apply textual criticism. There is a good parallel in 1 K. 18, 41, where another strange story is told about an occurrence 'in the cave'; probably (Pronoun, § 7) צֶרֶפֶת there is a corruption of a place-name, and a beautiful consistency is restored to the legends of Elijah if we emend צֶרֶפֶת into צֶרֶפְתָּא, 'Zarephath' (both צֶרֶפְתָּא and Elisha [see SUATHAL] were connected with southern Zarephath). It is plausible, therefore, to emend צֶרֶפֶת here, too, into צֶרֶפְתָּא, comparing Josh. 13, 4, where (see M'FARLAND) the original text probably had 'Zarephath that belongs to the Mizrim.' To do this, we must make the not improbable assumption that the city which in 75, 20 the traditional text calls צֶרֶפֶת, and in 77, 27, 30 צֶרֶת, but which the original text must have called צֶרֶפְתָּא (Mizraim), was more fully called צֶרֶפְתָּא מִצְרַיִם, 'Zarephath of Mizraim' (cp Josh. 13, 4, emended text). We shall have to return to this later (§ 1).

The alternative is to suppose that here, but not in the other passages referred to, צֶרֶפֶת is a corruption of מִצְרַיִם. The general sense of the passage is the same.

(f) Am. 4, 11 Is. 17. These are the two earliest of the passages in which צֶרֶפֶת (cp צֶרֶת, Ge. 19, 25) occurs as a kind of technical term for the legendary destruction of 'Sodom.' In Is. 17 the phrase is צֶרֶת צֶרֶת, but we must, with most critics since Ewald, read צֶרֶת צֶרֶת (cp 10, 29, 22 [23] Jer. 49, 18). In Am. 4, 11 we find a longer and rather peculiar phrase, 'like Elöhim's overturning of Sodom and Gomorrah' (so also Jer. 50, 4). This is generally supposed to be due to a consciousness that the Sodom tradition was originally connected not with the religion of Yahwe, but with Canaanite 'heathenism'; cp Gen. 19, 29 [1], 'when Eblhim overturned the cities,' etc.

The presumption is, however, that the Sodom-tradition is not of Canaanite but of Jerahmeelite origin. In this case it is not safe to insist that the story was not originally Yahwistic, for it seems probable that Yahwe was admitted by some of those who dwelt in the Negeb to be the god of the country. Some change in our critical theory is indispensable, and, having regard to what has been said elsewhere, it is not unreasonable to suppose that אֲחִיזַבְרָהּ, wherever it occurs in the phrase referred to, is a later insertion, and that the true 'technical phrase' is צֶרֶת צֶרֶת, 'like the catastrophe of Jerahmeel,'¹ with the possible alternative of צֶרֶת צֶרֶת, 'like the catastrophe of Sodom.'

(g) Hos. 11, 8. It is not probable (1) that 'Admah' and 'Zeboim' should be corrupt in Gen. 14, 2, 8 and correct in Hos. 11, 8, and (2) that we should not be told to whom Yahwe (in his present mood) declines to yield up his people. There must be an error in the text; and, with 106 before us (where 'Asshur' means the great N. Arabian power, and 'Jareb' is a corruption of 'Arab' = Arabia) we can hardly be far wrong in restoring צֶרֶת צֶרֶת, 'like the catastrophe of Jerahmeel.' Thus the passage becomes, How shall I give thee up [to] Jerahmeel? how shall I surrender thee [to] Ishmael?

(h) Zeph. 2, 6. This very questionable bit of Hebrew needs emendation. Read (after צֶרֶת צֶרֶת, 'as Gomorrah') צֶרֶת צֶרֶת, like צֶרֶת and צֶרֶת (see § 6, n. 6), is one of the current distortions of צֶרֶת.

¹ J was taken to be a fragment of צ; the final צ comes from צ. The editor manipulated the corrupt text under the influence of an exegetical theory.

צֶרֶת צֶרֶת, 'Cusham and Jerahmeel (shall be) a desolation for ever.' For us, the prime result of this is that the 'salt pits' (which suggest the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea) disappear.¹

(b) Ps. 116. The vagueness and also the excessive vehemence of this passage may well awaken suspicion. Probably we should read—

The Ishmaelites will give way, the Maacathites, the Kenites, the Hittites;
A blast of horror is the portion of Cusham.²

The figure is taken from the smoothened; there is no thought of the judgment of the 'ruined cities.'

It will be at once noticed that three out of the four still remaining difficulties in the story of Sodom are

7. New theory. appear through the above criticism of the text. 1. The cities were not, according to the earlier tradition, 'overthrown,' not, however, by an earthquake, but by floods of water from that upper ocean which formed a part of the cosmic system of the Hebrews. 2. The scene of the catastrophe was, not beside the Dead Sea, but in the land of Jerahmeel, and we are justified in inferring from Gen. 13, 6, that it was the district of Eden, where in primeval times the divine wonder-land had been visible, that suffered. It now becomes inevitable to conjecture that the original story of Sodom, or rather perhaps Selam, was the Deluge-story, or one of the Deluge-stories, of the Jerahmeelites. It is plain that such a story is needed to complete the cycle of early Jerahmeelite tales of the *Origines*, and in dealing with the Deluge-story in Gen. 6-8 we have already found reason to hold that an earlier form of that story may have represented the Deluge as overwhelming the land of the Arabians and the Jerahmeelites, and the ark as settling on the mountains of Jerahmeel (PARADISE, § 6, col. 357, 4, cp col. 357, 3, n. 3). The unexpected coincidences between the Deluge-story and the Sodom-story confirm the view tentatively proposed before (PARADISE, *loc. cit.*). We may take it, therefore, to be extremely probable that the Hebrew as well as, according to last week's Babylonian narrative in its earliest form represented the Deluge as originally partial. Let us now trace the parallels between the Hebrew and Babylonian Deluge-story and the narrative in Gen. 19 (as emended).

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| Deluge-story. | | Gen. 19. |
| 1. The righteous man Noah' (6, 9), or rather HANUK (see NOAH), or, as the great Babylonian story said, Par-napistim. | 2. [Anger of the divinity against the city of Surrupak.] | 1. The righteous man, Lot (19, 1-2). |
| 3. The extreme corruptness of society (6, 11-13, <i>f.</i>) | 4. The divine revelation (6, 13, <i>f.</i>) | 3. The culminating act of wickedness (19, 11) |
| 5. A long-continued, destructive rain-storm (7, 10-12, 17, <i>f.</i>) on the land of the Arabians and Jerahmeelites (7, 1), or (with thunder and lightning) on the Babylonian city of Surrupak. ⁴ The latter lasted for seven days. | | 4. The divine revelation (19, 12, <i>f.</i> ; 19, 15, 2, <i>f.</i>) |
| | | 5. For seven days a destructive rain-storm on the cities of the whole of Jerahmeel (19, 24, <i>f.</i>). |

¹ Schwally (*ZAW* 10, 188, *f.*) has already noticed the difficulties of MT, but has no adequate emendations.

² See Ps. 29. Note that צֶרֶת צֶרֶת has been corrupted from צֶרֶת צֶרֶת (p. d.).

³ Jastrow, who has partly traced the parallelism between the Sodom-story and the Deluge-story, writes this: 'Moreover, there are traces in the Sodom narrative of a tradition which once gave a larger character to it, involving the destruction of all mankind, much as the destruction of Surrupak is enlarged by Babylonian traditions into a general annihilation of mankind' (*RB* 1, 507).

⁴ We assume here that a tradition of a storm which overwhelmed Surrupak has been fused with the tradition of a far larger flood in the Deluge-story in the epic of Gilgames' (cp DELUGE, § 22; and especially Jastrow, *Relig. Bab. Ass.*, 272). That even the former tradition is historical, we are far from asserting. Nor do we deny that the Deluge-myth in its earliest form related to all mankind. See DELUGE, §§ 18, 22.

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6. 'Noah' and his family delivered (7:1) 270.
 7. The ark grounds on the mountains of Ararat (= i.e., Jerahmeel 1840) or (Babylonian) on the mountain of Nišir.

6. Lot and his family delivered (19:5, 7).
 7. Lot's name was applied to the mountains (= Jerahmeel) (19:7).

To these parallels we may add, though with some reserve, the parallelism between Hanoĕk (father of Methuselah (= Methusael = Ishmael) and grandfather of Lamech (= Jerahmeel) and Loj, nephew or perhaps originally (cp 11:14) father of Avraham (= Avraham = father of Jerahmeel) and father of Moab (rather, Mizzur) and Ammon (rather, Jerahmeel). This parallelism is of importance, not for the story itself, but for ascertaining the particular ethnic origin of the story. It is not appropriate that the escaped righteous man (as in the earliest Deluge-myth was a solar hero) should have any further concern with this earth. If Hanoĕk (mythologically) was the father of Methuselah (Ishmael), and Loj the father of Mizzur and Jerahmeel, it must in the original story have been before the Deluge. And even if Noah (Naham) was really the name of the hero of the Deluge-story in (chaps. 6-7, Naham is certainly a name of the Negeb (see NAHAM, NAWAMAS)). Altogether, nothing can be more probable than that those who first arranged the Hebrew legends had their minds full of Jerahmeelite associations. We can now fully appreciate the remark (Gunkel *Gen.* 105) that since the story of Sodom says nothing at all of water, although the site so strongly suggested this, it is plain that the scene of the narrative must originally have been elsewhere. Of course, the present place of the story and much besides is due to a skilful redactor.

It is true, the name of the hero is different. But there were presumably different forms of the Jerahmeelite as well as of the Babylonian Flood-story. Probably enough, there was another version in which Abraham was the hero; comparing Gen. 8:1 ('God remembered Noah') with 19:29 ('God remembered Abraham'), one may, in fact, not unnaturally expect that Abraham, or Lot, should be the chief personage of the second story. The visit of the *elohim* to Abraham is an unobscured indication that he originally was so. Certainly, something can still be said for Lot, who may originally have been greater than he now appears, and have been a worthy brother (see above) and rival of Abraham. But this is a pure conjecture, and one might even infer from 13:7-9 that Abraham and Lot originally belonged to the class (well represented in ancient legends) of *hostile* brothers,¹ and that Abraham corresponds to Abel (cp Remus) and Lot to Cain (cp Romulus). The legend might have taken this turn.

It is also true that in chap. 19 there is nowhere any trace of an underlying reference to the 'box' or 'chest'—a term specially characteristic of an inland country in which the survivors were preserved, and that in 19:23 Abraham is said to have seen 'the smoke of the land going up as the smoke of a furnace.' But on the first point we may answer that if only Lot and his family were to be saved, no ark was necessary; the '*elohim*' would convey the small party to a place of safety. And as for the other point, we must, at any rate, credit the best redactor with enough capacity to adjust a mutilated narrative to his own requirements.

Stucken has offered another explanation of the legend which now occupies us.² According to him, the Sodom- and-Gomorrah-story was originally a 'dry' Deluge-story—i.e., a legend of the destruction of men by other means than a flood; such a story he finds in the Iranian legend of the Var (or square enclosure) constructed by Yami (see DELUGE, § 20b), in the Peruvian and other stories of a general conflagration, and in the Egyptian story of the destruction of men by the gods.³ Whether the combination of stories which refer to water with those which make no such reference is either theoretically or practically justified, may be questioned; but we may, at any rate, admit that if the present text of Gen. 19:24 correctly represents the original story, the singular

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Egyptian story referred to is the nearest parallel to it. Here the 'Divine eye' is the executioner, it takes the form of the goddess Hathor, and slays men right and left 'with great strokes of the kmlk.' It seems to us, however, (1) that it is much more probable that the Jerahmeelites had two forms of a proper Deluge-story than that one of the extant Deluge-stories was only such in a loose sense of the term, especially having regard to the Babylonian Flood-stories, and (2) that the difficulties of Gen. 19:24 call loudly for the application of textual criticism.

Stucken seems happier in his explanation¹ of the parallelism between Gen. 19:11 and the strange story in Judg. 19:15-31. He thinks that both stories have the same mythological kernel—viz., the tradition of the dividing of the body of the primeval being Tiamat (the personified ocean-flood), with which compare also a series of myths of the division of the bodies of supernatural beings (e.g., Osiris). It is in fact all the more difficult to believe that Gen. 19:11 and Judg. 19:15-31 stand at all early in the process of legendary development, because both the stories (1) which these passages belong are ultimately of Jerahmeelite origin. This may be assumed in the former case (1) from the place which the 'Sodom'-story occupies among legends that are certainly in their origin Jerahmeelite, and (2) probably from the legend of the origin of 'Mizzur' and 'Jerahmeel' (so read for 'Moab' and 'Ammon' in 19:37) which is attached to the 'Sodom'-story. And it is hardly less clear a deduction in the latter case from the results of textual criticism. For the story in Judg. 19:20 can be shown to have referred originally not to Benjamin but to some district of the Jerahmeelite Negeb.²

So far as the outward form of the story is concerned, our task is now finished. Now to resume and, if need

be, supplement. Originally, it seems, there was but one visit of the *elohim*; it is to Abraham, not to Lot, that the visit was vouchsafed. Abraham (i.e., in the Jerahmeelite story, a personification of Jerahmeel) was the one righteous man in the land. He received timely warning that those among whom he sojourned had displeased God, and the *elohim* took him away to be with God. Then came a rain-storm submerging all Jerahmeel. This original story, however, received modifications and additions. Lot or Lotam, the reputed son, not of Sair the Horite, but probably of Mizzur the Jerahmeelite, was substituted for Abraham, and a floating story of mythic origin (the myth spoke of violence done to a supernatural being) was attached to the story of Lot in a manipulated form, so as to cause, later and justify the anger of the *elohim*. After this legend was inserted to account for the name Mizzur; Lot had taken refuge at Mizzur, by divine permission, because it was but a 'little' city, and again another legend was added to record the circumstance that the people of Mizzur and Jerahmeel were descended from that righteous man,³ who with his two daughters alone remained (the removal of the hero to the company of the *elohim* had been forgotten) in the depopulated land. (The names were afterwards corrupted.) Finally, a corruption in the text of 19:4 suggested that the scene of the story must have been in that 'awful hollow,' that 'bit of the infernal regions come to the surface' which was at the southern (2) end of the Dead Sea. And the singular columnar formations of rock-salt at Jebel Us-hum (cp DEAD SEA, § 5) to which a myth resembling that of Niobe (originally a Creation myth?) may perhaps already have

¹ Stucken, *op. cit.*, 60 ff.

² There was probably a confusion between בנימין (Benjamin) and בְּיִרְמֵהָא = בְּיִרְמֵהָא (Beth-jerahmeel). The 'Gibeah' of the story was perhaps the Jerahmeelite Geba (Gibeah?) mentioned in 2 S. 5:25 (cp 17:22, and see KENNEDY). The 'Bethel' in Judg. 20:18 is the southern Bethel, repeatedly spoken of by Amos (see PROPHETIC LITERATURE, §§ 10, 38). See *Crit. Bib.*

³ The genealogists often vary in particulars of relationship.

¹ See Ken, however (*Astrakanythen*, 87) points out that the distinction between friendly and hostile brothers in mythology is a fluid one.

² *Astrakanythen*, 66.

³ See Naville, *TSBA* 41:19; cp Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 62 ff.

become attached,¹ was appropriately transferred to the altered legend, and admitted with Lot's wife.²

It may be hoped that to many students it will appear no slight boon to be relieved from the supposition that the peoples with whom the only

11. Religious suggestions. Israhelites had intercourse were so much beneath them in morality as the traditional text represents. Misunderstood mythology is the true source of the terrible narratives in Gen. 19:1-11, Judg. 19:15-36. At the same time no criticism can deprive us of the beneficially stern morality which is infused into a most unhistorical narrative. Apart from the plot of the story there are several points of considerable interest for the history of Israhelite religion. Thus (1) in 19:12-16 it is presupposed that the righteousness of the good man delivers not only himself but his whole house; very different was the conviction of Ezekiel (14:14 ff.). (2) It is an event that the visits of the élohim are made, both to Abraham and to Lot. As the light of day wanes, man is more open to religious impressions; the Deity, too, loves to guard his mystery, and performs his extraordinary operations by night (cp 32:25 [24] ff., Ex. 14:24). It is not unnatural to ask, how it comes about that elsewhere Yahwe is said to 'cover himself with light as it were with a garment' (Is. 10:4), and to think of the influence of the Iranian religion. (3) Unmeaning repetitions in prayer may be useless; but repetitions which show earnestness are considered by the narrator to be aids, not hindrances. It is a mistake, as Gunkel remarks, to speak of Lot's 'weakness of faith.' (4) But, if we may treat Abraham's converse with Yahwe as a part of the narrative (it does in fact belong—thanks to a supplementer—to the section which links the Abraham-parable to the Lot-story), we have a riper fruit of religious thought in 18:23-32. 'Not for Lot alone, but for all the righteous men in Sodom, his prayer is uttered, and it is based upon a fine sense of justice: "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" And what is right? Not the mere prescription of a legal code; justice must be softened by compassion. Each of the supposed ten righteous men of Sodom has links innumerable binding him to his fellow-citizens. Is he to be sent abroad without any of those to whom nature or custom has attracted him? No; a single righteous man can at least (as in the case of Noah) save his family, and "for ten's sake I will not destroy the city'" (*New World*, 1245). It must not be thought that because mythology and, more widely regarded, the popular imagination have largely influenced the Hebrew narratives, they are therefore to a trained eye devoid either of historical or of religious interest.

To the books and articles cited under DEAD SEA, add the commentaries of Dillmann, Holzinger, and especially Gunkel; also Cheyne, *New World*, 1237-245; Kraetzschmar, *ZATW* 17:91-92; Stucken, *Astralmythos*, Part II, '1.3.' (the myths attached to the name of Lot are the torso of a primitive myth).

T. K. G.

SODOM, VINE OF (סֹדֹם, כַּנָּן), Dt. 32:32. See SODOM, col. 4955 n. 2; VINE, § 2.

SODOMA (ΣΟΔΟΜΑ) Rom. 9:20, RV SODOM.

SODOMITISH SEA (*mare Solomiticum*), 2 Esd. 5:7. See DEAD SEA.

SOJOURNER (נָר), See STRANGER AND SOJOURNER.

SOLDIER (הַגִּבּוֹר, בֶּן הַגִּבּוֹר), 2 Ch. 25:13; ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΗΣ, Mt. 8:9 etc. See ARMY, WAR, § 4.

¹ These perishable formations change from year to year, as Blaukenhorn remarks (*ZDPV* 1934, n. 1). The 'Lot's Wife' of Warren may have altered since 1870. But others will no doubt arise. On the omissions of the story see Stucken, 53, 117, and especially 23. For a late Arabian legendary 'Lot's wife' see Palmer, *Desert of the E. coast*.

² Not much greater variety is there between the story of Lot's wife's transformation into a pillar of salt and Niobe's into a stone. See also the old Anglican theologian, Dean Jackson (*Works*, 1 cc).

SOLOMON (שְׁלֹמֹה; ΣΟΛΩΜΩΝ), son of David by Bathsheba, and his successor as king of Israel.

ED favours the form שְׁלֹמֹה. In the best MSS ΣΟΛΩΜΩΝ, ΣΟΛΩΜΩΝ alternate; ΣΟΛΩΜΩΝ almost always in NT; in Acts 13, however, Ti. with AC (against BDEHP) adopts ΣΑΛΩΜΩΝ, and Tr. 2, and WH ΣΟΛΩΜΩΝ. Cp Lag., *Überz.*, 51 2b 6f.

The superficially plausible derivation from שָׁלוֹם, 'peace', is retained by Kittel (*Lex.*, 6), but is

1. Name. against the analogy of the other names (critically regarded) in David's family. Another explanation has lately been proposed, with abundant learning and ingenuity. After summarizing it, we will pass on to a third view. According to Winckler,¹ the name שְׁלֹמֹה refers to a divine name שְׁלֹ (Slm), which is attested in the Phoenician proper name שְׁלֹמֹה, and allusively in the title שְׁלֹמֹה (18, 90 [18]).

Another form of the name of this deity was Salmon (cp the Assyrian royal name, Salman-asardlu, and the Σολωμῶν of Greek inscriptions). This god is identified with Reseph, and was therefore a Canaanite Apollo. According to Winckler, the king's true name was Dodiāh (= Jethiah, 2 S. 12:20); the name Šelomō or 'Solomon,' like 'Bathsheba' (= 'daughter of the Moon-god'), is of mythological origin, and was given to the king by later writers in connection with 'the transference of the legend of Semiramis-Bilgis to Sheba.' In fact, the only complete parallel to the form Šelomō comes, according to him, from Arabia (Salimā). Elsewhere (*Preuss. Jahrb.*, 104 200; cp *GT 229*) Winckler puts the mythological connection thus: 'Formed from the divine name Selem (Ass. Salimō). It corresponds to Ncho whom it designates as the god of the winter-half of the year (*šilim* is the west = Ass. *šulmā*, sunset).

It would seem that this acute critic somewhat exaggerates the bearings of mythology on onomatology. Certainly the analogy of the other names in David's family (as explained by the present writer) seems to be opposed to this scholar's explanation. That 'Jonathan' is composed, as Winckler and most scholars suppose, of a divine name and a verb, is due, as could easily be shown at length, to misapprehension. 'Jonathan' is only another form of NEPHTHANIM (7:2); it is a modification of the ethnic name Nethani = Ethani, 'Ethanite.' If 'David' is a modification of a divine name, it is impossible (cp DOD, NAME WITH), but is opposed to the analogies of Dodiāh (if this name is really correct) and of Dodi (MT Dodo, Doda). It is quite possible that Dod (whatever its ultimate origin was) is ethnic, and if, following analogies, we seek for an ethnic as the original of שְׁלֹמֹה, we cannot be blind to the existence of שְׁלֹמֹה and of שְׁלֹמֹה (see § 2). For the pronunciation שְׁלֹמֹה later writers are responsible. The true text of 2 S. 12:24 f. seems to suggest another pronunciation, Šillimio (or Šallimō?), arising out of the story of David's sin. See JEDIDIAH.

It is a long road which leads to the later conception of 'Solomon in all his glory.' We are here only

concerned with the strict facts, without idealisation, which of course does not mean that we have no sense for poetry, and sympathy with the changes of popular feeling. The story of Solomon's birth is given in 2 S. 11:12-13, a composite narrative which has already received consideration (see BATHSHEBA, JEDIDIAH). Certainly there is much to learn from it; certainly we should wish to include it in a selection of fine Hebrew narrative. But with unfeigned regret we must pronounce it to be mainly unhistorical. The name Bathsheba, and the historical character of its bearer are, we must venture to hold, even after Winckler's arguments, not so secure. Just as קִיָּת אַרְבָּע (Kirjath-arba) is not the city of 'Four' (the god whose numerical symbol was four), so בַּת שֶׁשֶׁבַע (bat ššb'c) is not 'the daughter of Seven' (the god whose numerical symbol was seven—i.e., the Moon-god, cp SHERA), and consequently Bathsheba is not a mere pseudo-historical reflection of Istar, the mythological daughter of the Moon-god.

¹ Wi. *GT 223*; *KAT* 224. For the view of another Assyriologist see Sayce, *Hibb. Lect.* 57; *Early History*, 10; cp Simpson, *The Jonah Legend*, 141 f.

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We may, however, admit that the story of David's jealousy to URRAIH (זרע) probably developed out of a current oriental legendary germ, without of course disparaging the value of the Bathsheba story as given in 2 S. 11:2-12:25 for other than purely historical purposes. And we must also claim the right to extract a fragment of history from 2 S. 11:27-12:13b-25, rightly read, and illustrated by the story of Solomon's accession in 1 K. 1f., and by the lists of David's sons in 2 S. 3:2 ff. 1 Ch. 3:1 ff. The 'fragment of history' is that Solomon had another name, which name is given in our present text as Jedihah.¹

Passing next to 1 K. 1f., we find reason to think with Winckler that Solomon's opposition to the claim of Adonijah to succeed David is due not to his own and Bathsheba's selfish ambition, but to the consideration that after the successive deaths of Amnon and Absalom he, not Adonijah, was the legitimate heir to the throne. Here, however, we part from Winckler. Bathsheba is for us no mythological figure, but the true mother of Solomon: she is in fact identical with Abigail.² First Solomon's mother should bear two names in the tradition: not more surprising than that a king who oppressed the Israelites in early times should be called both Jabn (Janna) — i.e., Jerahmeel — and Siserā — i.e., Asshur — both Jerahmeel and Asshur being N. Arabian ethnic names (see SHAWGAR II, § 2). Bathsheba is in fact equivalent to Bath-Eliah (2 S. 11:3) or Bath-Anniah (1 Ch. 3:8).

The name Bathsheba represents Abigail as an Ishmaelite woman (בִּתְשֶׁבַע = בִּתְשֶׁבַע אִשְׁמְאֵלִית); the name Abigail, as a Jerahmeelite. But Ishmael and Jerahmeel are often used synonymously; the same woman could therefore be called a daughter of Ishmael and a daughter of Jerahmeel. So too בִּתְשֶׁבַע and the name out of which בִּתְשֶׁבַע has probably been corrupted — viz. אִשְׁמְאֵלִית — are equivalents. Salma describes its bearer as having Ishmaelite or Salmaean affinities (see § 1, end). Jedihah as being Jerahmeelite by extraction. The latter name too, appears to be given to the son of Abigail in the true text of 2 S. 3:3 and 1 Ch. 3:4, where the respective readings זְבֻדִּים and אֲבִיגַיִם are manifestly wrong, and both most probably presuppose the same original אִשְׁמְאֵלִית.

Adonijah's claim to the throne, however, must have been based upon some theory. If he was not the oldest living son of David, he may yet have been the oldest of those born after David's accession.³ Probably David both favoured his pretensions and accepted him as co-regent. Unfortunately Adonijah neglected to bring over to his side the so-called 'Cherethites and Pelethites' (Rehobothites and Zarephathites),⁴ who formed the royal body-guard, and with the aid of their leader Benaiah, Solomon compelled the old king to reject Adonijah.

In 1 K. 2:17 (cp. 2:21) it is stated that Adonijah desired leave to make Abishag the Shunammite his wife (cp. WRS, *Kingship*, 83 ff.). It is possible that Solomon, with the same object as Adonijah, actually took 'Abishag' (the name comes from אֲבִישָׁג, like Bilqis in the Semiramis legend from אֲבִישָׁגִיס) into his harem, and that Rehoboam was the son of Solomon by 'Abishag.' See SHUNAMMITE.

Upon this theory Solomon was not one of the sons born to David at Jerusalem (2 S. 5:14 1 Ch. 3:5-8), and the traditional view of his age at his accession,⁵ based

¹ That the text of 2 S. 12:24f. is not in its original form, is evident; a possible restoration will be found elsewhere (see JEHU 100). The present form of the text seems to be due to an editor who thought Jedihah ('beloved of Yahweh') too good a name for the first child. By assigning this name to Solomon he was possibly made a concession to historical facts. For S. A. Cook, *HSZ*, 16:177, n. 61 (April 1909), and cp. J. H. MURRAY.

² Abigail probably = Abigail (see NABAI), and Abigail appears to come from Jerahmeel.

³ W. G. 2:245.

⁴ The explanation of 'Cherethites and Pelethites' (see JUDAH, § 4. P. 118-119) here given, is not that of Winckler; but (like S. A. Cook, *HSZ*, 16:177, n. 61 (April 1909)) this able critic recognises, quite independently of the present writer, that this faithful warrior-band came from the Negeb.

⁵ 2 S. (1 K. 2:12), with about twenty other MSS and some versions (Arim, etc.), gives Solomon only twelve years at his accession, and Jerome (cp. 132 ad Vitalem) asserts that the

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on very insecure data, needs to be revised. Certainly the narrative in 1 K. 1f. does not favour the view that Solomon was a young man (the rhetorical language of 1 K. 3:7b 1 Ch. 29: 22 cannot be regarded as decisive); the hero of the *comp. arbor* displays all the aloofness and astuteness of a practical politician. How Solomon treated his opponents is stated elsewhere (ABONIAH, ABATHAR, JOAB, SHIMEI); the story, which has a basis of fact (HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 1), makes it difficult for a modern to believe this despotic prince. It is singular that Nathan the prophet should have assumed the prominent position which belongs rather to Benaiah; but ample justice is done to the priest ZADOK (זדוק) for his energetic support of the son of 'Bathsheba.' It is probable that the Jerusalem priesthood exacted a very full fee for its support for Solomon in the early idealisation of his conduct as a sovereign.

Was the substitution of Zadok for Abiathar accomplished by changes in the cultus at Jerusalem? It is a question which baffles the critical student.

3a. Buildings. The narrators give us much that we could have spared, and withhold much that would have been of great value to us. Their own interest is largely absorbed in the buildings of Solomon, especially in that of the temple. That the description in its present form comes (as Kittel supposes) from the Annals, seems hardly probable; as it now stands, it may perhaps represent a later age, to which the temple in particular had become a subject of learned but not altogether sober inquiry. See KINGS [Book], § 6. PATRICE, TEMPLE (and cp. Stale, *GT 1131 ff.*, and *ZATW*, 1883, pp. 129 ff.). It is even to some extent doubtful whether the whole story of the building of a temple of Yahwe as well as of a royal palace outside the city of David is not due to misapprehension. According to Winckler (*GT 252 ff.*) the true temple of Solomon was merely a renovation of the old sanctuary of David on its original site — i.e., within the city of David — though it must apparently be admitted (see MILLER) that this scholar's explanation of *mitto* and consequently the form in which he presents his theory needs reconsideration.

There is, however, another point, not less important, and more capable of solution.

3b. Hiram. According to the tradition in its present form (MT and G), the timber for building the temple was furnished, together with artificers, by Hiram king of Tyre. The relation thus indicated between Israel and the Tyrian king is, if accurately reported, in the highest degree remarkable. If, as Winckler, who follows M1, interprets what he thinks the historical truth, the king of Israel was in vassalage to the king of Tyre (?), how is it that after Solomon's time we hear nothing of attempts on the part of Tyre to strengthen its hold upon Israel, and on the part of Israel to free itself from Tyrian supremacy? True, all on a sudden, in the ninth century, we hear of an Israelitish king marrying a daughter of 'Ithbar, king of the Zidonians' (1 K. 16:31). This, however, is an equally singular and an equally suspicious statement, when we consider that the most influential power in the politics of Israel and Judah (putting aside Assyria) was

'hebraica veritas' agrees with G. Josephus (*Jug.* VIII, 7-8) gives his age as fourteen; he also says that he lived to 42. For other traditional statements, see Nestle, *ZATW*, 1882, p. 129 ff., and *Engel. Stud. aus Hartmannsberg*, 1886, p. 129 ff.; Kaufmann, *ZATW*, 1883, p. 125; Gantner, *Rev. de théol. et de philos.*, Nov. 1886; Lagarde, *Mittheil.*, 2 p. n. 1. Stale (*GT 1131 ff.*) says, not less than twenty years old; Kittel (*K. u. G.*) referring to 1 K. 11:42 11:21, doubtfully suggests eighteen.

¹ Similarly (*ZATW*, 1882, p. 126) doubts whether Nathan was really a prophet. That 8:22 ('the Nadabite') should probably be 27:27, 'the Nadabite,' is pointed out elsewhere (PROMET, § 6).

² See Winckler (*KAT* 234), who inclines to think that Zadok was introduced by the later legend in the interests of the monotheistic idea.

not Tyre but the N. Arabian Musri. Now it so happens that, as Winckler too, with extreme moderation holds, **מִסְרִי** (Tyre?) is miswritten for **מִסְרִי** (Missur?) in Am. 19 and Ps. 87, (cp TYRE). What, then, is there to hinder us from supposing (of other critical considerations favour this view) that the same error has occurred elsewhere? **מִסְרִי**, also, is undoubtedly miswritten sometimes for **מִסְרִי** or **מִסְרִי**. How, then, do we know that 'king of the **מִסְרִי**' in 1 K. 10:11 should not rather be 'king of the **מִסְרִי**', in which case **מִסְרִי** (cp **מִסְרִי**) should of course be **מִסְרִי**? The probability that Abi's matrimonial connection was with Musri, not with Tyre, has been referred to under PROPHET (§ 7, col. 386a, with n. 1); and when we take into consideration a fact which will be referred to presently—viz. that Solomon's principal wife was a Mısırite princess—we shall see that if he went anywhere outside the land of Israel proper for timber, political interests would naturally impel him to go to the N. Arabian Musri. (We assume provisionally that the wooded mountain districts of the Negeb were not in Solomon's possession.) Nor must we forget that 'Hiram' (whence 'Hiram') is one of the most probable popular corruptions of 'Jerahmeel.'¹ Hiram or Hiram might indeed be the name of a king of Tyre; but it might also (cp Aboliab=Jerahmeel?) be that of a N. Arabian artificer.

It would not be critical to urge against this view of the seat of Hiram's kingdom that Josephus quotes a passage from the Tyrian history of Menander of Ephesus and another from that of Dios, in which **Εἰραμὸς**, king of Tyre, son of **Ἀββαλοῦ**, is said to have had intercourse with 'Solomon, king of Jerusalem.' The date of Menander and Dios is presumably in the second century B.C., and though we may credit them when they tell us of the accession of the kings of Tyre, and of events not legendary in character which they can only have known from ancient authorities—*i.e.*, from the Tyrian archives (which Josephus positively asserts that Menander at least had inspected),² we cannot venture to trust them when they touch upon matters closely related to the then current Jewish history. Thus when Menander (in Jos. *Ant.* viii, 132) tells us that there was a drought in Phoenicia, which lasted for a year, and was closed through the potent supplications of **Ἰθωβαλοῦ**, king of Tyre, we divide at once that this is directed against the Jewish statement that a long drought in the land of Israel was terminated through the intercessions of Elijah,³ and when **Εἰραμὸς** is said, by Menander and Dios (Jos. *Ant.* viii, 50) to have had a match of riddle-guessing with Solomon, we can see that this is based on the Jewish story of the riddles by which the queen of Sheba tested Solomon (1 K. 10:1).

We have no extra-biblical authority for doubting that if Solomon was indebted for building materials and artificers to any foreign king, it was to the king of Myriam, not to the king of Tyre. According to the most probable text of 2 S. 8:2-12 David had conquered both Missur and Jerahmeel (see *Crit. Bib.*, and cp SAM), so that if we hear of a king of Missur in the reign of Solomon, we may assume that he for a time at any rate owned the supremacy of the king of Israel. If so, there is nothing inconsistent in the double statement that Solomon had his own workmen in the mountains (1 K. 5:13 ff. [27 ff.]), and that Hiram sent workmen to cut down wood at Solomon's request.⁴ Nominally, the mountain country of Jerahmeel (called, as we shall see, Gebalon) was a part of Solomon's dominions, so that as suzerain he had a right to send

¹ Kittel (on 1 Ch. 14:1) prefers the form **Hūram**; Schrader (*A.T.* 2:170), Hiram. Cp **HIRAM**, end. The view taken above seems to the present writer the best. Urnimlki is attested as a Phoenician royal name in an inscription of Sennacherib (*A.T.* 2:125, cp also **מִסְרִי**, an ancestor of Yelaw-melek. *CNS.* no. 1) and Urnimlki probably = Jerahmeel.

² *Ant.* viii, 5:3 (§§ 144-145); c. *Ant.* 1:17, § (§§ 112-120).

³ Dios, 100, 5155 Josephus, was trusted for his exactness (c. *Ant.* 1:17, 112).

⁴ Winckler (*A.T.* 2:250) gives a different explanation of Menander's assertion, which, however startling, might be acceptable, if it did not presuppose the traditional Hebrew text of the Book of Kings.

⁵ As the text stands, Solomon asks Hiram for help in the hewing of timber (1 K. 5:1-10). It is in the hewing of stone that Solomon's labourers are represented as taking a prominent part.

workmen to do his bidding.¹ The forms of contract, however, may have required that he should request the vassal-king to send his own more skilled labourers direct and to aid those of Solomon, and in one way prevent war from breaking out between Israel and Missur during the long building operations² at Jerusalem, as well as to foster a more friendly feeling upon mutual services, the Israelish king is reported to have paid Hiram (Jerahmeel) annually large quantities of wheat and oil.³

We are obliged sometimes, however reluctant we form historical conjectures, and this seems to be the most conservative one which, on the present state of our knowledge with due account of textual criticism, can be regarded as plausible; but the fact, mentioned at a later point (§ 7) of the ill-feeling which Unsham or Arama (Jerahmeel) bore to Israel leads us to question its accuracy. Only by force and by the transplantation of part of the subject population (2 S. 12:11, see SAW) could Hiram keep his hold on the Jerahmeelite Negeb. It is possible that Solomon found it even more difficult than his father to do this and from 1 K. 10:11-12 it may appear that Solomon was forced by the king of Myriam to cede to him twenty cities in the land of Jerahmeel, and over and above this to pay a hundred and twenty talents of gold.⁴

The existence of a grave historical problem cannot, it would seem, be denied. We have offered the best solution of it at our disposal. It only needs to be stated that the misstatement that Solomon procured timber and workmen from the king of Tyre must have been facilitated by the fact that the name 'Hiram' was originally borne by a king of Tyre, and that it was increased by the observation of later Jews that the mountains of the Negeb were not in their time abundantly wooded (the trees having been cut down), whereas Lebanon was still well provided with timber. Whether, as Winckler supposes, part of the Lebanon was in the possession of Solomon, need not here be considered.

It is important, however, to mention these necessary corrections of names in MT. (1) The mountain country where timber was sought (1 K. 5:6) was called, not Lebanon, but **גִּבְלוֹן** (cp Ar. *gibāl*, cp *Gebal*), the people of which are, in K. 10:11, called **גִּבְלוֹנִים**.⁵ The same correction is plausible elsewhere, e.g., Is. 48:14 (cp 11:1), etc. (2) In 1 K. 9:11-13 **סָבַר** and **סָבַר** are both popular corruptions of **סָבַר**. (3) In 1 K. 10:11-13, 2 Ch. 2:17¹³ to 7, the 'almugim' or 'bdgnumim' timber, rather be designated 'Jerahmeel' timber. It came (2 Ch. 2:13) not from Ophir, but from Lebanon; *i.e.*, Gel. 15n. Cp *Ant.* 1:17, 112 (cp *Ant.* 1:17, 112), where the theory mentioned, that although it came from Lebanon (2 Ch. 2:2)—points in the direction of the critical view here recommended.

We need not deny that Solomon was a builder, or that he was aided by Jerahmeelite artificers (cp above).

we have partial analogies⁶ in Phoenicia. **4. Commerce.** b. Uri, b. Hur, and Oholiab, b. Amasath, in Ex. 31:1. One of these (whose father was a Mısırite, but his mother an Israelite of the Negeb) bore the same name as that assigned to the Mısıte king.

¹ The **δυναστεύματα** (?) which Solomon 'opened' in Lebanon (Gebalon?) according to **Θ** 13 (**δ** *κατασκευα*, **Θ** 13) in 1 K. 5:11, may, as Winckler thinks, have been mines. See Winckler, *ibid.* *Crit.* 176; *ibid.* 2:21, n. 2.

² Twenty years are assigned to them in 1 K. 9:10; cp *ibid.* 7:1.

³ 1 K. 5:11 [25], where for the second **22** read **22** (see *ibid.* 2:217).

⁴ The best part of this is due to Winckler (*ibid.* 2:217, 218, 219). He thinks that the original which underlies the present text of 1 K. 10:14 is **סָבַר** **בְּעֵץ** **סָבַר** (**סָבַר** **בְּעֵץ** **סָבַר**), where **סָבַר** is a gloss inserted at the wrong place. The sense is, that Hiram sent to the king of Tyre [Hiram] 120 talents of gold, *i.e.*, Solomon had to make up for the inadequate quantity of territory by a large payment in gold. The king, however, whom Solomon had to do was not Tyrian but Mısırite, and he ceded territory not 'Giblean' but Jerahmeelite.

⁵ 1 K. 5:18 [32] should run **וְיָבִיאוּ אֵת הַבְּרִיטִים וְאֵת הַגִּבְלוֹנִים** **וְאֵת הַמִּסְרִי**, 'and the Ishmaelites and the Jerahmeelites—the Gibeonites—fashioned them.' Without the key to the names, others have been obliged to assume a deep corruption of the text (p. *GEBAL*, 13).

⁶ All the names here quoted, except the first, are Jerahmeelite. The tribes of Judah and Dan were both largely Mısırite and Jerahmeelite.

⁷ His father was a Mısırite (**מִסְרִי** not **מִסְרִי**), his mother a Gibeonite.

v. Hiram, i.e., Jerahmeel, the Chronicler (2 Ch. 2:13) [1 p.] calls him Hiram-abi, but this surely must be the same name (חִירָם אֲבִי הַיָּם) [1 p.] HIRAM, 2, and on the place where he did his work (1 K. 7:46) see IIRAM. Nor need we altogether reject the other traditions of the intercourse between Solomon and Hiram. If the view of the historical facts underlying 1 K. 9:11-14 adopted above be correct, i.e., if hostilities broke out between the king of Assur and Solomon, in which Israel was worsted, it is reasonable to suppose that the war was occasioned, not only by the craving for revenge, but also by a desire on Hiram's part for commercial expansion. Having no port of his own, he was glad to use EZION-GEBER (7:7), at the head of the Gulf of Akabah, which formed part of Solomon's dominion. Hiram had indeed no mariners to send, but he sent 'servants' of his own—i.e., commissioners and merchants—to buy and sell at the places where the ships might touch. The chief object which both kings longed for was naturally gold; Ophir, the port of the great Arabian or E. African gold-land, was the goal of these early voyagers (see GOLD, IVORY, OPHIR, TRAFIC, § 40).

The very different, commonly held, opinion that 'at Ezion-geber [which [Solomon] retained, in spite of the return to Edom of prince Hadad] a ship was built, similar to those employed by the Phoenicians in their voyages to Tarshish and hence called Tarshish ships, and manned in part by experienced Tyrian sailors,' and that 'from that port it was dispatched at intervals of three years to Ophir, bringing back thence gold, silver, ivory, valuable woods, and precious stones, as well as curious animals such as apes and peacocks,'¹ appears to rest on an inaccurately transmitted text and a not sufficiently thorough-going historical criticism. The best form that gratitude to past critics can take is surely not to repeat temporary conclusions, but to carry forward their work. We venture, therefore, to present some of the most pressing changes of view to which we have recently been led by independent research.

Even apart from the rendering of חֵטִי (1 K. 9:25, 26) by 'ship' (RV, 'a navy of ships'), which has had the authority of Hitzig and Kittel² (*Hitz*, 2:186), and the opinion as to the history of Hadad, there is much that is very doubtful in the opinion referred to. The 'apes' and 'peacocks' are considered elsewhere (see especially OPHIR, PEACOCKS); on the difficult question relative to the mention of silver as well as of gold in 1 K. 10:22, see SILVER, § 2. 'Valuable woods' should rather be a rare, fragrant wood, analogous to the spices or spice-plants of the queen of Sheba (read חֵטִי—i.e., eagle-wood [see AIGIS], not חֵטִי—i.e., Jerahmeelite wood). The three passages bearing on Hiram's participation in the Ophir expeditions are (a) 1 K. 9:27, (b) 10:11, (c) 10:22. As for (a), the true text, translated, should probably run, 'And Hiram sent his servants, Jerahmeelites, on the ships with the servants of Solomon.' חֵטִי is a corruption of חֵטִי אֲבִי הַיָּם, and חֵטִי אֲבִי הַיָּם is a gloss or variant. In (b) we should read, 'And also the merchant-ships . . . brought from Ophir very much eagle-wood and precious stones.' חֵטִי should be חֵטִי (2 and 3 con-founded); cp Prov. 31:14. In (c) 'for the king had at sea ships (galley) with oars' (חֵטִי אֲבִי הַיָּם); to this was added in the earlier text חֵטִי אֲבִי הַיָּם, 'merchant ships' (omit חֵטִי, an editorial insertion), which is a gloss on חֵטִי אֲבִי הַיָּם. The phrase 'Tarshish ships' is a hopeless puzzle until we apply methodical textual criticism to the Hebrew phrase. See TARSHISH, § 7.

That Solomon, at one period of his life, had friendly relations with Misri is shown by his marrying a daughter of Ph'in king of Misrim (so beyond doubt we should read in 1 K. 3:19:16 in place of the very improbable MT³). This was pointed

out by the present writer⁴ and afterwards independently by Winckler. To the notice of the marriage in 3:19:16 added in 9:16 that Ph'in took the field against a certain city, slew its inhabitants, and gave it as a portion to his daughter, Solomon's wife.⁵ The place is cited in the traditional text Gezer, and its inhabitants, Canaanites, but both Judg. 1:34 and Josh. 14:15 lead us to doubt this, and it is in itself more probable that for Gezer we should read גֵּזֶר (Geshur), and for אֲרָמֹנִים (the Canaanites), אֲרָמֹנִים (the Kenzites); some place in the S.W. of Palestine is presumably intended (see GEŠUR, 2).

Kittel (cp Barney, Hastings, *DB* 2:200) does well to separate 9:16:17a (as far as חֵטִי) from 17b:17c; it has evidently been taken from a context which spoke of the marriage. At the same time its present context is full of interest, and we must return to it later (§ 7).

The Arabian land of SHEBA (7:7), too, was interested, as legend asserted, in Solomon. Its queen is said to have actually come to Jerusalem to test Solomon's wisdom.⁶ According to Kittel

5b. Queen of Sheba. *Hist. of the Hebrew People*, 1:176 the object of her visit was to bring about a commercial treaty with Solomon. But surely the form of the legend is late. It is Eglath-paleser and Sargon who tell us of queens of 'mat Arbil,' and 'mat Arbil' (see *K. I. I.* 2:114) is not Sheba; indeed, the Sabaean empire arose much later than Solomon. Probably, as Winckler suggests (*GT* 2:207), the queen of Sheba is but a reflection of the Misrite princess whom Solomon married. How Solomon came to be called the wise king, *par excellence*, is not clear. If it meant originally that he was as skilful in preserving, as his father had been in creating, a kingdom, the epithet was greatly misplaced. More probably, however, the title arose from the close intercourse between Solomon and the N. Arabian kings and kinglets. The Misrites and the Jerahmeelites were celebrated for their wise proverbs and apologies. To heighten Solomon's glory, it was stated by the later legend that, just as he was greater than his neighbours in war, so he excelled them in their own special province of wisdom (see 1 K. 5:9 f. [1:30 f.]). How far Babylonian influences affected him we are unable to say positively. But the phenomena of the early Genesis stories as explained by the present writer lead him to think that N. Arabia transmitted quite as much as Babylonia, though in doing so it could not avoid anglicizing a mass of ideas and beliefs ultimately of Babylonian origin. See SUAVISHA, also CREATION, PARADISE, and cp EAST (CHILDREN OF), ETHAN, HEMAN, MAHOJ.

Legend also lays great stress on Solomon's just judgment—a capacity for which was indeed one aspect of Hebrew 'wisdom'; but there is no satisfactory evidence for this, and the highly oriental story in 1 K. 3:16-23 has a striking parallel in a Buddhist Jataka. We can, however, most probably assert that Solomon was highly despotic in his methods; on this, historians who differ widely on other points are agreed.⁷ If we are rightly informed, Solomon treated both the Israelites and the surviving Canaanites⁸ as only good enough to labour, like the Egyptian fellahs till recently, at the royal buildings (5:13 f. 27 f.); cp 12:13). He is also said to have divided the country ('all Ishmael'?) into twelve departments (to a large extent, it would seem, independent of tribal divisions), each of which was under a deputy or

¹ Nabulnilit (חֵטִי, not חֵטִי) or a Danite, in either case a woman of the Negeb. See 1 K. 7:14; 2 Ch. 2:14, and cp NEBOJAN.

² While, *Old Testament History* (1930), 200.

³ In *HK*, 'Kon.' 27, and *KGH*, 'Jes.' 295, however, Kittel adopts the collective meaning 'fleet.'

⁴ See TARSHISH, § 7, where חֵטִי אֲבִי הַיָּם, Is. 33:21, is compared.

⁵ It is indeed difficult to imagine a king of Egypt giving one of his daughters to a vassal king (cp WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 390) in Palestine.

¹ *QR*, July 1889, pp. 559 f. Cp Winckler, *GT* 2:203; *KAT* 7:206.

² Mispéro's expansion of this passage (MT) in *Struggle of the Nations*, 757, is unduly imaginative.

³ Menander of Ephesos (as we have seen) represents Solomon and Hiram as the rival sages.

⁴ Cp Kittel, *Hist.* 2:190; McCurdy, *HTM* 2:155 (§ 224).

⁵ Other passages to be referred to presently seem to show that the N. Arabian subject population was specially employed in the service, though if Israelites had to do forced labour, the surviving Canaanites would of course not be spared. It is not well to attempt a too positive solution of such problems.

prefect (27, 47-29, 1-15), charged with the duty of keeping up a constant supply of court luxuries, and also, we may be sure, of collecting the taxes, and perhaps too of providing forced labour.¹ In the Tabernacle (taberah) alone he is said to have had to see labourers constantly employed (11, 1-3). The overseer of the corvee was the hated Adoram (1 K. 12, 11; cp. 12, 12). No wonder that discontent became rife, especially in the powerful tribe of Ephraim. How a leader of the rebels was found is told elsewhere (see JEROBAM, 1).

At the same time there are certain passages in our composite narrative which may make us hesitate to accept the darkest picture of Solomon's despotism. In 10, 22, which we may hesitate to regard as merely a late attempt to whitewash Solomon's character,² it is expressly said that the corvee was limited to non-Israelites. And the singular statements respecting the number of Solomon's stalls of horses³ (12, 30), and of his chariots and horsemen (10, 26), when critically inspected, appear rather to be statements respecting the number of his Cushite, Jerahmeite, and Zarephathite servants (see *Crit. Bib.*, 2). The narrative in 1 K. 12 no doubt ascribes the separation of N and S to the hateful corvee; but the account is too anecdotal to be strictly historical, and surely the forced service, so far as it existed, pressed heavily on the S, as well as on the N.

Certainly Jerobam was an Ephraimite. But there may have been a southern, as well as a northern, Ephraim; Jeroboam's mother (see JEROBAM, 1) was a Musri, and the name of his clan (see NABATH) may possibly be explained as Arabian. And as for the statement (11, 2-4) that Jerobam was placed 'over the labour of the horses of Jehu', it is possible that here and in Am. 6, 1 (see 12, 1) has been miswritten for שָׂרֵי הַסּוּסִים (Ishmael).⁴

We have assumed that Solomon's relation to Musri was not that of supremacy, but that of dependence. It should be frankly stated, however,

7. Was he lord of the Negeb?

that there is a considerable body of evidence which, rightly understood, points in an opposite direction. (1) There is the passage already referred to (2 Ch. 8, 2), where Hiram is represented as the cedar of the twenty cities. (2) In close proximity to this, it is said (2 Ch. 8, 3) that Solomon went to Hamath-zobah and prevailed against it. Now Hamath-zobah here, as in 2 S. 8, 1, we take to be partly a corrupted, partly a manipulated reading; the true text gave Maacath-zarephath—i.e., the Zarephathite Maacath. And the strong cities which Solomon built (1 K. 9, 15 [end], 17-19) were probably called Hazor,

¹ The brevity of the above statement is justified by the present state of textual criticism. The document to which it refers (1 K. 4, 29 [2]) is admittedly obscure. 'The text,' says Benzinger, 'is a good deal corrupted, and has received interpolations.' In special articles on the names (see also FOWL, FAULTS) some of the difficulties are dealt with. The point of view, however, in these articles is not more advanced than that of critical commentators in general. A further application of the key which Winkler (only half-conscious of its wide-reaching consequences) put into our hands, when he showed that שָׂרֵי הַסּוּסִים sometimes stood for שָׂרֵי הַיָּם—i.e., the N. Arabian Musri—and that this country exercised a persistent political influence on the Israelites, has results which, it is true, are of the most important character for the early regal period of the history of Israel. It becomes probable that Kittel's remark (which was thoroughly justified from a conservative textual point of view) that the table of prefects 'only concerns Israel proper, inasmuch as the conquered territories are referred to (11, 15) in a different style' is the reverse of the fact. The present writer holds that the twelve prefects were placed not over 'all Israel' (as the traditional text has) but over 'all Ishmael' (a parallel error to that in 2 S. 21, 2; see TAMAR-MOSABIT) i.e., over the Negeb—that in 12, 17, 2, the account of Solomon's 'provision for one day' has grown out of a list of the peoples or tribes of the Negeb, and that in 12, 15, the true text admits that the Cushites, Jerahmeites, Ishmaelites, and Zarephathites were servants to Solomon. 1 K. 4, 20 is the only passage which distinctly breaks the connection. See *Crit. Bib.*

² This is the view of Kittel and Benzinger. The statements of 9, 20-22 are thought by them to be refuted by a reference to 5, 13 [17] 11, 28 [24]. The text of these passages, however, will not bear the stress that is laid upon it. See preceding note (near end).

³ On Am. 6, 1-14, which appears to the present writer to refer to the Israelites settled in the Negeb, see *Crit. Bib.*

Jerahmeel, Geshur, Bethhoron (on the S. B. 10, 1-3), Tamar in Arabia.⁵ (3) There are also the passages (12, 30) [10, 26] referred to above, which, when critically examined, appear to assert the reduction to bondage of a certain portion of a large portion of the Jerahmeite population. And (4) there is a singular statement (10, 26) respecting the amount of gold which came over to Solomon, the close of which should run nearly parallel to that of the tribute (22, 2) of the Zarephathites and of the Jerahmeites (CP SUD-MERCHANTS) and of the kings of Arabia.⁶

These passages, however, seem to prove nothing of the strong determination of later writers to deify the reign of Solomon. That Solomon was, for a time, in any rate, lord of the Negeb (with the exception of 'Hiram's' twenty cities) may be admitted. That he had battles in the Negeb is also true, and his being a minor chieftain but the king of Musri (Hiram) and that Solomon was worsted in the conflict. The references to HIRAM⁷ and to KIZOR⁸ in 1 K. 11, 23 and to the Hiram's journey to Musri in 7, 45, confirm the view that Solomon's position in the Negeb was serious and frequently threatened. It is not worthy that he should be said to have 'reigned in Damascus' (rather than in, just as Hadad 'reigned over Aram' (11, 2), Iudaea). Evidently there was a strong jealousy between Israel and the neighbouring peoples of Jerahmeel and Musri (CP STADE, *GTZ* 3, 1, who, however, adheres to V. 1).

The references to Solomon's horses, as we have seen, need to be carefully inspected; they have been much misunderstood.

There is evidence enough that שָׂרֵי הַסּוּסִים (horses) and שָׂרֵי הַיָּם (Cushites), שָׂרֵי הַיָּם (Cushites) and שָׂרֵי הַיָּם (Ishmaelites) have an not only a tendency to get confounded, and that this confusion has affected the story of Solomon.

Still, we need not doubt that Solomon had, not indeed 'chariot-cities'⁹ (see MARCUMOFF, but at least horses and chariots. On the *Imus Chisusius*, 1 K. 10, 26, see HORSE, § 1 (5), MIZRAIM, § 26, IRAM, § 26. It is a question, however, whether criticism does not make it a plausible view that the Musri from whom Solomon derived horses and chariots was the N. Arabian rather than the N. Syrian referred to in the articles. This at least can with much probability be stated, that, whilst there were nomadic tribes in N. Arabia whose riding animal was specially the camel (see CAMEL, § 2), there was also a settled population skilled in the useful arts and riding on horses (see *Crit. Bib.*). Our information on these points is scanty, but our positive attitude towards the inference here stated is not only at the cost of rejecting critical facts which are put together, and throw a light on many dark places in the history of Israel.

The total result of our study of Solomon is that his

¹ Implying emendations of the text; see *Crit. Bib.*, S. 100, TAMAR, YADMOG, IRAM, § 56. The reader will find the old view and the new in collision, but this is inevitable. The problems before us are partly of a textual, partly of a historical character.

² Cp. IRAM, § 56, where the corrected pointing שָׂרֵי הַיָּם (C) is admitted. We must add, however, that שָׂרֵי הַיָּם שָׂרֵי הַיָּם has arisen out of שָׂרֵי הַיָּם שָׂרֵי הַיָּם, written at the close as a correction of שָׂרֵי הַיָּם שָׂרֵי הַיָּם, as in Neh. 3, 12. שָׂרֵי הַיָּם שָׂרֵי הַיָּם and this same word שָׂרֵי הַיָּם is also a corruption of שָׂרֵי הַיָּם.

³ Hadad was probably an Aramite (שָׂרֵי הַיָּם) and Jerahmeite—rather than an Ishmaelite; see *Crit. Bib.*, S. 100, Winkler (*K. 1, 2*, 240) independently suggests that Hadad was of Aram-Zobah, not of Edom. Aram-Zobah, however, is really Aram-Zarephath, according to the present writer's view of the original text. See ZOBAY. We must not, however, find the spheres of action of the two adventurers, Hadad and Rezon.

⁴ Rezon was a fugitive from his lord the king of Zarephath (= Maacath-Zarephath, above).

⁵ See *JQR*, July 1899, pp. 451-456. As against W. D. P. (*K. 1, 1*, 241), the present writer thinks that 'Stobos' (11, 23) is merely an error for שָׂרֵי הַיָּם (see PHARAH, SHI-HAK, 2).

⁶ Cp. however, CHARIOT, § 5, CITY (C), and W. *GTZ* 3, 1.

SOLOMON

SON OF GOD

political importance has been very much exaggerated.
Political importance. Already in 1 K 1:15 we find the
statement of his kingdom idealized as that
of David had been. It is not difficult to
account for this. The geographical statement in 1:24
arises simply from a misinterpretation of מְשִׁיבֵי
[מְשִׁיבֵי] which really means the 'inhabited Messem,'
it was supposed to mean the Tappates. Later
it went further in the same course, and in Ps 132
v. 7 (the latter of which, however, has received its
interpretation) his line furnishes the framework for
tales of the Messianic king. Against this idealization
the collector of the LXX (STAVITIS 17.1) in his own
words.

We now turn to Solomon's religious position. Was
he a polytheist? Did he ever, as W. E. Barnes
(Hastings, D22) and others express it, 'patronize
foreign worship?' An affirmative answer is
suggested by 1 K 11:3-8. It is plain, however,
from 8's text, as well as from the phenomenon of
11, that the original has been much expanded by
our hands from a religious motive. There was no
truth in this; the later writers simply recast history
in the light of certain fundamental principles—those of
monotheism (cp Kings [Book], § 6). And their
recasting appears more startling than it really was,
owing to the fact that the ethnic names and the names
of the gods have been accidentally corrupted. The
original statement probably was that which underlies
11. Then did Solomon build a sanctuary for the god
Cushan and Jerahmeel?—i.e., for his Misirite wife;
it probably stood in connection with the account of
Solomon's marriage (cp 10:31-33).

Various comments on this were inserted in the margin, and
expanded by the redactor or redactors into the text. Lastly,
Cushan was transformed 'the god of Cushan' into 'Chemosh the
god of Moab' (cp 11:33), and 'Jerahmeel' into 'Milcom the
god of the Ammonites'. In what is now 11:34,
'Jerahmeel, Misirite' became 'Moabite, Ammonite, and
Hittite', and in what is now 11:35, 'princesses
hundred' became 'princesses seven hundred', and 'concubines
hundred' became 'concubines three hundred'.

That Solomon had a number of wives, both Israelite
and non-Israelite, is probable enough, but he did not
use them for all of them, nor did he himself combine
the worship of his wives' gods with that of Yahwe. He
never had no thought of denying the sole divinity of
Yahwe in the land which was Yahwe's inheritance;
it is a distortion of the true text when 8 represents
Solomon as 'burning incense and sacrificing' (θύματα
αὐτοῖς) to foreign gods. That this ambitious king
of such a chastened piety as we find in 1 K. 8:14-61
(Driver, Intr. 200 ff.) is on all grounds inconceivable;
but we have no reason to doubt that according to
11:34-35 he was a faithful worshipper of Yahwe, so far
as this was consistent with his despotic inclinations.

In the apocryphal Book of Wisdom, again, the composition
of Egyptian (Hellenist), who from internal evidence is judged
to have lived somewhat earlier than Philo
of Alexandria (see Wisdom of Solomon), Solomon is
introduced uttering words of admiration,
imbued with the spirit of Greek philosophers,

11. Later idealisation. The so-called Psalm of Solomon, one
of the apocryphal Psalms preserved to us
in a Greek version, has nothing to do with Solomon or the
Davidic line of his person, and seems to owe its name
to a Greek poet who has distinguished these newer pieces from
the older Psalms of David. In NT times Solomon was the
most typical figure of magnificence and of wisdom (Mt. 6:29
text B). But Jewish legend was not content with this, and
adding from a false interpretation of Eccles. 2:7, gave him
a sovereignty over demons, to which he added (by a perversion
of 1 K 4:13) lordship over all beasts and birds, and the power of
controlling their speech. These fables passed to the Arabs

before the time of Mohammed (Ar. 2, 4, 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

SOLOMON'S PORCH (in Greek [100] 1000)
MOSAI [100] in [10] 1000. See [100] § 307.

SOLOMON'S SERVANTS, CHILDREN OF 123

שֵׁרְפָיִם (שֵׁרְפָיִם), a guild of persons attached to the second
temple, mentioned in 1:223. Noh 1:23, 11:1
(γιοι θυγατρων βασιλεως βαβυλ.) 1:223 γ.
ΑΒΔΗΜΕΑ [12]; 2: γ. ΑΒΔΗΜΕΑ [12] γ. ΑΒΔΗ
ΜΕΑ [12], with the ΝΕΦΙΝΙΜ [12] (12) and ΝΕΦΙ
ΜΕΣ [12] (Noh 1:23) 10: 2 (apparently included in the
guild). Berthel and Ryssel leave it uncertain whether this
guild of 'servants of Solomon' grew out of a small part
of the Canaanish bondservants of Solomon (1 K
10:7) which may have been assigned to the temple.
The probability is, however, that the phrase has nothing
to do with Solomon, but is corrupt. On Solomon's
servants, see SOLOMON, § 6.

Just as one can hardly doubt that the so-called 'ethnom' are
really the Ethiopians, so the 'ben-abbu' must, it would
seem, be either the 'ben-abbu' of the 'ben-abbu' or
'Abel-Edom' probably a corruption of 'Abel-Edom' (cp
Arab. 'Abel-Edom' and 'Abel-Edom' 'Abel-Edom' 'Abel-Edom'
of the Salmaans (see SOLOMON, 2). The Jerahmeelites and
Edomites seem to have been strongly mixed with pure Israelites
after the exile. One of the families of the 'Abel-Edom' or
'Abel-Edom' guild (if we may call it so) bears the name 'Bené
Hassôphereth' (or 'Sophereth')—i.e., Bené Sôphereth, or Zere-
phathites. See SOLOMON, § 6. T. K. C.

SOLOMON'S SONG. See CANTICLES.

SOLOMON, WISDOM OF. See WISDOM OF SOLOMON.

SOMEIS (COWECIC [BA]), 1 Esd. 9:31 RV = Ezra 10:38
SHIMEI, 16.

SON OF GOD

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In the Semitic languages the individual is often
designated as a 'son of the species to which he be-
longs, the species being indicated by a collective or
plural noun (see SON OF MAN, §§ 1, 4-6).
Similarly, a member of the genus 'god' seems to
have been designated as 'ben-Elhim' (Aram. 'ben-Elhim').
This is suggested by Gen. 6:24-25, Ps. 82:6
Dan. 3:25. As early as the second
century B.C. the 'ben-Elhim' in Gen. 6:24
were understood in some circles to be angels, and this
interpretation is certainly nearer the truth than the
rationalising exegesis that made the 'Elhim' of the
gigants 'sons of mighty men' or 'gigant folk' (see § 2).
But the term can scarcely have conveyed originally the
idea of 'angels.' At the time when the myth was first

1 Cp 1:1, 2, and see W. 67:2-4.
2 See H. H. Rowley and Kügel, and cp Driver, Intr. 101, 102.
3 See H. H. Rowley, Burney (Hastings), D22:202, note 1, who
thinks that the fact has been taken down by
the later hand into the statement of ME.
4 Cf. the Apocryphal 'Psalms of Solomon' see APOCALYPTIC
LITERATURE, §§ 77-85. Cp also APOCRYPHA, § 14.

told in Judah, it is not likely that the doctrine of angels had yet developed. As 'the daughters of men' were simply 'women, so 'the sons of the gods' were 'gods.' Such a usage of the phrase must have been deeply rooted, since even in the Hasmonean age 'sons of 'Elyon' was an expression employed as a synonym of 'gods.' In Ps. 826 *bn' elyon* is used in the second hemistich as an equivalent of *elohim* in the first. In Dan. 3:5 the celestial being seen in the fiery furnace is called *bar elahin* (cp Pesh.). This is indeed explained by *mal'akih*, 'his angel,' in 1:23, and so the phrase was undoubtedly understood by the author. But it is not probable that the Jews of the Maccabean period called an angel *bar elahin*; as good monotheists they no doubt said *bar elah*. The author, however, endeavoured to make the speeches of pagan kings and queens more plausible by putting upon their lips such phrases as, in his judgment, they would naturally use. He lets them speak of the 'wisdom of gods' (5:11) and the 'spirit of holy gods' (4:5, [3:7] 5:11). As these expressions were borrowed from pagan phraseology, *bar elahin* was probably drawn from this same source. If the polytheistic neighbours of Israel employed the phrase, they are likely to have meant by it not 'an angel,' but a 'god.' Even in Job 16:387, the 'sons of the gods' are apparently conceived of as divine beings, subordinate to the Most High, but still associated with the elements, stars, or nations, over which they once reigned as independent rulers; and the same may be true of Ps. 29 (*bn' elim*).

Whilst originally these divine beings were not 'angels,' it is natural that in course of time they should become identified with the special class of 'messengers' (*mal'akim*). In Gen. 6:24, some MSS of C (A 37, 72, 75) read $\text{oi } \alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\text{o}\iota \tau\omicron\upsilon\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$, and this reading seems to have been found by many patristic writers (cp also *mal'ak'eh* in the margin of Syr.-Hex., and the Persian Vs.), though the majority of MSS and daughter-versions have the more literal $\text{oi } \nu\iota\omicron\iota \tau\omicron\upsilon\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$. Such a reference to angels is assumed in many passages.

So in Enoch 62 ($\text{oi } \alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\text{o}\iota \nu\iota\omicron\iota \alpha\iota\gamma\alpha\rho\text{o}\iota$, Gz. frg. and Eth.) 192 etc., Slavonic En. 7:8, Jubilees 5, Test. 12 Patr.: Reuben 5, Philo, 1:22, ed. Mangey, Jos. Ant. 1:31, § 74, Jude 6, 2 Pet. 24, Justin, *Apol.* 15, Clem. Hom. 8:13, Clem. Alex. Strom. 3:28, Tert. *De Virg. Vel.* 7, Lactantius, *Instit.* 2:15, Commodianus, *Instruct.* 13.

In Ps. 29:1 826, Targ. has בְּנֵי שַׁמַיָּהּ ; in Job 16, C reads $\text{oi } \alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\text{o}\iota \tau\omicron\upsilon\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$, and in 387 $\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\text{o}\iota \mu\omicron\rho$, and Targ. in both places *mal'akayya*, and in Dan. 3:25 [92] C renders $\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\text{o}\iota \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$. The translation 'sons of the angels' (Job 387 Pesh. *bnai mal'ak'eh*, En. 7:11) or 'children of the gods' (En. 69:45 1065) apparently presupposes the use of *elohim* (or Aram. *elahin*) as a designation of angels, the 'sons' being the individuals of this class. Whether Aquila's rendering, $\text{oi } \nu\iota\omicron\iota \tau\omicron\upsilon\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$, reflects such an identification of *elohim- $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota$* with angels, or a more correct apprehension of the original meaning, or simply the conviction that the Most High can have no sons (cp Midr. *Tehillin*, 27), cannot easily be determined. The fact that Gen. 6:24 are the only passages where the Targs. (Onk. and Jon.) render *bn' elohim* with *bn' nabrihappi* indicates that the common significance is here forced to yield, for dogmatic reasons, to a less natural meaning. The same is true of Sym. $\text{oi } \nu\iota\omicron\iota \tau\omicron\upsilon\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon \delta\iota\upsilon\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\omega\upsilon$, Sam. Targ. בְּנֵי שַׁמַיָּהּ , and Saadia *banu 'Lavan*, 'sons of the mighty,' 'the rulers' or 'nobles.' It is also significant that the term *elohim*, which designates the gods as objects of worship, was transferred to the angels (cp Job 5:1 15:15 Zech. 14:5 Dan. 114 Ps. 89:68 Job. 8:15); in Eccles. 4:52, the original seems to have read בְּנֵי שַׁמַיָּהּ (C translating בְּנֵי שַׁמַיָּהּ with $\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\text{o}\iota$), and a similar transfer is likely to have taken place in the case of the term 'watcher.' If C is correct, in Dt. 32:8 (apparently a late gloss), the בְּנֵי שַׁמַיָּהּ seem to have been limited in some circles to the celestial representatives, or perhaps to angels, of the different nations.

At the basis of the myth in Gen. 6:1 ff. lies the idea of the physical descent of some men from divine beings [cp NEPHILIM, § 1]. The famous giants of old were regarded as sons of gods and of beautiful women. This explanation was especially resorted to in the case of great heroes of antiquity and of kings (see § 5). But clans and tribes also traced their descent from divinity through their eponym heroes. When the Moabites are said to be the sons and daughters of Chemosh (Nu. 21:29), the Hebrew singer used a phrase that is likely to have been employed by the Moabites themselves to claim descent from Chemosh, to indicate that they were his offspring in the world. Gen. 19:30-35 cannot be urged against this view. It probably referred originally to the descent of a pre-Edomitish clan from its divinity Lotan (see 1:61), Edom, Esau, Ammon, Gad, Asher, and other *gentilium* are, beyond a question, names of gods [cp TRUB. S. § 3].

Abram (the 'exalted father' of Hebrew), Isaac (the 'smiling' El of Beersheba), Jacob (the 'pursuing' El of Shechem), Israel (the 'fighting' El of Mahanaim), Ishmael (the 'listening' El of Beer-lahai-roi), Jerahmeel (the 'pitying' El of Rahama) and many more can scarcely have been other than divine figures originally. The sons of these were, no doubt, once regarded as physical descendants of gods, though the term was later understood to designate them merely as the offspring of eponym heroes, or as belonging to the tribes bearing these names. However foreign to the ideas of a later time, the conception that the Israelites descended from Yahwé himself is likely to have existed in earlier times. When, in extant literature, Israel is called 'son of Yahwé,' and the members of the people 'sons and daughters of Yahwé,' this is indeed probably, in every instance, used in a metaphorical sense (see § 4). Nevertheless, there are indications that the sonship once was taken more literally. Already, the connection between Yahwé's fatherhood and his creation of Israel is significant. In the Assyrian, *banu* means 'build,' 'fashion,' 'beget'; the same term denotes creation and procreation: Dt. 32:8 ('the rock that beget thee . . . the El that brought thee forth') shows how closely the ideas were related in the Hebrew mind. The tendency to make the eponym heroes sons of gods and women, seen in Greece (cp Rohde, *Psyche*,²⁵ 152 ff. 169 ff.) and elsewhere, was evidently at one time operative in Israel as well. The original paternity of Isaac is but thinly disguised in Gen. 18:10 ff. 21:1 ff. (cp that of Sanson in Judg. 13 where *mal'ak* is probably a later addition). It is quite evident that at sanctuaries provided with *massôbith* and *ashirim*, *kedûsim* and *kedûsoth*, the simple folk-religion cannot have left Yahwé without a consort and children. In Ezek. 23 Yahwé marries two sisters and begets children by them. This is an allegory. But when even a late prophet does not hesitate to introduce this conception as a figure of speech, it may be reasonably supposed that an earlier time found it only natural that Yahwé, as well as other gods, should have children by graciously visiting women of his choice. Gen. 6:1 ff. shows that gods might do this without offending the morals of the age. The notion of a physical divine paternity is not incompatible with an otherwise highly developed moral sense (see § 17).

The very fact that in Hebrew literature Israel is primarily the son of Yahwé and the individual Israelite only by virtue of his connection with the people, indicates that the phrase was once understood in a literal sense. Since collective sonship is mediated through the eponym hero. Nevertheless, the idea of physical descent has been so strongly suppressed that the term is practically everywhere used figuratively, to express the love and

¹ As the 'Job stone' found by Schumacher at Shakh Sakh Houran proves that Ramses II. penetrated into the E. Jordan country, it is possible that the Israel hero of the Moabite inscription was a tribe having for its centre Mahanaim.

paternal care of Yahwe and the reverence and obedience of Israel.

Already in Hosea 21 the ethical significance often associated with this metaphor comes to view when the prospect of becoming 'sons of the living God (*ben El ha-hai*) by a moral reformation is held out to the Israelites. In Hosea 11:1 the text is doubtful. Ah, reads 'out of Egypt I have called my son.' It seems to have found a plural (*benim, ra'ava avotai*). See Lohmström's *Exposé*. His children would refer to the 'sons of Israel.' In Is. 1:2-30, the Israelites are called 'sons of Yahwe.' That the phrase was felt to be a figure of speech is evident from De. 1:31-34, 'as a man hears [hastens] his son, so Yahwe'; (cp P. 10311); but 11:1 asserts 'Ye are the sons of Yahwe, your God; and 3:4 asks 'Is he not thy father, thy maker?' In Jer. 3:4 Yahwe is said to be a father; 7:31, 'How shall I place thee among sons,' means 'make thee a son' (see Duhm, *Jeremia*, p. 6), consequently contains the idea of adoption. The promise, 'I shall be a father to Israel, and Ephraim shall be my first-born' is given in Jer. 31:9. Similarly Ex. 4:22, 'My son, my first-born, is Israel.' In Is. 63:16, the first-born of Yahwe is emphasised, in contrast with the neglect of the people by Abraham and Israel; the cult of these heroes brings no relief. Cp also 'our father,' Is. 63:17. Mal. 2 assumes that Yahwe is constantly represented by the people as a father. Mal. 2:10, has suffered much corruption by intentional alteration and by accident (see *Crit. Bib.*). But 2:10 clearly shows that Yahwe is the father of the Israelites and their ancestor. In 2:11 neither *Ab* nor *Pesh*, seems to have found in the text 'and marries the daughter of a strange god' (*22* *22*), but some phrase which could be interpreted 'and walks after (or 'serves') foreign gods.' This may be a free rendering of *22* *22* *22* *22* and enters the house of a strange god, but MT shows that the idea of a woman being the daughter of her god was not foreign to Hebrew thought (cp. Nu. 21:20 *Wisd*, 97:12-21, 10:10). In Ps. 73:15, 'the generation of thy children' refers to the Jews. The fatherhood of God is finely expressed in the prayer, *Ecclesi*, 2:1, beginning *Kuata, marep*, 'Lord, father.' In *Ecclesi*, 4:11 the Hebrew reads *22* *22* *22* *22*, 'and God shall call thee son.' Here sonship has an ethical quality. That is also the case in *Wisd*, 2:18, 'of the righteous man is God's son, he will uphold him'; while in 5:5 the sons of God probably are the occupants of the celestial world, including angels and human saints (see 5:7); in 9:7-12, 21, 10:13-18, the sons and daughters of God are the Israelites, and in 18:13 the people is said to be recognised by the Egyptians as 'God's son.' In *Judith* 9:4 the Jews are 'God's dear children.' In *Esth*, 6:14, they are the 'sons of the only and true God,' and in *Macc*, 6:28 they are the sons of the 'most mighty and heavenly living God.' *Eth*, *Enoch* 62:11 speaks of 'this children and his elect,' but the passage is probably a Christian interpolation. Cp also *Sib. Or.* 3:702, 'sons of the great God'; *Ps*, *Sol*, 7:19, 'sons of their God'; 18:4, 'as a first-born only-begotten son'; *Ass. Mss*, 10:27, 'sons of God'; *Jubilees* 1:15, 'sons of God'; and 4 *Ezra* 6:5, 'thy people, first-born and only-begotten.'

It may be inferred from such instances that the designation of God as father in a figurative sense goes back at least to the eighth century and was common in Israel in the last century B.C.; that the Israelites felt themselves to be sons and daughters of Yahwe because of their connection with the holy Yahwe-worshipping people; and that here and there the thought of a spiritual sonship based on character was reached.

Founders of states and kings in general were regarded in antiquity as sons of gods.

Numerous examples were gathered from Greek and Roman writers by D. F. Iken in 1795. He, however, wrongly supposed that the basis of what he deemed simply a figure of speech was the relation of the king as pupil to the divinity as teacher. In reality, the divine paternity was looked upon as an important fact. In the case of a long-reigning dynasty, or one connected by marriage with the preceding one, it was sufficient to assume a transmission of the divine life from an original impregnation by a god, in the case of a usurper not connected by marriage with the previously reigning family, resort must be had to an immediate divine fatherhood. Thus, the kings of Egypt were considered as the sons of Re by virtue of descent from him; but Alexander could be declared a son of Ammon Re' only by a denial of Philip's paternity, and a revelation of his birth without a name father (Plutarch, *Life*, 1111). Less prominence was evidently given to this conception in Assyria; but its existence is proved by 5 R. 2:97 where Ashur-bani-pal says *Ashur-ku-ana*, 'Ashur the son, my begotten.' The Ptolemies as successors of the Egyptian kings accepted such titles as 'son of Re' (*ben Ra*), 'son of Isis and Osiris'; and some of the Seleucids, as successors of Alexander, also received the title *theoi bios*. The latter title was frequently used by the Roman emperors as well as *Aeneas, Augustus*, and *Elitha* in the East (see *Tabular*, 227, and *Deissmann, Bilestulien*, 1 *vs. ff.*).

Even in Israel the king was regarded as standing on a higher level than ordinary men and given the name 'son of Yahwe.' His quasi-divine character is already

indicated in the fact that he was anointed. Originally the pouring out of oil on his head was a sacrifice, an act of worship. Yahwe's anointed was recognised as partaking of Yahwe's sanctity as possessed of a divine spirit and a higher intelligence (1 S. 10:6). It is more likely to be a reflection of a generally prevailing opinion than mere flattery, when the woman in 2 S. 14:17 declares that David is like the gods in hearing what is good and evil, and has the wisdom of the gods to know all that is in the earth *mal'ak* is probably a late interpolation. How the people before the exile looked upon their kings, cannot be determined from the literary remains reflecting the often strongly anti-royalist spirit of the prophets. Is. 9:6 shows that a poet in the exile did not hesitate to predict for a child born to the royal family (possibly a son of Jehoiachin) that he would be called a 'mighty god' (*el gibbor*). 2 S. 7:14, probably written after the exile, as H. P. Smith has perceived, and possibly in the days of Zerubbabel, presents the son of David as the son of Yahwe, and significantly predicts for him that in spite of this he will be punished as human beings are, though not destroyed. When kings again sat on the throne of David in the Hasmonean age, they naturally applied to themselves this promise. Yahwe's anointed king was his son, born as such on the day of his coronation, whom the nations and their rulers should obey (Ps. 2). Accustomed as men in Israel had been to hear their Ptolemaic or Seleucid rulers referred to both as 'god' and as 'son of god,' the two terms easily merged into each other when applied, as they were, to the Hasmonean kings. In Ps. 58:2 and 82:6 Pharisaic hymn-writer, scornfully designate these native rulers as 'gods' (*elohim*) and 'sons of God' (*ben' elohim*). There would be no sting in this sarcasm, if they were not actually designated as such. That this was the case is shown by Ps. 45:7 f. [6 f.], where a poet laureate of one of these princes on the occasion of a royal wedding apostrophises the monarch as divine. In Ps. 89:26 f., 2 S. 7:14 is applied to Alexander Jannaeus (see Duhm). *Zech*, 12:3 probably also applies to the reigning family.

On the other hand, Ex. 21:6 22:9 [2] do not prove that rulers were called 'gods.' They refer to household gods (Kerdmans), and Targ. and *Pesh*, which render 'judges' are certainly wrong. So far as known, the king was never regarded in Israel as literally the son of Yahwe. The underlying thought seems to have been that the king became a 'son' by the infusion of his divine father's life and intelligence.

In view of the fact that the king in Israel was called a son of God, it is somewhat strange that there is so little evidence of its use as a title

6. The Messiah. of the coming Messiah. There is no passage in Jewish literature that can be confidently dated as earlier than Christianity, in which this name is given to the Messiah.

Enoch 105:2 is probably an interpolation (so Drummond, Charles, Dalman). 4 *Ezra* 7:28 f. B3 32 37 52 14 are all doubtful. The Aramaic original is lost, and the extant versions (Syr., Lat., Eth., Ar., Arm.) have all passed through Christian hands, and manifestly suffered changes in these very passages (see Drummond, 225 ff.). The Targ. to 2 S. 7:14 renders 'like a father' and 'like a son,' and the Targ. to Ps. 2:7 'thou art dear to me as a son'; Ps. 2 is generally referred to Israel. In Origen's time the Jews looked forward to the coming of God's Messiah, but professed to find no reference in prophecy to a coming son of God (C. *Celsus*, 140). Only rarely (as in *h. Sabbat*, 152c and *Midrash Tehill*, 27) is a Messianic interpretation of Ps. 2 found. There can be little doubt that the reason for this lies in the reaction, first against Hasmonean pretensions, and subsequently against Christian exegesis. But between the insistence upon Davidic descent as a rebuke to the illegitimate line in the Palace of Solomon, and the emphasis upon the human character of the Messiah (*anthropos es anthropos*) by Trypho as a disavowal of the new god, the great Messianic movements stirred only circles in Jewry, besides the followers of Jesus, with eagerness to discover a reference to the Messiah in every passage that lent itself to the purpose. It therefore remains possible that the identification of the Messiah as the son of God represents not merely the blending of two independent convictions, but the synonymy of two terms. Dalman objects to *ben elohim* as a Messianic title, on the ground that it was not customary to

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mention the name of God, as Mk. 14:1 *ὄνομα τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ* indicates. But Mt., who, according to Dalman, alone rendered the original idiomatic *mal'kūthā dā-shamayyā* for 'kingdom of God' with *βασιλεία τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, has in 26:63 *ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ*, and so also Lk. 22:70; and there is no indication that 'sons of God' was rendered otherwise than by *ἄγγελοι*. Nevertheless, *ἄγγελοι* is not likely to have been very commonly used as a designation of the Messiah, and there is no absolute proof of its use at any time.

In Lk. 20:36 those that are accounted worthy of another world and of being raised from the dead are said to be equal to angels and 'sons of God, because they are sons of the resurrection.' According to Rom. 1:4 Jesus was shown to be a son of God by his resurrection from the dead. The idea that the ranks of the heavenly beings may thus be increased, is older than the thought of a resurrection.

Heroes that are well-pleasing to the gods may be carried aloft to be with them for ever, as Ugaritic in the Gilgamesh epic, or Enoch and Elijah (see DEPT. OF § 17; EUBAN, ENOCH, and CP EUBAN, ENOCH, § 3). Syriac Enoch 22 gives a fine description of Enoch's reception in heaven, and his celestial garments. Into the same company of heavenly beings, men could be brought from the subterranean realms of Sheol, when the Mazdayasnian doctrine of a resurrection had become familiar in Israel. Even in circles where the Greek conception of immortality prevailed, the godly man was supposed to take up his abode after death among the sons of God, and to obtain his inheritance among the saints (Wisd. 5:5). It is the merit of Barton (*New World*, 1890, pp. 114 ff.) to have called attention to this thought.

Among the Jews accessible to Greek philosophy, it was especially Philo who prepared the way for the Christian doctrine of the son of God by his Logos-speculation. When he called this

8. The Logos. Logos 'the perfect son,' 'the first-born son of God' (*De Vit. Mos.* 14; *De Conf. Ling.* 14; *De Agric.* 12), he did not imply that it was an individual, an hypostasis, a person. Yet it was inevitable that the term 'son of God' should suggest a mediator between God and the world, a celestial personality more grandly conceived than any other associated with the name, and herein lies much of its historic importance (see §§ 23, 25; and for a description of Philo's Logos the careful studies of Jean Révile, Soulier, Siegfried, Anathon Mall, and Grill).

The term 'son of God' (*ἱὸς θεοῦ*, *ἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*, ὁ ἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ) or 'my (sc. God's) son' (*ἱὸς μου*) occurs in the Synoptic gospels 27 times, and the

9. The Synoptics. term 'the son' (ὁ ἱὸς) 9 times. It will be convenient to record the occurrences in detail and to classify them.

1. 'Son of God' or 'my (God's) son':—27 times.

a. Enumeration.

Mt. 3:17 4:3 6:5 9:14 33 16:16 17:5 26:63 27:40 43 54 = 11 times.
Mk. 1:11 11:3 11:5 7:9 7:14 6:1 15:39 = 7 "
Lk. 1:32 35 3:22 38 4:3 9:8 28:35 22:70 = 9 "

b. Analysis.

i. In three Gospels:—3 times.

Mt. 3:17 = Mk. 1:11 = Lk. 3:22: baptism.
Mt. 17:5 = Mk. 9:7 = Lk. 9:35: transfiguration.
Mt. 26:63 = Mk. 14:61 = Lk. 22:70: trial.

ii. In two Gospels: 4 times.

Mt. 27:54 = Mk. 15:39 (centurion) = once.
Mk. 5:7 = Lk. 8:28 (demon) = once.
Mt. 4:3 = Lk. 4:3 (temptation) = twice.
Mt. 4:6 = Lk. 4:6 ")

iii. In one Gospel:—10 times.

Mk. 11 (superscription), 3:11 (demon) = twice.
Mt. 5:9 (name of peacemakers), 14:33 (after walk on the sea), 16:16 (Peter's confession), 27:43 (at the cross), 27:43 (alleged quotation) = 5 times.
Lk. 1:32 35 (annunciation), 3:38 (genealogy) = 3 times.

2. 'The son' (ὁ υἱός) alone: 9 times.

a. Enumeration.

Mt. 11:27 (thrice) 24:36 28:19 = 5 times.
Mk. 13:12 " " " = once.
Lk. 10:22 (thrice) " " " = 3 times.

b. Analysis.

The three in Mt. 11:27 correspond to the three in Lk. 10:22 (by way of Jesus) = 6
Mk. 13:12 is equivalent to Mt. 24:36 (not even the son) = 2
Mt. 28:19 (baptismal formula) has no parallel = 1

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It is not sufficient, however, to consider the text in which the title actually occurs. Passages throwing upon Jesus' conception of the

10. Principles of criticism. fatherhood in general and man's sonship must also be examined. Particular in which the term 'son' might be regarded as referring to Jesus, must be taken into consideration. When a reputed saying of Jesus is drawn into the discussion it must be tested in a retranslation into the Aramaic dialect spoken by Jesus; and the same applies to utterances concerning him by persons to whom the Galilean speech was the vernacular. The differences between the accounts of the evangelists must be observed. It is not permissible to leave out of sight peculiarities of the evangelists, or the influence on their minds of later thought and a growing tradition. It is necessary to bear in mind the fundamental distinction between the Greek words ascribed to Jesus which we possess, and the Aramaic sentences he spoke which we can only surmise; between the stories told in religious edification, and the history often symbolized rather than desecrated in them. Moreover, the condition of the text must be scrupulously watched.

In a number of passages whose substantial genuineness admits of little doubt Jesus is reported as having used the term 'sons of God' or an equivalent, of men in such a manner as to imply a certain moral likeness to God.

11. Ethical significance in genuine sayings of Jesus. Whilst in Mt. 5:9 the thought may conceivably be that the peace-makers will be called sons of God because they will be deemed worthy of a share in the resurrection (Lk. 20:36 and cp § 7), the probably the idea is that when the kingdom of heaven shall be established on earth, as it soon will be, they will be recognized by virtue of their spiritual kinship to God as his true sons. This is manifestly the case in Mt. 5:45, where sonship is based on an impartial and forgiving spirit like God's. Whether Jesus said 'sons of your father who is in heaven' or 'sons of the Most High,' as in the parallel passage in Lk. 6:35, is doubtful. Mt. probably he said 'sons of the father who is in heaven.' This is suggested by a comparison of Mt. 6:11 (ὁ πατήρ σου ὁ ἐν οὐρανοῖς) with Lk. 11:13 (ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἐν οὐρανοῖς), where, however, Sin. Syr. seems to read 'the father that is in heaven.' Mt. apparently had a preference for the pronominal additions. But whether *אבא* or *אבאבא* was originally used, it is significant that Jesus did not limit the divine paternity and did not exclude from sonship those who were 'themselves evil.' The same is strikingly indicated also in the parables of the lost son (Lk. 15:11 ff.) and the two sons (Mt. 21:28 ff.), which teach that man even when he errs does not cease to be the son of God and the object of His fatherly affection. In Mt. 23:8 ff. Jesus is speaking to the crowds as well as to his disciples, warning them not to call men *אבאבא*, *אבא*, and *אבאבא*, 'for one is your master,' 'one is your father, 'one is your teacher,' the reference being everywhere to God (see Köhler, *JQK* 13:57 ff.). On the other hand, in Mt. 10:20-29 and Lk. 12:42 the disciples are addressed, and those to whom the kingdom will be given are clearly distinguished by their character from the rest of the people. Even more manifest is this distinction in Mt. 17:25 ff. As kings on earth demand tribute not of their sons but only of strangers, so the heavenly king does not impose taxes on his sons. Those who think of God as taxing them for the support of the temple are in reality strangers to him; the relations of sons to the heavenly father are characterised by freedom. In view of such a profoundly ethical conception of sonship and Jesus' attitude in general, it is difficult to believe in the historical accuracy of his refusal to work a miracle for a Phoenician woman on the alleged (Mt. 15:21-28; Mk. 7:27-30).

The synoptic tradition records no utterance of Jesus in which he distinctly refers to himself as a 'son of God.'

12. Jesus' self-consciousness as a son of God. In Mt. 27:43 it is indeed said that mocking high priests, scribes, and elders quoted him as having said: 'I am a son of God.' The only ground for such an assertion would be Jesus' answer to the high priest's question (Mt. 26:63). But see § 20 and SOX OF MAN, § 37 (end). The taunt seems to have been made up of phrases from Wisdom 2:16-18 (see Brantl, 200). Of more importance would be the distinction between 'my father' and 'your father,' if this could be traced back to Jesus himself.

The Gk. text of Mt. gives the impression that Jesus said 'my father' when speaking of his own God or to him, whilst he said 'your father' when referring to the God of his disciples or to

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pe ple, and that he taught his disciples to say 'our father,' but did not use this expression himself.

Already a comparison with the synoptic parallels in which the possessive pronouns are lacking tends to raise doubts as to the integrity of the text. The prayer Jesus taught his disciples begins in Lk. 11.2 with 'Father' (πατήρ); and textual criticism renders the originality of the pronoun in many instances quite uncertain. When, furthermore, the attempt is made to recover the actual Aramaic words used by Jesus, the fact comes to view that in practically all cases the original is likely to have been simply 'Abba' (אבא). Where the Gk. Mt. had πατήρ, μόνον or ὁ πατήρ μου, *Evang. Mt. 9.* has simply 'Abba' in the extant passages, Mt. 10.32 f., 10.15 (81.19.35.26.14); and the same is true of Lk. 2.49. 10.22 etc. If this version is made from the Greek without the aid of an Aramaic translation, only a strongly entrenched usage can account for the suppression of the possessive. If, as seems probable, an earlier Aramaic gospel was consulted in the translation, the testimony is doubly significant. It is confirmed by other remains of Palestinian Aramaic.

Jesus almost certainly said only 'Abba' in his own prayers as well as in the prayer he taught, and 'Abba' is 'father' in the prayer who is in heaven, 'in referring to God. This conclusion is not merely of negative value. Positively, it indicates an exceedingly keen sense of the fatherhood of God creating a true filial attitude and a gentle feeling of brotherliness toward men. Into the innermost recesses of his spirit we cannot penetrate. Even if our sources were more fruitful and less heavily overlaid by tradition than they are, there would still remain the unfathomed depth of an experience colouring every characteristic thought and deed, the ineffable quality of a rich inner life, the mystery of a great and fruitful genius. But we are able to draw certain inferences from the fact that the highest moral and religious conceptions of sonship ascribed to him find expression in utterances in which he either speaks of men in general (Mt. 5.9.45.48), or includes himself with others (Mt. 17.25 ff. Mk. 3.35). Whilst he may have avoided such a statement as 'I am a son of God,' because 'bar' el'ihā might have suggested an angel, a translated being like Elijah, or a king, it is possible, therefore, that the real reason was his fear lest he be misunderstood as claiming for himself alone that relation to the Father into which his own experience made him so desirous that all men should enter.

How well founded such apprehensions would have been may be seen from Mt. 11.25 ff. (Lk. 10.21 f.) 21.36 (Mk. 13.32) 28.19 and also from Mt. 21.33-46 (Mk. 12.1-12 Lk. 20.9-19) 22.2 (Lk. 14.16). In the first of these passages the gradual growth of a

logion may be observed. The text presented by our MSS with minor variations between Mt. and Lk. already occurs sporadically in the second century (present tense Justin, *c. Tryph.* 100, 'knowledge of the Son first'; Iren. iv. 61, *Clem. Recog.* 2.47). Older than this, however, as modern critics generally recognise, is the text found in Justin, *Apol.* 163; *Clem. Hom.* 17.4 18.4.17.20; Marcionians in Iren. i. 20.3; Marcion in Tert. *c. Marc.* 2.7; Iren. ii. 6.1 iv. 6.3; *Clem. Alex. Strom.* 7.18.109 etc., which reads, with unimportant variations, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ οἱ δὲ τὸν υἱὸν (τίς γινώσκει) εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ καὶ οἱς (ὧ) ἄν ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψῃ. The principal differences are that ἔγνω occurs in place of γινώσκει, that the sentence 'no one knew the Father except the Son' precedes 'nor any one the Son except the Father,' and that as a consequence it is the son instead of the father that reveals the son. Schmiedel (*Prot. Monachstheol.* 1900, p. 1 ff.) regards this as an original utterance of Jesus and understands the ariste to intimate that there was a time when Jesus discovered that God was a father, a thought that would then had not been present to his mind. According to this critic, the men who once believed in the fatherhood of God were all dead, and among Jesus' contemporaries no man recognised God as a father. Having become a 'son' by this discovery, he naturally looked upon himself as 'the Son' as long as he remained alone with his conviction that God was a father. But already Ewald (*JBW.* 1855, p. 160) pointed out

that the difference between ἔγνω and γινώσκει would not appear in the Heb. *pādi*, and Dalman (233) rightly insists that in the unvocalised Aramaic text the participle *pādi* and perfect *pādi* could not be distinguished. This difficulty would indeed be obviated if a derivative of *gnō* is supposed to have been used in the original (*Evang. Hier.* has *gnō* in Mt. 11); but even so (aphel perf.) this verb would scarcely have necessitated an ariste rather than a present tense. Kloppner (*ZW. Th.* 1890, pp. 501 ff.) and Dalman strongly urge the improbability of the revelation of the son through the son. Yet only the son's knowledge of the father follows naturally the transmission of all knowledge to the son. The rather irrelevant statement that 'no one knows the son except the father,' has the appearance of being a gloss drifting into different places. If it is removed, the connection is greatly improved: 'All things (that are hidden from the wise and disclosed to babes) have been transmitted (*Evang. Hier.* *gnō*) to me by the Father, and no one knows the Father except the son and he to whom the son is willing to make a revelation.' It is difficult, however, to see how even such an utterance could have come from the lips of Jesus. The alleged return of seventy disciples from a journey during which they had been engaged in exorcising demons does not furnish a natural occasion for such a comment as this (see Bruno Bauer, *Kritik der Ev.-gesch.* [1891] 2.200 ff.). That Jesus should have thought of himself as possessed of all knowledge and regarded all other men as ignorant of God is scarcely conceivable. Long usage had rendered the term 'father' as a designation of God quite familiar to the contemporaries of Jesus, and piety had invested the name with deep spiritual significance (see § 4). But the abbreviated title 'the son' would probably have been as unintelligible to the Jews of Jesus' time as it was well understood by the Christians of the second century. Pfeiderer (*U'christenthum.* 445 ff. 509 f.) recognises the influence of Pauline ideas, and Brandt (pp. 561, 576) considers Mt. 11.25-30 to be a hymn regularly constructed of material largely borrowed from Eccl. 51. Neither of these views is perhaps capable of strict demonstration. But the underlying conviction that this cannot be a genuine saying of Jesus is as irresistible as the evidence of its gradual growth is conclusive.

In Mt. 21.36 (Mk. 13.32) the clause 'neither the Son' (οὐδὲ ὁ υἱὸς) is lacking in many MSS, and (among other ancient witnesses) in the Syr.-Sin. Most modern scholars reject it. Scholten (*Het oudste Evang.* 227) maintained that it was also lacking in the original Mk. Dalman (159) thinks that the original text was 'not even the angels,' and that 'not even the son but the father only' is a later addition.

Schmiedel (*loc. cit.*) also regards the words in Mt. as spurious, but considers those in Mk. as genuine because they cannot have been engendered by reverence for Jesus, a motive that led the editor of Mt. to omit them in copying his source. It is not apparent why the supposed original copyist should have been more sensitive on this point than the later interpolator of Mt. In the first half of the second century it is not likely that any Christian was offended by the subordination of the Son or his limited knowledge (Scholten, *loc. cit.*). Only the rising estimate of Jesus can account for the place of the Son between the angels and the Father, for the emphasis upon the fact that even he did not know the day and the hour, and for the use of the abbreviated title. Mk. 13.32 seems to have been added to the Apocalypse of Jesus to explain either the absence of a sufficiently exact date or the delay in the fulfilment of prophecy.

The third passage in which 'the Son' occurs is Mt. 28.19. That the trinitarian baptismal formula does not go back to Jesus himself is evident and

15. Baptismal formula. recognised by all independent critics. Acts and the Epistles show that other formulas were used but not this one, that the apostles did not feel warranted to preach to the heathen without a special revelation, and that the early church never referred to this commandment. The fact that it is ascribed to Jesus after his death is also significant;

Conybeare (*ZNTW*, 1901, pp. 275 ff.; *Hibb. Journ.*, 1. 1902, pp. 102 ff.) has shown that there was, as late as in the time of Eusebius, an earlier text which read: *Ἐπισητεύετε μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ* 'Go ye and make disciples of all nations in my name,' and has rendered it probable that the expanded form originated about 140 A.D. in the Old Latin texts of Africa, that it thence crept into the Greek text at Rome, and finally established itself in the East during the Nicene epoch in time to figure in all surviving Greek codices.

How Jesus understood his peculiar relation as a son may, according to Dalman (230), be seen very clearly from Mt. 21:33-45 (Mk. 12:1-12; Lk. 20:9-19). He regarded himself as the beloved son, or, as Gen. 22:2 & and Trg. suggests, 'the only begotten son,' entitled to the empire of the world, but destined to be put to death. On the other hand, Jülicher (*Gleichnissen Jesu*, 1899, pp. 385 ff.) after a most searching examination of these texts comes to the conclusion that the story of the wicked husbandmen is not a parable describing something that might have happened in real life, but an allegory, and that it is in no sense an utterance of Jesus, but the work of early Christian theology. The justice of this verdict is appreciated when the marked contrast to all genuine parables, the lack of verisimilitude, the assumptions contrary to fact, and the charges based upon future conduct are duly noticed. In regard to Mt. 22:2, where the king makes a marriage feast for his son, Dalman rightly calls attention to the absence of a son during the meal, and the fact that in the parable (Lk. 14:16) there is no mention of the son.

According to Lk. 1:23, the angel Gabriel announced to Mary that the child she was to bear would be called

17. Proclamation by heavenly voices. 'the Son of the Most High,' or 'the Son of God,' because the Holy Ghost would come upon her. Divine sonship is here made dependent upon physical generation. Jesus will be called Son of God because he is to have no human father. This mythical conception which was widely prevalent in antiquity (see §§ 2, 5) seems to belong to a late stratum (cp. Conybeare, *ZNTW*, 1902, pp. 192 ff.) and is of Gentile-Christian origin (cp. Hilhmann, *JIT*, 1861, pp. 231 ff.). Older than it, is the idea that the Son of God was born as such at the baptism. Between the reports of the heavenly proclamation on this occasion in the synoptics there are important differences. Whilst Mt. 3:17 reads 'This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased,' Mk. 1:11 and Lk. 3:22 have 'Thou art my beloved son, in thee I am well pleased.' It is possible, however, that *ὁ υἱός μου* and a large number of patristic quotations have preserved a more original reading in Lk. 3:22—*υἱός μου ἐστὶν ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε*, 'Thou art my son, to-day I have begotten thee.' The generation of the Son of God is in this case accomplished by the entrance of the Holy Ghost as a dove. This earlier myth seems to have been supplanted by that of the Virgin birth. The announcement of the heavenly voice at the transfiguration (Mt. 17:5; Mk. 9:7; Lk. 9:35) was then transferred to the baptism. (Cp. Holtzmann, *Die Synoptiker*, 2nd 85.)

The early church was convinced that not only heaven but also hell knew the secret of Jesus' divine sonship. Demons repeatedly proclaimed him the Son of God, Mk. 3:11 5:7 (Lk. 8:22; cp. also Mk. 1:37); and Satan himself used his knowledge of this fact to lead him into temptation (Mt. 4:3; cp. Lk. 4:3). To accept the opinion of the evangelists as to the supernatural knowledge and activity of demons is no longer possible.

It is assumed by many critics that the demoniacs actually spoke such words as are ascribed to them, and that they themselves, as well as their reporters, were only mistaken in their interpretation of mental and nervous disorders. Being thrown

into great excitement by the extraordinary impression of Jesus' personality, these sufferers gave voice to their own or the general feeling that Jesus was the Messiah. But on this the latter cannot be explained why men excited to madness by the peculiar situation should have avoided the one unmistakable Messianic title, 'Son of David,' and employed a term that cannot be proved to have been then used, nor why, of all men, only the demoniacs should proclaim him as the 'Son of God.' As it is especially Mk. who emphasizes this testimony of the demons, it is natural to see in it a phase of Jesus' general conception of his life and character. He had to reckon with a strongly entrenched tradition to the effect that Jesus had not proclaimed himself as the Messiah. From the premises of his Christian faith he can only conclude that Jesus had then concealed his Messianic aspect of the divine nature which he associated with it. Such a secret might be hidden from men, but not from demons. They must have known, in spite of his disguise, the divine Son by whom they were to be judged. It is particularly the merit of Wrede (*Das Messiasgeheimnis*, 1901, pp. 77 ff.) to have called attention to this aspect of the case. The story of the temptations should be considered from the same point of view. (Cp. Holtzmann, *JIT*, 46.)

As no objective reality can be ascribed to these views from the world of evil spirits, it is idle to inquire whether in their reported utterances 'Son of God' corresponds to an Aramaic *bar elāhā, bar 'elāyā, brāh d'elāhā*, and what meanings each of these forms may have conveyed.

The same conception that Jesus' divine sonship cannot be known by men except by a special revelation from another world is found in

19. Petrine confession. Mt. 16:17. Of such a revelation there is no hint in the accounts of Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi given by Mk. (8:27-33) and Lk. (9:18-22). But neither of these evangelists puts the title 'Son of God' upon the lips of Peter. Mk. has simply *ὁ χριστός*, Lk. *ὁ χριστός τοῦ θεοῦ*; the latter probably goes back to *mēshā d'elāhā*, cp. 1 S. 24:7 Trg., and Ps. Sol. 18:7 *χριστός κυρίου*, and originally 17:2, and not to a *mēshā d'elāhā* not found elsewhere. It is more likely that Peter used this longer form than the shorter one in Mk. There is no reason to doubt either the question or the answer in the form preserved by Mk. and Lk. Before carrying out his plan of proclaiming the kingdom of heaven in Jerusalem, Jesus would naturally desire to know the attitude of the people. If Peter's description gave him some assurance that there was no immediate danger in that direction, the views as to his personality cherished by his disciples seem to have made him all the more apprehensive, and caused him most earnestly to forbid them to make any such statement concerning him.

It has long been recognized that Mt. 16:17-19 is a late interpolation. It may already reveal the pretensions of the Roman bishop (Wernle, *Syn. Frage*, 192), and has been more recently interpreted by Catholic exegetes that by Protestants (Bauer, *Kritik*, 86). But, apart from the macarism, the text of Mt. has been interpolated (cp. Holtzmann, *Syn.*, 2nd 257) by the addition of the two terms 'son of Man' (see *SOS of MAN*, § 10) and 'son of the living God' (cp. Hosae 2:1, & *υἱὸς θεοῦ ζωοῦτος*, Van Manen (*ThT*), 1894, p. 124) is probably right in thinking that 'Son of God' is not here a designation of the Messiah, but to be taken in a metaphysical sense. But to the interpolator *ὁ χριστός* was no longer a mere equivalent of the Messiah; it had no doubt already assumed the same significance as the 'Son of God.'

According to Mt. 26:6, the high priest said 'I adjure thee by the living God that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God?'; in Mk. 11:3 he simply asks 'Art thou the Christ the Son of the Blessed?'; and in Lk. 22:70 the elders of the people say 'If thou art the Christ tell us,' and only after the reference to the Son of Man, 'Art thou then the Son of God?' (2:7). It is evident that according to Christian tradition Jesus was asked by the priests whether he regarded himself as the Messiah, and that the particular form of the question shaped itself freely. In Mt. and Lk. Jesus does not commit himself; Mt. 26:64 reports only the brief *ὁ υἱός εἰμαι*, 'Thou sayest so,' Lk. 22:71 his reason for not answering as well as his rejoinder, 'You say that I am.' On the meaning of *ὁ υἱός εἰμαι* see Thoma, *BL* 13:40-49; Merx, *Die vier kan. Ev.* 234. These gospels represent a tradition according to which Jesus maintained his incognito before the priests as well as before

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20. High Priest's adjuration.

According to Mt. 26:6, the high priest said 'I adjure thee by the living God that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God?'; in Mk. 11:3 he simply asks 'Art thou the Christ the Son of the Blessed?'; and in Lk. 22:70 the elders of the people say 'If thou art the Christ tell us,' and only after the reference to the Son of Man, 'Art thou then the Son of God?' (2:7). It is evident that according to Christian tradition Jesus was asked by the priests whether he regarded himself as the Messiah, and that the particular form of the question shaped itself freely. In Mt. and Lk. Jesus does not commit himself; Mt. 26:64 reports only the brief *ὁ υἱός εἰμαι*, 'Thou sayest so,' Lk. 22:71 his reason for not answering as well as his rejoinder, 'You say that I am.' On the meaning of *ὁ υἱός εἰμαι* see Thoma, *BL* 13:40-49; Merx, *Die vier kan. Ev.* 234. These gospels represent a tradition according to which Jesus maintained his incognito before the priests as well as before

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Pilate. The apparently earlier form of the narrative preserved in Lk. makes no mention of false witnesses, blasphemy, a formal sentence to death, and personal indignities, but tells of two false charges brought against Jesus by the priests before Pilate—viz., his forbidding to give tribute to Caesar and his declaring that he himself is the Christ, an anointed king. Mk. has all the additions of Mt. and, besides, takes the important step of changing Σὺ εἶπας into Ἐγὼ εἶμι 'I am.' What took place in the pontifical residence to which Jesus had been carried was probably as little known to his disciples as to us. (See Brandt, 53 ff.; We. Skizzen, 6 1809) 207; cp SIMON PETER, § 15.) At the time when these accounts were elaborated, 'Son of Man,' 'Christ,' and 'Son of God' had become synonymous, and 'Son of God' was understood as 'God,' so that the blasphemy of making oneself equal with God could be conceived of as a charge brought against Jesus. The 'Son of God' in Mt. 27.40 is lacking in the parallel passage Mk. 15.29 f., and the utterance is based on Mt. 26.61 (Mk. 14.52), having no more historic value than these improbable testimonies.

In utter amazement at the miracles that accompanied the death of Jesus, the centurion cried out: 'Of a truth this is the Son of God' (or 'the son of a god'), Mt. 27.54 (Mk. 15.39). As there is no reason to suppose that the great darkness, the earthquake, the rending of the veil in the temple, and the rising of the dead from their tombs actually occurred [cp EARTHQUAKE, § 2], the occasion for such an exclamation did not exist. Of these miracles Mk. mentions only the rending of the veil. Since the centurion could not have seen this, even if it happened, his astonishment is left without a cause. If Mk. had thought that the centurion became convinced of the divinity of Jesus by the fact that he died somewhat earlier than expected, uttering a loud cry, he would scarcely have introduced the statement as to the veil. By his tendency to shorten the accounts that he copied, he has here, as elsewhere, rendered his own incongruous. Both Mt. and Mk. no doubt thought of 'Son of God' in a Christian sense. While it is quite doubtful whether any of the evangelists found the loud cry significant, it is possible that a centurion accustomed to such sights saw in the relatively speedy release from suffering an evidence that this political criminal was indeed a righteous man (Lk. 23.47), though Lk. thought of the miracles as occasioning this judgment.

A critical study of the synoptic material leads inevitably to the conclusion that Jesus never called himself 'the Son of God,' and never was addressed by that title. That he was proclaimed as such by voices from heaven and hell is a notion consonant with the ideas of the time, but not of such a nature as to command belief at present. But this negative result raises a question concerning the origin of the term 'Son of God.' Sanday regards it as certain that it was applied to Jesus in 1 Thess. 1.10, '23 years after the ascension,' and thinks it 'easier and more critical' to see in the expression a continuation of Jesus' own teaching than to look for its explanation in other directions. But apart from the impossibility of proving that the epistle quoted was written '23 years after the ascension,' by pointing to the Pauline literature Sanday has himself drawn the attention away from the line of direct transmission of the thoughts and words of Jesus. It is indeed in Hellenistic circles that the title as we find it applied to Jesus is likely to have originated. There is a possibility (see § 6) that in some circles the intensified study of 'Messianic' prophecies during the first century A. D. caused the term *bar elāhī* to be used as a title of the Messiah. Wernle (*Ursprung usw. Rel.* 205) goes too far when he asserts that no road leads from the OT and Rabbinism to the doctrine of the deity of Christ as Sanday rightly maintains. In Hasmonæan psalms

'gods' and 'sons of God' are still synonyms and, in language tinged with apocalyptic imagery, the reigning kings are described both as 'gods' and as 'sons of God.' In spite of practical monotheism, the belief in the existence of gods as celestial princes or as demons continued. Such a phrase as 'sons of God' because sons of the resurrection does not reflect a specifically Christian consciousness, but is likely to go back to 'Rabbinism,' showing its conception of the possibility of becoming a son of God in a metaphysical sense through a resurrection. Truth lies in the direction indicated can be pointed out, and are natural enough, since the mental habits of the Aramaic-speaking Jew cannot have been so radically different from those of the Greek-speaking Jew. Nevertheless it should be admitted that we possess no direct evidence of the use of *bar elāhī* as a Messianic title. On the other hand, the term *υἱὸς θεοῦ* was frequently met with in the Greco-Roman world as a title of kings and a designation of heroes, born of divine fathers or translated to be with the gods. The ideas associated with *θεός* and *υἱὸς θεοῦ* flowed into each other and had a metaphysical rather than an ethical significance. The meaning generally given to the term in the empire would unconsciously colour the thought of Hellenistic Jews when they found it employed in the Greek version of their Scriptures in what they took to be predictions of the Messiah. The titles *υἱὸς θεοῦ*, *Κύριος*, and *Σωτήρ* would certainly apply as well to the coming king of Israel as to the Roman Emperor. So far Jewish thought might certainly have gone, though it cannot be strictly proved that it went. It is not necessary to go outside the boundaries of Jewish thought, influenced by Greek speculation, for the ideas of an elevation into the sphere of divine life, through resurrection and ascension, the victory over demons knowing the secrets of another world, and even the birth of a hero without a human father, as Philo shows. In the present state of NT criticism it is not possible to date with accuracy the appearance of one or another of these ideas in Christian literature; but it may, perhaps, safely be assumed that they had all found expression by the beginning of the second century.

In Jn. 'Son of God' (*ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*) occurs ten times, and 'the Son' fourteen times. As in the case of the Synoptists it will be convenient to give the details.

23. Use of title in Fourth Gospel.

- 1. 'Son of God': 10 times.
1:34; testimony of John. 10:36; OT precedent.
1:50; Nathanael's confession. 11:4; glorified through Lazarus.
3:18; belief in him. 11:27; Martha's confession.
5:25; dead hearing his voice. 12:7; making himself God's equal.
6:69; Peter's confession. 20:31; purpose of book.
In 3:16 'the only begotten son' occurs, and in 17:11 'thy son.'

- 2. 'The Son': 14 times.
3:17 35 36 5 20 21 22 23 26 6 40 8 35 36 14 13 17 1.
In 1:18 the true reading seems to be *μονογενὴς θεός*. In 9:35 *τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ*; in 1:34 the text is uncertain, Syr. sin. cur. reading 'the chosen one of God.'

It is important to observe that *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ* is used by John, Nathanael, Peter, Martha, and the evangelist himself, but rarely by Jesus, whilst *ὁ υἱός* is as a rule employed by Jesus alone. In the ecclesiastical circles whose christology this gospel reflects, the longer form, usually in addition to *ὁ χριστός*, was evidently used in public confessions of faith, and the shorter form had already come into vogue in theological discussions. To this evangelist 'the Son' was a divine being who had appeared in human shape. He was 'a god' (*θεός* 1:1), 'an only-begotten god' (*μονογενὴς θεός* 1:18) who had assumed human nature, had become flesh (1:14). He was the Logos of whom Philo had spoken as 'the Son,' the medium of creation and redemption. It was not blasphemy for him to claim a title felt to be equivalent to 'God,' for he had been sent from heaven, whilst in the Scriptures men who had only received oracles from heaven were called 'gods' (10:33 ff.). And he called those happy whose faith

allowed them to say 'My Lord and my God!' without having seen the evidences of his resurrection (20:29).

It is no longer necessary to prove that the words put upon the lips of Jesus in this gospel had been uttered by him. Even scholars generally distrustful of results that contravene ecclesiastical tradition are no longer willing to maintain the position of Schieffmacher and Neander, but freely admit 'in this collection of sayings an element—possibly a somewhat considerable element—that represents not so much what was actually spoken as enlargement and comment embodying the experience and reflection of the growing church' (Sanday). The critical estimate gained by the investigations of Bretschneider, Strauss, Bruno Bauer, Schweigger, Baur, and Zeller was in the main so sound that it has been adopted, even after the severest testing by Bleek, Ewald, and Reuss, with modifications that do not essentially affect it, not only by Hilgenfeld, Keim, Volkmar, Holtzmann, Scholten, Thoma, Pileiderer, and Albert Réville, but also by Schurer, Jülicher, and substantially Harnack, whose theory of authorship and interpolations does not render it usable as a source for the history of Jesus (*Das Wesen des Christenthums*, p. 13 ET, p. 107). It is significant that the most recent investigators, Jean Réville, Kreyenbühl, Schmiedel, and Grill agree in rejecting the Johannine authorship, the authenticity of the speeches, and the various partition-theories. That all parts of the book reveal the influence of the Platonic Logos-idea was never so fully demonstrated as by Réville and Grill; however mistaken his theory of authorship may be, Kreyenbühl has exhibited, even more clearly than Baur, the gnostic affinities of the gospel; Schmiedel has shown convincingly how essentially correct the interpretation of the external evidence by the Tübingen school was; and by setting Jn.'s central idea, the incarnation, against the background of Oriental speculation, Grill has not only used the comparative method that henceforth must find a wider application in all biblical interpretation, but also revealed the legitimacy of that process of thought which led from the Fourth Gospel to the *Symbolum Nicœnum*.

24. In Epp. and Rev. In the epistolary literature of the NT the following facts are noticeable.

'Son of God' occurs in 1 and 2 Jn.	= 13 times
'the Son' occurs in 1 and 2 Jn.	= 6 "
Neither occurs in—	
(a) Jas. Jude 1 Pet. 3 Jn. or (except in an allusion to the transfiguration) 2 Pet.	
(b) in Phil. Philem. 2 Thess. 1 Tim. 2 Tim. and Titus.	
In the remaining epistles the occurrences are:	
1. 'Son of God'	
Rom. 1 3 4 6 5 10 8 3 29 32	= 7 times
Gal. 1 16 2 28 4 4 6	= 4 "
1 Cor. 1 9 2 Cor. 1 19 Eph. 4 13 Col. 1 13 1 Thess. 1 10	= 5 "
Heb. 1 5 4 14 6 6 7 3 10 20	= 5 "
2. 'the Son'	
1 Cor. 15 28	= once
Heb. 1 2 8 3 6 7 28	= 5 times

The conception in the Johannine epistles is the same as in the fourth gospel. Rom. 1 3 is especially important as showing the idea of divine sonship based on the resurrection. Connected with this metaphysical sense of the term is the conception that men are not in themselves sons of God but may become such by endowment with divine spirit, etc. In Gal. 1 16 the manifestation of the risen Son of God is described as an inner process.

In Eph. and Col. which show the influence of the Logos speculation, the Son is the pre-existent medium of creation, the phrase 'first-born of all creation,' Col. 1 15, should not be interpreted so as to exclude priority (Sanday), since 'he . . . before all things,' as 7. 17 shows. The closest affinity to the fourth gospel is found in Heb., where 'the Son' is an essentially divine being, subordinate to the Most High, but higher than 'the heavenly man' of 1 Cor. 15. Schenkel finely observed the embarrassing 'author felt at the thought of this being bearing obedience or suffering (though he was a Son).' The Alexandrian exegesis of chap. 1 shows with what peculiar material the road from the OT was paved.

The term does not occur in Acts, and Sanday rightly decides against *καὶ θεοῦ* being interpreted as an equivalent. In Rev. 2 18 the Christ is called 'Son of God.' The strangely composite christology of this book may be connected with its composite authorship and the transmission of its text.

A verbal examination of the gospels tends to produce the conviction that Jesus never assumed the title 'Son of God' either to designate himself as the expected king of Israel or to intimate that his nature was unlike that of other men, but that he spoke of men in general

25. Historical significance of title.

as 'the sons of God' and of God as their father, and also used the expression as a mark of distinction for those whose character resembled God's, who by their filial relation were freed from bondage to legal enactments concerning the cult, whose spirit and conduct established peace in the world, and who would be accounted worthy of a share in the resurrection from the dead. From a modern point of view such an attitude no doubt appears ethically more valuable than the least claim of kingship or of godhood. The personality which historical criticism is able to discover behind the gospel records is not only more real but more ideal than the portrait the evangelists produced. Nevertheless the bestowal upon Jesus of a title he did not claim and probably could not have understood marked a step forward. When he was lifted up from earth and named a god, he drew all men unto himself. For humanity abandoned the gods of their fathers, and out of its weakness they all received some measure of grace and truth. It may be questioned whether without this dedication they would have become historically possible for Jesus to dispense his spiritual gifts through the ages. It was easier for men outside of Jewry to look upon the bestowment to them of such treasures of life as a god than as a mere man; and even Hellenistic Jews must transfer his personality into the supernatural to derive from it any spiritual benefits as their education had prepared them to receive. There is an element of truth in Weyher's keen observation that 'christological dogma did not arise through a gradual increase but, on the contrary, through Jewish and anti-gnostic reduction of the popular faith' (*Intage*, 295). It was after all the true humanity of the Son of God that bore the victory at Nicœa. But it should not be denied that there had been a gradual growth into that well-defined conception which, it would seem, was best adapted to guard the spiritual interests involved. As the common creeds were the corollaries of that conception of 'the Son of God' who is himself 'God' which comes distinctly to view in the fourth gospel, so this itself is the product of a long development of thought in Israel as well as in Greece, and among the Aryans of India and Persia. The contribution of Jesus himself to this development was the indelible impression of his personality. His own thought was too grand in its simplicity for the world to appreciate. That it means more to be a child of God in the sense in which Jesus used the term than to be the Son defined by the Nicene creed, is a truth still hidden from many who are wise and prudent.

The title has been discussed with more or less fullness in numerous commentaries, OT and NT theologians, critiques of the gospels, and lives of Jesus. Am 32 the

26. Literature. Latter those of Strauss, Neander, Keim, Hase, Schenkel, Reyschlag, Weiss, and A. Réville should be mentioned. The following works deal with various aspects of the question. Hagen, 'De notione tituli filii dei in Paulus,' *Memorabilien*, 7, 1795, pp. 110-198; Bertholdi, *Antologia Indicarum*, 1811; Colani, *Jesus Christ et les croyances messianiques de son temps*, 1804; Wittich, *De Jesu, cœtus aliis des Patris*, 1806; Verney, *Histoire des idées messianiques*, 1824; Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah*, 1877; Schenkel, 'Die Sohn Gottes' in *Bibellexikon*, 1875; Stanton, *The Jew and the Christian Messiah*, 1876; Wendt, *Die Lehre Jesu*, 1881; Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, 1882; Büchsel, *The Messiah of the Gospels*, 1887; Paul, *Verständnisse des Messias*, 1895; Brandt, *Evangelische Geschichte*, 1901; Loma, *Genesis des Johannes-Evangeliums*, 1882; Pileiderer, *Christentum*, 1877; Jean Réville, *Le Quatrième Évangile*, 1877; Kreyenbühl, *Das Evangelium der Wahrheit*, 1877; Grill, *Untersuchungen über die Entstehung d. vierten Evangeliums*, 1902; Holtzmann, *Neutestamentliche Theologie*, 1877; Harnack, *Prot. Monatshefte*, 1905, p. 1 ff.; Dahman, *Die Welt*, 1904, 18, 87; Wrede, *Das Messiasgeheimnis*, 1901; Rose, 'L'homme et fils de dieu' in *Revue biblique*, 1905, pp. 124 ff.; Schmidt, *Son of Man and Son of God in Modern Theology* (G. Press); Stevens, *The Teaching of Jesus*, 1901.

SON OF MAN

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The expression 'Son of Man' (*ben adam*) is in Hebrew literature a synonym of 'man'. Apart from Ezekiel and Daniel it seems to be used exclusively in poetic style.

ben-adam (בן אדם) in Nu. 53:19 Is. 51:12 Jer. 49:33 50:40 51:43 Ps. 8:5 80:18 146:3 Job 16:21 26:8 35:8, probably also in the original of Eccles. 17:30 Judith 13:16. Test. 12 Patr.

1. Synonym Joseph 2; *ben-oni* (בן עוני) in Ps. 144:3. The 'of man' meaning is rendered perfectly clear by *ben adam* (בן אדם), or *adon* (אדון) occurring in the parallel stichon. Such poetic expressions may be either survivals of forms once in common use or later creations. When cognate languages offer no analogy, the latter is more probable. In this case, the strongly entrenched Aramaic usage (see § 4) is in favour of the former explanation. Collectives like *adamim*, *adamot*, *adame* (אדם, אדם, אדם) occurring in the species as *ben adam* or *adon adam*, a man, *ox*, *sheep*, *goat*, is likely to belong to the same early period.

A still simpler phrase for 'a man', *ahad ben-adam* (אחד בן אדם), occurs only in Judg. 16:7, where it seems to have been preserved from an earlier form of the story in which Samson was not 'one of mankind' but a solar divinity. While *ben adam* originally also a collective, ep *ben adam* and *bath-adam* (or *bath han-adam*, Dan. 11:17) and were supplemented by *adam* and *adamim* in the sense of 'man' 'the human being', *der Mensch* (frequently found in Eccles.), the plurals *ben adam* and *bath adam* maintained themselves more strongly against the collectives both in the sense of 'people' 'Leute' and in that of 'mankind'.

The plurals occur thus: אדם בן אדם in Gen. 11:5 Dt. 32:8 1 S. 29:10 2 S. 7:12 1 K. 8:49 Ezek. 31:14 Mic. 5:6 Joel 1:12 Ps. 114:12 117:21 118:27 133:3 134:3 135:33 76:5 78:2 62:6 66:5 82:4 89:3 107:4 115:21 31:115 116:14 142:2 Prov. 8:4 31:13 22:3 31:21 8:11 9:3 12:1 אדם בן אדם in Ps. 43:49 62:10 Lam. 3:33 Eccles. 10:13 34:21 38:40 1: אדם בן אדם, 'the women of the human race' in Gen. 6:2.

In Ezekiel the expression 'son of man' occurs some ninety times, always as the title by which the prophet is addressed by Yahweh.

2. Special use in Ezekiel. The question naturally arises, why Ezekiel represented Yahweh as constantly employing this term; or, if its use was not due to conscious reflection, but to inspiration in a certain pathological condition, why this particular form of speech suggested itself with such frequency.

Some regarded the term as expressive of the frailty of him who was honoured with divine visions and commissions, and used in later scholars have found in it an intimation of weakness and insignificance (Smend, Bertholet, Kraetzschmar, Toy).

Appel, however, deems this explanation inadequate, examines the title in the light of the various passages in which it occurs, and comes to the conclusion that it was given to the prophet by way of distinction to set him off from his fellowmen.

According to the theory of Maurice Vernes (*Etude des titres messianiques*, 187, 11874) 'son of man' is synonymous with 'prophet'. Fiebig thinks that it may have been more natural to use the longer form in the vocative. Already in the interpretation of the phrase in Ezekiel we meet with an

emphatically low and an emphatically high estimate, a synthetic and an analytic judgment, an assumption that it is a title of office and an appeal to philology and literary criticism; and there is an element of truth in each contention. There can be no question as to the general identity of 'son of man' and 'man'. It is also quite evident that 'son of man' cannot have been used by man as a title of a prophet. He might be referred to as *ha-hozeh* (הרואה) 'the seer', *han-nabi* (הנביא) 'the speaker', *ham-morah* (המורה) 'the oracle-giver', *ha-olaham* (האלהים) 'the man of God', but not simply as 'the man'. The ordinary designations, however, would not be so suitable in the mouth of God and angels. By them the prophet would be either called by name (Am. 8:2 Dan. 9:22 11:7), or addressed as a representative of the human race. In the latter case, the fact that celestial beings hold converse only with their chosen ones would naturally make the expression suggestive, not merely of inferiority of race, but also of special privilege. Its use would consequently express the prophet's self-consciousness as well as his humility. Dan. 8:17 shows that in some circles it was thought proper for the *angelus interactor* to address the prophets as 'human being' (אדם בן אדם), when the name was not used.

The employment of this phrase by Ezekiel seems, then, to have arisen from the double feeling of humility and elation expressed in Ps. 8. Much of the repetition may be due solely to literary habit, and some instances to later imitation (see SCHIMMANS, § 5).

The only apparent exception in Hebrew seems to be Talmud, Pal. *Ta'anith* 65 b.

The passage contains the following comment on Nu. 23:16 by Abūhū (about 230 A.D.): 'If a man says "I am a god," he lies; if he says "I am a son of man," he will in the end regret it; if he says "I ascend to heaven," he may say it, but he cannot accomplish it.' If the text is sound, the interpretation of Langle, Bacher, and Dalman is no doubt essentially correct.

3. Doubtful meaning in Ta'anith 65b. Abūhū, who was often in conflict with Christians, unquestionably refers to Jesus. He is not likely to have had in mind either Moses (Schwab) or the tower-builders (Rabbinic commentaries, followed by Cohen in Lietzmann). Christians like Sason, who in their disputations with him seem to have used to some extent the Hebrew language, probably translated *ben adam* by *ben ho-adam*, as, in modern times, Delitzsch. It is supposed that the indefinite *ben adam* was suggested by Nu. 23:16, and that the context was depended on to indicate the reference. The real difficulty, however, is to understand why Abūhū should have regarded it as an assumption on the part of Jesus to call himself 'son of man,' such as any man must in the end regret. It is not a question of Messianic titles and prerogatives. The Messiah is not a god, in Jewish theology, and does not ascend to heaven, nor is it improper for him, or any other man, to call himself a son of man, *ben adam*. The original may have read 'I am a man and I ascend to heaven,' אדם בן אדם ואני אעלה שמים, the words being a mis-placed gloss. Abūhū would, then, wittily allude to the self-designation of Jesus as a confession that he was not a god but a man, while emphasising thereby the enormity of his claim, inferred from In. 11:24 and Acts 1:9.

In Aramaic 'son of man' is used with great frequency as a synonym of 'man'.

1. Early inscriptions.—For the Assyrian and Persian periods we are wholly dependent upon inscriptions. These are often dated and represent a widespread territory;

4. Aramaic usage. but they are for the most part very brief, and the vocabulary is limited. It is of comparatively small significance that the term 'son of man' does not occur in them, since it is very seldom that any designation of man is found. But it is important that among the few instances *adam* occurs three times as a plural or collective—viz. *qam adam* (קדם אדם) 'before gods and man' (Zenzliri, Panamu

stele, 7. 23, eighth century), אֱלֹהִים וְאֲנָשִׁים 'gods and men' (Teima, sixth century (75 210, 1194, 1209), VII. אֲנָשִׁים 'seven men' (Knyunjik, Oct. 665, CTS 2 no. 17).

2. Syriac. Among the East Aramaic dialects (Syriac, Mandaic, Babylonian Talmudic) the expression is most common in Syriac. Even if the Pesh. of OI is essentially a Jewish work, it cannot, in view of text and canon, be earlier than the first century A.D., and probably does not antedate the oldest Christian productions by more than fifty years. The fact that 'man' is rendered *bar-nāšā* in the OT rather less frequently than the original Syriac literature would cause one to expect is therefore likely to be due to the translators clinging as closely as possible to the Hebrew text, and not to any change in the common speech of Edessa. That *nāšā* originally was a collective and virtually a plural is abundantly evident from the preponderating usage. The fact that in a translation from one dialect into another the Hbl. Aram. אֲנָשִׁים [אָנְשִׁים] of Dan. 7:13 was rendered

אֲנָשִׁים [אָנְשִׁים] in Syriac shows that even the indefinite אֲנָשִׁים gave the impression of being a collective. There are many instances, however, where the Syriac אֲנָשִׁים is used as a singular. That *bar-nāšā* originally denoted the individual of the species man is perfectly clear from the collective meaning of אֲנָשִׁים and the prevalent usage. It is the ordinary, though not the only, designation of man, the individual, and the emphatic ending *n* does not prevent it from meaning 'a man' as well as 'the men.' אֲנָשִׁים and אָנְשִׁים are both used for 'one,' 'some one,' 'any one,' 'jemand,' 'each.' In the version made by Paul of Tella in 618 *ben adām* is rendered by *ḥrēh dē-nāšā* in Nu. 23:10; Ezek. *passim*, Jer. 49:10-40 etc.; and by *ḥrēh dē-bar-nāšā* in Jer. 51:43, while *bar-nāšā* is reserved for *adām* or *enōš*. This does not show that *ḥrēh dē-nāšā*, which never occurs in Pesh., was a natural Syriac translation of *ben adām*, but only that Paul of Tella, when he had already used *bar-nāšā* for *adām*, availed himself of the form created as a *terminus technicus* of Christian theology (see § 13) for a synonym. That he should do so is neither more nor less strange than that he should employ the similar phrase *ḥrēh dē-bar-nāšā*. The same influence of the phrase construed as a rendering of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου is seen in the NT where Pesh. uses *ḥrēh dē-nāšā* even in Jn. 3:27 Heb. 2:6 Rev. 1:13 14:4, though the Greek has only υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου.

iii. Biblical use.—In Pesh. the Heb. *ben adām* is rendered *bar-nāšā* everywhere except in Job 35:8. *bar-nāšā* is the translation of *adām* in Ex. 13:1; 33:20 1 S. 15:20 1 S. 44:13 Jer. 26:10 14 Ezek. 1:3 10:22 10:14 28:20 Mal. 3:8 1 Ch. 29:1, of *enōš* in Ps. 55:14 61:11 103:3 104:15 Job 12:14 25:4 32:8. But more frequently another word is chosen, such as *nāšā* or *enōš* *nāšā* or *gabrā* for *nāšā*; *adām* or *enōš* *nāšā* or *nāšā* for *adām*. It is interesting to observe that in Eccles. the Heb. *ben* is rendered *gabrā*, 14:2 f. 31:10 30:20; *nāšā*, 27:5; *enōš* *nāšā*, 15:10. *nāšā* is rendered *bar-nāšā*, 11:2 13:15 41:14; *enōš* *nāšā*, 15:17; and *kol nāšā*, 10:17; *enōš* *adām* is rendered *enōš* *nāšā*, 10:15 40:1. Similarly in the Aramaic portions of OT, *nāšā* is rendered *bar-nāšā* in Dan. 7:8; elsewhere *nāšā* by *nāšā* (Dan. 2:16), אָנְשִׁים (constr. plur.; Ezra 4:11), *kol-nāšā* (Dan. 3:10), *nāšā* (Dan. 5:5 etc.); and *anāšā* with *enōš* *nāšā*, Dan. 2:38 5:21, or *nāšā*, Dan. 4:20 [25].

In the NT the *Evangelium Hier.* uses the indeterminate *bar-nāšā* exclusively as a rendering of ἀνθρώπος in Mt. 8:9 19:6 Mk. 8:26 1 k. 7:8 18:2 Jn. 3:37 5:34 7:22 23a 10:33 11:50 16:21 (Jn. 7:23a is not an exception as the construction demands the emphatic) *bar-nāšā* only for ὁ ἀνθρώπος in Mt. 4:4 12:35a, b 20:24a. Mk. 2:27a, b Jn. 18:17 20:19 5: gabrā in the sense of 'husband,' Mt. 19:5 10 (p. Mt. 1:16 1 k. 2:30 Jn. 4:16 f.), but also in Mt. 20:72 as a synonym of *bar-nāšā* in 26:74; and *nāšā* with the meaning 'any one' in Mt. 19:3 to end. The exact use of the emphatic is all the more remarkable as *gabrā* so rarely occurs, and this rare occurrence is itself peculiar in view of the fact that *ḥrēh dē-gabrā* is the ordinary rendering of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

In the Curetonian Fragments, *bar-nāšā* is used indiscriminately for ἀνθρώπος and ὁ ἀνθρώπος in Mt. 4:4 12:12 43 15:11a, b 15:20 19:6 1 k. 9:25 Jn. 3:27 5:34 7:22 23a, b; *gabrā* for ὁ ἀνθρώπος in Mt. 8:9 12:35a, b 19:35 10 1 k. 23:4 47; *nāšā* in Mt. 15:20 for 'one.' In the Sinaitic MS *bar-nāšā* is likewise used without discrimination for ἀνθρώπος and ὁ ἀνθρώπος in Mt. 4:4 12:12 (C) 43 15:11a, b 15:20 19:6 Mk. 8:26 f. 10:9 1 k. 18:2 Jn. 2:23 3:27 5:34 7:22 23b 10:33 12:35a, b for ὁ ἀνθρώπος, Mt. 8:9 12:35 19:10 35 Mk. 10:7 1 k. 4:4 9:45 7:8 Jn. 11:50 18:17; *bar-nāšā*, Jn. 7:23, and *nāšā*, Mt. 15:20, for 'one,' *jemand*. In the Pesh. substantially the same condition prevails, as *bar-nāšā* is used for ἀνθρώπος in Mt. 12:12 19:6 Mk. 8:26 f. 1 k. 9:25 Jn. 3:27 5:34 7:22 10:11 16:21, even more frequently than for ὁ ἀνθρώπος as in Mt. 4:4 12:12 15:11a, b 15:20, and *gabrā* for ἀνθρώπος in Mt. 8:9 1 k. 7:8 Jn. 11:50 as well as for ὁ ἀνθρώπος, Mt. 12:35 19:5 10 1 k. 4:4 9:45 Jn. 18:17 20:19, and *nāšā* has the sense of 'some one' in Mt. 19:3 Jn. 2:35a. In Mt. 19:13 of ἀνθρώπος is rendered *nāšā* by Pesh., Cur., and Sin., while the *Ev. Hier.* has *enōš* *nāšā*. To show that *nāšā* may be sing., and *ḥrēh dē-nāšā* a grammatical possibility, Driver quotes Job 7:20 11:10 33:16, Pesh., as 'precise formal parallels.' Such passages as Ex. 31:14 Dt. 8:3 1 S. 5:12 Job 25:6 Eccles. 7:28 f. are better examples of *nāšā* as

1 Here and occasionally elsewhere in this article the Syriac has been transliterated into Hebrew for the sake of simplicity.
2 Lietzmann's statement (p. 83) that ἀνθρώπος τις is rendered אָנְשִׁים אֶחָד in 1 k. 7:20 is not correct. The Greek is ἀνθρώπου, and the *Ev.* has אָנְשִׁים אֶחָד, as the vocative is regularly indicated by the emphatic. 'Ανθρώπου τις is rendered אָנְשִׁים אֶחָד, 1 k. 7:21.

sing., since in the three cases quoted it seems to be a singular (Job 7:20, Syr. 'maker of the human race,' Heb. אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֲנָשִׁים, 'watcher of mankind,' ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων; 11:9, 'hope of the human race,' Heb. אֲנָשִׁים אֶחָד; 33:1, 'ears of men,' Heb. אָנְשִׁים אֶחָד). The construction of collective nouns with sg. suffixes is very common. In appearance the forms *enōš* *nāšā* *d'adām* (maker of man), *gabrā* *d'adām* (hope of man), *enōš* *d'adām* (the ear of the man) look very much like *enōš* *d'adām* (son of man); in reality there is a marked difference between them. While the former are perfectly clear idiomatic expressions, the latter is artificial, vague, and ambiguous. It may be translated either 'son of the human race' or 'son of the human being.' But it is no more apparent that it means to be 'a son of the human race,' in distinction from being a mere member of the human family (*bar-nāšā*), than that a man's father should be euphemistically described as 'the human being.' The form can be explained by the exigencies of theological thought (p. 110), not by the laws of Aramaic speech.

iv. *Mandaic*.—In Mandaic אֲנָשִׁים בְּרֵחַ אֲנָשִׁים, *benāšā* 20:1 in the sense of 'man.' Two plurals are found, *benāšā* 20:1 and אֲנָשִׁים בְּרֵחַ אֲנָשִׁים (formed as אֲנָשִׁים אֲנָשִׁים). The latter is אֲנָשִׁים בְּרֵחַ אֲנָשִׁים, plur. *Ašfar Alawāke*, 20:8, shows how completely the first part of the word was lost to consciousness. אֲנָשִׁים אֲנָשִׁים, 'any one,' occurs only in *stata absoluta*. But the most common expression for 'man' is אָנְשִׁים. Cp. No. *Mand. Gram.*, p. 14.
v. *Babylonian and Talmudic*.—In Babylonian Talmudic אֲנָשִׁים was likewise used, though not so frequently as אֲנָשִׁים in

vi. *Judean dialect*.—Among the W. Aramaic dialects (In the Samaritan, Galilean, Nabatean) this idiomatic expression seems to have been less common in the S. than in the N. It does indeed occur as early as 175 B.C. in Dan. 7:13. But here *ben adām* (בְּנֵי אָדָם) means 'like a human being.' Dalman thinks that this chapter has been translated from a Hebrew original which had אָדָם בֶּן. Even if that were so, the translator would not have chosen *bar-nāšā* in preference to *bar-adām*, exclusively used by Onkelos, if, in the circles where he moved, *bar-nāšā* and *bar-adām* were not more commonly used. For the plural forms *ben adām*, Dan. 2:38 5:21, or *anāšā*, 2:43 4:16 f. 25:12 7:2 p. Ezra 4:11, *anāšā* occurs only in the sense of 'a man,' 2:38 12:7 14:14 2:10 3:10. The oldest Targum, ascribed to Onkelos, in Dan. 7:13 and Jonathan, are written in the same Judean dialect. As *ben adām* does not occur at all in Onkelos—*ben adām* has rendered *bar-adām*—and only in 1 S. 51:12 50:2 Jer. 49:10 20:2 51:43, Mic. 5:6 for *ben adām* in Jonathan, it is possible that the distinctive word for man, the individual, *bar-nāšā*, was a term vogue, *gabrā*, 'man, the male,' and *nāšā*, 'man,' the latter being employed also to denote the member of the human family. The fact that *ben adām* occurs with greater frequency than in Onkelos and Jonathan may then show that the plural survived longer than the singular for the same reasons, as in Hebrew. But the influence of a more extensive cultivation of the dialect in Hebrew tongue in Palestine, especially among those capable of acting as interpreters, should not be overlooked; and it is quite likely that the common speech of the people was less affected by Hebraisms than the paraphrases would suggest.

vii. *Samaritan*.—In the Samaritan version of the Pentateuch אֲנָשִׁים is found only in some manuscripts in Gen. 9: and Nu. 23:1. Since it occurs quite frequently in Markk (p. Fiebig, 17 p. 1) it is safe to infer that here also the influence of the original upon the learned translators renders the version less trustworthy in this respect as a witness.

viii. *Galilean dialect*.—In regard to the Galilean dialect we possess the simplest information. In the freedom of spontaneous utterance and repartee in the Palestinian Talmud the peculiarities of popular speech have a better chance of revealing themselves than in the translations, and the later Targumim show less closely the Hebrew than the earlier. But even when due weight is given to this fact, the extraordinary frequency of the monosyllable doubt indicates a more extensive use on the part of the people of Galilee. Dalman is inclined to regard it as a comparatively late development under the influence of the Syriac, and thinks that a person in the first century A.D. using so strange an expression as *bar-nāšā* then would not have been understood as speaking of 'man.' But Fiebig has shown that, not only did Hōšāya, about 200 A.D., use אָנְשִׁים אֶחָד for 'a great man' (*Shōkālān* 50), but Sime'on b. Yochai, about 130-100 A.D., used אָנְשִׁים for 'man,' *der Mensch* (*Berach*, 1:5), and possibly also Sime'on b. Gamaliel, his contemporary if a certain saying has been preserved more accurately in Talm. Bab., *Mekirim* 54b, *Mekil* 20b. The indifference to the emphatic state points to long usage even in the first part of the second century. It is extremely difficult to believe that only three generations earlier an expression that had taken such deep roots, and is found in the literary remains of all Aramaic dialects, should not have been widely used in Galilee as an equivalent of אָנְשִׁים or אֲנָשִׁים in the sing., and it is quite incredible that so natural and idiomatic a designation of the individual of the human race should not have been understood as 'man,' but taken to be an esoteric expression. Mesopotamia and N. Syria were old centres of Aramaic speech, and it is therefore natural that the old term *ben adām* in a number of the human family should have maintained itself most strongly there. Of אֲנָשִׁים בְּרֵחַ there is apparently no trace in the

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Gallman dialect. It does not even occur in Christian testimony which may represent this dialect.

15. *The Assumed Legend in Hebrew Rabba*.—It is quite unnecessary to resort to Babylonian mythology, as Feilag is inclined to do, for an explanation of מְשִׁיחַ בְּרַחֲמֵי אֱלֹהִים (Heb. *rabba* 38 p. 47); Abraham no doubt intended to lead Nimrod on from the worship of man to that of God, as he had from the worship of the elements to that of man; every man is a bearer of the breath of life, and no mysterious pregnant sense is demanded.

16. *Nabatæan*. Of the Nabatæan nothing is known except through inscriptions. In these only *ayyā* in the sense of 'one', 'some one', 'any one' occurs. No inference can be drawn concerning the existence of מְשִׁיחַ בְּרַחֲמֵי אֱלֹהִים. The use of this term in Aramaic has been treated with most comprehensiveness by Feilag, with most Talmudic learning by Dalman, and with most insight by Wellhausen. An essentially correct understanding of it lies at the basis of the theory developed by Ferdmann, Schmidt, Meyer, and Lietzmann (see § 10).

In the Babylonian myth concerning Adapa and the S. wind (*Recueil de trav.* 204) the hero is addressed as *Zir amiluti* (312). Hommel (*Exp. T.* May 1900, p. 341) translates this expression, 'spring of mankind,' explains it as 'he from whose seed the whole of mankind is sprung,' and compares it with *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*. If this translation were possible, the phrase would have nothing in common with the Greek term or its Aramaic original. But it clearly means 'seed of men'; and as *zeru* in 2 R. 36:3 is distinctly said to be a synonym of *maru*, 'son,' *zir amiluti* is an exact equivalent of מְשִׁיחַ בְּרַחֲמֵי אֱלֹהִים. Whatever his relation to Ea, Adapa is a mortal man, not a god, and is to be punished for his presumption. The idea that he is the first man is precluded by 16:11 12:16. [Cp PARADISE, § 12.]

5. Analogous forms in Assyrian, Ethiopic, and Arabic.

Adapa's designation as *mar (ridu)*—'son (i.e., citizen) of Iridu'—(cp *mar Babilu*, *mar Larsap*, *mar Nini*, *mar mal Ašur*) shows that, like בֶּן and בִּי, *maru* was used to designate the member of a larger body. Delitzsch aptly compares *mar ummāni* (pl.), 'an artist', *mar ikkari*, 'a peasant'; *mar ipari*, 'a weaver', with Heb. מְשִׁיבֵי מַיִם, *maru mat* also means simply 'fishes,' and *mar igaru*, 'a bird'. The Ethiopic Bible renders 'son of man' by *waldā sabbā*, *waldā bē'sā*, *qūwālā 'umhāyāw* and *waldā 'eqwālā 'umhāyāw*. Of these terms *waldā sabbā* is probably the most original. *Waldā* is a collective and virtual plural, *waldā sabbā* exactly corresponds to מְשִׁיחַ בְּרַחֲמֵי אֱלֹהִים. *Waldā bē'sā* = *filius viri* is the equivalent of בֶּן אִישׁ, but, like בְּרַחֲמֵי אֱלֹהִים, *bē'sā* is also used for 'man,' *der Mensch*. Our ignorance of the native mythology renders it impossible to decide whether in *qūwālā 'umhāyāw* = *proles maris viri*, the reference to Eve is original, and the expression consequently of Jewish or Christian origin, or some other mother, human or divine, is intended. It is often used collectively for מְשִׁיחַ בְּרַחֲמֵי אֱלֹהִים, or *ἄνθρωπος τῶν ἀνθρώπων*. *Waldā 'eqwālā 'umhāyāw*, 'son of the offspring of the mother of the living,' is apparently a Christian term made substantially on the same pattern and for the same reason as מְשִׁיחַ בְּרַחֲמֵי אֱלֹהִים. It was exclusively used for *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* in the NT, and by reminiscence or interpretation found its way into passages leaving only *ἄνθρωπος* such as Jn. 5:27 Heb. 2:6 Rev. 1:13 14:14 and also Ps. 80:18 Dan. 7:13 Ezek. 2:1 and throughout the book, and Enoch 37:71 *hu simin* (see § 7).

In the Arabic version 'son of man' is most frequently rendered *ibnū insāni* both in OT and NT. Sometimes *ibnū insāni* occurs, Is. 31:12, and in Ps. 140:3 אִישׁ בֶּן אָדָם is rendered *bani bā'sāwi*. In the NT *ibnū'l bā'sāri* occurs frequently (see § 11). *Bā'sāri* is a collective and plural, but used for 'man,' the individual, as well as for 'man,' the race.

Dan. 7:13 is the earliest passage in Aramaic literature where the term 'son of man' occurs. One 'like a humankind' (*ke'bar enāš*, מְשִׁיחַ בְּרַחֲמֵי אֱלֹהִים) appears before the Ancient of Days and receives the empire of the world. The Messianic interpretation of this passage meets us as early as in the first century A. D., in Enoch 37:71 (see § 7) and 4 Ezra (see § 8). The evangelists apparently understood it as referring to the Messiah (cp especially Mt. 26:64 Mk. 14:62), and the natural impression of the Greek gospels is that Jesus himself shared this view. It consequently prevailed in the church. Through the influence of 'Akiba, Joshua b. Levi, and Shenuel b. Nahman, it also gained the ascendancy in the synagogue. On critical grounds it has been accepted by a number of modern scholars.¹ Its strength

lies in the fact that it recognises the presence in this passage of a well-known concrete personality. But it utterly fails to explain how the Messiah, once introduced, can have dropped so completely out of the author's thought, not only in the explanation of the vision where he is unceremoniously ignored, but also in the future deliverance with which Michael has much to do but the Messiah nothing. A non-Messianic interpretation appears already in Enoch 71 (see § 8), where Enoch is evidently understood as being the 'son of man' of Daniel's vision. Ibn Ezra interpreted *bar-enāš* as referring to the people of Israel. In modern times this view has been maintained by many scholars.² Yet a symbolic representation of 'a more luminate regime,' *ein Menschheitsideal* savours more of modern humanitarian ideas than of the concrete conceptions of Semitic antiquity.

The present writer (*ARL* 19, 1900) was led by these difficulties to regard the manlike being as an angel, and more particularly Michael, the guardian-angel of Israel. He pointed out that angels are constantly introduced as having the appearance of men;³ that the only angelic representative of Israel is Michael ('your prince,' מְשִׁיחַ דָּן, Dan. 10:21 12:1); and that his coming with the clouds after the destruction of the beasts, in view of 4 Ezra 13:1 Apoc. Elijah 14:15, may show that the battle with chaos-monsters had already been transferred from Yahwe to Michael. This view has been accepted by Porter (Hastings, *DB* 4:260), who also suggests the demonic character of the beasts. The objection that one would expect the heathen nations to be likewise represented by their angel-princes is met partly by the traditional form of the appropriated Marduk myth, partly by a lingering respect for these angelic dignitaries who are the former gods of the nations. Chaos-monsters may be consumed by fire, but angels are not slain. That the one like a man is neither the Messiah nor a mere symbol of Israel has independently been argued by Grill (*Untersuch. über die Entst. des Vierten Evangel.* 50 ff. [1902]), who also thinks of Michael, but is inclined to look for a still higher being whose name is significantly withheld, like that of the numen of PARSIA (9:7), at the same time a 'most exalted personal intermediary between God and the world and a transcendent prototype of the God-pleasing humanity ultimately to be realised in the people of the Most High.' The first part of this definition suits Michael; whether he or any other angel was ever thought of as the ideal Israelite, is more doubtful.

Volter (*ZNTW*, 1902, p. 173 f.) has also abandoned the hitherto prevailing views and suggested that the celestial being is none else than the Mazdayasnian *Uthra vairiya*, one of the Amesha spentas who is a personification of the kingdom of heaven. But apart from the uncertainty as to the date of the Avestan documents, Daniel's man-like being is a representative not of the heavenly kingdom, but of Israel.

Another originally Aramaic book (so rightly Schürer, Lévi, We.) in which the term 'son of man' occurs 7. Enoch 37-71, is Enoch 37-71. It is known to us only through an Ethiopic translation. That a Greek version even of this part of the Enoch literature once existed may be inferred from Tertullian (*de cultu feminarum*, 13); but whether the Ethiopic translation was made from it, is uncertain. According to Bruce (in Laurence, *Libri Enoch Proph. Ver. Ethiop.* 11 [1838]) 'the Jews in Alysinnia admit it into their Canon; it is not, however, the Book of Enoch received amongst the Rabbins.' The first Ethiopic version may therefore have been made by a Jew from the Aramaic. This would account for a

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¹ Lengerke, Ewald, Knobel, Hilgenfeld, Bleek, S. Davidson, Riehm, Orelli, Dillmann, Behrmann, Jul. Boheimer.

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² מְשִׁיחַ בְּרַחֲמֵי אֱלֹהִים, Dan. 8:13; מְשִׁיחַ בְּרַחֲמֵי אֱלֹהִים, Dan. 10:16; מְשִׁיחַ בְּרַחֲמֵי אֱלֹהִים, Dan. 10:18; מְשִׁיחַ בְּרַחֲמֵי אֱלֹהִים, Dan. 3:25; מְשִׁיחַ בְּרַחֲמֵי אֱלֹהִים, Dan. 9:2, (cp 10:5 12:6 f.); *ἄνθρωπος υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου*, Rev. 14:14 (see § 9), 'like white men,' Enoch 87:2.

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number of Aramaisms not so likely to pass through the medium of a Greek translation. See *APOT. MYSTIC*, § 30.

That the text has suffered minor interpolations is universally admitted. A series of these were apparently taken from a lost Apocalypse of Noah. Already Laurence perceived some of them; Kistlin (*Th. Jahrb.* 1896, p. 240 ff.) recognised those that most certainly have this origin; 41-55, 60-63, 69-73, 77-80 were drawn from the same source, and Charles has adopted this view. Bruno Bauer (*Kritik d. Gesch.* 1, 402 [1841]) first called attention to the now generally recognised secondary character of 73-77, and suggested that the 'Son of Man' passages were interpolated. Hilgenfeld (*Jahrb. Apokalyptik*, 182 ff. 1859) presented the only natural interpretation of 64-71 by which the Noachic interpolations are found to be later than 79-80, and the most probable explanation of 56-63, which apparently makes the original work later than Nero. His view that the book was essentially the work of a Gnostic Christian was essentially the work of a Gnostic Christian. His view that the book was essentially the work of a Gnostic Christian was essentially the work of a Gnostic Christian. His view that the book was essentially the work of a Gnostic Christian was essentially the work of a Gnostic Christian.

It is difficult to think through chap. 40 in the Aramaic without obtaining the impression that the Lithopic is a direct translation of the original. 'I saw one like a man?' I asked in regard to that man? 'he answered: this is the man who has righteous ness'; 'this man whom thou hast seen will arise the kings.' The use of the demonstrative (88 227-228) is evidently in good order. On the theory of a translation from the Greek, the present writer and subsequently Charles pointed out the use of the demonstrative for the missing article in the Ethiopic, permitting the assumption that the Greek had everywhere simply δ $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ $\alpha\theta\eta\omega\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$. But Lemming (in Lietzmann, *FHM*) has rightly called attention to the fact that in the NT $\tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\delta\iota$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\delta\iota$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\delta\iota$ is never preceded by a demonstrative. *Waldenström* is an admirable reading of *bar-nasā* in 40:2 ff. as in 60:1. Even in 48:2, 'in that hour that man was named (*called*) before (Aramaic for 'by') the Lord of Spirits,' the use is natural. The scene in 49 is reminiscent of Dan. 7. As Daniel's manlike being was not mentioned by name, he might be an angel like Michael, a translated hero like Enoch, a true descendant of David snatched up to heaven and preserved for the day of his appearance, or a Christianised pre-existent Messiah. The present description no doubt suggests to us the Messiah; but it is quite possible that in an earlier form of it the man who walked with God, revealed hidden secrets and achieved victories, pointed as clearly to Enoch, the vision being (rightly or wrongly) ascribed, like others in the book, to Noah. That *τῷ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, if original, could be used in the same sense as *υἱὸς ἄνθρωπου* is evident from 71:14 which refers back to 40:2. In 62:5 all MSS except the oldest read $\tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ $\alpha\theta\eta\omega\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ 'son of woman'; in 69:29 the oldest manuscript has the same form. This shows that Christian mystics tampered with the text from the dogmatic motives, the dogmatic interest being here the same as that which crowded *bar-nasā* (87227-228) out of use. These MSS themselves are probably Christian interpolations, as is, undoubtedly, 71:7 (p. 8) which, art. 'Enoch' in *Jewish Encyc.*, *Son of Man*, ch. 7: 311 ff. 7).

In the original discourses the term consequently never seems to have occurred. It is found in one of the Noachic interpolations in the sense of 'man' as a rendering of *bar-nasā*. In 46:2 ff. and 182 which may have been added to the same early stratum of insertions, it has no other meaning. At these points Christian interpolations appear to have attached themselves. Where in the rest of the book these are most manifest, the distinctive NT title is employed.

In the Apocalypse of Ezra 13:3 ff. the seer beholds one like a man (*quasi similitudinem hominis*) coming

out of the sea (*de corde maris*) with the clouds of heaven, refers to him again as *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* (13:3 ff.), and receives the interpretation that this man through whom the Most High will redeem creation. We do not possess the original; but the extant version (Lat., Syr., Eth., Arm.) all seem to come from the lost Greek translation. As the author evidently in Dan. 7:13 in mind, the original probably had *ἄγγελος* and *βάρνακ* which may have been rendered *ἄνθρωπος* and *ὁ ἀνθρώπος* in the Greek. The connection shows that there can be no question of 'man' or 'the man' being a title. Though the title 'Messiah' is not mentioned, there can be little doubt that the Messiah is intended. Retouching by Christian hands may be observed in all the versions. But the book, written in the reign of Domitian, presents the most transcendental conception of the Messiah found in Jewish thought. All the more significant is it that the final judgment is not assigned his functions. In 64 the true text is preserved by the Arm., 'through a man' being a Christian addition. The Syr., Eth., Ar., as Hilgenfeld has shown (*Apokalyptik*, 54 ff.).

The Christian parts of the Apocalypse of John contain two passages, 1:13 and 1:14, where the phrase *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* occurs. It is the exact equivalent of *bar-nasā* and the author no doubt had in mind Dan. 7:13. In the first place it is unquestionably the celestial glory of Jesus that is described with colours so largely borrowed by Ezekiel. As 1:13 introduces another angel, the impression is that the manlike being of 1:14 is also an angel. That this angel has a crown upon his head does not show that he is the Messiah. The angel of Sabbath (3:11), the celestial presbyters (4:1), the angel represented as a white horse (6:2), and the horse-like locusts (9:7), also wear crowns, and the angel of the harvest is in Mt. 13:41. It is of the first importance that this work, written substantially at the close of the first century (*APOT. MYSTIC*, § 38, 60, 277), though with later additions, knows nothing about the title δ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ $\alpha\theta\eta\omega\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$.

The term δ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ $\alpha\theta\eta\omega\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ is not found in any of the fourteen epistles ascribed to Paul; in 1:10-12 (1:10) it is used in the sense of 'man'. Its absence in this entire literature presenting different kinds, periods, and tendencies of thought can scarcely be accidental. It may not prove that all the authors were unacquainted with the term. As it is used in the Fourth Gospel, the reason for its non-occurrence in 1, 2, 3 Jn. may be that there was no occasion for using it. On the other hand, it had been found it everywhere in his copy of Enoch as a Messianic title, and known of it as the self-designation of Jesus, it is quite likely to have referred to it. In Heb. 2:13:15 8:7 is quoted as referring to Jesus. The author sets forth the inferiority of a revelation indicated by high angels, and argues from the Psalm that the word 'son' came to be subject not to angels but to one who had been made for a little while lower than the angels (8).

The same reference of δ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ $\alpha\theta\eta\omega\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ to Jesus is seen in 1 Cor. 15:27; Heb. 2:14-16, which indicates the underlying question: Of whom is the prophet speak, of man in general, or of some part of a man? The answer was found in 1, 2, 3 Jn. The story of one who had been made for a little while lower than the angels to be afterwards made equal to all things. This could only apply to Jesus. The author of 1 Cor. 15:45 ff. designates the Christ as δ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ $\alpha\theta\eta\omega\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ 'ἄδαμ, ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος, ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἐκ ἁνθρώπων'. Thus he evidently strives to express the ideal spiritual humanity of Jesus. Yet it never seems to have occurred to him to use for this purpose the common synagogue title, nor the mere term δ $\alpha\theta\eta\omega\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, or an equivalent, without a modifying adjective or adverbial expression.

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The most natural explanation is certainly that it was not known to him.

As an alternative possibility was suggested in III 15, he may have regarded it as an inadequate characterization of that heavenly man who was no longer to be known according to the flesh; but such disregard was deemed incompatible with knowledge on his part of this as the one Messianic title used by Jesus.

Apert from the gospels, Acts 56 is the only passage in NT where h̄ vios tou anthrōpou occurs. Whether it comes from the Author to the Ephesians or represents a real utterance of Stephen [see STEPHENS, § 7], it shows that there were some Christians who did not reverently shrink from the use of what in the gospels is the exclusive self-designation of Jesus, nor hesitate to employ it lest it be misunderstood by Greek-speaking people.

The term h̄ vios tou anthrōpou occurs in the gospels eighty-one times—viz., thirty times in Mt., fourteen in Mk., twenty-five in Lk., and twelve in Jn.

The references are as follows:—Mt. 8:20, 9:6, 10:23, 11:19, 12:32, 40, 17:41, 19:13, 27:42, 17:22, 22:22, 20:18, 21:42, 24:47, 26:63, 27:11, 28:18, 29:12, 30:45, 33:29, 34:6, 35:12, 36:32, 37:32, 38:31, 39:12, 40:13, 41:30, 42:10, 43:17, 44:22, 45:22, 46:29, 47:13, 48:9, 49:12, 50:42, 51:11, 52:32, 53:12, 54:26, 55:20, 56:2, 57:29, 58:13, 59:12, 60:15, 61:1, 62:19, 63:11, 64:12, 65:15, 66:2, 67:1, 68:11, 69:12, 70:1, 71:19, 72:16, 73:27, 74:25, 75:22, 76:6, 77:1, 78:13, 79:13, 80:13, 81:1, 82:13, 83:13, 84:12, 85:12, 86:13, 87:13, 88:13, 89:13, 90:13, 91:13, 92:13, 93:13, 94:13, 95:13, 96:13, 97:13, 98:13, 99:13, 100:13.

Mt. 18:11 (= Lk. 19:10), 25:11 and Lk. 9:58 (= Lk. 19:11) FR are rightly obliterated by critical editors. The sixty-nine Synoptic passages clearly do not represent as many distinct utterances. By removing the most obvious parallels, Holsten and Oort leave forty-two, Mangold and Driver forty. In any such arrangement there is much exercise of subjective judgment, since passages in the different gospels that are not absolutely alike are regarded as identical, while exact parallels in the same gospel may or may not be considered as duplicates.

Table with 3 columns: Mt., Mk., Lk. showing occurrences of 'son of man' in various chapters.

Table with 4 columns: Mt., Mk., Lk., and a fourth column for specific references like Mt. 26:24, Mk. 14:21.

Table with 4 columns: Mt., Mk., Lk., and a fourth column for specific references like Mt. 24:27, Mk. 13:30.

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One in Mk. and Lk.:

Table with 2 columns: Mk., Lk. showing occurrences of 'son of man' in Mk. 8:31 and Lk. 9:22.

Six in Mt. alone:

Table with 2 columns: Mt. showing occurrences of 'son of man' in Mt. 10:23, 13:41, 13:42, 16:13, 16:14, 16:27.

Eight in Lk. alone:

Table with 2 columns: Lk. showing occurrences of 'son of man' in Lk. 9:22, 12:10, 12:31, 12:34, 12:40, 12:59, 13:30.

The earliest Aramaic translation of the Gospels, the Sinaitic Syriac, renders a vios tou anthrōpou by b̄ resh d̄ gabri.

13. Renderings in the Ancient Versions.

Only in the Pesh. is h̄ vios tou anthrōpou uniformly rendered b̄ resh d̄ gabri. Driver's statement (11) that in the Sin., Copt., and Pesh. the term is always represented by b̄ resh d̄ gabri is incorrect.

It is significant that b̄ resh d̄ gabri never occurs in the Palestinian beta-gamma, and that in Mt. and Lk. b̄ resh d̄ gabri maintained itself everywhere except in Mt. 24:26 and Lk. 21:22. So completely has the consciousness of the element 'son' in Son of Man disappeared that 'son of the son of man' meant only 'son of man'.

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Lk. 22:48 is either a scribal error or a later addition; Jn. 6:27, was no doubt preceded by...

The earliest Arabic version was probably made from some Aramaic translation. It is not likely, however, that this was the Peshita, as it would then undoubtedly render *hōmō* wherever it was used with the same phrase. But in Mt. 16 (Bib. Ek. 1934 B. 73-74) in 131 B. 1. 27 342282 it uses the term *hōmō* / *hōmō*, while elsewhere the rendering is *hōmō* / *hōmō*. *hōmō* is a collective, but is frequently used as a sing., and *hōmō* / *hōmō* is not improbably a rendering of *hōmō* / *hōmō*.

The Ethiopic everywhere translates the Greek term *hōmō* / *hōmō* 'equal earthly', never expressing the article by a demonstrative *abba* or *aha*. With the same uniformity the Latin versions render it *hōmō* / *hōmō*.

On the relation of Marcion and other Gnostics to the Synoptic title see § 43 f. It cannot safely be maintained that it was unknown to all of the apostolic fathers.

14. Patriotic and mediæval interpretation.

The most natural interpretation of *hōmō* / *hōmō*, 219 is that the author alludes to it when, having found in an interpolated text of Ev. 17 (4) a reference to the son of God, he declares that Jesus is figured in it 'not as son of God, but as son of God'. The inference may be drawn that about 130-150 the title was known in some circles and understood as designating the human nature assumed by the Son of God. In a later addition to the Ignatian epistle to the Ephesians (202) the title is found (*τοῦ υἱοῦ ἀνθρώπου*), apparently interpreted as referring to Jesus' descent from David. Justin (*Dial.* 65) explained the title as referring to Jesus' descent through Mary from David, Jacob, Isaac, and Abraham. Irenæus (*Adv.* 3.10) understood it to denote that Jesus was the son of Mary ('*quæ et ipsa erat homo*'), and Tertullian strongly argued the impossibility of any other interpretation (*Adv. Marc.* 410). Origen, on the contrary, regarded it as unnecessary to seek for a particular human being, since the expression simply meant 'man' and was chosen by Jesus from pedagogic motives, as when God is represented as a man (Migne, II 15-17).

Even in Greek the member of a body was sometimes indicated by *hōmō*, as in *ἡ ἀποστολή τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ*, *ἡ ἀποστολή τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ*, *ἡ ἀποστολή τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ* (p. Heissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 112), and *ἡ ἀποστολή τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ* was frequently found in parallelism with *ἡ ἀποστολή τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ* in the LXX. So profound a student of these versions as Origen may therefore have rightly understood the idiom.

Theodoret introduces the Hebrew and Aramaic usage to account for certain phrases compounded with *hōmō* / *hōmō* in C ; he may have applied the same principle to this case. Chrysostom certainly regards the term as simply designating 'man' in Jn. 5:27 (Migne, 59:223). That seems also substantially to have been the view of Augustine (*Contra Iulian*, 13). It is possible that Cyprian's comparison of Mt. 12:32 with 1 S. 2:35, and inference that the church cannot forgive sins against God, indicates that he understood *hōmō* / *hōmō* to designate 'man' in a generic sense in some passages, as Lietzmann has suggested (p. 401). Jerome was not prevented by his knowledge of Hebrew from identifying 'the human being' as the virgin Mary (*Com.* in Ps. 85); and this continued to be a common interpretation. Euthymius Zigabenus (about 1100 A.D.) explains that *ἡ ἀποστολή τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ* may mean *ἡ ἀποστολή τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ* (Migne, 129:293), and Alexander of Jamjege (d. 1209) only regrets the difficulty of rendering in French a title which is identical so far as the meaning is concerned, but not grammatically, with *filius virginis*. In the first German translation it was indeed translated *sūn der maid* (Codex Teplensis and three earliest editions), and the Romance version of the Waldenses had *filh de la vergene*. Nicolaus de Lyra understood Mt. 12:32 to affirm that blasphemy against Christ's humanity is not as unpardonable as that against his divinity, and Mt. 16:17 to be a confession on his part of the humble fact of his humanity while his disciples understand it of his divinity (*Biblia Sacra*, 1588, vol. II). A curious comment on 'men' in Mt. 16:17 is 'homines sunt qui de filio hominis loquuntur, De enim qui deitatem intelligunt.'

With the renaissance of learning, the first attempts at a philological explanation appeared. Gênerhard, a noted Hebraist, commenting on Mt. 12:32, declared that 'son of man' meant simply 'man' and, returning to Cyprian's suggestion, saw in Ev. 5 words (1 S. 2:25) an expression of the same sentiment. 'Sins against men may be pardoned, but not sins against God (*De S. Trinitate*, 1569). Flacius Illyricus defined *filius*

hōmō / *hōmō* as *uñus quisquam homo et liber, sublimis* ('nihil'). Beza regarded the expression as a Hebraic phrase for man, and suggested the Hebrews customarily speaking of themselves in the third person, but called attention to the fact that in the gospels themselves Jesus does so. It is the merit of Grotius to have recognised that in Mt. 12:32 the conclusion must therefore man is lord also of the sabbath.

Pointing to Mk. 2:27 as establishing the more original conclusion, he conclusively showed that the argument would be cogent if the Son of man were interpreted as the Messiah; could not have himself, since at the time Jesus neither declared himself to be the Messiah nor been worshipped by his disciples as such. In regard to Mt. 16:17 he came to the same conclusion as Grotius, but he refrained from attempting an explanation of any other passages on the same principle (*Adv. Soc.* 643 f.).

The discovery that upon two occasions Jesus spoke not of himself, but of man in general, when employing this phrase, naturally seemed less important than the conjecture that he constantly used the

16. Substitute for personal pronoun?

personal pronoun. This latter was maintained by Cocejus (*Schol.* in Mt. 8:20), and found its way into the first life of Jesus by Hess (1760:261-262). Bolten's criticism was important because through it a third passage (Mt. 16) was added to the two of Grotius, and the Aramaic term *hōmō* / *hōmō* was brought into the discussion (*Der Bericht*, 1772).

He called attention to the Syriac use of *hōmō* / *hōmō* with more force than that of an indefinite pronoun, found it in the Greek text of the Aramaic, and boldly maintained that in Mt. 21:27 Jesus said 'So will be the appearance of some one,' meaning by 'some one' himself.

In regard to all passages except Mt. 16:12-13, Cocejus returned to the opinion of Cocejus ('*hic homo pro quo*'), and on the importance of Jn. 1:4, and suggested a later comprehension under the influence of Dan. 7:11 (*Ueber*, 1795:5-22 f.). Kuntzel accepted the interpretation of Grotius of Mt. 12:32 and, in spite of the well-founded warning of E. Hilborn (*Ueber*, 1824:1794), followed Beza and B. 16:17 in Mt. 10:23 (*Com.* 295, 327 [1824]). The impossibility of the latter explanation led Fritzsche, who in general agreed with Beza, to the view that Mt. 10:23 and other passages were later additions to the text (*Com. in ev.*, *Math.* 320). The theory which assumed that Jesus habitually used an indefinite pronoun or a phrase like 'the man,' accompanied by a gesture indicating himself, was too artificial to command respect, and in the general reaction against the rationalistic school, the real achievements of these earlier scholars were completely forgotten.

When Herder (*Chr. Schriften*, II [1766] 54) explained the term as designating the ideal humanity of Jesus, he

intended to teach the human nature of the Christ. But in this modernisation the contrast with the divine nature of the Christ was lost, and an emphatically high conception was the result. Through Schleiermacher (*Lehrb.* 470 ff. 13) and Neander (*Leben Jesu*, 129 ff.) this view gained a wide recognition.

It was adopted among others by Bohme, Olshausen, Hess, Reuss, and Luthardt, has more recently been defended by W. C. Abbott and Stanton, and influenced Weiss, Holtzmann, Flacius Hase, Keim, Mangold, Usteri, and Brückner.

Hofmann (*Schriftbeweis*, II, 253) could find in the phrase no allusion to an ideal of humanity, but regarded

it as substantially synonymous with 'he that cometh, ὁ ἐρχόμενος,' containing no indication of character. Cremer (*Ueber*, 1836: 346 ff.) similarly saw in it a reference to the man promised in the protevangel. Gen. 3:15.

Already Schindler (*Specimen*, 1809) interpreted the term as a title of the Messiah, the heavenly king destined to reign as man over men.

Strass (*Leben Jesu*, 463 [1831]) expressed the opinion that the son of man was the title of the current Messianic titles.

Alfred Schindler (*Specimen*, 1809) interpreted the term as a title of the Messiah, the heavenly king destined to reign as man over men. Strass (*Leben Jesu*, 463 [1831]) expressed the opinion that the son of man was the title of the current Messianic titles. Von (Bibl. Th. 2:6 [1831]) agreed with him. Ewald (*Ueber*, 1831: 202 [1855]) pointed to Dan. and Ps. 37:7 which he regarded as the oldest part of the book, as evidence. Reim (*Vie de Jésus*, 130 ff. [1863]) maintained that in

1 Gênerhard, Flaccus, Beza, Grotius.

1 Cocejus, Hess, Bolten, Paulus, Fritzsche.

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certain schools it was a title of the Messiah as judge of the world and king of the age to come. Henssling (*Christl. Theol.* ff. [1899]) held that it was a Messianic title in Dan 7:13 [13:21] ff. and all passages in the gospels, and that Jesus chose this particular title both to express his consciousness of being a man and his knowledge of the fact that he was the ideal, absolute, and heavenly man. Baldensperger (*Neutheol. Zeitschr.* 1892, 1893 ff. [1892]) likewise affirmed that the phrase was used before the time of Jesus as a Messianic title and was adopted by him as such, not, however, before the episode at Caesarea Philippi, the earlier passages having been displaced.

That Jesus employed the term to express his own peculiar Messianic consciousness has been the conviction of many scholars. But there has been much difference of opinion as to his reason for selecting it, and in regard to its origin. While some investigators endeavoured to discover its meaning by an analysis of all passages, and by connecting the various predicates with the idea of man, others discerned in it only a designation of office without immediate connection with the root idea, and in the predicates saw synthetic judgments. The majority of critics found its origin in Dan 7:13. Others, however, thought of Ezek. 1:28 or Ezech. 10, while a few regarded it as an absolutely new creation of Jesus. One source was deemed sufficient by some students; by others the conception was looked upon as the result of various combinations. As to the motive for its employment, there were those who thought that it was chosen openly to proclaim a different Messianic title from that suggested by such titles as 'Son of David' and 'Son of God' (p. 71). But many scholars urged that such a public announcement was improbable at least in the earlier part of Jesus' ministry, and that he is more likely to have used it as a riddle to be guessed at, half revealing, half concealing his notion of the Messiah and his own claims. The various theories were largely dependent upon different interpretations of passages in OT and the Pseudepigrapha, the priority ascribed to Mt. or Mk., and the tone of Mt. 8:20 compared with Mk 2:10.

Commenting on Mt 8:20, De Wette observed that to those who did not think of Dan 7:13 the expression could only suggest 'this man,' whilst to those who had the Daniel passage in mind it would mean 'this insignificant man who, in spite of his humble condition, is destined to become that which the prophet has indicated.' In this pregnant utterance the thought of Paulus still shows its vitality; but it contains the germs of new theories.

Wilke (*Evangelist.* 633 [1838]) inferred from Mt. 16:13 that 'son of man' cannot be identical with the Messiah. Baur (*ZWTh.* 1869, pp. 277 ff.) made an important contribution by showing that the passage where the term occurs in the fourth gospel cannot throw any light on its original meaning. His examination of the synoptic evangelists led him to the conclusion that the idea of an ideal humanity and that there was no reference to Dan 7:13; and he therefore concluded that Jesus invented the term at the same time to claim for himself a Messianic title without such a claim, not attainable by a more universal recognition and a genuinely national work, and to keep aloof from the vulgar Messianic idea associated with the title 'son of God.' He would be, not a king coming in power and glory, but a man bearing nothing foreign to him that belongs to the lot of a human being, identifying himself with all human conditions, needs, and interests, in genuine human sympathy, and accepting all sufferings and sacrifices connected with his work in life. This has been called an 'emphatically low estimate in distinction from that of Herder.' It should be observed, however, that it comes much nearer to the old dogmatic position, and that the sharp contrast between the title of Christ's humiliation and that characteristic of his glory, as seen, e.g., in Meyer (*Comp.* 1832, to Mt. 8:1), and that it really sets forth the human worth of Jesus' personality more clearly than any mere abstraction like 'the ideal.' Colani (*Jesus Christ et les conceptions Messianiques*, p. 7) held that the expression was unknown before Jesus, because it was he who created it, that by it he designated himself as the poor child of Adam, and also as the object of a peculiar divine love, that no one called him by this name because it would

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have been little short of an insult, and that it occupied its place in the church the dignity being in comparison with the humanity of Jesus. Strauss was likewise of the opinion of Baur and Colani, and Schenkel (*Die Christenl. Theol.* 1851) presented a somewhat similar conception (p. 108).

Hilgenfeld, like Baur, regarded the term as indicating lowly external conditions and a humble disposition, but entered a protest against separating it from its source in Dan, and maintained its Messianic significance in all periods, though reflecting the peculiar conception of Jesus (*ZWTh.* 1864, p. 347 ff.). Baur was led by this presentation to assume a later, Danielic significance for the eschatological discourses (*ZWTh.* 1864, p. 82).

Bernhart Weiss (*Bibl. Theol.* 1861, p. 130) saw in the expression neither a certain Messianic title nor a designation of character, but a term having no intrinsic significance, chosen by Jesus to avoid misapprehension of his aims, and yet to announce himself as the Messiah promised in Dan. The statements made concerning the Son of Man were consequently regarded by him as synthetic judgments, in the Kantian philosophy introduced in this connection by Biedermann (*Theol. Jahrb.* 1867).

Mangold (*Th. Jahrb.* 1867, p. 1277, pp. 1278) regarded the term as a Messianic title chosen to emphasise the possibility of suffering and death as a man, and the coming exaltation as the true, ideal man. Usteri (*Th. Jahrb.* 1868, p. 16, pp. 17) strongly urged that the verbal meaning of the phrase was of no importance, as it was solely a title of office selected by Jesus in order to allude to the coming of the promised redemption to mankind. Essentially this view was held by Bruce (*Kingdom of God*, 172 [1893]), and Stevens (*Teaching of Jesus*, 91 ff. [1891]) emphasised the new content which Jesus is likely to have given to this Messianic designation.

Rejecting Ewald's theory as to Ezech 46 ff. Weiss looked upon the term as an original creation of Jesus to express his peculiar consciousness of being a human Son of God, and therefore having no familiar connotation to his hearers but presenting to them a riddle (*Th. Jahrb.* 1855 [1838]; *Ev. Fragm.* 22 ff. [1850]).

Weisse's philological explanation ('human son'), like 20 2727, supposed Hebrew origin (*ἀνθρώπου υἱός*, 'heavenly father') naturally met with no approval, and his confusion of the Synoptic with the 'human use was widely avoided by Kitzsch, Shering, Hase, and Weisse, the view that Mk. is earlier than Mt. and in a more trustworthy manner the course of Jesus' was led to the conclusion that Jesus used the term rather than to reveal his Messianic claims, as Mk. instances of its use before the important episode at Philippi (*Th. Jahrb.* 1861, p. 314).

Holtzmann (*ZWTh.* 1865, pp. 212 ff.) pointed out the determining influence of the first occurrence in Mt. (8:20) upon those who maintained the priority of this gospel, held that in reality the passage suggests Messianic dignity rather than humility, and inferred from Mk. 2:10 the Messianic significance of the term to the mind of Jesus, but considered this to have been a secret until the visit to Caesarea. Keim thought that Jesus gradually went beyond this mystifying title to such designations as 'the coming one,' 'the bridegroom,' in suggesting his Messianic claims (*Th. Jahrb.* 1861, p. 316). Hase was of the opinion that Jesus chose this term first to conceal, and then at the proper time to manifest his Messiahship as the perfection of human nature (*Th. Jahrb.* 1861, p. 312). According to Wendt (*Lehre Jesu*, 441 ff. [1860]), the use of this expression was not so much a riddle, as a problem provoking to thought and private judgment; for whilst the hearers by their transcendental conception of the Messiah were prevented from seeing in the Daniel phrase 'Son of man' a fit designation of so august a being, Jesus found it most suitable to express his conviction that in spite of human weakness and lowly conditions he was the Messiah. In Mt. 8:20 [16:12] and parallels, Holsten (*ZWTh.* 1861, pp. 175) saw the evidence that Jesus used this term concerning himself before the scene at Caesarea Philippi, and in Mt. 16:13 the proof that he employed it to designate himself as the Messiah.

1 Hilgenfeld, B. Weiss, Mangold, Usteri, Bruce, Stevens.
2 Weisse, Rüschi, Holtzmann, Keim, Hase, Holsten, Wendt, Paul, Dalman, Gunkel, Fiebig.

It seemed to Holsten probable that Jesus' Messianic consciousness grew out of his experience, suggesting to him that the chosen one of whom the union of spirit rested was to pass through two forms of existence, one of humiliation, another of glory, even as the 'Son of man' in Dan. was brought from earth to heaven to be clothed with power. So profound a view, however, must have been a mystery to the disciples until it was revealed to them.

According to Paul (*Vorstellungen um Messias*, 42 [1865]), the mystery existed for Jesus himself as well as for his hearers, inasmuch as there was a time in the Galilean period when he still doubtfully asked whether in reality he was the Son of man promised in Dan. Dalman (*Lehrte Jesu*, 191 ff. [1868]) clearly recognised that 'the Son of man' was not a Messianic title in the time of Jesus, and that *bar-naiā* was the phrase used by him that has been translated $\delta \nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \alpha\upsilon\theta\eta\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon$. This, however, he regarded as unknown in Galilean Aramaic at that period in the sense of 'man.'

It would therefore naturally point to Dan. 7:13, a passage especially attractive to Jesus, because it ascribed the establishment of the kingdom of heaven to God alone. Dalman considered it improbable that Jesus employed the phrase before the episode at Caesarea, some pericopes having been placed out of their chronological order. After that even his disciples regarded it as a declaration that he was the Son of man of Daniel's vision; to the people it was a riddle, the solution of which Jesus did not give until his appearance before the Sanhedrin, and then at the cost of his life; to himself it was a means of realising and teaching that the child of human parents, by nature weak, destined by God to be the ruler of the world, may before his investiture with Messianic power be obliged to suffer and die.

Accepting the view that *bar-naiā* was used and meant simply 'man,' 'the man,' Gunkel (*ZHTh*, 1899, pp. 581 ff., *Vierte Buch Ezra*, 347 [1900]) maintained that 'the man' was a secret title of the Messiah used in Apocalyptic circles, and originating in Babylonian mythology.

Like Gunkel, Fiebig (*Der Menschensohn*, 61 ff. [1901]) regarded 'the man' as a familiar designation of the Messiah; but as his philological examination had led to the conclusion that $\alpha\beta\delta\gamma\delta$ was understood in Galilee at the time of Jesus as meaning also 'man,' he ingeniously argued that the phrase was intentionally used in an ambiguous manner, so that the hearers might believe that he (Jesus) was speaking of man in general, or of 'the man'—i.e., the Messiah as a third person—whilst in reality he was speaking of himself.

The conception of the phrase as a mystifying title into which Jesus poured the contents of his peculiar Messianic consciousness was naturally favourable to the introduction of various combinations; while some scholars were contented with a single OT passage as the basis for further development, others thought of several different ideas blending into a new conception.

24. Composite idea? Like Weizsäcker conceived of a gradual revelation of Jesus' Messianic self-consciousness, first on the prophetic side suggested by Ezekiel, and then on the royal side intimated by Dan. (*PTH*, 1350, p. 736 ff., *Kr. Geuch*, 42 ff. [1864]), Hansrath found in the term a combination of the heavenly man in Dan, the man that is a little lower than the angels in Ps. 8, and the prophet in Ez. (*NT Zeitschrift*, 1879, 1480). Wittichen introduced, in addition, the Son of man in Enoch and the Servant of Yahwē in 2 Is. (*Die Idee des Menschen*, 137 ff. [1881]); Nösgen (*Geuch. Jesu*, 155 ff. [1861]) saw in the expression a combination of esoteric Messiahship suggested by Daniel, and a phase of existence through which the Messiah must pass with its predetermined humiliation and suffering. Bartlet (*PTH*, 1902, p. 427 ff.) also united the idea of the suffering servant with that of an ideal representative of humanity and the kingdom of God. Schiedermann (*Jesu Verkündigung*, 2, 1805, 22 ff.) combined Danielic Messiah, Ezekielic prophet, ideal man, and human suffering. Charles (*Book of Enoch*, 312 ff. [1928]) held that the true interpretation would be found if the conceptions in Enoch were taken for a starting-point, its enlargement and essential transformation in the usage of Jesus were noted, its subsequent reconciliation to the conception of the Servant of Yahwē were observed, and the occasional reminiscences of Dan. 7 were perceived. Stapfer (*Jesu Christ fiktional son messianique*, 95 ff. [1872]) combines in the expression Ezekielic prophet and Danielic Messiah. In the judgment of Sundry (Hastings, *IB* 2:227) the ideas of a representative of the human race, an ideal man, and a suffering servant of Yahwē are fused into the central idea of Messiahship. This position is also endorsed by Driver (*ib.* 482).

¹ Weizsäcker, Hansrath, Wittichen, Nösgen, Schiedermann, Bartlet, Charles, Stapfer, Saulay, Driver.

Whilst Weizsäcker found in the customary designation of Ezekiel a means employed by Jesus to suggest the prophetic character of his Messiahship, Vernes held that 'Son of man' actually was a current prophetic title assumed by Jesus to indicate that, like John the Baptist, he was a herald of the coming kingdom, and subsequently merged into the Danielic 'Son of man' by the Church (*Idées mess.*, 178). This view has been carried out most consistently by Cary (*The Synoptic Gospels*, 360 ff. [1900]) who maintains that by this term Jesus intended to announce himself as a prophet sent to warn his people of the danger which threatened them if they did not turn from their evil ways.

It was not unnatural that the thought should arise that the 'Son of man,' of whom Jesus is represented as having habitually spoken in the plural person, was an ideal or spirit not identified with, though closely related to, his own immediate self. Brückner (*PTH*, 1876, p. 272) suggested that Jesus who, in his judgment, never used the term before the episode at Caesarea, when predicting the resurrection of the Son of man, thought not of his own personality as the man Jesus, but rather of the ideals with which he had identified himself. A. Réville (*Jésus de Nazareth*, 212 ff. [1867]) concluded from Mk. 2:19-28 and Mt. 23 that in the thought of Jesus the phrase designated something more than an individual son, though this individual be Jesus himself; that it was a personification of a principle transcendent, absolute, and immanent in, all the persons making up the sum total of humanity, and only applied to Jesus in so far as he identified himself with this principle. According to Joly Weiss (*Preigt Jesu*, 52 ff. [1892]; *Nachfolge Christi*, 26 [1875]), Jesus used the term to indicate his future position. When he should return upon the clouds, he would be the Son of man referred to by Daniel. In the sayings concerning the death of the Son of man, he taught objectively that the coming Messiah must suffer and die; in Mt. 11:30 ($\beta\iota\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$) the title has been substituted for original 'I'; in Mk. 2:19 the philological explanation resumed by Lagarde, Kahf, and Wellhausen (see § 29) should be applied (cp also *Preigt Jesu*, 1900, pp. 160 ff., 201 ff., where the interpretation of some passages is slightly modified). In harmony with his exegesis of Dan. 7:13, Trill (*ib.*, 57 ff.) comes to the conclusion that Jesus more or less distinctly conceived of himself as being dynamically identified with the highest principle of revelation, the angelic hypostasis introduced by Daniel, and that the original text read $\epsilon\gamma\omega$ in Mk. 2:19 and $\delta \alpha\iota\tau\eta\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ in Mk. 2:20.

When the interpretation of Daniel's 'Son of man' as a symbol of a coming ideal society had won its way to wide recognition, the suggestion lay near at hand that Jesus may have used it himself in the same sense.

25. Prophetic title? Hoekstra maintained that Jesus indicated not himself by this term, but the new religious community to which the kingdom was to be given (*De benaming de zoon des Menschen*, 1901). Carpenter (*First Three Gospels*, 1897, p. 183 ff.) held that Jesus employed it as an emblem of the kingdom of righteousness, and that his followers, impressed with the conviction that he was the Messiah, understood it in a personal sense, and gave such a colouring to his reported utterances as accorded with this assumption. Drummond (*PTH*, 1901) thinks that Jesus may have regarded it as an expression for the ideal people of God, and for himself as head of this class, giving to it the same primarily collective, subsequently individual, sense that the Servant of Yahwē has.

Whilst many scholars failed to make any distinction between the words actually uttered by Jesus, and the sayings ascribed to him by the evangelists, and some were content with indicating passages of doubtful authenticity, others felt the necessity for a more searching criticism. As a more correct estimate of the Fourth Gospel spread, the tendency developed in many circles to lean all the more heavily on the synoptics. It is largely the merit of Bruno Bauer and Volkmar to have applied the same measure to all the gospels, explaining each as a dialectic work written for a definite purpose, and naturally reflecting the religious

26. Designation of Jesus' own ideal, future Messiahship, or indwelling genius? While many scholars failed to make any distinction between the words actually uttered by Jesus, and the sayings ascribed to him by the evangelists, and some were content with indicating passages of doubtful authenticity, others felt the necessity for a more searching criticism. As a more correct estimate of the Fourth Gospel spread, the tendency developed in many circles to lean all the more heavily on the synoptics. It is largely the merit of Bruno Bauer and Volkmar to have applied the same measure to all the gospels, explaining each as a dialectic work written for a definite purpose, and naturally reflecting the religious

27. Designation of 'kingdom of heaven'? While many scholars failed to make any distinction between the words actually uttered by Jesus, and the sayings ascribed to him by the evangelists, and some were content with indicating passages of doubtful authenticity, others felt the necessity for a more searching criticism. As a more correct estimate of the Fourth Gospel spread, the tendency developed in many circles to lean all the more heavily on the synoptics. It is largely the merit of Bruno Bauer and Volkmar to have applied the same measure to all the gospels, explaining each as a dialectic work written for a definite purpose, and naturally reflecting the religious

28. Creation by the evangelists? While many scholars failed to make any distinction between the words actually uttered by Jesus, and the sayings ascribed to him by the evangelists, and some were content with indicating passages of doubtful authenticity, others felt the necessity for a more searching criticism. As a more correct estimate of the Fourth Gospel spread, the tendency developed in many circles to lean all the more heavily on the synoptics. It is largely the merit of Bruno Bauer and Volkmar to have applied the same measure to all the gospels, explaining each as a dialectic work written for a definite purpose, and naturally reflecting the religious

¹ Bruno Bauer, Volkmar, Jacobsen, Pfeiderer, Martineau, Cone, Oort, Van Manen, Baljon, Brandt, Wrede.

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thought of the author and the men among whom he lived. From this point of view B. Bauer reached the conclusion that Jesus never called himself 'Son of man' (*Kritik d. ev. Gesch.* 3 [1842] p. 1), and Volkmar was led to the view that it was an original creation of Mk.

But was really Mk. the originator of it? Colani (*Leone Christ.* 142 [1844]) had seen that Mk. 13:42 (Mt. 24:43; Lk. 21:36) was 'a veritable Apocalypse lacking nothing essential to this species of composition.' According to Jacobsen this was the door through which the expression entered into the gospels, whilst it was still absent in the original form of Mk. (*Ueber die Ursprung über die syn. Evngl.* 14 [1843]; *Prot. Kirchenzeitung*, 1886, p. 503 ff.). Pfeiderer (*Urchrist.* 306, 327 [1875]) also inclined to look upon the word as of foreign Apocalyptic origin, not used by Jesus himself. Convinced that Jesus did not put forth any Messianic claims, Marheiney explained the occasional use of the term by Jesus as F. C. Bauer (82) had done, but ascribed to the Evangelists the conception of it as a Messianic title (*Seat of Authority*, 315 ff. [1890]). Orleto Cone (*New World*, 49 ff. [1841]) also looked upon the Apocalyptic passages as the channel through which 'Son of Man' as a Messianic title found its way into the gospel, though he still thought of Jesus as having used it to denote that he was 'the man who was pre-eminently endowed from on high.'

In H. L. Oort's dissertation (*De uitdrukking ó vi. r. á. in het N.T.* 1893) the Messianic significance of the term in the Greek N.T. was strongly maintained; its origin was sought in Dan. and the Later Apocalypses, whence it was taken by the evangelists, and no effort was made to trace any of the sayings back to Jesus. Van Manen (*Th. T.* 1893, p. 544; 1894, p. 177 ff.) discommenated in principle any attempt to go behind the written records, and ascribed to the influence of Dan. and Enoch the introduction of the term as a Messianic title in the gospels; a view also adopted by Baljon (*Grieksch-Theologisch Woordenboek*, 266). Brandt's position was fundamentally the same as Volkmar's; but he added the important suggestion that the identification of Jesus with Daniel's 'Son of man' would be most natural, if this Apocalyptic figure had been recently introduced (*Evangelische Geschichte*, 562 ff. [1893]). It was probably the Messianic interpretation, however, not Dan. 7 itself, as (following Lagarde) Brandt was inclined to think, that was of recent origin. Thus a deep chasm was found between the gospels and the actual words of Jesus, over which no man could pass with any degree of assurance. How completely this exclusive regard for the Greek gospels tended to crowd into the background the whole question concerning the Son of man, may be seen in the important discussion of the Messianic secret by Wriese (*Das Messiasgeheimnis* [1901]), in which it is scarcely touched upon, except that he expresses a doubt whether a play upon words can have been intended in Lk. 9:44, on the ground that the solemn title 'Son of Man' and not 'man' is contrasted with 'men.'

If this in itself perfectly legitimate literary criticism had the tendency of leading to a wholly negative result,

29. Fresh recourse to the Aramaic.

or at best a *non liquet*, as regards the use of the title by Jesus, there was at least a possibility that this result was due to a serious defect in the method pursued—viz., the failure to examine the reported sayings in what must have been approximately their form in the vernacular of Jesus, if spoken by him. With the multiplicity of new and complicated problems claiming the attention of students of early Christian literature and the apparent necessity for a division of labour, it is not strange that even eminent N.T. scholars should have devoted indefatigable labours to what at best could be only translations of the words of Jesus without ever inquiring what the Aramaic sentences were that he actually uttered, whilst O.T. scholars to whom such a question would naturally occur hesitated to enter a field no longer familiar to them. The chief significance of Lagarde's and Wellhausen's contributions to the problem lies in the fact that it was again approached from the standpoint of Semitic philology. Positively, the gain was not great at first.

Uloth had only renewed the old explanation of the Aramaic school (*Godgelerte bijdragen*, 1862, p. 467 ff.). Lagarde,

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like Uloth, saw that Jesus must have used *bar-nāši* and thought his purpose was to indicate that he was not a Jew, nor the member of any nation, but a man (*Deutsche Schriften*, vol. 1, 281, Ges. 106, 29). Wellhausen held that *bar-nāši* should have been translated *ánthropos*, but found it exceedingly strange that Jesus should have said 'the man' instead of 'I,' though he rightly felt that it was not more peculiar than the currently accepted view that he said 'the Messiah' instead of 'I' (*Christliche Urgeschichte*, 112 [1894]). J. Weiss, following Kahll's, wisely returned to Grotius's exegesis of Mk. 2:10; but the improbability of his eschatological explanation (see § 20) left the problem still unsolved.

What was needed was a search for the Aramaic original that should at the same time take account of

30. Basis in generic use and later transformation.

the results of literary criticism secured by such scholars as Bruno Bauer, Volkmar, and Van Manen, as well as by a Bauer, a Kitzsch, and a Holsten, a keener analysis of the apocalyptic sources, and a thorough investigation of the Gnostic attitude to this title. It is to be regretted that Bruns, who acutely criticised Oort's failure to consider the Aramaic usage (*Th. T.* 1894, p. 646 f.), did not follow up his own suggestions. The scope of *De Christus naar de Ev.* (1896) possibly prevented a discussion.

Ferdmans first combined the general position of Van Manen and Oort with the assertion that in Mt. 128:42 (16:13) Jesus used *bar-nāši* in the sense of 'man.' He could not find in *bar-nāši* a Messianic title, nor think that Jesus regarded himself as the Messiah. Yet he considered it probable that on some occasions Jesus used the term concerning himself in emphatically declaring to those who would see in him something more than a man, that he was only a man as well as they. As to the origin of the Greek phrase as a Messianic title, he thought it possible that it arose through the peculiar form of the Greek translation; and the absence of this title everywhere in early Christian literature except where there was evidence of acquaintance with the gospels, he accounted for by assuming that it was everywhere a translation of an Aramaic original (*Th. T.* 1894, p. 153 ff., 1895, p. 49 ff.).

The view that Jesus never called himself 'the Son of man,' indicates that he was either the Messiah, the ideal man, or a mere man; that, nevertheless, the development of this term into a Messianic title was in part due to his having spoken upon some occasions concerning the rights and privileges of 'man,' using the word *bar-nāši* in such a startling manner as to create, contrary to his intention, the impression among later interpreters that he had referred to himself, and that through the Greek translation of the Synoptic Apocalypse it found its way into the gospels, was first expressed by the present writer in a paper read before the Society for Biblical Literature and Exegesis in 1895, and published in *IBL* 15:3 ff. On independent grounds it was considered that only four sayings containing the phrase placed before the incident at Caesarea can be judged genuine—viz., Mt. 8:20, 9:6, 12:32, 28. A statement of universal validity to the effect that 'man must pass away, but he will rise again,' was supposed to have received later colouring in what were misunderstood as predictions of Jesus' death and resurrection after three days; and it was thought possible that in Mt. 26:64 Jesus spoke of the kingdom of heaven referring to Daniel's symbol.

Arnold Meyer (*Jesus Muttersprache*, 91 ff., 140 ff. [1866]) briefly indicated his belief that in Mk. 2:10 (Mt. 12:42) an original *bar-nāši* meaning 'man' was used, that in Mt. 8:20 it stood for 'I,' and that in Mt. 11:19 it should be translated 'some one.' He deferred the discussion of the eschatological passages to a second part of his work which has not yet appeared. But from later utterances (*Die moderne Fortbildung über die Gesch. des Christentums*, 75 [1866] and *Th. Lit.*, 1868, vol. 272) it may be inferred that in some places he thinks it possible that the 'coming of the Son of man' actually spoken of by Jesus was identical with the 'coming of the kingdom of heaven.' He also brought to light the forgotten labours of Geuebrard and Bolten, and called fresh attention to the exegesis of Grotius.

Lietmann (*Der Menschensohn* [1896]) first observed that there are no traces of the title outside of the

Gospels and Acts before Marcion, and surmised that it originated in Asia Minor between the death of Paul and the year 90 A. D. (On the latter point see § 43.) In regard to the use of *bar-nāšā* by Jesus, Lietzmann reached independent conclusions that approximated most closely to those of the present writer, from whom he differed chiefly in not being able to assume a basis in the language of Jesus for the subsequently modified sayings concerning his death and resurrection (see § 40), while he rejected Erdmann's view that Jesus occasionally used it to denote himself. He was also disinclined to accept Meyer's contention that the occurrence of the phrase in some of the eschatological passages should be traced back to Jesus, without desiring, however, to pass a judgment in this matter beyond the general conclusion that Jesus did not call himself 'the Son of Man' (*Th. Arbeiten aus d. Rhein. Pred. Ver.* [1899]).

The theory stated above was accepted and defended by Wellhausen (*Gesch.*¹) 381 [1897]; *Skizzen*, 6187 ff. [1899]). He thought it probable that

31. Defence of this theory. Jesus once (Mk. 10 32-34) expressed apprehensions as to the outcome of his visit to Jerusalem; but, as the exact wording cannot be ascertained, he deemed it impossible to determine whether the term *bar-nāšā* was used. As the source was Dan. 7 13, he regarded it as possible that already the Aramaic term *bar-nāšā* had come to be understood in some circles as a designation of the Messiah.

Pfleiderer (*New World*, 444 ff. [1899]) also adopted the view, which was not far from his own earlier position. (On his ingenious theory concerning Lk. 22 26-28 see § 40.) Marti (*Das Buch Daniel*, 53 [1901]) indicated his acceptance. On the linguistic side, Bevan came to the defence against Dalman (*Critical Rev.* 1890, pp. 148 ff.), and Nöldeke added the weight of his approval (in Drummond, *l.c.*).

Adopting Wrede's position, Staerk (*Prot. Monatsh.*, 1902, p. 297 ff.) sees in the mysterious name 'Son of Man' a creation of early Christian anti-Jewish polemics, having one root in some misunderstood *λόγια* such as Mk. 2 10 etc., and intended to veil the Messiahship of Jesus during his lifetime. Such a conscious intention he finds in the fact that men to whom *bar-nāšā* in the sense of 'man' must have been familiar slavishly translated it with *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*.

Holtzmann (*NT Th.*, 1897, pp. 246 ff.) finds it impossible, in view of the accumulating material and philological difficulties, to pronounce

32. Partial agreement. peremptorily against this theory, and is inclined to accept it so far as the Palestinian passages are concerned, while presenting as a still available alternative the view of Holsten. Fries (*Det fjärde evangeliet*, 87 ff. [1898]) reaches the conclusion that the term was used by Jesus only on rare occasions to avoid the personal pronoun, and not in a purely Messianic sense, while through En., where it only means 'man,' it was introduced as a Messianic title in the Synoptics (cp § 28).

It is scarcely probable that a new investigation of *pōmā* (ܡܫܝܚ) or *šōhō hā-nāš* (אֲדוֹנָי הָאָדָם) as a substitute for Jesus in certain Talmudic writings would throw any light on our question, as Fries thinks; Eliezer no doubt said *ישׁ* in *Yomā 66b*. The extensive reading of Fiebig (*Der Menschensohn*, 1901), including large parts of the Talmud not before examined in regard to this phrase, corroborated the opinions on which the theory rested. Fiebig recognised the essential accuracy of the observations made by the present writer (p. 59), and his criticism of Wellhausen was scarcely judicious. When the latter scholar affirmed that the Aramaeans had no other word for the individual of the human species than *bar-nāšā*, he evidently did not mean to deny that words originally having another meaning, such as *gabrā* and *nāšā*, in course of time came to be used also with that significance, as is clear from *Skizzen*, 6190 n. [1899]. The only word relevant to this discussion, however, is one that could have been translated *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, and the only such word in Aramaic is *bar-nāšā*, since expressions like *brēh dē-gabrā* (ܒܪܗܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ) or *brēh dē-nāšā* (ܒܪܗܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ) manifestly originated as Christian translations of the Greek term; but *bar-nāšā* is the only Aramaic word that denotes the individual of the genus man and nothing

else. As the material considered by Fiebig clearly indicates, and as this scholar himself unhesitatingly concludes, that Jesus employed the term *bar-nāšā* (ܒܪܗܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ) and that this was naturally understood by his hearers to mean 'man' in general, his further assumption that Jesus meant by it himself as the Messiah appears somewhat hazardous. If Jesus was willing to lay his claim on the sabbath and that any man, not merely a priest by virtue of his office, has a right to pardon sin, why ascribe to himself as an *arrivé* *personne* the narrower and less logical conception that he alone as the Messiah was lord of the sabbath and had the right to pardon sin? If he at all entertained such a thought, it cannot have appeared to him unimportant, and it is difficult to see how he could have been willing to spread what in that case would have been a dangerously false impression by an ambiguous use of language. Oscar Holtzmann (*Leben Jesu*, 1 28 ff. [1901]) accepts the proposed exegesis of Mt. 23 37, Mk. 2 10 28 and Lk. 9 58, but thinks it probable that Jesus used the expression on many occasions to indicate his acquiescence in man's general lot, and to teach objectively concerning the Messiah which he believes himself to be.

Because of its far-reaching implications (see § 40) it was natural that the explanation stated above should meet with much opposition. Van Manen (*l.c.*) rightly protested against the tendency to assume a genuine utterance behind every saying attributed to

33. Objections by different scholars. Jesus in the synoptics, and to forget the peculiar character and manifestly late origin of these writings. But since even within the synoptics it is often possible to trace a growth from a simpler form to one unquestionably coloured by later thought, the investigator certainly has the right to assume that this development did not begin in our present gospels. By testing a certain word in an approximation to the Aramaic form it must have had if uttered by Jesus, an entirely different sense is not seldom suggested that may readily have been obscured by a natural mistake in translation, or an equally natural doctrinal bias. As to Mt. 16 13 ff., van Manen is probably in the main right (see § 39), as well as in upholding the Messianic significance of the Greek term everywhere, and in rejecting the survival of Baur's position in Erdmann. On Hilgenfeld's argument based upon the Gospel according to the Hebrews, see § 42. The fact that Dalman (*l.c.*) could find no other Aramaic term likely to have been used by Jesus than *bar-nāšā*, and recognised the improbability of this having been a Messianic title, is more significant than his contention that *bar-nāšā* in the sense of 'man' was a Syriac innovation and not likely to have been thus understood in Galilee in the time of Jesus.

Dalman may, indeed, have indicated a real tendency of Aramaic speech in Syria; but the remains of its various dialects are too scanty and late to determine whether the development was from an earlier *bar-nāšā* to a less accurate use of *gabrā* or *nāšā* for 'man,' 'der Mensch,' a view favoured by the general spread of Aramaic from Mesopotamia and N. Syria southwards, or from an earlier *gabbar* or *nāš* to a later *bar-nāš*. But Bevan's point that the various uses of *nāš* and *bar-nāš* which appear concurrently in Syriac are all found in one or another of the Palestinian dialects and that no Palestinian dialect employs any of these forms in a sense unknown in Syriac, is certainly well taken; and Wellhausen rightly feels that Dan. 7 13 is itself decisive (cp also Fiebig, and usage in *Ev. Hier.*, above § 40).

The authority of so accomplished a student of Palestinian Aramaic as Dalman naturally influenced other scholars. Baldensperger (*Th. Rundschau*, 1900, p. 201 ff.) expressed his satisfaction with the final defeat of the philological explanation, and hinted at undue philosophical prepossessions. Rush Rhees (*IBL* 17 96) also thought that the present writer was hampered by the prejudice that Jesus cannot have made for himself at the outset any supernatural claims. This, however, was not the case, as the conviction that Jesus did not cherish a desire to become even a righteous king, a divinely appointed ruler of Israel and the nations, was not the starting-point but the rather unexpected result of a long series of investigations. Klopper (*ZH Th.* 1890, p. 161 ff.) accepts the validity of Schmiedel's arguments (see § 34), and thinks that

¹ Wellhausen, Pfeleiderer, Marti, Bevan, Nöldeke, Staerk.

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Jesus, already in the Galilean period, claimed for himself a peculiar kind of Messiahship by the Danielic title. He deems it probable that Jesus looked upon his victory over Satan in Mt. 4¹ as a realisation of the slaying of the beast in Dan. 7¹¹ 20. It is difficult to see what ethical content could have been given to a figure which everybody understood to mean the establishment of the empire of the Jews that could not also have been given to the current Messianic ideal.

Clemen (*TLZ*, 1899, col. 489) asks why *bar-nāši* cannot have been a Messianic title at the time of Jesus as well as later. The answer is that there is no evidence whatever that *bar-nāši* was ever used as a Messianic title. There is reason to believe that Jesus on some occasions used it in the sense it commonly and exclusively has in extant Aramaic literature. In these instances it has been wrongly translated in the Gk. Gospels by a title not yet drawn from Dan, when Rev. 4 Ezra, and the interpolations in Eut. 37-71 were written in the reign of Domitian.¹

The most serious objection of Krop (*La pensée de Jésus*, 1897) is derived from the presence of the title in predictions of Jesus' death and resurrection. How was the title brought 'out the eschatological series into so different a set?' It may be answered that when once utterances concerning the Son of man had been placed upon the lips of Jesus, and the expression consequently understood as a self-designation, it may readily have been substituted for 'I,' as the vacillating tradition in many places indicates, and adopted in the creation of new oracles. It is probable, however, that a genuine utterance of Jesus was misunderstood and made the foundation of these logia (see § 40).

Gunkel's opposition (*l.c.*) comes from his strong conviction that 'the man' is a mythological figure.

As to the personality to whom Dan. 7, Enoch, and 4 Ezra refer, he is no doubt right in assuming an ultimate Babylonian origin. The conflict between Marduk and Tiamat became in Judaism one between Yahweh and the great chaos-monster. What was first ascribed to Yahweh himself was subsequently assigned to an angel. After the destruction of the beast, this celestial representative of Israel comes in Dan. 7 with the clouds to receive the world-empire. The development of the Messianic idea (cp Schmiedel, *Son of Man*, chap. 6) led to a transfer of these functions to the Messiah. But that the heavenly king, described like other angels as having the appearance of a man, was known as 'the man,' lacks all plausibility. Designations suggesting character or function—such as 'the chosen one,' 'the just one,' 'the restorer,' 'the bridegroom,' 'the lamb'—are intelligible; 'the man on the clouds' would point to Dan. 7 13, and titles signifying this, like *ben-ādām* (Fig. to 1 Ch. 3 24) and *ben-ādām* (*Sanh.* 95b), were indeed named, as Eerdmans has shown; but, neither in Babylonian mythology, nor in Jewish speculation, is it likely that an important personage was referred to merely as 'the man,' 'the human being.'

An objection is raised by Rose (*Rev. Bibl.*, 1900, pp. 169 ff.): the close connection between the kingdom and the Son of man render it probable that Jesus, to whom the former idea was of such importance, also occupied himself with the latter. Two facts, however, are not sufficiently considered in this view. Intense speculations concerning the kingdom and the world to come are frequently found without any allusion to a Messiah, and this is readily accounted for by the hope centring on God himself as the sole deliverer of his people and judge of the world. When Drummond (*l.c.*) appeals to the independent tradition of Jn. and to the fact that 'the apostles must have known whether their Master spoke of himself in the way recorded in the gospels or not,' it is to be said that acquaintance with the synoptics on the part of the Fourth Evangelist can scarcely be doubted, that the peculiar use of the term in his gospel (see § 45) does not point to an independent tradition, and that the synoptic gospels were written too late to reflect, even on points more important than

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this, what the apostles must have known, as Drummond himself would no doubt admit. His weightiest objection is that the Church would have preferred to invent some higher title. But the impression left upon an ancient reader of Dan. 7 13 was not that of a frail mortal, but rather that of a resplendent celestial being; and the title was not invented, it grew. Driver (*l.c.*) recognises that all such considerations would have to yield, 'if it were philologically certain that "the son of man" could not have been an expression used by our Lord.' That *bar-nāši* should not have been understood as 'man' in Galilee in the first century, although it was so used in the second, does not seem to him quite probable. He therefore goes to the opposite conclusion that *bar-nāši* = 'man' may have been so exceedingly common that for emphasis Jesus was obliged to use the term *brōh de-nāši*, meaning 'the Son of man.' But this Christian translation of *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, intelligible only as a product of dogmatic necessity, would not have been understood as 'the Son of man' but as 'the son of the Man.' Realising the pre-eminence even of this assumption, he finally quotes with approval Sanday's opinion that Jesus may have introduced the term upon some occasion when he was addressing his Aramaic-speaking fellow-men in—Greek! It is not easy to believe that this Son of man who went forth to seek and to save that which was lost presented to his Galilean fishermen riddles concerning himself in a foreign tongue.

Even the suggestion of Jansen quoted by Weiss (*Predigt Jesu*, 2^e 153) that Jesus used the Hebrew term *ben-ādām*, though less violent, lacks all probability. It is not apparent why he should have translated *bar-nāši* into *ben-ādām*, which was not a Messianic title and could not possibly suggest Dan. 7 13.

The keenest criticism of the new interpretation has been made by Schmiedel (*Prot. Monatsh.*, 1893, pp.

34. Schmiedel's criticism.

252 ff., 291 ff., 1901, pp. 333 ff.). He is unquestionably right in laying down the principle that 'absolute credibility should be accorded to that which cannot have been invented by a tradition replete with veneration for Jesus because contradicting it, and most clearly in instances where, among the evangelists themselves, one or another has actually effected a transformation out of reverence for Jesus.' Strangely enough, this acute critic has failed to perceive that, if the interpretation based on the Aramaic is admitted, the passages in question furnish most valuable illustrations of his principle. Has a man the right to assure his fellow-man that his sins are pardoned? The Pharisees assert that God alone can pardon sin. Jesus affirms: 'it man has the right to do so. This thought was too bold for the Church to grasp. She asked, 'Who is the man that can pardon sins?' and her answer was, 'the Christ.' It was no doubt because the translator, following the custom of the Alexandrian version, rendered the phrase literally *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* rather than in good idiomatic Greek *ὁ ἀνθρώπος* that the saying was preserved at all.

It is not necessary to assume that the question debated was originally connected with a case of healing, and quite irrelevant to ask whether Jesus thought that all men could exercise healing power, nor is it at all certain that Jesus would have answered such a question in the negative. Jesus declares that the sabbath was made for man's sake, therefore man is also lord of the sabbath, and the added remarks show that he regarded the whole cult as of less importance than the principle of love violated in the charge made against his disciples. But a view radical for the Church. By the misleading, though probably unintentional, turn given to the expression in Greek, she gained the comforting assurance that the Christ was lord of the sabbath, and would, no doubt, lend his authority to any change made in his honour. The more in harmony with the growing veneration for Jesus this thought is, the more value must be attached to the earlier and so markedly different form revealed by a translation of the saying back into the original Aramaic.

In Mt. 8 20 Jesus used what sounds like a current epigram to indicate the vicissitudes of human life. He thought of man's lot, the Church instantly thought of his, and the greater the distance between her meditation upon the humiliation of her heavenly lord from the general outlook upon human life sug-

¹ On the argument for an earlier existence of the title drawn by Charles from Enoch 37-71 (*Hist. of Facts of Future Life*, 214, 6, 17-23), see § 7.

gested by the Aramaic saying, the stronger is the presumption in favour of the latter. There is pardon, Jesus declares, for anything that is said against a man, but when the Holy Spirit that works his mighty deeds through a man is declared to be an evil spirit, how can there be forgiveness? While the Aramaic saying suggests as the thought of Jesus, that men should be willing to forgive whatever may be said against them, but that it is an infinitely more serious matter to call a manifestly good spirit possessing a man, Beelzebub; the Church found it far easier to think that Jesus has given the gracious assurance that he would pardon even blasphemy against himself, though he was the Messiah, possibly because his Messianic glory was veiled, but that blasphemy against the Holy Spirit could not be forgiven. When the prophet's death began to appear to him as the inevitable result of his career, he may have comforted his disciples with another word of universal application: 'man must pass away, but he will rise again.' Convinced by the testimony of those who had seen him in heavenly visions that he had risen from the dead, the Church was better prepared for the thought that he had predicted his own death and resurrection than that he had in simple confidence bound up his own destiny with that of humanity. In proportion as the Aramaic sayings thus disclosed differ from the Greek *logia*, presenting conceptions that do not, like the latter, ally themselves naturally with the developing ecclesiastical appreciation of Jesus, they become precious evidences, both of the historical character of Jesus and of the peculiar type of his teaching.

Schmiedel also argues the probability of an original Messianic reference in Mk. 2:28 from Jesus' attitude to the law. He thinks that Jesus may have been led to regard himself as the Messiah by the practical question that he as a reformer was forced to meet, whether the validity of the law might be set aside. 'The law was intended to remain forever. If it must be changed, an explicit authorisation by God was of course necessary. No prophet had possessed this. It was on the whole conceivable only in connection with the new order of the world, the coming of the Messianic age. Consequently, only one could be the divine messenger who would dare to announce it, the Messiah.' This ingenious line of reasoning rests on presuppositions that are scarcely tenable.

Jesus probably believed that Moses wrote the Pentateuch. Yet he found in the prophetic rolls the most pointed criticism of the cult. Prophets had in the name of God spoken against sacrifices, temples, sabbaths, and other ordinances of the law. He was manifestly much more influenced by the prophets than by the law. Whilst the question of the validity of the codes might seem one of life and death to a lawyer, it is altogether probable that other things seemed far more important to the carpenter of Nazareth. The Essenes did not regard it as necessary to wait for the Messiah to authorise a remarkably free attitude toward the temple service. Galilee was notorious for what were regarded in Jerusalem as laxer conceptions. The man of Nazareth who went forth from his carpenter's bench, as Amos of old from his sycamore trees, is not likely to have scrupled to follow the example of the prophets until he could persuade himself that he was, or was destined to become, the Messiah for whom some of his countrymen longed.

In distinction from Erdmann, Schmidt, and Lietzmann, who had looked upon the Greek translators as the agents through whom the designation of 'man' became a Messianic title, Wellhausen thought it possible that already the Aramaic *bar-nāšā* was at one time used with this significance. It would indeed be interesting to know whether 'Son of man' was employed by the Aramaic-speaking Christians in the first century, and if so, what the form was. Unfortunately, there is no evidence on this point.

We do not know what term in the Hebrew gospel Jerome rendered *filii hominis*, nor the age of the pericope in which he found it. The *Ev. Hier.* may well be somewhat earlier. But its two terms *br̄h d̄-gabrā* and *br̄h d̄-bar-nāšā* are manifestly translations of *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, and only the absence of *br̄h d̄-nāšā* is of importance, as it may show that this Edessene theological term was not used by the Palestinian Christians. The latest interpolations in Enoch 37:71 are of doubtful age and provenience (see § 7). As to the fragments of a lost apocalypse preserved in the Synoptic gospels, there are too many signs of editorial activity in the first of the evangelists, or variants in different copies of the Greek text used, to permit a safe judgment particularly on the important point whether in the Aramaic original Mt. 24:30 and parallels contained the first mention of the coming Son of man. It is altogether possible that the usage in this Apocalypse was analogous to that in Enoch 46 and 4 Ezra 13, the man being first introduced and then referred to with a demonstrative pronoun that would naturally fall away in the Greek when the phrase was understood as a title.

If *bar-nāšā* had ever developed into a Messianic title among the Christians of Palestine, there *and* not *only* to be any reason why they should have substituted for this term which they must then have supposed Jesus to use such a phrase as *br̄h d̄-gabrā*. Schmiedel's point that if *bar-nāšā* could convey to some minds the idea that the Messiah was meant, there are no grounds, at least so far as the language is concerned, for disputing that it may have been so intended by Jesus and understood by his immediate disciples, appears to the present writer to be well taken. But it touches only an admission by Wellhausen, not necessitated by any unmistakable fact. If such a transformation had been effected in Jewish-Christian circles before the end of the first century, we should expect to find it in Rev. The absence of the title in this Christian apocalypse, where there were many natural occasions for using it, is more significant than its non-occurrence in the epistolary literature where some such motive as Schmiedel has imagined may have been operative.

Until new evidence, or arguments not long ago refuted, shall be adduced in favour of the assumption that Jesus spoke Greek, it must be taken for granted that he addressed his hearers in the Galilean dialect of the Aramaic. When this is acknowledged, it follows of necessity that it is the duty of every scholar before pronouncing upon the authenticity of any saying attributed to Jesus to consider whether it may have been wrongly translated. In the performance of this duty two difficulties are met with: it is possible only to approximate to the original, and the literary material by which the Galilean dialect is known apparently does not go back farther than to the second century A. D. On the other hand, the translation in this case is simplified by the fact that *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* can only be the rendering of a form compounded with *br̄h*, and further facilitated by the circumstance that of terms that may be considered, *br̄h d̄-nāšā*, *br̄h d̄-gabrā* and *br̄h d̄-bar-nāšā* must be eliminated. While all these are manifestly Christian renderings of the Greek term, *br̄h d̄-nāšā* was apparently not used in Palestine, *br̄h d̄-gabrā* cannot have been formed as an allusion to Dan. 7:13 and as an original Aramaic expression would put the emphasis on Joseph, and *br̄h d̄-bar-nāšā* is ruled out by the same considerations. The only available term, then, is *bar-nāšā*.

The examination in detail of Aramaic usage undertaken during the last few years, valuable as it has been, was not necessary to reach this conclusion. But *bar-nāšā* means simply 'man,' the individual of the human species, and is the only Aramaic form that by its origin and usage has solely this connotation. Whilst the term occurs with greater frequency in the literary remains of some dialects, there is no reason to believe that it was lacking in any (though even this would not be strange), and it has the same sense wherever it is found. In Galilee it appears to have been used more commonly than in Samaria and Judaea. Although, in the absence of older literature, no actual occurrence of the term before the second century A. D. can be quoted, there is no known fact that even remotely indicates that it was not employed and understood to have the same meaning a few generations earlier.

The phrase translated *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, therefore, naturally conveyed the sense of 'man.' This is precisely the most appropriate meaning in the passages whose authenticity on other grounds is least subject to doubt. It is quite possible that in one or another of these sayings the indeterminate *bar-nāšā*, 'a man,' was originally used, or that the emphatic ending had already lost its force. It would then imply only a natural misapprehension, and no violence, if such an utterance as 'A man may pardon sins' should have been interpreted, 'Even a man—viz., this man,' or 'Though I am a man, I have no right to pardon sins'; and the question as to authority involved may (so Wellhausen) have arisen in giving the impression that Jesus referred to himself. But from this understanding of the phrase to the conception that Jesus designated by it his Messiah-

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ship the distance is very great. A person speaking Aramaic might of course refer to a third person as 'The man,' if he had already introduced him. There seems to be no instance of this among the recorded sayings of Jesus. There is not the slightest evidence that 'the man' was a current Messianic title, and the natural impression upon a person to whom Aramaic was the vernacular, that a speaker employing the term bar-naii referred to man in general, any man, renders it exceedingly improbable that this phrase, without further qualification, can ever have been used as a designation of the Messiah. Since, in spite of this fact, o vios t. d. is sometimes put upon the lips of Jesus where the generic use is out of the question, the recourse to the Aramaic furnishes a most valuable criterion of genuineness.

But if bar-naii meant simply 'man,' why was it translated o vios t. d. rather than o anthropos, and not 38. Force of the Greek translation. partly in the Greek version of the OT, and partly in the development of thought in Greek-speaking Christian circles.

The Hebrew ben-adam was by G as a rule rendered o anthropos (o vios anthropos Job 16:21, o vios yperois many MSS Jer. 49:33), and so also bar-naii in Gen. 7:13 (6) and 8:1. The plural bar-naiim is translated by o anthropoi, 1 S. 18:12, 2 S. 7:14, 18:21, Mic. 5:1, Prov. 8:13, 1 S. 37:5, 146:2, and o vios t. d. anthropoi, Joel 1:2 and frequently in Prov.; bar-naiim is translated by o vios anthropos in 1 K. 8:39, and o vios t. d. anthropoi in Gen. 11:5, 2 Ch. 6:30, Ps. 33:13, 145:12. Of most importance is the usage in Ecclesi. where the Hebrew has uniformly ben-adam and this seems originally to have been rendered everywhere by o vios t. d. anthropos (1:3, 2:3, 3:18, 7:21, 8:11, 9:3), o vios t. d. anthropoi occurring only sporadically in MSS as a correction and o anthropoi as an alternative reading in 3:2 (III) 147, 149, Ald.).

It is significant that Aquila also has o vios t. d. anthropos in 8:11 where his text has been preserved. To a Greek this could scarcely have conveyed any other idea than 'the sons of the man,' the man being some particular person previously mentioned. Aquila, as well as the translator of Ecclesi., thought in Aramaic, had bar-naii in mind, and used anthropos as a collective after the fashion of ben-adam. In Dan. 5:21 mikhaiel eni dnu is simply rendered o vios anthropos (6). Instead of following this example and rendering bar-naii by o anthropos, the Christian translator adopted the more common custom observed in the Greek version and particularly what seems to have been its most recent form seen in Ecclesi.

A Hellenistic Jew familiar with Aramaic would, therefore, be quite likely to divine behind o vios t. d. anthropoi an original bar-naii, whilst a Greek, naturally inquiring who the anthropos was, would be puzzled by the expression. If this conceivably caused a hesitancy in some minds to employ it, it certainly was to many an additional reason for its use. The air of mystery surrounding it made it peculiarly fitting as a secret intimation of Messiahship. It is manifest that the phrase is not a fresh translation of a Semitic original in every place where it occurs. Possibly this is not the case anywhere. It may have been employed in oral teaching and in earlier writings before any of our gospels were written, and adopted by the evangelists as an already current designation. The use of o vios t. d. anthropoi, not only in passages where the employment in the Greek Bible of anthropos as if it were a collective like naii rendered it possible to see through it a bar-naii in the ordinary sense of 'man,' but also where this would have been impossible, inevitably leads to the conclusion that it may be necessary to distinguish between passages having different claims to authenticity.

The idea that we possess in the Synoptic gospels accurate transcripts of the words of Jesus is already abandoned when the 69 occurrences are reduced to 39, 40, or 42 by eliminating what are deemed unmistakable duplicates. For if the 22 passages (see § 12) thus duplicated are examined, a substantial agreement is indeed found, but not absolute identity, and the differences are sometimes such as cannot be accounted for by a more or less accurate rendering of an assumed Aramaic original.

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In the case of the 17 passages found only in Mt. or Lk., some are obviously duplicates of sayings already recorded within these gospels, others have synoptic parallels in which the phrase does not occur, and others still are manifestly later glosses. While a priori there is no reason to question the possibility of a genuine utterance having been preserved only in one gospel, on examination the decidedly secondary character of all these seventeen instances becomes apparent.

Not only is Mt. 10: 1 without a parallel in Lk. 12: 1, but the whole section Mt. 10: 17-25 predicting the sufferings of the apostles reflects a time when the missionary activity of the Church was still confined to Israel. The allusion to persecution of the parable of the tares, found only in Mt. 13: 27-41, shows the strong feeling against Antinomianism in the early Church but, also the wisdom with which some of her leaders left the punishment of heretics for the Messiah when he should appear. It is generally recognised that the Evangelist wrote this commentary. On Mt. 10: 13, see § 36. In Mt. 16: 2 the 'Son of Man' coming in his kingdom has probably taken the place of 'The Kingdom of Heaven,' as is suggested by Lk. 9: 27, where 'the Kingdom of God' is used, and Mk. 9: 1, where it is expanded into 'the Kingdom of God already come with power.' When Mt. 19: 28 is compared with Lk. 18: 29 and Mk. 10: 29, it is clearly seen that each evangelist has modified the utterance or registered a peculiar tradition. While Lk. seems to be nearer the original, the omission of 'lands' is in harmony with his general attitude, and 'Kingdom of God' is in harmony with his general attitude, 'Kingdom of Heaven.' Instead of 'for the sake of the Kingdom of Heaven,' Mk. has 'for my sake and for the Gospel's sake,' specifies the future blessings, and significantly adds 'with persecutions'; Mt. introduces the answer by 7: 28 and has 'for my name's sake.' If the sign of the Son of Man in Mt. 24: 3 had formed a part of the original apocalyptic in Mt. it is likely to have been preserved by Mk. and Lk. (see § 40). The commentators have not yet discovered what the sign is. Was it a flame of fire (2 Thess. 1: 8) or a cross? In either case, this additional feature would not be very old. On Mt. 25: 31, see § 41. The statement of a fact (Mk. 14: 2, Lk. 22: 17) has been changed into a prediction in Mt. 26: 2. Instead of 'for the sake of the Son of man' in Lk. 9: 22, Mt. 5: 11 has 'for my sake,' but even this is a later addition.

When Lk. 12: 8 is compared with Mt. 10: 32 it is apparent that o vios t. d. anthropos is more original than the title, but also that the whole verse is secondary. Lk. 17: 20-22 is not in harmony with what follows, and Paul, Wernle, and Holzmann have rightly pointed out the disenchantment of the Church expressed in 17: 24. Jülicher (Gleichnisse Jesu, 228) recognises that Lk. 18: 6 is a late addition similarly expressing the painful disappointment as regards the parousia. The beautiful comment, Lk. 19: 4 may be this evangelist's tribute to Jesus, or an interpolation in this place as in Mt. 18: 11. The exhortation, Lk. 21: 34-35, is undoubtedly, as Wernle (Syn. Frage, 17) observes, the work of the evangelist and calls attention to its rhetorical character (H., 2, 1901, p. 417). In Mt. 26: 50 the text is scarcely sound, and the account of Judas' treason is of doubtful historicity (see JEROME IS. VIOT, §§ 7, 10). It is possible, however, that Lk. 22: 48 goes back to an Aramaic original that conveyed the sense: 'Is it with a kiss that thou betrayest a man (bar-naii)?' And Mt. 26: 50 may originally have had as a variant 'Why dost thou betray (trapei for paradiōs) a friend?' Two men in dazzling raiment, evidently angels, remind the women in Lk. 24: 7 that Jesus had predicted the death and resurrection of the son of man. Addresses by angels do not belong to history. How little Lk. cared for mere verbal accuracy is seen in the fact that the quotation made by the angel does not quite correspond to any prediction recorded.

A study of these passages shows with what freedom sayings of Jesus were certainly modified and apparently created.

If words occurring only in one gospel are naturally somewhat more open to suspicion than those found in two or three, it must be remembered, on the other hand, that the presumption in favour of genuineness does not necessarily increase by duplication, as it may only imply the copying of one evangelist by another or the use of a common source. The reliability of any saying must then ultimately depend upon the general trustworthiness of the document where it first appeared or the current of tradition it registered.

To assume, as many scholars do, that the evangelical tradition has been preserved in its purity in Lk. is to draw a very rash conclusion from the doubtful theory of Mk.'s priority. The fact that no passage containing the phrase is found in Mk. that is not also found in Mt., or Lk., or both, only shows that Mk. remained free from some of the later additions to the other synoptics. It often happens, however, that it is the text of higher age and greater prestige that because of its wider use is most enriched in that way. Thus our best Greek MS of Ecclesi.

has the greatest number of interpolations, while far inferior MSS are relatively free from additions to the text (see Schmidt, 'Ecclesiasticus' in *Temple Bible*).

The evidence of later expansions of Mt., most clearly presented by Hilgenfeld, is constantly increasing, and new indications of similar accretions to the original Lk. already suggested by Marcion's gospel, are forthcoming. The assumption that Mk.'s conception of Jesus' attitude to the Messiahship was different from that of Mt. and Lk. and more historical can scarcely maintain itself after Wrede's criticism. As the prejudice in favour of Mk., based on a shorter text and a supposed correcter view of Jesus' career, is removed, and the different versions of each saying are compared and tested in their presumable Aramaic form, an impartial survey of the facts will show at once how far all the synoptics are from reflecting accurately the words of Jesus without losing touch altogether with the oldest tradition, and in what sense the earliest testimony as to the succession of these gospels, representing the order as Mt., Mk., and Lk., is to be accepted. It will then be seen that there are passages in Mt. and Lk. not found in Mk., that may go back to original sayings of Jesus; that the only passage found in Mk. and Lk., but not in Mt., cannot be regarded as authentic; that there is no genuine saying preserved in Lk. that is not also found in Mt.; that there are passages in Mk. as well as in Mt. and Lk. that are clearly of very late origin; and that there are passages in Mk. as well as in Mt. and Lk. in which the phrase may go back to an original *bar-naišā* even after the episode at Caesarea Philippi.

Among the eight passages found only in Mt. and Lk., Mt. 8:30 (Lk. 9:38), 11:19 (Lk. 11:34), and 12:12a (12:10a) probably go back to original utterances of Jesus (see § 38); 12:40 (11:30) is an interpolation particularly clumsy in Mt.; 24:27-37-39 (17:24-27-30) belong to the synoptic apocalypse (see § 41), and 29:44 (12:40) is recognised by Jülicher (*loc. cit.* 2:142 ff.) as a later gloss. Among the five found in Mt. and Mk., Mt. 17:9 (9:9) refers to the vision on the mountain. In Jesus' lifetime, not even his most intimate disciples had had anything to relate concerning his luminous heavenly body. Did this necessarily exclude the possibility of a vision of this body before his death? Not to the minds of the evangelists, since they had accustomed themselves to the thought that Jesus had forbidden all such disclosures concerning himself before he should rise from the dead. This vision (*opaua*) is thus an anticipation of the vision that spread the belief in his resurrection. The Elijah question, Mt. 17:10-13 (Mk. 9:11-13), consequently had no connection originally with what precedes; the text in Mk. is late and confused (so also Wernle, *loc. cit.* 131), whilst that in Mt. is in good order and the conclusion may be a rendering of 'So must a man (2:27) suffer by them,' referring to John the Baptist. Mt. 20:28 (Mk. 10:45) comments retrospectively on the exemplification in the life and death of Jesus of the principle he has just laid down. Lk. 22:27-30 is a later and less valuable interpretation that curiously misunderstands the thought that Jesus wished to convey. Mt. 26:24b (Mk. 14:21b) occurs in an interpolation which breaks the connection between 26:21a and 26 (14:18 and 22) with an account that has been placed by Lk. at the end (22:21-23) and even there is probably unhistorical. The occurrence of the phrase in Mt. 26:45 (Mk. 14:41), not found in Lk. where the connection is better, is no doubt to be explained by the place Judas gained in Christian legend (so Wellhausen). (On Mk. 8:31 [Lk. 9:22], see § 40.)

Among the eight passages found in all the Synoptics, Mt. 9:6 (Mk. 2:10 Lk. 5:24) and Mt. 12:8 (Mk. 2:28 Lk. 6:5) probably go back to original utterances. Mt. 16:27 (Mk. 8:38 Lk. 9:26) is clearly a later addition, further transformed by Mk. and Lk. Mt. 17:22 (Mk. 9:31 Lk. 9:34) and Mt. 20:18 (Mk. 10:33 Lk. 18:31) is a prediction of his death (see § 40). Mt. 27:30b (Mk. 15:26 Lk. 23:27) belongs to the Synoptic apocalypse (see § 41). Mt. 26:24a (Mk. 14:21a Lk. 22:22) belongs to the interpolation considered above. The absence of disciples witnessing the scene, the conflict with judicial practice, the absurdity of the false testimony, the failure to produce any statement that a Jewish court could have construed into blasphemy, and the contradictions and evident Christian colouring render it extremely difficult to believe in the historical character of the trial before the Sanhedrin. (Cp SYNDICATA.) In Mt. 26:64 Jesus answers the question whether he is the Messiah 'thou sayest it,' in Lk. 22:69 'ye say that I am.' The plain import is 'You say that I am the Messiah, but I have made no such statement.' It is significant that these two evangelists should have hesitated to put upon the lips of Jesus an affirmative answer even under oath. So strong was the tradition that Jesus did not in his lifetime claim to be the Messiah, so firm the conviction that he guarded his secret to the end. They felt justified only in ascribing to him a covert reference to the Messiah in the third

person and with the secret name. Mk. (14:62) lacks some of the expressions in Mt. and Lk., but departs widely from the earlier tradition by making Jesus acknowledge his Messiahship. (Cp the searching criticism of Braund (*Rev. Gesch.* 53 ff.).)

In view of this indispensable literary criticism, it is of no small importance that it is possible by turning the Greek *legō* into the vernacular of Jesus to contain some sayings at once so different from the prevailing conceptions of the early Church and so bold and original as to raise the strongest presumption in favour of their genuineness. Such are, in the first place, Mt. 9:6 and 12:8 (and parallels), found in all the synoptics. In the former case the question is debated, whether a man has a right to assure another man that his sins are pardoned. The Pharisees maintain that God alone can pardon sin. They probably regarded absolution in the name of God as a priestly function. There is no evidence that the Jews expected the Messiah to forgive sins, and no intimation that Jesus looked upon this as a privilege to be exercised only by himself. On the contrary, he enjoins his disciples to use this power (Mt. 18:18). Such a simple assurance of forgiveness, flowing from a living faith in a heavenly father's love, was to Jesus no sacerdotal act. Any man had a right to extend it.

In Mt. 12:8 the generic meaning is equally clear. The disciples having eaten corn as they passed through the field, were accused of breaking the sabbath. Jesus defends them by quoting the example of David, who ate of the shewbread, which, according to the law, he had no right to do, and gave his followers permission to do so. The point is not that David and his 'greater son' may take liberties with God's law which would be wrong for others, but clearly that so godly a man as David recognised that the sustenance of life was in God's eyes more important than the maintenance of the cult. Lest this should be misunderstood, he adds another argument. The law permits the priests to work on the sabbath, thus regarding the commanded cessation of labour as less important than the maintenance of divine worship. The thought is not that he and his had priestly rights, for they had none, and Jesus had no interest in the sacrificial cult, as the next statement shows. But even from the standpoint of the law there were things more important than the enjoined cessation of work. Man was not made for the sabbath, but the sabbath for man; therefore man is also lord of the sabbath. This conclusion alone is relevant to the argument. If it were necessary to prove that the Messiah might break the law or authorise his disciples to do so, how could so startling a proposition be established by the general conscription that the sabbath was made for man's sake? There is indeed no evidence that the Jews expected the Messiah to violate or abrogate the divinely given law. The very suggestion would probably have produced a shock. If Jesus really desired to convince his hearers that the Messiah had a right to dispense from obedience to the law and that he was the Messiah, he must have understood that what was needed for that purpose was a reference to a recognised Messianic passage ascribing such powers to the Messiah or a firmly-rooted tradition to this effect, and a straightforward presentation and vindication of his claims, all the more necessary if he did not wish his Messiahship to be taken in a political sense. Were it possible that the Aramaic word he used for 'Son of man' could have been interpreted as a Messianic title, the impression left on the Pharisees would still have been that he had defied law-breaking on the ground that the lower, the sabbath, must yield to the higher man, and had made such a sweeping application of a general principle, true enough in certain circumstances, as would allow any man to set aside any ordinance of God.

'The foxes have holes, and the birds of the heavens

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have nests, but a man has nowhere to lay his head' (Mt. 8:20) may be a proverb quoted by Jesus or an epigram coined on the spot. In either case the scribe no doubt saw the hint quickly. Man's life is full of danger and uncertainty. Where will he reside tomorrow? Nature cares for the beasts; they are not driven from home and hearth for their convictions. The thought probably never occurred to the scribe that this Galilean teacher had in the same breath announced himself as the Messiah, and complained that though he was so great a man he neither owned a house nor had a lodging-place.

The enemies of Jesus charged him with performing his cures by the aid of Beelzebub. In this he saw a blasphemy, because he felt that his success in curing the sick was due to a divine spirit that possessed him. Yet he was careful to distinguish between an attack upon a fellow-man and a denunciation of the spirit operating through him. Therefore he says, 'If any one speaks against a man, that may be pardoned, but he that speaks against the Holy Spirit can have no pardon' (Mt. 12:32). No person in the audience could have understood him to say: 'You may blaspheme the Messiah with impunity, but not the Holy Ghost.' The distinction is clearly between the divine spirit and the human instrumentality.

Wellhausen prefers the reading in Mk. 3:28 f. and assumes that a misunderstanding arose through the original reading in Lk. 12:10 which, on the basis of the absence of *λογον* in Marcion, he translates into Aramaic and renders 'all that is said by man' (ܡܢ ܗܘܝܐ ܕܡܢ ܗܘܝܐ). This is an ingenious suggestion; but an omission on the part of Mk. seems more probable than such a misapprehension. For, whether the words were uttered by Jesus or not, they seem to have originated in some such reflection as we find in 1 S. 2:25.

In Mt. 11:19 Jesus may be rightly represented as having said 'John comes neither eating nor drinking and they say, He has a devil; a man comes who eats and drinks and they say, Behold a glutton and a wine-bibber.'

The account in Mt. 16:13-20 of Jesus' question to the disciples giving occasion for Peter's confession has manifestly suffered by later expansions.

39. The phrase not used at Caesarea-philippi.

Such is the pontifical diploma presented to Peter in 77: 17-19. Such also the addition 'the Son of the living God' in 77: 16. In 77: 13 a second question has been preserved in Syr. Sin. Namely, 'Who is this Son of man?' added to the first, 'What do men say concerning me?' 'This' may perhaps be put to the account of the Syriac translator (so Schmiedel). But it is also possible that 'Who is this man (*bar-nāšā*)?' is a gloss already in the Aramaic, leading the later glossator to introduce by contrast the title of Christ's divinity. It is evident that the interpolator lived at a period when the supremacy of the Roman See was being established. At that time the term 'Son of man' would be understood to denote the human nature as distinct from the divine. Apart from these additions, Mt. seems to have preserved an earlier text than Mk. 8:27 ff. and Lk. 9:18 ff. Desirous to proclaim the coming of the kingdom of heaven in Jerusalem also, Jesus apparently hesitated on the ground that it might be taken as a political movement. Hence, the question as to what men thought of him. If the answer was reassuring so far as the people were concerned, seeing that they looked upon him as a prophet and not as an aspirant to Messiahship, he had to reckon also with the attitude of his own disciples. When Peter, utterly misunderstanding the question as to their views, took the occasion to express his own hope, Jesus was obliged to command the disciples that they should not say to any man that he was the Messiah, as it is emphatically put in Mt.

According to Mk. 8:31 (Lk. 9:22) Jesus announced his death and resurrection after three days immediately upon Peter's confession. Of this Mt. knows nothing.

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The first reference to the sufferings of the Son of man are found in Mt. 17:12 (Mk. 9:12).

40. Basis of predictions of death and resurrection.

But here it is probable that the original Aramaic conveyed the sense 'so must a man (*bar-nāšā*) suffer by them.' For 'the disciples understood that he spoke to them concerning John the Baptist,' 77: 13. Later, this would naturally be misunderstood as a reference to himself. The original form of Mt. 20:23 (Mk. 10:43) may have been 'Man has not come (sc. into the world) to be served, but to serve.' When this was applied to Jesus, the dogma of the 'ransom' seems to have been added.

In *Clem. Rom.* 12:29 (ed. Schweigler) Peter quotes the following words of Jesus: τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἔλαβεν ἐγὼ, ἀκαρπία ἔφησα, δὲ οὐ ἔργατα ἔποιον καὶ τὰ κακὰ ἀγάπη ἔλαβεν, οὐκ ἔσται δὲ οὐ ἔργατα. The work in which this is found probably dates from the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180); cp Hilkefeld, *Clem. Rom. and Rom.*, 1248, p. 305 ff., *NT. Th.*, 1569, p. 353, *Text.* p. 42. The same saying is reported by Aphraates: 'good is sure to come and it is well with him through whom it comes; evil also must come, but woe to him through whom it comes.' (51, ed. Graf.) Aphraates used Tatian's *Diatessaron*. The generic sense of *bar-nāšā* in each part of this section, naturally enough applied to Jesus and Judas in Mt. 26:24 Mk. 14:41 Lk. 22:22, was consequently still preserved in the middle of the second century.

Of the two passages found in all the synoptics, Mt. 17:22 (Mk. 9:31 Lk. 9:44) and Mt. 20:18 (Mk. 10:33 Lk. 18:31), the latter furnishes a more natural situation. That Jesus cannot have predicted in detail his death and resurrection after three days or on the third day, is evident to all critical students. But the difficulty of suppressing the political hopes of his followers and the prejudices and opposition he was sure to encounter in Jerusalem may well have filled his mind with forebodings of evil. He fell back, however, upon the conviction that the highest good, the kingdom of heaven, would come, and that it would be well with any man who assisted in its coming and suffered for its sake. He no doubt believed in a resurrection of the dead, although his idea seems to have been nearer the Essene than the Pharisaic conception. As Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob had been raised out of death into an eternal life with God, so he expected to be raised, Mt. 22:2 ff. (Mk. 12:13 ff. Lk. 20:20 ff.). This hope he may have expressed by some such word as 'man must pass away but he will rise again.' Even this would be improbable, if Pfeleiderer were right in assuming that Jesus cherished no doubts as to the outcome of his mission to Jerusalem.

Considering Lk. 22:36 as a genuine saying of Jesus, Pfeleiderer (*New World*, 1899, p. 431 ff.) concludes that, as he ordered his disciples to buy swords, probably to defend themselves against hired assassins, he cannot have gone to Jerusalem with the 'purpose of dying there as a sacrifice for the sin of the world, but of contending and conquering.' It might be said that if he advised his followers to arm themselves, the thought of danger and death must have been present with him. But it is exceedingly improbable that he ever gave any such counsel. If he had actually urged his followers to sell their very garments in order to purchase swords without explaining his purpose, he must have contemplated a *coup d'état* and there would have been plenty of swords at his disposal, but there would have been a certain disingenuousness in his rebuke, Mt. 26:52, so thoroughly in harmony with the doctrine of non-resistance he had preached, since he was himself responsible for the presence of the sword and the notion that it would be an urgent necessity. The earlier tradition in Mt. and Mk. knows nothing of such a command given by Jesus; but it preserved the fact that one of the disciples had drawn a sword and cut off a man's ear. How was this sword to be accounted for? Jesus had ordered it. For what purpose? Lk. 22:27 gives the answer, 'This which is written must be accomplished in me, "And he was reckoned with the lawless."' Jesus, of course, did not go to Jerusalem in order to

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die, but to proclaim the good news of the kingdom. Nevertheless he no doubt realised the dangers of the situation and only put his life into jeopardy because he deemed it necessary for the accomplishment of his work, sustained the while by the hope that the kingdom of heaven would come in the world and to himself a share in the resurrection from the dead.

In Mt. 21:45-56 'the Son of man' occurs five times; in Mk. 13:32 only once, and in Lk. 21:27-36 twice.

Mt. 21:36 (Mk. 13:26; Lk. 21:27), which is alike in all the synoptics, has no doubt been drawn from the last apocalypse. Before it Mt. introduces the term twice—viz., in 21:27 which is also found in Lk. 17:24 and in 21:30 which has no parallel. The second occurrence in Lk. (21:27) is also without a duplicate; while Mt. 21:37-39 correspond to Lk. 17:26-30.

If the passage which the three gospels have in common was the first in the original apocalypse that referred to the Son of man, it may well be that it conveyed the meaning, 'they shall see a man coming on the clouds of heaven,' and he will, etc. If Mt. 21:27 actually preceded it, this sense would not be possible; but there is no certainty that the original has been reproduced exactly or in order. Until further discoveries shall have been made, it will remain most probable that 'the man' was first introduced as 'a man,' as in En. 40 and 4 Ezra 11. This apocalypse may not originally have been put upon the lips of Jesus. When its fragments once secured a place in the synoptic gospels, the influence upon the conception of the term 'Son of man' must have been profound. If even *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* to persons familiar with Aramaic might still have conveyed the sense of *bar-nāšā* (see § 36), the man coming with the clouds or appearing as a lightning flash was too plainly the celestial being described in Dan. 7:13 to be considered as referring to man in general. A new mode of thought was naturally given to familiar utterances. It was this heavenly man who had been without a home on earth, who had authority over the sabbath and the right to pardon sins, who had suffered at the hands of men and predicted his advent in glory and power. The title was substituted for the personal pronoun; old sayings were modified, new ones formed. Where Jesus had spoken of the kingdom of heaven whose coming he expected, the Church spoke of the Son of man for whose coming she eagerly looked. Among the new creations none is grander than the judgment scene in Mt. 25. Its chief significance lies not so much in the fact that the judge identifies himself with his brethren, or that the nations are judged by their treatment of the Christians, as in the fact that they are judged exclusively by moral tests; men's eternal welfare is determined by their unselfish goodness in dealing with their humblest fellow-men.

An indication of the date of the synoptic apocalypse in its Christian form may be found in the circumstance that it follows in Mt. immediately upon a passage that in all probability belonged to the *Σοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ*, as Strauss has shown (*ZWTh.*, 1861, p. 84 ff.). This 'Wisdom of God' cannot have been written long before the end of the first century, as it contains an allusion to the murder of Zechariah b. Barachia during the siege of Jerusalem (cp. Jos. *JW.* 5:4 188, 335, 341).

Jerome (*1 Ir.* III. 2) affirms that in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which he had translated into Greek and Latin, the statement was made that Jesus after his resurrection, 'took bread, blessed, brake, and gave it to James the Just, saying, "my brother, eat thy bread, for the Son of man (*filius hominis*) has risen from those that sleep.'" Hilgenfeld (*ZWTh.*, 1860) thinks that the Aramaic phrase translated by Jerome was *b'reh dē-nāšā*.

It would be interesting, in all these circumstances, to know what Aramaic term Jerome found in his gospel, and of utmost importance if it could be proved that the copy he saw in the library at Caesarea was a faithful transcript of the Gospel written by Matthew. In its original form, the Gospel according to the Hebrews may indeed have been of very high age, and

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have served as a basis for the first Greek gospel. That it was nameless, as Handmann thinks (*Ueb.* 47, 1858, p. 113), is not probable. The most natural supposition is that it was ascribed to Matthew. Whether such a tradition was correct, may be doubted. But, like all other gospels, it undoubtedly underwent many changes; and this particular pericope, at least in the form represented by Jerome, can scarcely have had a place in the first draft.

As *b'reh dē-nāšā* apparently was not used by Palestinian Christians, *b'reh dē-gabrā* is more probable. But it may even be questioned whether Jerome wrote *filius hominis*, as Gregory of Tours quotes the words: 'Surge, Jacobe, comede, quia jam a mortuis resurrex.' (*Hist. Franc.* I. 21).

It is the merit of Lietzmann to have called attention to the fact that outside of the NT the phrase occurs for the first time in Marcion, and was

43. Marcion's gospel. used by different Gnostic schools. Marcion's gospel seems to have had this term in the same places as the canonical Lk. except that 7:29-35 11:30-32 18:31-34 were not found in his gospel.

From Marcion's acquaintance with it, Lietzmann draws the conclusion that it originated in Asia Minor before the year 90 A.D. It is not apparent why this year should have been chosen. Harnack's conjecture (*Chron.* 208 ff.) is based on an obscure and manifestly corrupt passage in Clement of Alexandria. Lipsius placed Marcion's birth at least twenty years later, and his arrival in Rome in 143.4 (*ZWTh.*, 1877, p. 75 ff.). Tertullian's statement that Marcion was the son of a bishop scarcely more reliable than that of Megehinus, that he was himself a bishop (cp. Meyboom, *Marcion en de Marcionieten*, 2, ff.). But, apart from this, there is no evidence that Marcion as a child was familiar with the gospel he quoted in Rome in the time of Pius (cp. also Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergesch.* 329 ff.).

According to Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* i. 30:1-31:2) the Gnostics called the primeval light, the father of all things, *Ἡρώτος ἀνθρώπου* (*primus homo*),

44. Use of term by Gnostics. and the first thought (*ἐννοια*) emanating from him *Δεύτερος ἀνθρώπος* (*secundus homo*), or *υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου* (*filius hominis*). This *υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου* was not, however, identical with the Christ who, in their opinion, was the offspring of 'the first man' and 'the second man' with 'the holy spirit,' while the man Jesus, son of Yaddabsoth and the Virgin Mary, was conceived of as the earthly tabernacle in which the Christ took up his abode. Hippolytus (*Philosophumena*, 56-11 106) reports that the Naesenes (*Ἐπίρας* = serpent), or Phrygian Ophites, also worshipped the 'man' (*ἀνθρώπος*), and the 'Son of man' (*υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου*) as a unity of father and son, the father probably being designated as Adamas (278).

In the *Evangelium Mariae*, a Gnostic work earlier than Irenaeus, the highest being is called *Ἡρωταθροῦνος* (cp. K. Schmidt, *SB.* III, 1866, p. 243 ff.), and in a somewhat later form of this Gnosis the 'Man of light,' Adamas, *ὁ οὐρανός*, in *1 C.* 8:27 302 ff. 689; and the perfect and true man (*ἀποκάλυψις* *perfectum et verum*) called Adamas, belongs to the rank of divine beings manifesting Barbelo, the father and the son, in the thought of the Barbelo-Gnostics (Iren. I. 26). When the 'Heavenly Dialogue,' quoted by Celsus in his 'True Word' (about 177 A.D.), declared that the Son of Man (*υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου*) was mightier than a god (Origen, *Cont.* I. 60, 2, 3), this god was no doubt Yaddabsoth whom his mother, Sathya, had to 'buke by a rebulder that above him were 'the Father of all, the first man, and the man,' 'the son of man,' according to Irenaeus. Valentinius also gave the first place in the persona to the *πρωτὸν ἀνθρώπου* (Clement, *Strom.* ii. 5, 3), and Marcion represented the divinity as man, and in so far as it is revealed as 'Son of man' (see Grill, *loc.* 355).

The evident kinship between the Ophite system and the thought ascribed to Simon of Gitta, renders it not improbable that the founder of the movement already was familiar with these designations for the highest beings. His saying in regard to the divine manifestation as son in Judaea, as father in Samaria, and as holy spirit in the other nations (*Philos.* 616) is most readily understood in harmony with whatever else is known of his views, if it is assumed that he asserted the divinity of man on the basis of the acknowledged humanity of God, finding in Judaism, Samaritanism, and paganism,

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in Jesus, himself, and Helena, manifestations of that divinely human life symbolised by the already extant figures of 'the man,' the 'Son of man,' and the feminine spirit in the pleroma.

That the Ophites existed before Christianity, their doctrine being a mixture of Egyptian and Jewish ideas, has been suggested by Baur (Christliche Gnosis, 194 ff. [1835]), by Lipsius, who preferred to think of Syrian rather than Egyptian influences as preponderating (ZIT'Th., 1863, p. 718 f.), and by Lietzmann, who quotes Philaster, I., as showing that they argued their heresies before the coming of Christ. Lietzmann, however, is of the opinion that 'man' as a divine name can only have originated as a designation of the heavenly prototype of the Messiah appearing on earth, called even in early times 'the second man,' though the term is actually found only in late Rabbinic writings, and that the Christian Ophites continued to use these titles, naturally adopting ο υἱος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου for ὁ δεύτερος ἀνθρώπος. But Grill is probably right in pointing out an Indian origin for this conception (L.c. 348 ff.).

The Vedic Purusha—i.e., 'man'—is a designation of the universe, the macrocosm being conceived after the analogy of the microcosm. A distinction is made, however, in Rig Veda 103 between Purusha as the absolute being, and Purusha as the firstborn, and for this derived, primordial existence the term Nārāyana, 'the one like a man,' 'the son of man' is used (Maitāna Upanishad, 13). Gnostic speculation is altogether likely to have been affected by this idea.

It is possible, too, that there was a basis in the mythical lore of Syria. Adam is not improbably the name of a Semitic divinity (ep OPHED-EDOM). The familiar motive of a father, a son, and a mother-goddess having issue by the son (ep Strucken, JH'16, 1902, 446 ff.), reflecting as it does a very primitive form of domestic life, is certainly of mythical origin, and not the result of late philosophical speculation. The conception of the macrocosmic man and the celestial protoplast is earlier and more widespread than the significant names expressing it in Sanscrit sources, and rendered the introduction of similar terms easier. There seems to be no trace in Gnostic thought of the Jewish idea of the Messiah, and the Christ idea has the appearance of being a later addition to a system already completed. The Gnostic 'Son of man' cannot be accounted for as growing out of the conception presented in the synoptics; rather is it possible that the Greek phrase, used in rendering the generic ἄνθρωπος, lent itself to an interpretation akin to the Gnostic thought, seeing in Jesus an incarnation of a celestial 'Son of man.'

Recent criticism of the Fourth Gospel has had a tendency to emphasise again its relations to Gnosticism.

45. Use in Fourth Gospel. While the unhistorical character of the Gospel, its impregnation with Alexandrian, and particularly Philonic, thought, and its date toward the middle of the second century, have been rendered practically certain by the labours of many scholars, from Bretschneider to Holtzmann and the Révilles (see JOHN, SON OF ZEPPHAI), questions concerning earlier and later strata within the gospel, and the attitude of author or redactor to Gnostic thought, have assumed fresh importance during the last few years. How profoundly investigation on these points may affect the interpretation of the 'Son of man' in Jn. is seen in the works of Fries, Kreyenbühl, and Grill. Following the expansion-theory of Schweizer, to some extent adopted by Bonssset and Harnack, in the more radical form given to it by Grill, rather than the source-theory of Weiss, Freytag, and Wendt, Fries (Det fjörde evangeliet, 1898; En koptiske evangelium, 1900) has independently elaborated a view according to which an earlier gospel by the presbyter John has been expanded by Cerinthus with interpolations, partly taken from the Gospel

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according to the Hebrews, partly consisting of his own philosophical speculations on the basis of the Philonian logos-doctrine. This theory leads him to consider 1 Jn 3:13 ff. 5:27 5:30 8:23 and 13:31 as interpolation. Only 12:23-34 he thinks it necessary to assign to the original gospel, but regards these as evidence that Jesus himself occasionally used the term. Soderstrom has indicated his general agreement with this position (Jesu Bergspredikan, 40 [1899]).

So much is sacrificed to Cerinthus, that 12:23-34 might as well have been added. For 12:23 is practically identical with 13:31, and the statement offending the people in 12:14, that 'the son of man must be lifted up,' is found not in 12:14, where Jesus says, 'If I am lifted up,' but in 3:14 which is regarded as an interpolation. So far as the 'Son of man' passages are concerned, they must therefore, even on this view, be put to the account of a Gnostic philosopher, familiar with Philon's speculation, since the similarity of 5:27 to the Gospel according to the Hebrews does not extend to this phrase. The significant thing is that the parts which must be considered as most characteristic of the gospel are thus given by Fries to a Gnostic. Fries may be right in pointing out a probable use of a Greek translation of the Gospel according to the Hebrews. That the author to whom we owe the gospel in substantially its present form, barring some transpositions indicated by Spitta and Bacon, and the appendix, used other sources than the synoptics is not improbable. But the freedom with which Mt. 26:64 has been modified in 1 Jn, and the passion-sayings have been transformed into predictions of glorification in 3:14 8:23 12:23 and 13:34, suggests the extreme difficulty of ascertaining the exact language and historical worth of any such sources through the chiaroscuro of his thought.

If Fries fell back upon the opinion of the ancient Alogi that Cerinthus had had something to do with this gospel, Kreyenbühl (Das Evangelium der Wahrheit, 1900) has maintained that the present gospel is the work of Menander of Kappadocia, the disciple of Simon, and contemporary of Ignatius, in a work equally marked by learning, critical acumen, and synthetic aesthetic insight. In accordance with this view he holds that 'Son of man' in Jn. is intended to be understood not as an exclusive self-designation of Jesus, but rather as a term applying to 'man,' 'any man,' jeder Christenmensch, Menander speaking out of his Christian consciousness of being a saviour sent by the aeons into the world (L.c. 437 ff., ep Irenaeus, Adv. haer. i. 235). It is difficult for the present writer to believe that the slender foundation in Justin and Irenaeus will bear the weight of so heavy a structure.

Menander may indeed have conceived of himself as having come into the world to redeem men from ignorance, and it is barely possible that he regarded himself as a manifestation of the celestial man. But the natural impression is certainly that in Jn. Jesus is represented as speaking solely of himself when he uses the term 'son of man'; and no recourse to the vernacular of Jesus does here, as in the case of the synoptics, suggest a different and universal significance. Particularly important is 6:51, where it seems just as impossible that Menander could have spoken of the appropriation of his own flesh and blood, or of the flesh and blood of man in general, as that Jesus should have used such words. Here the reference is evidently to the Eucharist, and the Son of man is Jesus whose body and blood the Church regarded itself as appropriating in the sacrament, and whose life-giving words the author deemed of supreme value.

The interpretation of Jn. 6:51 from the view-point of the author's symbolical idealism by J. Reville (Le quatrième évangile, 178 ff. [1901]) is more satisfactory than the present writer's assumption of a strong opposition to sacramentalism (JBL, 1892, p. 201). It may be justifiable to infer that in some circles, 'to eat the flesh and to drink the blood of the Son of Man' had developed into a liturgical formula, and this would show how little Christians hesitated to use this supposed self-designation of Jesus. It is the merit of Kreyenbühl to have greatly strengthened the impression that this gospel contains a certain type of Gnostic thought. In view of the fact that practically all the CCF, II, Apocrypha, and the Pseudopigrapha are either anonymous or pseudonymous writings, it is time that the eager desire to fasten the authority of the Fourth Gospel upon some person mentioned in Early Christian Literature should be put at rest. Grill (L.c.) rightly

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contents himself with tracing the gospel idea of the incarnation (that does not go back to Philo) through Gnosticism to its source in Indian speculation, and he interprets the phrase as designating the celestial 'Son of man' who has become a 'man.'

Wendt is probably right in regarding ἀνθρώπου after *vōs* in *δ 27* as a later addition (*Das Johannesevangelium*, 123 f. 116 ff.). In *δ 31* the words *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* should not be removed from the text on the ground of their absence in BSL, but emended into *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*, as Sin, 837, has *meu bhūmā*; and in *δ 33*, not only B18 but also Sin, 837, and E1h, have 'Son of man.' In *δ 14* the 'Son of man' is not merely an equivalent of the Messiah; but the reference to a removal from earth renders it possible to doubt whether the mysterious title 'Son of man' does not have a different meaning.

When it is recognised that *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* is the translation of an Aramaic *bar-nāhī*, that this term cannot, on philological grounds, have been used as a self-designation since it naturally conveyed only the idea of 'man' in general, and that this generic use is most suitable in all instances

where there is reason to suppose that a genuine utterance is found, the opinion that Jesus regarded himself as the Messiah loses its strongest support. There are indeed passages in which the underlying assumption seems to be that Jesus claimed for himself the Messiahship without using the name. Keim (*Jesus von Nazareth*, 2376) enumerates as such Mt. 9:15 11:3 13 12:3 41 f. 13:17; Beer regards Mt. 9:15 as decisive ('Enoch' in Kantsch, *Pseudepigrapha*, 232); Wendt (*l.c.*, 178 ff.) instances Mt. 11:25 ff. Mk. 11:27 ff. 12:35 ff. But in Mt. 9:14 ff. the justification of fasting by the departure of the bridegroom, and of the non-fasting in Jesus' lifetime (cp Mt. 11:18), by the presence of the bridegroom, is as clearly a *vaticinium ex eventu* (Volkmar) as the words concerning the garments and the wineskins are unmistakably genuine (see Holtzmann, *Synoptiker*,¹ 55). In Mt. 11:3 Jesus is asked by John the Baptist, through his disciples, whether he is the coming one. Jesus not only does not answer the question, but deliberately turns the attention away from himself to his work, described in language borrowed from Is. 29:18 f. 35:5, 6, and culminating in the proclamation of good tidings to the poor. It is the view men have of the kingdom of heaven that concerns him; on this point Jesus considered John's conceptions to be as defective as those of Moses and the prophets (Mt. 11:12 f.).¹ The 'sign of Jonah' is the preaching of repentance to the Ninevites; but Jesus felt that his proclamation of the kingdom of heaven was of more importance than the announcement of judgment by the unwilling prophet (Mt. 12:41 f.). If Mt. 13:17 is genuine, it expresses Jesus' conviction that the kingdom of heaven, prophesied of old, is coming, and his congratulation of his disciples for discerning its advent. But this does not harmonise with the lack of perception on their part, of which he elsewhere has to complain.² The parable of the vineyard (Mk. 12:1 ff.) has been so thoroughly changed, under the hands of the evangelists (see Jülicher, *l.c.*, ii. 2:386-405 f.), that it is quite impossible to ascertain what the original utterance was in 12:35 ff.

If Mt. 22:41 ff. (Mk. 12:35 ff.) is genuine, it is either an academic question concerning the Scriptural basis for the current assumption that the coming Messiah is to be a descendant of David, or a serious Scriptural vindication by Jesus of his claims to be the Messiah although he is not of Davidic descent. His general method of teaching renders it exceedingly improbable that he should have engaged in such a discussion simply to confute Pharisaic exegesis without anything of practical importance depending on the decision; but if he really attached value to their accepting him as the

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Messiah without the demanded legitimization, his reference on the essential point whether he was the Messiah becomes wholly incomprehensible. It seems evident that this pericope is a defence of Jesus' Messiahship made by his disciples against Jewish attacks upon it on the ground that he was not a son of David—a defence made at a time when no one had yet thought of constructing the pedigrees now found in Mt. and Lk., both of which are very late. The critical estimate of these passages has not been influenced by the discussion of the term 'Son of man,' and in almost all instances has been reached by scholars who believe on the basis of this title that Jesus regarded himself as the Messiah.

Although at first sight the result of recent investigations may seem to be wholly negative and to render valueless the long labours that have been expended upon the term, a closer examination will show that each new theory has tended to bring to view some aspect of the truth, and that the hypothesis that appears to explain satisfactorily most of the facts yields the richest returns for our knowledge of the life and teaching of Jesus. When Jesus declared that man is lord of the sabbath and has the authority to pardon sin, he no doubt thought of man as he ought to be as a child of the heavenly father; and thus there was in his mind an element of that ideal humanity which Herder emphasises. That he did not look upon himself as the absolutely perfect man only enhances his moral greatness. Other genuine utterances suggest that humble sense of fellowship with man and acceptance of man's lot which Kant rightly felt. Those who explained the term as a Messianic title were right in so far as the Greek gospels are concerned. But a correct feeling also led many scholars to the opinion that Jesus cannot have thought this term accepted as his own the current Messianic ideal. That it served to hide the secret of his Messiahship was also true; only it was not Jesus himself, but his disciples, who thus used it. Similarly, the term is likely to have suggested to early Christians a conception in which many heterogeneous elements were blended. The gradual elimination of the Fourth Gospel, the synoptic apocalypse, the manifestly secondary passages containing the phrase, as the literary character of the gospels became more truly appreciated, was of utmost importance. Only on the basis of such careful criticism could the resort to the vernacular be of any value.

While no process of criticism can restore the *ἱστορικά ῥεῖθρα* of Jesus, an approximation may be possible. For the work of retranslation knowledge of the linguistic material is necessary, and also philological insight. The attempts to explain the use of the term in passages that are rejected have been of much value, since they are utterances of early Christians whose thought, intrinsically important, has exercised a paramount influence on the world. In their interpretation it is both legitimate and necessary to seek for light in the mythical and legendary lore of the epoch. The more marked the difference between the thoughts revealed in the Aramaic translations of the Greek sayings, the more difficult is it to explain them by the conceptions known to prevail among the Greek gospel-writers; the more original and valuable the obtained utterances, the stronger is also the presumption that they come from a great personality whose historical existence thereby becomes assured and whose tremendous influence can be appreciated. If he ceases to be what he so earnestly enjoined upon his disciples not to say that he was, a king to be ministered unto, he becomes more truly than ever what he would be, a son of man ministering to the sons of men.

The most important literature before the nineteenth century is indicated in the works of Scholten, Appel, and A. Meyer. The term is discussed in every Life of Jesus, New Testament Theology, and Bible Dictionary. All important contributions in recent times have been referred to in the course of this article.

46. Effect on question of Jesus' Messiahship.

When it is recognised that *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* is the translation of an Aramaic *bar-nāhī*, that this term cannot, on philological grounds, have been used as a self-designation since it naturally conveyed only the idea of 'man' in general, and that this generic use is most suitable in all instances where there is reason to suppose that a genuine utterance is found, the opinion that Jesus regarded himself as the Messiah loses its strongest support. There are indeed passages in which the underlying assumption seems to be that Jesus claimed for himself the Messiahship without using the name. Keim (*Jesus von Nazareth*, 2376) enumerates as such Mt. 9:15 11:3 13 12:3 41 f. 13:17; Beer regards Mt. 9:15 as decisive ('Enoch' in Kantsch, *Pseudepigrapha*, 232); Wendt (*l.c.*, 178 ff.) instances Mt. 11:25 ff. Mk. 11:27 ff. 12:35 ff. But in Mt. 9:14 ff. the justification of fasting by the departure of the bridegroom, and of the non-fasting in Jesus' lifetime (cp Mt. 11:18), by the presence of the bridegroom, is as clearly a *vaticinium ex eventu* (Volkmar) as the words concerning the garments and the wineskins are unmistakably genuine (see Holtzmann, *Synoptiker*,¹ 55).

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¹ On Mt. 12:3, see § 38.

² On Mt. 11:25 ff., see SON OF GOD, § 13.

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SONS OF THE PROPHETS. See PROPHET.

SOOTHSAVER (ΣΟΦ, ΣΩΦ), etc. ΜΑΝΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΗ. See DIVINATION, § 2 [1/4]. etc., and ep MAGIC, § 3.

SOP (ΨΩΜΙΟΝ). In 13 26 ff., a fragment or morsel; ep ΨΩΜΟΣ. S. in Judg. 19 5 (CΑ ΚΛΑΣΜΑ Ruth 2 14 [for Π]). See MEALS, § 10.

SOPATER (ΣΩΠΑΤΡΟΣ), a man of BERGIA, who accompanied Paul (for part of the way at least) on his last recorded journey to Jerusalem, Acts 20 4. The addition ΗΪΠΠΟΥ (son of Pyrrhus RV, ΝΑΒΙΔ) is omitted by TR. The mention of the father's name is unusual, although it may possibly have been inserted to distinguish him from Sosipater (Rom. 16 21), with whom, however, he should probably be identified. See SOSIPATER.

SOPHEREETH (ΔΕΦΗΡΑΘ [B] ΔΕΦΟΡ. [A] ΔΑΦΕΡΘ [L]), Ezra 2 55 AV, RV ΠΑΣΦΗΡΕΘΗ [L].

SORCERY, SORCERER, SORCERESS. See MAGIC, § 3.

SOEK, THE VALLEY OF (סוּק בְּהַר שֵׁן [with שֵׁן]), i.e. 'wady of the šerek vine' [see VINE], the place where Samson fell in love with the Philistine woman Delilah (Judg. 16 4; ΕΝ ΔΑΛΩΡΗ [B], ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΓΕΙΩΜΑΡΡΟΥ ΔΩΡΗ [A]). . . . ΗΚ [L]). It is called by Jos. (OS 15 36, cp 20 7 76) εὐφρατα; he places it in the region of Eleutheropolis near Sarata—i.e., ZORAH [L]. This points to the mod. Surik, § 11. AV. from Zorah, on the N. side of the large and fertile Hady Surik. Cp. however, ZORAH.

SOES (ΣΩΗΣ [A]), -PEIC [L], ΕΩΗΣ [B]. Josh. 15 9. See SEER, 2.

SORREL (ΣΩΡ), Zech. 18 RV, AV 'speckled.' See COLOURS, § 12.

SOSPATER (ΣΩΣΠΑΤΡΟΣ). 1. A general under Judas' Maccabee, who fought against Timotheus at Gam. 2 Macc. 12 19-24.

2. . . . of the 'kinsmen' of Paul who unites with him in saluting the Christians of Rome, Rom. 16 21. He seems, therefore, to have been well known to them. In the Pseudo-Dorotheus he is a bishop of Iconium. He is probably to be identified with SOPATER [L.] of BERGIA.

SOSTHENES (ΣΩΣΘΕΝΗΣ). 1. 'Ruler of the synagogue' (ἀρχισυναγωγος, see SYNAGOGUE, § 9) at Corinth when Paul was in that city on his second journey, the first into Greece (Acts 18 17). After the failure of the Jews' concerted action against Paul before Gallio (see GALLIO, § 2)—in which, perhaps, Sosthenes had taken a leading part—we are told that 'all' (πάντες, so BVA and others), or 'all the Greeks' (πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες; so DdEHLPMI, etc.), certainly not 'all the Jews' (πάντες Ἰουδαῖοι or πέρτες Ἰουδαῖοι, as some authorities have; see Ti., Bhas., Hilgenfeld) laid hold on Sosthenes and beat him before the judgment-seat.

It is not necessary to suppose, as many do, that Sosthenes was the successor of Crispus, the 'ruler of the synagogue,' baptized by Paul at Corinth (Acts 18 8; see CRISPUS), nor yet to assume, with others, that I.k. is confusing the two persons. Both may concurrently have borne the title of 'ruler of the synagogue' (ἀρχισυναγωγος), and have held the office denoted by it, just as cases in which there were more than one chief priest (ἀρχιερεῖς) can be cited (cp ANNAS and CAPHARIS). This Sosthenes has been identified by many since Theodore, but without reason, with 'the brother' mentioned in 1 Cor. 1 1 (see no. 2).

2. Sosthenes 'the brother' appears in 1 Cor. 1 1 as having a share in the preparation of 1 of 1 Cor. To prove that the part he took was that of amanuensis merely, appeal is usually made to 1 Cor 16 21; but those who argue thus overlook the fact that Tertius, who is supposed to have written the Epistle to the Romans, is not mentioned until the end of that epistle, and then ex-

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pressly as the apostle's secretary (Τερτίος ὁ γράψας τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, Rom 16 22). Moreover, no one has ever thought of taking 'Timothy the brother' in 21 of 1 Cor. 1 1 (cp Phil. 1 1), 'all the brethren which are with me [Paul]' in Gal. 1 2, 'Silvanus and Timothy' in 1 Thess. 1 1, 2 Thess. 1 1 as having been the apostle's secretaries in attendance. The simple fact is that the names belong to the form usually adopted for the Pauline epistle; one or more persons are mentioned besides the apostle as writing it, their function being that of attesting the truth set forth and defended by the apostle (2 Cor 13, cp Dt. 19 15). From time to time we are reminded of their presence by the use of the plural (first person, but quite as often the apostle uses the singular. 'The brother' Sosthenes is otherwise unknown. He is enumerated among the seventy in Eusebius (HE 1 12 1) and elsewhere (see Lips. Apok. Ap. 2 2 1 201 203, 3 413, E. 3 W. C. S. M.

SOSTRATUS (ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ [A], SOC. [V]); the name is also borne by a priest of Aphrodite in Paphos; cp Schurer, GII 1 14 171, governor of the citadel in Jerusalem (ΕΠΑΡΧΙΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ) temp. Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Macc. 12 7 [2] 20). The post would, doubtless, be important (cp Benz. III 47, JERUSALEM, § 27).

Σοφρος, used in S for ΣΦ (see GOVERNOR, 1), corresponds to the Roman praefectus. From it is borrowed the Nab. סופר, the precise instance of which is not quite certain (CS 2 105 173, 2 7, 2 14).

SOTAI (סוֹטַי), meaning? סוֹטַי [L]. The Blue Sotai, a group or family (see SOOTAI & SOOTAI) in the post-exilic list (see EZRA II, § 9; Ezra 2 55 [סוֹטַי] [L], סוֹטַי [A] Neh. 7 57 [סוֹטַי] [BA], -סוֹטַי [R] 10 4, סוֹטַי [R] 10 4 [L], 1 Esd. 5 33 [סוֹטַי] [L], EVom. after SVA).

SOUL (נֶפֶשׁ, ΨΥΧΗ; common to all the Sem. languages; but Ass. naphā generally means 'life,' more rarely 'soul'). Properly 'breath'; but this sense seems to have gone out in Hebrew. The usual sense is the soul or individual life (so very often, see, e.g., Ps. 61 9 Is. 53 12) as distinguished from the 'flesh' or 'body' (Dt. 12 23 Ps. 31 10). By a natural transition nephesh also means 'a living being,' especially in the phrase nephesh hayyah (נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה), lit. 'a living soul,' used of man in J (Gen. 2 7) and of animals in P (Gen. 1 20 24 30 9 12 15 f. all P; 2 19, redactional insertion in J); cp 1 Cor. 15 45. For further developments, see ESCALADOUR, §§ 12-19, and for the connection of 'soul' and 'heart' cp HEART.

None of the three passages cited in Ges. Bull for the sense 'breath' will stand examination, as has been shown by Briggs. 'The use of נֶפֶשׁ in the OT' [a critical and exhaustive classification of passages], JBL 16 [1897] 97-100. These passages are:—(a) Prov. 27 9. Here Briggs give nephesh the sense of 'lebab,' 'heart'; but it is better to read נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה, 'so the sweetness of counsel is healing to the soul' (Toy also נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה). (b) Job 41 13 where נֶפֶשׁ, 'breath' (?), is ascribed to Leviathan. But Job is a late book; a reversion to an archaic sense is not probable here. So Briggs, who renders 'his passion, or fury, kindleth coals.' The parallel expressions, however, point to the reading נֶפֶשׁ, 'his breath.' (c) Is. 3 20, נֶפֶשׁ נֶפֶשׁ, RV 'perfume-boxes' (see PERFUME). Briggs proposes 'boxes of desire,' or 'smelling boxes.' Paul Haupt (VBT, 'Isa.' [Heb.] 2 2) has suspected a connection with Ass. naphā, 'to an-ann oneself.' This suggests נֶפֶשׁ נֶפֶשׁ, 'boxes of ointment' (Ass. naphānu, 'ointment'). But still better would perhaps be נֶפֶשׁ נֶפֶשׁ (S and S confounded).

T. K. C.

SOUTH, SOUTH WIND. See EARTH, FOUR QUARTERS OF THE, and WINDS. For Chambers of the South, see STARS, § 3 c; and for The South as a geographical expression (1 S. 30 14 1 Macc. 5 65), see JUDAEA, NEGBE, PALESTINE.

SOW (זָרָע, 2 Pet. 2 22; see SWINE).

SOWER, BOWING. See AGRICULTURE, § 6. Cf. the Parable of the Sower, see GOSPELS, § 19.

SPAIN (ΣΠΑΝΙΑ [ANV Th. VII]), 1 Macc. 8 3 Rom. 15 24 28). Carthaginian Spain became Roman at the close of the Second Punic War (201 B.C.); but the

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Roman power was not fully consolidated over the entire Roman peninsula until nearly two centuries later (by Marcus Agrippa the friend and minister of Augustus). There is no reason to suppose that the apostle Paul ever carried out the intention of visiting Spuria expressed in Rom. 15:21-3, and the evidence that the country was evangelized by the apostle James the Less (see JAMES, § 11) is too late and legendary to be of any value. Cp. LINGUISTIC GEOGRAPHY, § 23 f.; PARSSINII, § 2.

SPAN (סַן): שְׁפָנִים. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. In Lam. 2:20 AV gives the pathetic phrase 'children of a span long' for שְׁפָנִים קָטָנִים; RV, however, has 'the children that are dandled in the hands' (cp. v. 22). Budd. 'Hatschel-kinder'.

SPARROW. The word שִׁפְרִיר, שִׁפְרִיר, of frequent occurrence in OT, is, with only two exceptions (Ps. 84:3 [4] 1923[7]; צְרָפְרָפִים rendered 'bird,' 'fowl' in EV. Nor does the exceptional translation 'sparrow' imply that any particular species was intended. The word probably meant any small Passerine bird, a group which is unusually abundant in Palestine. It is interesting to note that the common house-sparrow, *Passer domesticus*, is common in Palestine, but in a smaller and brighter variety; three other species of *Passer* are also enumerated. Canon Tristram identifies the sparrow of Ps. 102:7 as the *Monticola cyanea* or Blue Thrush, from its habit of sitting solitary, or sometimes in pairs, on projecting ledges or some other conspicuous perch, uttering from time to time a plaintive and monotonous song. The 'sparrow' is not included in the list of unclean birds; and it seems probable that at any rate in NT times (Mt. 10:29 31 Lk. 12:6, στρογγύλιον) they were eaten, as is commonly the case in Mediterranean countries to this day. See BIRD, Fowl, § 1. A. E. S.

SPARTA (ΣΠΑΡΤΗ [NV], -ΤΙΑ [N], 1 Macc. 14:16; **SPARTANS**, ΣΠΑΡΤΙΑΤΑΙ, 1 Macc. 12:7 f. 14:20 f. 15:23; ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΙ. AV 'Lacedaemonians,' RV '-them,' 2 Macc. 6:9).

The greatness of Sparta was long past when she came into connection with the Jewish people. The final suppression of the liberties of Greece by the Romans was in part due to her obstinate refusal to enter the Achaean League (149 B.C.). On the destruction of Corinth and dissolution of that league, Sparta gained a favourable position so far as retaining her autonomy went, but a number of the Laconian towns dependent upon her were granted autonomy by the Romans (Strabo, 366; Livy, 31:29). Sparta at this period held the rank of a *civitas foederata et libera* (Str. 365), being self-governing and not liable to tribute or to the jurisdiction of a Roman governor. Sparta and the Spartans are mentioned together in connection with a correspondence which passed between them and the Jews in the Maccabean period (1 Macc. 12:6). About 144 B.C. Jonathan, then leader of the Jews, wishing to make alliances to strengthen his position, sent Numenius and Antipater with letters to Rome, Sparta, and elsewhere (1 Macc. 12:7 ff., cp. DISPERSION, § 13). In his letter to the Spartans he lays great stress on a former letter from their king Areus to the Jewish high priest Onias, and on the desirability of renewing the brotherhood which had then existed. The letter of Areus is quoted to the effect that it had been found in writing that the Spartans and Jews were of the same stock, that is to say, of Abraham, and that therefore their interests were identical (12:20-21). Shortly afterwards Jonathan died, and the tidings of his death caused great grief in Sparta (11:16), but on Simon's assuming the priesthood, the rulers (*i.e.*, the Ephors) of the Spartans wrote to him wishing to renew the friendship which they had confirmed with Judas and Jonathan his brethren (14:7 f.).

The name of the Spartan king is given as ARTUS.¹

¹ Possibly a more correct form of the name would be *ἀρεύς* as in Grk. writers, cp. also *Cl. A.* 2:1, no. 227.

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So RV, but AV AREUS (1 Macc. 12:6, ἀρεύς), which should also be read in v. 7 (with Ag. and Jos. [apocryphal] for AV ΔΕΥΣ) and again in v. 19, for AV ONIAS'S (ὄνιας) [AV ΔΕΥΣ] [12:9], which has arisen from the confusion of οὐκ with ΔΕΥΣ, the last word in v. 12, with ἀρεύς [v. 6], the first.

Although there were two Spartan kings named Areus there is little doubt that Areus I. (399-394 B.C.) the successor of Cleomenes, is the one here referred to, and that the high priest is Onias III. It has been suggested with great probability that this letter was written in 302 B.C. when the Spartans may have wished to hinder Demetrius Poliorcetes, who was then warring with Cassander. That treaties may have existed between Semite and other peoples at that time is shown by the league between the Athenians and the Sabaeans before the time of Alexander the Great, to which reference is made in *Cl. A.* no. 87 (Schurer in Rehm's *HH* 1: 21596).

The authenticity of the letters in 1 Macc. has been much disputed. The letter from Jonathan to the Spartans (1 Macc. 12:6 ff.) scarcely reads like a diplomatic document, and betrays the religious spirit of a later age; though it must be admitted that it is impossible to build too much upon the wording since the letters are translations of translations.

There is no reason, however, to doubt the fact of diplomatic relations with Sparta having been set on foot by Jonathan. For Sparta was too obscure at the time to have suggested itself to a forger eager to magnify his hero by inventions of the kind. Again the incident leads to no result in the sequel; the message would have tended to throw doubt upon the entire episode. As given both by Josephus and the author of 1 Macc. the two letters of the Spartans seem fragmentary and wanting in definite suggestion. They have the air of diplomatic relations. Especially is it noticeable that whereas Jonathan desires the Spartan overtures as a declaration of 'confederacy and friendship' (1 Macc. 12:8) there is no such declaration in proper diplomatic terms in the appended document. Yet the only point to a real alliance in the past would have been the natural and most powerful recommendation of his proposals.

A point upon which too much stress has been laid is the relationship between the Spartans and Jews. Verse 21 mentions that it was written down that they were 'brethren and of the stock of Abrahah'. The name of JASON (γ. v. 2) tied to the Lacedaemonians (Λακεδαιμόνιοι) for shelter because they wore him 'near of kin' (ὄντα στρογγύλιον, 2 Macc. 6:9), and Herod made a favour of a certain Spartan 'on account of his country' (1 Macc. 14:21). There seems to be no good ground for regarding the 'Sparta' of these letters as a corruption of the Asiatic name Siparda (see SEPTUAGINT) and thus equally hazardous with Hitzig (*Gesch.* 347) to identify it with the Lycian town Patara. It is conceivable that the old historians connected the Pelasgians with the Spartans, and derived the former from Peleg the son of Eber; but the relationship insisted on finds a parallel in the case of the people of Pergamos, who, in making an alliance with the Jews, pointed back to similar relations between their ancestors and Abraham? (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10:22). The old historians and genealogists were ever ready to account for existing confederacies and alliances as resting on some ancient bond of kinship, and numerous analogies may be found amongst classical writers; cp. *GENEALOGIES* I., § 3 [3], col. 1996.

See H. J. E. Palmer, *de epistoliarum quas Sp. et Iudaei inter se habuit interitum sibi misisse dicuntur veritate*, *Biblioth. Theol. Schurer*, 1:96; *Ew. Gesch.* 4:317. S. A. C.—W. J. W.

SPEAR. The words are:—

1. שֵׁבֶט, *hith.* See below (§ 2) and cp. JAVELIN, 2.
2. קֶשֶׁט, *hith.* See below (§ 3).
3. קֶשֶׁט, *hith.* See JAVELIN, 1.

¹ Cp. ONIAS, § 3. Not Onias II. and Areus II. (*Ew. Gesch.* 4:317), for they can hardly have been contemporaries, and moreover Areus II. died young, about 257 B.C. (Jos. *Ant.* vii. 6:3) still less can it be Onias III. (Jos. *Ant.* vii. 4:1). A certain Areus is mentioned about 184 B.C. as a prominent Spartan (*Pol.* 22:1 23:4).

² Cp. a note in Steph. Byz., s.v. ἰουδαία, 'derived ἀπὸ ἰουδαίου Σπαρτιάτου ἐκ τῶν ἐπιπέτων'; see Schurer, *l.c.*

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4. *ἰσχυρὸν* (S. 21 r v). The text however, is doubtful. See *Levi 12:30*.

5. *ῥομφαία* (*rhōmphaia*) ('fish-spear'). See *Fish*, § 1. On the 'spearman' of Ps 68:13 see *Concord*. For the *ῥομφαία* of Acts 23:24 we ought probably to read with A *ἀσπίς*; cp the *ῥομφαία* of Jos, II n 17 v, *σφενδοῦνται* and *ῥομφαία* of II, 7 r b, and *σφενδοῦνται* of IV, 1 r. Cp *WAR*.

The spear was a favourite weapon of offence amongst ancient nations, as it has always been amongst other peoples at an early stage of development.

1. Construc- tion.

It was easy to make and could be used with great effect. It varied chiefly in its size, weight, and length; this will be seen from the illustrations in *Erman (Life in Anc. Eg.)*, Wilkinson (*Anc. Eg.*), and Maspero (*Struggle of the Nations*), though too much reliance must not be placed on the representations of spears in 'works of art' (cp the remarks of Lecl. For. *Antient Ships*, 8). It consisted, as a rule, of a wooden shaft with a sharp head of flint or metal. It may be that the early Israelites, as a writer in *Kitto (Bibl. Cyclop.)* suggests, like other primitive peoples, made use of the horn of some animal, 'straightened in water, and sheathed upon a thorn-wood staff.' We know with what effect animals themselves use these horns (Darwin, *The Descent of Man*, 501 ff [1869]). 'When sharpened this instrument would penetrate the hide of a bull, and, according to Strabo, even of an elephant; it was light, very difficult to break, and resisted the blow of a battle-axe' (Kitto). Later, brass (see *Combr.*) or iron (*g.v.*) was used. Layard (*Nineveh and Babylon*, 301 [1853]) found at Nimrud the heads of spears, 'which being chiefly of iron fell to pieces almost as soon as exposed to the air.' In Gen. Louis Palma Di Cesnola's *Cyprus* (1877), plates xxxvi and xl (after p. 362), are given gems from Curium in the Phœnician (xxxvi) and the Greek (xl) style, on which warriors are represented armed with round shields (see *SHIELD*), and spears which look like sharp-pointed stakes; cp the long spears on the Sarcophagus from Golgoi (pl. x., opposite p. 110). On the other hand, on the silver patera found at Anatius (pl. xix., opposite p. 270) a regular spear-head seems to be represented.

Layard (*Nineveh and its Remains*, 234) says, 'the spear of the Assyrian footman was short, scarcely exceeding the height of a man; that of the horseman appears to have been considerably longer. . . . The shaft was probably of some strong wood, and did not consist of a reed, like that of the modern Arab lance.' It would seem to have been a stout weapon, since warriors used it to force stones out of the wall of a besieged city (see p. 372). The Egyptian soldiers of the eighteenth Theban dynasty carried 'pikes about 5 ft. long, with broad bronze or copper points' (Maspero, *Struggle*, 213); the spear was not so common. The Assyrian pikemen of a later date were armed with equally heavy weapons (*ibid.*, 627 f.). The Hebrew *hānith* (722) seems to have been a large weapon. It was used by great warriors (2 S. 22, etc.); and it is the weapon put into the hands of 'giants' (2 S. 23, etc.). Goliath is said to have carried a spear 'like a weaver's beam' (1 S. 17), its head weighing 600 shekels' (for the idea of 'giants' see *ANAKIM*). Saul is said to have hurled his *hānith* at David (1 S. 19 f.). From such indications in the OT we may suppose that the *hānith* had some resemblance to the Egyptian and the Assyrian pike.

2. The hānith.

A lighter, and no doubt much older, weapon of the kind was also in use among the Egyptians and the Assyrians, and is still found among the Bedonins and other primitive peoples. This is called in Arabic *rumh*, and we can hardly be wrong in identifying it with the Hebrew *rōmah* (722, see Na. 25, etc.; cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1221 228; Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, 482), which, however, was no doubt often shortened. The beam, made of a light reed of the

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rivers of Mesopotamia is nearly 1/2 of their short horse-lengths. They charge them *above their heads*' (Doughty, I, 4). The Arab keeps this spear continually at his side. When he prepares to encamp, the sheikh strikes his spear in the ground. When the camp is broken up, the spear is the last thing taken from the ground (Warburton, *The Desert and the Cross*, chap. 25). For other spear-like weapons ('darts,' etc.) see *WEAPONS*, § 2. Cp *SHIELD*, *WAR*.

SPECKLED. For (1) *nakāh* (777), Gen. 41:2 f., and (2) *ḥāḥāh* (777), Jer. 12:9, see *CONCORD*, § 12, and *For* (1) *nakāh* (777), Zech. 1:8, see *ib.*, § 10.

SPELT is the RV rendering of *kūzūmeth*, קִצְמוֹת (Ex. 9:12; 1 S. 28:25; Ezek. 4:9), for which AV has two 'm' and once 'h'ches'. See *FITCHES*.

It is possible that קִצְמוֹת, 'spelt,' occurs also in 1 S. 2:2, where it is said that destitute priests will sue to be put into a priest's office קִצְמוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל, according to tradition, 'for a piece of silver and a loaf of bread.' But the rendering 'spelt' presupposes a connection of קִצְמוֹת and קִצְמוֹת (see *WEAPONS*), which is purely arbitrary. Following Del. *Is. of 19*, BDB and Ges. *ib.*, take קִצְמוֹת to be an abstract noun, meaning 'payment,' cp *Ass. gēdēm*, 'to hire.' But this root does not appear to be known to Hebrew, nor is an abstract noun probable in this passage. Probably the text is corrupt, and we should read קִצְמוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל, 'for an umer of spelt.' קִצְמוֹת is without the following words קִצְמוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל; possibly these were added after the corruption of קִצְמוֹת, on account of the concluding mention of 'a morsel of bread.' For a bolder expedient see *Crit. Bib.*-T, *loc.*

SPICE (*v. c.*, Lat. *species*, French *espice*, hence *spice*; cp *Jl.*, a. c. h. 1614, all species [of spices]; Vg. *herbarius meretricis* [727]), though now specifically employed to denote 'a class of aromatic vegetable condiments used for the seasoning of food, commonly in a pulverised state,' was, in the seventeenth century, applicable to a much wider variety of 'species'; in AV it happens to be applied (unless, perhaps in Cant. 8:2, where 'spiced' wine is alluded to)² never to condiments but only to aromatic odours. It represents:—

1. *bāḥem*, בָּחֵם (Ex. 30:23), or *bāḥem*, בָּחֵם (often), plur. בָּחֵמִים, 2 Ch. 10:4, etc. That this word must sometimes at least have a general sense is shown by the expressions קִצְמוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל (Ex. 30:23; see *CENSAMON*), קִצְמוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל (*ib.*, see *CALAMUS*) and קִצְמוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל (Ezek. 27:22). On the specific sense, see *BALSAM*.

2. *sammim*, סָמִים (Ex. 30:34; EV *SWEET SPICES*; Ex. 25:30; 31:11; 35:15; 36:30; 37:27; only AV [Ex. 4:7; 16:12; Nu. 1:10; 2 Ch. 24:13] only AV [13:11]; EV *SWEET INCENSE*); or *ḥāḥem*, חָחֵם, סָמִים (Ex. 37:29); EV *INCENSE*); or *SWEET SPICES* and RV in 40:27 2 Ch. 24:13).

The word *sammim* is a general expression for fragrant material in the form of powder, akin to Ar. *sammīn*, 'to smell,' as well as *samm*, *simm*, or *samm*, 'poison,' and to Aram. *sammā*, 'a medicine.' The exact history of this group of words is obscure, but probably the oldest form of root is represented by Ar. *sammā* = Aram. *sam*; and Ar. *samm* and Heb. סָמִים may both be loan words from Aram. (cp Frankel, 262). On the other hand, the oldest meaning is perhaps that of the Hebrew word and of Ar. *samm*, viz., 'fragrance'; the notions of poison (in Syr. *sammīn dāḥ merḥā*) and of medical efficacy may well be derived from this. In post-biblical Hebrew, and sometimes in Syr., the word was used with a further extension of meaning—viz., 'colouring matter.'

The use of the word in OT is, as a general term, for the sacred incense compounded of stacte, onycha, galbanum (gallanum of *sammim*), and frankincense (see *INCENSE*).

3. *nakāh*, נָחָה; (Gen. 37:25; EV *Spicery*; RV^{mg}

¹ Compare, however, *ḥāḥ*; the latter text has the curious expression *ḥāḥer ḥāḥem* (see *Crit. Bib.*).
² In Ezek. 24:10 the verb results from a mistranslation, 'spice it well'; RV 'make thick the broth.'

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gum tragacanth or storax; *θυμαμάρα*; *aromata*; Gen. 43:11; AV spices, RV spicery; *θυμίαμα*, *storax*). See STORAX.

4. *rébah*, רֶבֶחַ, Cant. 8:2 (apparently not specific).

See PERFUME, PERFUMERS.

5. *ἀρώματα*, Mk. 16:1, etc. See PERFUME.

6. *δύσμον*, Rev. 18:13 RV. See ANOMUM, N.M.

SPICE-MERCHANTS (הַרְבֵּלִים, with art.; *טוֹן עַמְטוֹרָוֹן*), but RV 'merchants,' are mentioned in connection with Solomon's commercial profits (1K. 10:15), if we should not rather read 'Jerahmeelites.' See SOLOMON, § 7, and cp PERFUMERS.

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SPIDER. 1. *šēmāmith*, שִׁמְמִית; Prov. 30:28†; RV

LIZARD [q.v., 7].

2. *akkābīš*, אַקְבִּישׁ (*ἀράχνη*, *aranea*). Under this

name the spider is mentioned in MT only twice—viz., in Is. 59:5, where the devices of the wicked are likened to a spider's web, and in Job 8:14, where the confidence of the goddess is compared to a 'spider's house.' There are several other passages, however, in which, through an easy textual error, the spider has been supplanted by the moth. Thus in Job 4:19, 'which are crushed before the moth' (שֶׁבַע מוֹת) should rather be 'which are crushed even as the spider' (רֵבֶחַ אַקְבִּישׁ); Mohammed, too, compares 'dolaters to spiders' (Koran, Sur. 29:40). In Hos. 8:6 the 'calf of Samaria' is also probably compared to a spider's web,² and in Ps. 39:12 [11] 909 (שׁוֹס אַרְאֲחָה) in both passages) the same figure seems to be employed to symbolise the frailty of human life, according to probable emendations of these two corrupt passages.³ Textual criticism also reinstates the spider in a fine description of the fate of the wicked (see MOTT), where 'moth' should probably be 'spider' (Job 27:13-14; but in S of 27:13 אַרְאֲחָה seems to stand for בַּקָּה). Not improbably, too, 'the poison of asps' in Ps. 140:3 should rather be 'the poison of spiders' (so Gratz, Merx, after Tg.). In Is. 59:5 'spiders' and 'vipers' are parallel, with an allusion to a belief in their poisonousness. See ASP, S, according to Grabe, followed by H and P read 'spider' אַרְאֲחָה, but the text [B-AQ] has אַרְאֲחָה) in Hos. 5:12, where MT has 'moth.'

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SPIES (מְרַגְמִים, רַגְלָל, *ragal*, 'to busy oneself with walking about'; cp רַגְלָל, 'merchant,' but MH מְרַגְמִים, 'calumny,' and רַגְלָל, Ps. 15:3 'backbite'; *κατασκοπος*, Gen. 42:9, etc., Josh. 2:16 23 1 S. 26:4 2 S. 15:10; and virtually מְרַגְמִים Nu. 14:6 *κατασκοπεύμενοι*, but Aq. Sym. *κατασκοπῶν*; אַתְרִים Nu. 21:1 AV RVmg., Aq. Sym. *τῶν κατασκ.*, but see *ad fin.*).

For the **Way of the Spies** (דַּרְיָ אַתְרִים), Nu. 21:1 AV, see below, § 2, end, and cp ATHARIM, KADESH, § 3. Cp דַּרְיָ, 'spy out,' Nu. 13:2 10 f. etc., and דַּרְיָ, 'range [of spying?]' Job 39:8. The equation דַּרְיָ = רַגְלָל (1 above) finds an analogy in the use of מְרַגְמִים as 'merchants,' 1 K. 10:15 (out see MERCHANT, SOLOMON, § 7).

The practice of obtaining information by means of spies as a preliminary to warlike movements was well-known to the Hebrews. Two notable cases are the mission of twelve (?) spies by Moses to explore the region which the Israelites were about to invade, and the mission of two spies by Joshua, 'to view the land, namely, Jericho' (see JERICHO, § 3). It is the former episode which concerns us here. Our chief traditional authority for it is in Nu. 13 f. (JEP), but it is also related in an allusive way in Dt. 1:22 f., where the writer is presumably dependent throughout on the narrative of JE; there is at any rate no evidence that he made use of P. It may be convenient to lay before the reader the variations between

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¹ מְרַגְמִים and רַגְלָל are elsewhere, too, confounded.

² מְרַגְמִים should be קַרְיֵי עַבְדֵי רִיבֵי (Ruben, *Critical Remarks*, on Hos. 1c.); cp Vg. in *araneorum telas*.

³ See Che. *Psalms*,² and cp LOCUST, OWL.

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the accounts which the redactor has welded together, as well as he could, in Nu. 13 f.; it will not only show the reader the state of the traditional evidence for the mission of the spies but will illustrate the section on Nu. 13 f. in NUMBERS [BOOK], § 3; cp also DRIVER, *Introd.* 63.

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| | P | JE |
| 13 3, | start from wilderness of Paran (P). | start from Kadesh (traditional, but from H). |
| 21, | they explore the land from the wilderness of Zin to Rehob; to the district of Hamath (P). | they go as far as Hebron (J), or the valley of Eschol (E). |
| 32, | they describe the land as one that 'devours its inhabitants' (P). | 'the land is very fruitful, but the inhabitants can well defend themselves' (J). |
| 14 6, | Joshua and Caleb oppose the mutinous Israelites (P). | 30. Caleb stills the murmurers (J). |
| 38, | Joshua and Caleb (vs. 39, 40) are excepted from the general doom (P). | 14 24. Caleb may enter the land (J). |

It is usual to give the preference to the statements of J and E (an analysis of JE cannot remain unattempted, even though [cp NUMBERS, § 3] the result may be incomplete). It was from Kadesh, then, that Moses sent spies into Canaan (cp 32:8 R_D; cp NUMBERS, § 8), one from each tribe, and the region to be explored was the Negeb and the mountain-district (*i.e.*, as most understand, that of Judah). The spies did not reach Hebron (in the 'hill-country' of Judah, Josh. 20:7 21:11), where they found Ahiman, Sheshai, and Tahmai. On their return, they gave a very favourable report of the land, and supported this by a huge cluster of grapes from Eschol; but a further statement respecting the Nephilim, the sons of Anak, who dwelt at Hebron, made the people despond, and even vented to express a wish to choose another leader and go back to Egypt. Caleb alone is excepted from the doom which Yahwé fails not to pronounce on the rebellious people. The punishment of the guilty is thus expressed in Nu. 14:33 (assigned to J by Dillm.).¹ 'Your little ones, which ye said should be a prey, will I bring in. . . . But as for you, your carcases shall fall in this wilderness. And your children shall be shepherds of your infidelity, until your carcases be consumed in the wilderness.'

Looking at the differences tabulated above we shall see that the first is quite unimportant, since the wilderness of Paran in the wider sense may

2. **Criticism.** have contained Kadesh-barnea (see PARAN). The third is of some interest, because (Wellh. *Prolog.* 370) Nu. 13:2 (P) may reflect the melancholy feelings of post-exilic Jews, who could only by faith describe their country as a delectable land (אֶרֶץ חַיִּל, Ps. 106:24). The fourth and fifth are important because they show that one at least of the early narratives did not include Joshua among the spies. According to E. Meyer (who allows very little of the material in chap. 13 f. to J), the earliest narrative stated that Caleb (possibly with other spies) was sent into the Negeb—to Hebron, and said on his return that the people was strong and the cities fortified, Amalek dwelling in the Negeb, etc., and that giants too were to be seen there. The despondency of the Israelites disappears, and with it the divine sentence of forty years' wanderings. According to Meyer the object of the story of the spies was simply to account for the settling of Caleb in Hebron. Caleb of course receives Hebron because he acted as spy, not because he remained steadfast. E, however, looks at things with a 'theological' interest, and alters the story for edification, while P calculates from Josh. 21:29 that Joshua too

¹ Both Dillm. and We. deny that 14:33 belongs to P, and hold that the 'forty years' (אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה) are a fixed point in tradition. We., however, assigns 14:30-34 to a special source, distinct from JE.

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must have been born in Egypt, and therefore includes him among the spies, and makes him, like Caleb, faithful among the faithless ('Kriuk der Berichte,' etc., *ZATW* 1.139 ff. [1881]).

One of the most doubtful points in Meyer's theory is the definition of the object of the story. Was Caleb really the only spy, and the only clan-leader who had land assigned to him in the Negeb? It is clear by no means certain that the threat of the forty years' wandering formed part of the original tradition. It is suggested elsewhere (MOSES, § 11, end) that in 1. 14. 13 as well as in other passages) **בְּיַד אֲרִיבֵי שֵׁנָה** most probably due partly to corruption, partly to etymological speculation, and that the original text had **בְּיַד עֲרִיבֵי שֵׁנָה** 'in the desert of the Arabians.'

Possibly, too, in Nu. 13:25 (P) the statement that the spies returned **מִן־הָאֲרָבִים** arose through a misreading of **מִן־הָאֲרָבִים** ('from the Arabian Cush');¹ and it is in the highest degree probable that **מִן־הָאֲרָבִים** in Nu. 13:22 14:2-4 should be read **מִן־הָאֲרָבִים**, i.e. the N. Arabian Musri (see MIZKAM, § 2 f.).

Nor are these the only names which have to be scrutinized. Important as it is to put a rational sense on the traditional stories in their later form, it can hardly be less urgent to find out how the stories originally ran, and what they originally meant. It has been pointed out elsewhere (NEGEH, § 7) that it is the Negeb and the Negeb alone that is referred to as the region explored by the spies. Rehoboth (Hebron) has arisen out of **רְהוֹבוֹת**² (Rehoboth), and the mountain-district in 13:17 is 'mount Jerahmeel.'³ In 7:28 should probably be **עַמְּךָ**, and we thus see that 7:29⁴ is partly a gloss on **עַמְּךָ** (so read) in 7:28 (see NEPHILIM, § 3, 1).

The second apparent difference in the above table still remains. Did the spies, according to P, or at least P's authority, really survey 'the whole land throughout its entire length from the wilderness of Zin (cp Nu. 21:33 ff.) to Rehoboth (either the place of that name in the territory of Asher, Josh. 19:28, or Beth-rehob, near the town of Dan, Judg. 18:23)? This no doubt is the general view. Another theory, however, is much more probable. If not P himself, yet almost certainly P's authority, meant, not any northern Rehob, but Rehob or Rehoboth in the Negeb, while **הַחֲמַת** (Hamath) is in many OT passages most probably a southern Hamath, or more strictly a southern Maacath (see MAACATH, end). This accords with the view (see above) that in Nu. 13:25 the original text had, 'And they returned from spying out the land, from Cush of Aralia.'

Thus the difference between JE and P in the story of the spies is much less serious than has been supposed. The only important variation is the combination of Caleb with Joshua—himself perhaps originally a Jerahmeelite hero (cp JOSHUA).

We have no space here to consider the names of the spies according to P (Nu. 13:4-15). It is quite possible that all, or nearly all, the names are characteristically Negeb names. But this is unimportant compared with the right comprehension of the rest of the composite narrative. Let it be added, however, that **הַדָּרְוִי** (Nu. 21:1) is not (as even Knobel supposed) for **הַדָּרְוִי** (AV 'by the way of the spies') but is probably a corruption of **הַדָּרְוִי** (cp Ramathaim-zophim), unless we prefer to trace it to **הַדָּרְוִי** (KADEM, 1, § 3). In either case, the name appears to be an early popular corruption of **הַדָּרְוִי**. Winckler's theory (*GI* 240 f.) is ingenious, but cannot here be discussed.

T. K. C.

SPIKENARD

Mk. 14:3 Jn. 12:34).¹ i. The Hebrew word, *nard*, which is derived from Sanskrit, has passed into Greek and other European languages: see the references to nard in classical writers collected by Naber (*Memosyne*, 1902, pp. 1-15); according to Lagarde (*Mitt.* 2:23) Pers. *nal* is an equivalent form.² A connection with Ar. *rand*, is very doubtful (see Mordtmann and Müller, *Sib. Denk.* 82). The Aramaic and Arabic names *šebithā* and *šunbul* (more fully *šunbul hindī*, 'Indian saffron'), like our own 'spikenard,' have reference to the spike-like appearance of the plant from which the perfume is derived. Accounts of the true or Indian nard, as well as of inferior sorts, are given by Theophrastus (*De Chlor.* 42 f.), Dioscorides (175), and Pliny (*HN* 12:6 f. 132). Its botanical source in India was investigated by Sir W. Jones (*As. Res.* 2:405-417),³ and was ascertained independently by Wallich and Royle to be the plant called *Nardostachys jatamansi DC.* of the order *Valerianaceae*. The drug consists of the rhizome surmounted by the fibrous remains of the leaves. It occurs throughout the alpine Himalaya from Kumaon to Sikkim.

The meaning of the adjective *πιστάκη* (Mk. 14:3 Jn. 12:34) is very uncertain. Five explanations have been offered: (1) that it means 'liquid,' from *πίσις*; (2) that it means 'genuine,' from *πίστις*; (3) that it means 'powdered,' from *πίσσειν*; (4) that it is a local name; (5) that it = *πιστάκη*; (6) that it = Lat. *spicata*. There is difficulty in accepting any of these explanations; and it is possible that the word may have quite another origin, as Dymock (*Pharmacogr. Ind.* 2:233) gives *Pistilā* as a Sanskrit name for the spikenard plant (cp W. Houghton, *PSBA*, 1888, 3:144-6. M.—W. T. T.—D.

ii. In Aeschyl. *Prom.* 431 (Loh. *ppa.* 131) *πιστός* means 'drinkable' (so K. F. A. Fritzsche on Mark, following Casanbon), but the word is only so used for the sake of a pun; otherwise *πότης* and *πόσιμος*, but never *πιστικός*. It is true that *πίσις* (or *πιστήρ*) are found from the same stem *πεί*, and that according to Athenaeus (689c) and others, oil of nard, mixed with wine, was, as a matter of fact, taken as a beverage; but in Mk. and Jn. the nard is used as ointment, so that, if *πιστικός* is only added with the meaning 'liquid,' the explanation would be superfluous.

Naber (as above) points out, on the other hand, that Clent. Alex. (*Prod.* 28, § 64, p. 207 ed. Potter) distinguishes between *μύρα ἰγρὰ* and *μύρα ἕψα*, and Basil (Hom. in Ps. 449, ed. Garnier, 1:160 f., also in Stephanus, *Sib. στακτός*, 7650 f.) between two preparations of ointment, the one fluid (*ρίσιον*) called *στακτῆ* (= 'dropped,' stillata, stillititia), and the other thicker or more viscous (*παχύτερον*), called *σμίρνα*. The expression in Athenaeus also (225 p. 46 A: *ἐκκλίειν δὲ τὰ πάχη τῶν μύρων*), he thinks, has reference to this. Naber therefore conjectures that there stood originally in Mk. and Jn. a word (of which no traces can be met elsewhere) *σπειστικός* (= 'capable of being poured,' 'liquid,' from *σπένδω*). By itacism it could also have been written *πισστικός*, in which form its strangeness made it unintelligible, and thus it finally became corrupted into *πιστικός*.

¹ Vg. has *nardi spicati* in Mk. and *nardi fistici* (so usually Ital.) in Jn.

² Meissner has pointed out a Babylonian plant-name *lanḫar*. This, according to Hommel (*PSB.* 1 21:13 [1860]), the Babylonians borrowed from an Iranian form *nard* (see Pers. *lād*); the Indians have for *nard* the later form *nata* and *naldā*.

³ A Brahman of eminent learning gave me a parcel of the same sort, and told me that it was used in their sacrifices; that, when fresh, it was exquisitely sweet, and added much to the scent of rich essence, in which it was a principal ingredient; that the merchants brought it from the mountainous country to the N.E. of Bengal; that it was the entire plant, not a part of it, and received its Sanscrit name from its resemblance to locks of hair; as it is called *Spikenard*, I suppose, from its resemblance to a spike, when it is dried, and not from the configuration of its flowers, which the Greeks, probably, never examined. The Persian author describes the whole plant as resembling the tail of an ermine; and the *Jatamansi*, which is manifestly the Spikenard of our druggists, has precisely that form, consisting of withered stalks and ribs of leaves, cohering in a bundle of yellowish brown capillary fibres, and constituting a spike about the size of a small finger' (cp *ibid.*, 200 f.).

SPIKENARD (שֵׁנָה); **ΝΑΡΔΟΣ**, Cant. 1:12 4:14; and **שֵׁנָה**, **ΝΑΡΔΟΙ**, Cant. 4:13; also **ΝΑΡΔΟΣ ΠΙΣΤΙΚΗ**, **שֵׁנָה**.

¹ Notice the name Sheshai (on which see note 2) in Num. 13:22. If we emend as above, the *עַי* of MT will have grown out of a dittographed *עַי*. For *קָן* from *קָן* cp *Crit. Bib.* on Ezek. 7:2.

² Note that Ahiman represents Jerahmeel; Sheshai comes from Cush (cp note 1); and for Tahai compare Telem and Talmon (which can be shown to be Negeb names). 'Zoan in Egypt' should be 'Zoan (or Zoar?) in Misrim.'

³ As Dillma points out, 'go up into the Negeb' probably comes from J, and 'go up into the mountains' from E. But if so, it is not natural to take *נָגַב* and *הָרָה* as practically synonymous.

⁴ The other ethnics are probably *רְהוֹבוֹתִי* (Rehobothite), *יִשְׁמְעֵאלִי* (Ishmaelite), *אֲמֹרִי* (Amorite), *קִנִּזִּי* (Kenezite).

⁵ Wade, *Old Testament History* (1901), 120.

2. The adjective *πιστικός* occurs with the meaning 'convincing' and also 'having the power of persuading' (Plato, *Gorg.* 455a; *Diog. Laert.* 4.17; Dion. Hal., *or.* Reiske, 5.31; Theophrast., *in Aristot. opera metaph.*, ed. Sylburg 253, ed. Brandis, 302), though in almost every instance of its occurrence the variant *πιστικός* is preferred (Becker and Stallbaum on Plato; Lohr on Soph., *Tr.* 131); in later times it means, when used of persons, 'faithful', 'reliable' (Lactant. on *Jn.* 12.4, Index to Celsinus). If, therefore, we adopt the translation 'zealot' (Meyer on Mk.), and such a meaning is conceivable—we must suppose that the word is used rather freely, just as in common id language, attributes which more often apply only to persons are not infrequently used of goods. Pliny (*IIY* xii. 29, § 43) mentions that in commerce nard was apt to be adulterated by admixture of pseudonardus, a plant resembling it.

3. *ῥόδον*, *rodon*, supports Scaliger's derivation from *πίσσιον*, 'popond' (K. F. A. Fritzsche on Mk. 508), after *π* being sometimes dropped out for the sake of euphony (cp *εἶς*, *πῆρας*), and Lat. *rhodum* = *πίσσιον*, *rosam* = *πέρση*. But how, it may be asked, could powdered nard be suitable for anointing?

4. If it is a local name it has been suggested that it stands either for *Ἰσπάρειος* (from Opis not far from Babylon) or for *Ψιττακίος* (from Psittake on the Tigris). Still more likely would be *Ἰστρα*, an abbreviation—according to the Scholion on *Æschyl. Pers.* 2—of a Persian town *Ἰστραπία*; but we cannot be sure that this notice (which according to Stephanus refers to a Thracian town) is trustworthy.

5. E. N. Bennett (*Class. Rev.*, 1899, p. 310) sees in the word an allusion to the *Pista* in *Peribolus*, the resin of which, together with other sweet scents (*εἶς*, *βάλανμος*, cp BALM, INCENSE), was mixed with the oil of nard. Dioscorides says (*Mat. Med.* 1.1) of the *πίσσιον*; *γεννάται δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ Σηριᾷ καὶ ἐν Κεραῖᾳ*, its resin is *εὐώδης, προεχθεὶ δὲ πᾶσιν τῶν ῥητιῶν* (he describes nard in *Tr. Tr.* 1.1). Bennett, therefore, thinks that *ῥόδον πιστικός* is intended. Accordingly to Hdn. ii. 428, 22, and Stephanus, *ῥά ψιττακία* would be another form of *ῥά πιστάκια*, the fruit of the *πίσσιον*, which Hdn. (i. 315 r) derives from the town *Ψιττακία*.

6. Nesle (*ZNTW*, 1902, pp. 169-171) explains *πιστικός* from the Latin name *nardus spicata*; the participle *spicatus* could become in vulgar Latin *spicatus*, just as *proditus* became *proditus* and *roscatus vocatus* (Ronsch, *Italia u. Voicatus*, p. 226, cp 283 [1899, 2^o 1875], and, more fully, *Collectanea philologica*, 221-227 [1891]—*ZNTW*, 1877, pp. 409-412); next *spicatus* was transformed into *πιστικός*. The supposition however is not easy; for as late as the second half of the second Christian century we find Galen taking the word over into Greek in the form *σπικατά*.

The 'nardus spicata' of (Ital. and) Vg. is intelligible when we remember that the nard-plant—which indeed is called *nardus spicatus*, *spica nardi*—resembled in shape an ear of corn.

N. M.—W. T. D., i.; P. W. S., ii.

SPINNING. See LINEN, WEAVING.

SPIRIT (πῆ), *ruḥ*, fem. about seventy-three, mase. about thirty-two times; in **Θ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ, ΑΝΕΜΟΣ,**

1. Meaning. ΠΝΟΗ, ΣΤΟΜΑ, ΛΟΓΟΣ, ΦΘΕΓΜΑ, ΨΥΧΗ, ΚΑΡΔΙΑ, ΘΥΜΟΣ, ΝΟΥΣ.

ΟΡΓΗ, ΟΔΥΝΗ, ΦΡΟΝΗΣΙΣ, ΒΟΗΘΕΙΑ, ΦΩΣ, ΜΕΡΟΣ) originally 'wind,' and so the point of the compass from which the wind blows. In poetry, which no doubt represents ancient usage, the storm wind is the breath of Yahwe's mouth or nostrils (e.g., Ex. 15.8 to Ps. 18.16 [15]), and since the commotion of nature is a sign of his displeasure, the *ruḥ* of Yahwe becomes synonymous with his wrath (Is. 4.4 59.19 Zech. 6.8 Job. 49.15.30). The *ruḥ* or spirit of a man is his disposition, his mental state; he may be 'depressed in spirit,' 'of a proud spirit,' 'of a patient spirit' (Prov. 16.18 Eccl. 7.8). It is natural to compare the wind, invisible itself but visible in its effects, with the mental disposition displaying itself in men and action. Just in the same way Aeschylus, describing the changed mind of Agamemnon says that he 'blew an impious veering gale of mind' (*φρενός πνέων δισσεσθή τροπαίαν*, *Ag.* 217).

In a very early passage, Gen. 6.3, *ruḥ* denotes the divine substance or nature, not necessarily immaterial, but far removed from the weakness of mortal flesh. By intermarriage of the 'sons of God' or angels with women, a portion of this divine spirit has passed to their descendants, and therefore Yahwe declares, 'My spirit shall not continue (?) for ever in man, since he is only flesh,' and shortens the span of human life to 120 years.¹ But though the spirit or invisible power of God was not proper to man, it descended upon the heroes of Israel and endowed them with superhuman energy. It fell on Othniel (Judg. 3.10); on Jephthah (11.29); on Samson

¹ On this passage cp NEPHILIM, § 1.

(146.19 15.14). The phenomenon has no ethical import. Samson shows that the spirit of Yahwe descended on him by rendering a lion as if it were a man. Similarly the divine spirit produces prophetic frenzy (1.8.196 to 19.9.21), such, e.g., that Saul strips off his clothes and lies a day and a night naked. The spirit might transport a prophet miraculously (2 K. 2.11). Sometimes Yahwe sent a lying spirit on his prophets (1 K. 22.22) or the spirit of strife into a city (Judg. 9.23), or a spirit of melancholy madness (1.8.16.14, etc.).

Far higher is the use of *ruḥ* in the literary prophets. To Isaiah, Yahwe (Is. 31.3) is 'spirit' because he is the spiritual principle in the history of the world and as such invisible. Moreover, the spirit of prophecy is an abiding gift. To ignore the prophet's counsel is to set at nought God's spirit which speaks through him (Is. 30.1). In the same sense Hosea had spoken of the prophet as 'a man of the spirit.' But before Ezekiel references to 'the spirit' as in the prophets only occur in Is. 30.1 Hos. 9.7 and perhaps Mal. 2.1. A prophet so deeply spiritual as Jeremiah avoids the term 'spirit' altogether; it had been associated too long with frenzy and marvel.

The following are the chief points in the exilic and post-exilic conception of spirit. It is an official charisma, speaking, e.g., habitually in David (2.8.232) and fitting the Messiah for the discharge of his duties (Is. 11.2), conferring wisdom on judges and martial vigour on warriors (1.286). It is characteristic of P that he attributes it only to Joshua, who receives it in increased measure by the imposition of Moses' hands (Nu. 27.18. f. Dt. 34.9). It is to dwell in the midst of the people as a 'new spirit' (Ezek. 36.26.8. f.), and to be poured out from on high on land and people (Is. 32.15). The fulfilment of this promise is assumed in Ps. 51.11 [13] 143.10; cp Neh. 9.22. The word is called the holy spirit, Ps. 51.11 [13] and Is. 63.1.

2. Later nuances. In which latter passage it is personified (cp Eph. 1.17, and twice 'the good spirit' (Neh. 9.20 Ps. 143.1). It is a cosmic power, producing order (Gen. 1.1) and fertility (Is. 32.15). It is the principle of all-pervading energy (Is. 31.6) and omnipresence (Ps. 139.7). It is the *voûs* or intelligence of Yahwe (Is. 40.13), not as in earlier writers his essence. Finally, in a very late passage, it is the breath of life which God imparts, and which at death returns to him (Eccl. 12.7; cp Job. 27.3 33.4 34.14. f. Ps. 104.29. f.). Cp FLESH, W. E. A.

In discussing the NT use of *πνεῦμα*, the question is complicated by the employment of other words,

3. Contrasted with σάρξ. especially of *ψυχή*, *ψυχή*, soul, to denote the interior part of man, whereas *σάρξ*, *σάρξ*, flesh, is the single word to denote the material part. As a general thing both words are used with reference to the contrast between the spiritual and the material part, and both words are embodied by this contrast. When Jesus speaks of the value of the soul (*ψυχή*; Mt. 16.26), and contrasts it with the comparative unimportance of the body (Mt. 10.22), and Paul advises the delivering over of the flesh to destruction, in order that the spirit (*πνεῦμα*) may be saved (1 Cor. 5.5), they are both evidently using different words for the same thing. And apart from the Pauline epistles and two passages in the epistles of James and Jude respectively (1.3.15 Jude. 19), these words are used in the same way to express the contrast between the spiritual part of man and material things, but are not contrasted with each other. But Paul found it necessary to express this contrast not only in terms of the spiritual and the material, but also of the spiritual and the natural (1 Cor. 2.14), and for this purpose he uses the else where synonymous words, *pneuma* and *psyche*.

The *psyche* is the vital or spiritual part of the natural

¹ [Not counting Wisd. 9.17, cp 7.22, where wisdom (in the enlarged sense natural to an orthodox but Hellenised Jew) is traced to 'thy holy spirit.']

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man, and the *pneuma* is the new part brought into

4. Pauline usage.

activity when the supernatural man begins his career with the entrance of the divine *pneuma*. Paul does not state this expressly; but it appears from his introduction of the human coincidentally with the divine *pneuma* (cp Rom. 8:15, with the rest of the passage 1-27. And see 1 Cor. 6:17-19, cp 12-17 with rest of passage). It is evident from the passage in 1 Cor. that *pneuma* is not to be identified with *nous*, the intelligence, in Rom. 7:25, where it is used interchangeably with the 'inner man,' which rebels against the sin of the outer man. That faculty, the spirit, is the organ evidently of the Holy Spirit, and does not appear in the apostle's account of the situation until the entrance of the Holy Spirit which removes the disability discussed in our passage, Rom. 8:7-9, cp 7:10-16. The faculty which ineffectually rebels against sin in the natural man is the mind. It is very much as if the apostle had said that when he sinned even in the natural man, he knew better, and his intelligence rebelled against it, but ineffectually, because the very organs of action were the seat of sin. But the inner man after the coming of the Spirit is spirit, which is freed from the bondage of the flesh.

We must not think, however, of the human spirit as the essential factor in the new man according to Paul.

5. The Divine Spirit.

The essential factor is the Divine Spirit, who effects deliverance for the man not by creating or awakening a new faculty in him, but by coming himself to dwell in him. That is the reason why it is the Holy Spirit, not the human spirit, that is constantly brought into contrast with the flesh in Paul. This has led to the statement that the apostle does not speak of a human spirit. But the use, while infrequent, is sufficiently distinct. The human spirit is evidently the part in which, and upon which, the Holy Spirit works, and through which it controls the man, but which has no office except in connection with the Divine Spirit. Without the Divine Spirit it is like ears in a soundless world. The real agent in substituting holiness instead of sin in man is God, not man. What is this Divine spirit? The answer is not always the same. In the earlier Jewish literature, it is an emanation from the One God through which he performs various offices—e.g., creation—but especially that of inspiring in man the knowledge and skill needed for his work. In general we may say, that whenever God is represented as a diffused presence, he is represented as working through the spirit. And in no pre-Pauline writings is there any indication that the impersonal use is departed from. But in Paul, and Ju. especially, there is the beginning of the later doctrine of the Spirit as a distinct entity, quasi-personal, in God. He is to God what the spirit is in man (1 Cor. 2:10/1); but in God this is objectified, represented as a distinct personality (Rom. 8:27 Gal. 3:5 Ju. 14:26 16:13).

There is a distinct difference, however, between the Pauline and the Johannine theology in the doctrine of the Spirit. In both, he is the principle

6. Pauline and Johannine usage contrasted.

of immanence in God, the one through whom God dwells in men, conveying to them the truth, not in the external way by which men communicate with each other, and which has no power of enforcement or persuasion sufficient to beget in men the spirit of holiness, but internally and with regenerative power. And in both especially he conveys to men the grace of which

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Christ is the author. But in Paul, he is the principle not only of immanence, but of incarnation. In Ju. it is the Logos, the Word of God, who is incarnate in Christ. The thought is borrowed from the Alexandrian philosophy, which represents God as creating various natural products out of the ideas of the same in his mind. These ideas are endowed with life and creative power, so that God creates not only out of them, but through them. Besides these individual ideas, there is the collective idea of the universe as a whole, the Logos, or Word, which is also vested with a life and quasi-personality of its own. The incarnation of this in the Son of God is thus only the final form of the incarnation which is the generative idea of the Logos. The Spirit, on the other hand, is in Ju. the principle of immanence. If we go back to the philosophy from which the Logos idea is derived, the Logos is the thought of God, distinctly a principle of incarnation. But the *Pneuma* is the Spirit in which the thought is generated, and this is as obviously a principle of immanence. All this is distinctly different from Paul's thought. He has no Logos doctrine, which is a thought derived from Alexandrianism, and Paul is not an Alexandrian. He declares himself a zealous Pharisee, and opposed to any attempt to translate religion into the terms of philosophy (Gal. 1:14 1 Cor. 1:17-21). But Pharisaism and Alexandrianism are at opposite poles of thought, and Alexandrianism is an attempt to philosophise religion. And yet Paul teaches the pre-existence of Jesus and his sharing in the work of creation (Phil. 2:5-11 1 Cor. 8:6). What then is the principle of incarnation in Christ? It cannot be God himself, as Paul distinguishes between God and the Lord Jesus Christ. On the other hand, whilst there is only one passage which has the appearance of distinguishing Christ from the Spirit (2 Cor. 13:14), there are many passages which seem to identify them. In the first place, the indwelling of Christ, his mystical union with the believer, is exchanged frequently for an indwelling of the Spirit. Then the Spirit is called the Spirit of Christ, and Jesus' divine Sonship is attributed to the Holy Spirit. He is the Son of God on that side of his being, as he is Son of David on the side of the flesh (Rom. 1:3/4). And finally it is distinctly said that the Lord is the Spirit (2 Cor. 3:17/1).

Now, it is not as if this was unexpected. If Jesus was in any way pre-existent, and that pre-existence antedated creation, and he had a share in creation, then he is in some way an incarnation of the Divine. And in the Jewish theology the only Divine principle remaining, after eliminating God himself as expressly excluded, and the Alexandrian Logos as ruled out by Paul's opposition to Alexandrianism, is the Spirit of God. In Paul, therefore, the incarnation is of the Holy Spirit.

F. P. G.

The OT Theologies of Schulz and Smead, and the NT Theologies of B. Weiss and Holtzmann; König, *Opferungs-begriff des AT* 187-210; Giesebrecht, *Begriff des AT* 187-210; H. Wendt, *Die Begriffe Fleisch u. Geist im biblischen Sprachgebrauch* (1878); A. Westphal, *Chair et esprit* (Toulouse, 1883); Lüdlemann, *Die Anthropologie des Ap. Paulus* (1872); Pfeiderer, *Paulinism* (F. T., 2 vols.); Cremer, *PREF.* art. 'Geist'; Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des heil. Geistes* (1887), 5-62; J. Koehler, *Natur u. Geist, nach der Auffassung des AT* (1900); F. C. Porter, 'The Vegetarianism in the Jewish Doctrine of Sin,' *Biblical and Semitic Studies* (New York, 1901), where note criticism of Pfeiderer's interpretation of Paul's conception of spirit and flesh. See also SPIRITUAL GIFTS.

W. E. A., § 1 f.; E. P. G., §§ 3 6

SPIRITUAL GIFTS

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χάρισμα: what? (§ 2).	Tongues not foreign languages (§ 9).	Diffusion and cessation of tongue-speech and prophecy charisms (§ 16).
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'Spiritual Gifts' is a comprehensive name for all those extraordinary and often directly miraculous powers of which we learn, chiefly from 1 Cor.

1. Definition. 12:4-11 28-30 Rom. 12:3-8, that they were possessed by many Christians of the apostolic age, and, according to Paul, had their origin in a specific operation of the Holy Spirit, which has for its object the profit of the church.

When in 1 Cor. 12:6 the 'workings' (ἐνεργήματα) are assigned to God, or in 2:5 the 'ministrations' (διακοναί) brought into connection with Christ, we are not to see in this any real departure from the regular attribution of the spiritual gifts to the Holy Ghost. The phrase in 7:5—'diversities of ministrations but the same Lord,' is simply another expression of the purpose for which the gifts are given—the common good of the church; for he who serves the church serves Christ who is the Lord of the church, or, according to another way of putting it, who is the soul of the church which is his body (12:12f.). The phrase in 7:6 on the other hand—'diversities of workings but the same God'—is appropriate in so far as by the 'workings' in question we are to understand according to 7:10 'workings of powers,' or of miracles (ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεως), of which one most readily thinks of God as the author. They are nevertheless attributed precisely in the next verse (7:11) to the Holy Spirit, a conclusive proof that no real distinction ought to be drawn here between him and God as the author of these workings.

The word *charisma* in this connection is plainly used in a narrow technical sense. (a) That the thought of the grace of God as being the source from which the bestowal of a *charisma* comes is still very vividly realised is shown by Rom. 12:6: 'having gifts (charisms), differing according to the grace that was given to us' (ἔχοντες χάρισμα κατὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν διάφορα).

2. Literal meaning of χάρισμα.

In the only NT passage where *charisma* (χάρισμα) is coupled with the adjective 'spiritual' (πνευματικόν), the technical sense is, as it happens, absent; in Rom. 1:11 it does not mean any special aptitude possessed by Paul, but a gift (in the way of instruction, encouragement, consolation, or the like) which he hopes to be able to confer upon the Romans in the course of his visit, even if 'spiritual' (πνευματικόν) expresses the thought that he himself in turn has received it from the Holy Ghost. Still further removed from the specified meaning of the word *charisma* as given above, though again with a passive application (gift that is conferred), are the applications of it which we find in Rom. 8:24 (eternal life the *charisma*, not of the Holy Ghost but of God), in 11:29 (the charismata of God=the favours bestowed by God upon his people Israel as enumerated in 9:4f.), in 2 Cor. 1:11 (without τοῦ Θεοῦ; the charisma of Paul's deliverance from deadly danger); so also in Rom. 5:15f. where the justification of sinful man is the charisma of God and Christ. The word denotes the whole aggregate of God's benevolent operation in the universe in the single passage outside of the NT, and the Church Fathers in which it is known to occur (Philo, *Legis allegor.* 3:24 end, 1:103 ed. Mangey: 'All things in the universe, and the universe itself, are the donation and benefaction and gift of God' (δωρεὰ καὶ ἐνεργεσία καὶ χάρισμα Θεοῦ τὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κόσμος ἐστίν)).

(b) Very sharply distinguished from these uses is the technical sense in which the word is employed, whether in the pl. (Rom. 12:6 1 Cor. 12:31; and, with the addition of 'healings' [ἰαμάτων], 12:9-28:30), or in the sing. with a negative (17: 'so that ye come behind in no charisma'), or in a distributive sense (1 Pet. 4:10: 'according as each has received a charisma'; ep 1 Cor. 7:7: 'each man hath his own charisma from God'). In just the same way, in the technical sense, the distributive singular of 'grace' (χάρις) stands in connection with the plural 'gifts' (δωματα), in Eph. 4:7f.: 'unto each one of us was the grace given according to the measure of the gift (δωρεάς) of Christ. Wherefore he saith . . . He gave gifts (δωματα) unto men.' Not till we reach the Pastoral Epistles do we find the sing. charism (χάρισμα), used comprehensively to denote all the

aptitudes which Timothy, as a bearer of ecclesiastical office, possesses, or ought to possess: 'neglect not the charism that is in thee' (1 Tim. 4:14); 'I put thee in remembrance that thou stir up the charism of God which is in thee' (2 Tim. 1:6).

(c) For us the technical meaning of the word is first met with in Paul. At the same time, we may at least be certain that Paul did not invent it when he was composing his epistles: for he employs it in his writings without any explanation, as referring to a matter that will be well known. There remains a possibility that he may have coined the expression, in the course of his observations of the extraordinary endowments intended by it, while engaged in his missionary labours. We may well venture upon such a conjecture, seeing that the idea of grace (*charis*) is so especially prominent with Paul. Yet the expression can also have sprung into existence in the Christian churches without the agency of Paul.

No one of the three leading passages relating to spiritual gifts in the writings of Paul, as given above

3. Delimitation of field. (§ 1), can claim to be a complete account, and it therefore remains uncertain whether even all three together make mention of everything which Paul reckoned to this category. (a) Nevertheless the attempt must be made, with the help of these three principal passages and other subsidiary ones, to form to ourselves some conception of the range of the phenomenon in question.

'Prophecy' (προφητεία) is the only charism that is actually named in all three passages; but in effect so also is 'teaching' (διδασκαλία), if we permit ourselves to regard the 'word of wisdom' (λόγος σοφίας), and the 'word of knowledge' (ἡ γνώσις), of 1 Cor. 12:8 taken together as identical with 'teaching'—a view which is favoured by 14:26 ('teaching' [διδάχη], co-ordinated with 'revelation, tongue, interpretation' [ἀποκάλυψις, γλῶσσα, ἑρμηνεῖα]), whilst in 11:6 'knowledge' [γνώσις] also is found co-ordinated with 'teaching' (διδάχη) as well as 'tongues, revelation, prophecy' (γλῶσσαι, ἀποκάλυψις, προφητεία), so that only the 'word of wisdom' (λόγος σοφίας) seems to be left as synonym for 'teaching' (διδάχη). In both the leading passages in 1 Cor. 'gifts of healings' (χαρισματα ἰαμάτων), 'powers' or 'miracles' (δυνάμεις), and 'diversities of tongues' (ἑτη γλωσσῶν), occur in addition to the other concepts already mentioned. Rom. has with the first passage in 1 Cor. (12:5) nothing but 'ministry' (διακοναί) in common, but in that first passage, as well as in 1 Cor. 16:15, this word seems to have a more extended application than in Rom. 12:7; with the second passage in 1 Cor. (12:28-30) Rom. has in substance but one concept in common—in the assumption, that is to say, that we may identify the προϊστάμενος ('he that ruleth') with him who has the gift of 'government' (κυβερνησις). Peculiar to the first passage in 1 Cor. (12:4-11) are 'faith, discerning of spirits' (πίστις, διακρίσεις πνευματικῶν), and 'interpretation of tongues' (ἑρμηνεῖα γλωσσῶν); to the second (12:28-30) the concepts 'apostle' (ἀποστολός), and 'helps' (ἀντιλημψίαι); and to Rom. 'administering' (παρακαλῶν), 'giving' (ἐπιδοδίδους), and 'showing mercy' (ἐλεῶν).

(b) Eph. 4:11 and Justin, *Dial.* 39, can be adduced only as secondary authorities, so long as it is with the apostolic age that we are dealing.

Eph. (on its date see col. 3120, n. 3) noticeably enumerates offices only, not charisms. Of these Paul had already named the 'apostles,' 'prophets,' and 'teachers,' and also the 'pastors' (ποιμένες), if these are to be taken as equivalent to the 'rulers' (προϊστάμενοι) of Rom. 12:8. Peculiar to Eph. are the 'evangelists' (εὐαγγελισταί), on whom see MINISTRY, § 20 a, b. Of the gifts enumerated by Paul Justin has only 'healing' (ἰατρικὴ) and 'teaching' (διδασκαλία). What he designates 'understanding' (ἐπίγνωσις), may safely be identified with 'wisdom' (σοφία), and his 'strength' (ἰσχύς) perhaps with 'power' (δύναμις), as he attributes 'strength' (ἰσχύς) to Moses (*Dial.* 84). The new elements in his list are 'counsel' (βουλή), 'for-knowledge' (πρόγνωσις), which answers only in a very limited degree to the 'prophecy' (προφητεία) of Paul, and 'fear of God' (φόβος Θεοῦ). Four of his seven concepts—'understanding' (ἐπίγνωσις), 'counsel' (βουλή), 'strength' (ἰσχύς), and 'fear of God' (φόβος Θεοῦ)—

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Justin has taken direct from Is. 11:2 f. Q , where, according to his interpretation (*Ibid.*, 37), are enumerated, the seven powers of the Holy Spirit which were all of them to rest upon Jesus from his baptism onwards, whilst the saints of the OT and Christians never receive more than one or a few of them. In Is. we find, besides the four words already given, 'wisdom' (σοφία), 'knowledge' (γνώσις), and 'prudence' (ἐπιστήμη). It is plainly with reference to knowledge (γνώσις), that Justin speaks of foreknowledge (προγνωσις), for he lays stress upon the argument that in his time 'prophetic charisms' ($\text{προφητικὰ χαρίσματα}$) are still found among Christians, and that thus the OT gift of prophecy—by which he understands merely prediction of future events—has passed over to the followers of Christ (*Ibid.*, 32, begin.).

(c) It will be noticed that in all the enumerations almost no reference whatever is made to the virtues that are looked for in every Christian. Even 'ministry' (διακονία), 'giving' (μεταδίδοναι), 'showing mercy' (ἐλεᾶν), are enumerated only on the assumption that they have risen to a pitch that is not attainable by every Christian. The extraordinary character, rising in many cases to the level of the miraculous, which has been noted in § 1 as the first criterion of charisms in the technical sense, is thus preserved. All the less have we any occasion to lay stress on the 'fear of God,' which Justin has merely taken from Isaiah, or to extend in an analogous way the limits of our category in the direction in which this would be permissible, if one elected to pay heed only to the second criterion (see § 1)—that they are attributed to the agency of the Holy Spirit—and, further, to take it as one's guiding principle that according to Paul the whole new life of the Christian, with all its virtues, is a work of the Holy Spirit (Gal. 5:22 f.; love, joy, peace, etc.). It would therefore be a mistake to accept the limits for our present concept, as these are laid down by Weinel (below, § 21), who in fact writes not about the 'gifts,' but about the operations, of the Spirit. To these of course belongs the ethically good state of the will, treated of by Weinel (149-161), with all its effects; it does not belong to the order of charisms.

(d) There is still another element included by Weinel which we for our part must exclude. The receiving of revelations—apart from the subsequent reporting of them—or the power to endure martyrdom (or even ascetic privations) may be traced back to the Holy Spirit, and may also possess the note of the extraordinary in a very high degree, yet they ought not to be reckoned to the number of the charisms because they lack the third criterion—that of utility for the life of the church.

This criterion must have had very great importance in Paul's view; for not only does he in 1 Cor. 12:14-33 make it the chief goal of his entire discussion of the charisms (although he has been led to the mention of them, not by this thought but by that of the unity of the Holy Spirit), but also in Rom. 12:6-8 the same goal is set before him, although the occasion is in like manner different, namely, the thought of the unity of the church notwithstanding the diversity of its members. One is not entitled to suppose that the profit of the church is only an application of the charisms which Paul would like to see made, not a constitutive element in the concept itself. So far from that being the case, this criterion is for the apostle so important, that he would refuse to reckon to the number of charisms in the technical sense of which we are now speaking, any phenomenon which yielded no advantage for the community at large.

(e) For this reason we must hesitate before including in the category in question, one manifestation which Paul himself expressly designates by the name of *charisma*. In 1 Cor. 7:6 f. he wishes that all were unmarried as he himself is, but does not set this up as a positive command, 'because each man hath his own gift from God, one after this manner and another after that.'

It would be a mistake to believe that Paul here intends to contrast a *charisma* of marriage with a *charisma* *ἐγκρατειας* (as, following 7:9, we may designate the other side of the comparison); for in this whole section he regards marriage, and the intercourse of the sexes in marriage, not as a good in itself, but only as a preservative against evil (7:25). Rather must we take as the antithesis to the *charisma* *ἐγκρατειας* some one or other of the charisms enumerated in chap. 12. Paul, however, would hardly have arrived at such a co-ordination if for his own personal calling the unmarried condition had not carried with it a direct and obvious utility for the churches under his care—

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that, namely, of leaving him free for the preaching of the gospel and peculiarly less dependent on the churches, in which freedom and independence he discerned a great advantage for the exercise of his office, and specially for the assertion and establishment of his authority (1 Cor. 7:32 f.; 12:13-18; 2 Cor. 11:7-12). When, therefore, he speaks of the unmarried condition as a *charisma*, he will, broadly speaking, be thinking of himself and of those in a like position with himself. (Otherwise we should have expected him to class as charisms also other forms of asceticism, such as abstinence from certain kinds of food, or voluntary poverty; but this he never does.)

After defining the field our next task must be a classification of the charisms of so very various kinds.

4. Classification. (a) It might seem as if Paul himself had undertaken it when, in the first of the three leading passages (1 Cor. 12:6), before going into details, he sets up these three great categories—'charisms' (χαρίσματα), 'ministries' (διακονία), and 'works' (ἐνεργήματα).

If, however, we decide to take these verses as setting forth a strict arrangement, we shall have to believe that in the detailed enumeration in 12:7-11, where each charism is traced back to the Holy Spirit, only the first of the three great categories has been specifically dealt with, since the second and third of these—'ministries' (διακονία), and 'works' (ἐνεργήματα) are brought into connection not with the Holy Spirit but with Christ, or God. This again, however, would not be in accordance with 2:10, where 'works' ('of powers') ($\text{ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων}$), are included in this detailed list; and in Rom. 12:7 the 'ministries' (διακονία) belong to the charisms (χαρίσματα). This 'charism,' 'ministry,' and 'work' ($\text{χαρίσμα, διακονία, and ἐνεργήματα}$), are only three different names for all, or at least many of these gifts, and they are chosen with conscious reference to the three modes of divine revelation. The most comprehensive would seem to be, according to 2:6, 'work' (ἐνεργήματα), (Gal. worketh all things in all); according to Rom. 12:6 'charism' (χαρίσμα); in 1 Cor. 12:15 'ministry' (διακονία) is used also in a very comprehensive sense.

(b) Within the detailed enumeration made in 1 Cor. 12:3-10 a classification might seem to be hinted at by Paul himself, when he uses 'other' (ἄλλο) six times and 'different' (ἕτερον) twice; for 'different' (ἕτερος) may mean 'of another kind,' whilst 'other' (ἄλλος) signifies merely 'not identical.'

In that case, however, we should have to subsume under the fixed confidence or 'faith' (πίστις , 2:5), which is introduced by the first 'different' (ἕτερον), not merely the gift of healing and the power of working miracles (which would be suitable enough), but also 'prophecy' and 'discerning of spirits' (which would not suit at all). 'Other' and 'different' are thus used only for the sake of variety, not with the intention of expressing a difference.

(c) Any attempt to find a suggested classification in the omission of the particle 'and' (καί) in many instances also breaks down.

In 2:10 the second and third καί are put in brackets by WH. If in these two cases the particle is taken as genuine, then each 'other' (ἄλλο) is accompanied by καί , and 'different' (ἕτερον) in both cases is without it; the classification would then be the same as under (b). If both are deleted, 'discerning of spirits' as one principal division would be separated from 'prophecy' as another principal division, although unquestionably the two are not more widely separated than 'interpretation of tongues' from 'kinds of tongues' (14:29). Thus we should have to reject the first of the two καί and retain the second (so Bern. Weiss). For this, however, the authorities give not the slightest warrant, for in both cases the evidence is almost exactly the same for the retention and also, on the other hand, the same for the deletion.

(d) Thus all that remains for us is to attempt some sort of classification from the nature of the case. The points that seem clearest are these: (1) to the 'works of powers' ($\text{ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων}$) of 1 Cor. 12:10-28 belong the 'charisms of healing' (χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων) of 28:9-28 which were invariably regarded as miraculous, and the 'faith' (πίστις) of 2:5 since, in 13:2, it is spoken of as able to remove mountains. (2) To the 'ministry' (διακονία) of Rom. 12:7 belong certainly the 'givings' (μεταδίδοναι) and 'showing mercy' (ἐλεᾶν) of 12:8, and the 'helps' (ἀντιλήψεις) of 1 Cor. 12:8. Thus, if we take διακονία in a narrow sense. In a wider sense of the word there is a 'ministry of the word' ($\text{διακονία τοῦ λόγου}$, Acts 6:4), and in the sense in which the word appears to be used in 1 Cor. 16:15 other gifts also might easily be included under it, as Stephanas had rendered useful service in the guidance of the church at Corinth as well. Yet (3) it is better to regard the governments' (κυβερνήσεις) of 1 Cor. 12:28 as forming an inde-

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pendent main division, to which of course the 'governor' (*προϊστάμενος*) of Rom. 12⁸ will belong. Most simply subdivided (4) is the gift of the 'word'; 'word of wisdom' (*λόγος σοφίας*), 'of knowledge' (*λόγος γνώσεως*), the first of them (or both of them) = 'teaching' (*διδασκαλία*), or, if it is the product of the charisma that is thought of, = 'doctrine' (*διδάχη*); see § 3*a*. Then there is also the 'admonish' (*παρακαλεῖν*) of Rom. 12⁸; but also very specially 'prophecy' (*προφητεία*) together with 'discerning of spirits' (*διακρίσεις πνευμάτων*) and the 'kinds of tongues' (*γένη γλωσσῶν*) with 'interpretation of tongues' (*ἐρμηνεῖα γλωσσῶν*). An apostle (1 Cor. 12²³) combines the gift of the word with that of direction and of miracle-working (2 Cor. 12¹²).

The first three classes call for but little remark by way of explanation. It has elsewhere been shown from the sources (see GOSPELS, § 144; cp also

5. Charisms apart from that of the word. below, § 16) how widespread, down to the end of the second century, was the belief that many Christians possessed the power of working miracles, and very specially that of driving out evil spirits. It is specially important to observe that the same power is not denied of those who are not Christians, but only attributed in their case to the agency of demons. This goes to show that some kernel of actual fact in the alleged occurrences is undeniable.

We may seek to explain these from natural causes, a method of explanation that presents no particular difficulty, least of all in cases of casting out of devils or healings of mental disease, which, however, often enough will have been only temporary in their effect. We may further take it that the faith which saw miracles in those really unmiraculous events will, without discrimination, have attributed to those who produced them performances also of such a nature as would really have been irreconcilable with the laws of nature. The collection to be found in Weinel (100-127) shows, however, that the Christian writers, apart from quite summary accounts, refer, with regard to the first and second centuries, almost exclusively only to exorcisms, and attribute miracles of the more pronounced sort to heathen sorcerers, and to the gnostics (who, in holy horror, are put on the same level with the sorcerers). Exceptions are the legendary works in which such magical arts, as practised by Simon Magus, are initiated by Peter or by Peter and Paul with a view to out-doing them (see SIMON PETER, § 23*f*), or apocryphal Acts of Apostles, partly of gnostic origin, the spirit of which is illustrated by some examples in JONES, SON OF ZENOBED, § 8*f*, and in SIMON PETER, § 46.

On 'ministry' (*διακονία*), see DEACON, § 3; on 'government' (*κυβερνήσις*) and its development, see MINISTRY, § 9, and subsequent sections.

The various forms of the fourth class, on the other hand, demand careful and detailed investigation. Let

6. 'Wisdom' and 'knowledge'; 'exhorting'; us begin with the 'word of wisdom' (*λόγος σοφίας*) and 'word of knowledge' (*λόγος γνώσεως*) in 1 Cor. 12⁸. It is obvious from the first that the two are very closely related; for in 27-16 'know' (*γινώσκω*) figures as the verb to which the substantive 'wisdom' (*σοφία*) corresponds. If, notwithstanding, the two must be regarded as characteristically distinct in our leading passage, the difference accordingly is hardly to be sought in their differing contents, but rather in the way in which the human spirit appropriates the same material which is brought before it by e. ch. Now, according to 2 Cor. 4⁶ (cp 2:14), *gnōsis* appears to be applied to the knowledge of what is perceived in an ecstatic condition; for Paul who had never known Jesus upon earth can only have seen, in the face of Christ, the splendour of God (*δόξα* is nothing abstract; cp 2 Cor. 3:7 Lk. 29 Acts 7:55 1 Tim. 6:16 Rev. 21:23*f*.), in a vision. If, now, *gnōsis* appropriates to itself the impression thus received and casts it into the form of thought, it follows from this manner of origination that the mental product will possess the character of what, in the philosophical theory of knowledge, is called intuition. It will thus have the note of immediacy as distinguished from that which has been reached by the discursive method. For the explanation of what is meant by 'wisdom' (*σοφία*) no such direct hint is given us by Paul. Apart from passages where the word is used in an un-

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favourable sense, it always indicates with him the content, not the manner, of the knowledge. The circumstance, however, cannot alter anything in the fact that in our leading passage it is parallel with *gnōsis*, and here, accordingly, like the other, must be in a manner of knowing. There is nothing to indicate that the practical, as distinguished from the theoretical, is meant. On the other hand, the wisdom of the word, which is the opposite of that here intended, exhibits pretty clearly the feature which would offer a clear contrast with *gnōsis* as explained above; it results from intelligent consideration of things. A wisdom which figures as gift of the Holy Spirit must naturally be the consequence of the inspiration of that spirit, but nevertheless it can in its style and manner display the note of discursive thought and reflection quite as clearly as *gnōsis* can display that of vision and intuition.

Holsten seeks to bring out the contrast in the following way: in Paul we have to look more for *gnōsis* in so far as he visualises the fundamental conceptions of his entire doctrine on the basis of that image of the ascended Jesus which he saw in his vision near Damascus; 'wisdom' (*σοφία*) we find more in Apollon. If this is correct, the so-called pneumatic interpretation of the *λόγος* which believes itself able to arrive at the hidden sense, would rather fall to the side of 'wisdom' (*σοφία*), including that in which it is employed by Paul in, for example, such passages as 1 Cor. 9:9*f*. 10:4 14:21*f*. 2 Cor. 3:13-16 Gal. 4:21-31. As regards the Epistle of Barnabas, it is true (10:29*f*), it appears to be called *gnōsis*. Yet here a vacillation of expression is only possible. It must be added, further, that *gnōsis* in Paul, where it relates to the region of practice (1 Cor. 8:17 10*f*.) and doctrine (also 2 Cor. 16), is a much simpler notion. It is easily conceivable that the application of the word to this region may have had a different course of development from that which it had when regarded as a spiritual gift.

The 'admonish' (*παρακαλεῖν*) of Rom. 12⁸ belongs entirely to the practical side. Primarily it means not to comfort but to exhort. Consolation, however, is not excluded; for the literal meaning is to speak to a person. It is presupposed that people are in need, not so much of instruction as of the effort made, whether gently or more strenuously, always in a friendly and tactful manner, to bring them, by spoken word, to a better disposition of will or a better frame of spirit.

We should completely misunderstand 'prophecy' should we suppose its essence to lie in prediction of the future. This is not wholly excluded;

7. Prophecy; but it can have had only a very modest part as compared with more important elements in the idea. These elements are found in 1 Cor. 14.

(1) According to 14:3 prophecy produces 'edification', 'comfort', and 'consolation'; according to 2:24*f*. it can penetrate so deeply as to lay bare the secrets of the hearts of strangers and constrain them to confess that the spirit of God speaking in the prophet has rightly disclosed what was passing within them. Accordingly, prophecy would seem to be distinguished from the 'word of wisdom' (*λόγος σοφίας*) and the 'word of knowledge' (*λόγος γνώσεως*) in this, that it is preaching of a purely practical kind, often not unlike the addresses at a revival meeting. Yet, according to 27:31 and 19, the hearers also learn (*μανθάνειν*) and are instructed (*κατηχησάμενοι*) by it. Theoretical elements, therefore, cannot be wholly absent; the real distinction as compared with 'wisdom' (*σοφία*) and 'knowledge' (*γνῶσις*) has not yet emerged.

(2) What is more important to observe is that, according to 2:30, it is by a 'revelation' that the prophet is led to speak. This feature is in fact so characteristic that in the enumeration in 2:26 we actually find 'revelation' (*ἀποκάλυψις*) where, alongside of 'teaching, tongue, and interpretation of tongues' (*διδάχη, γλώσσα, and ἐρμηνεῖα γλωσσῶν*) we should have expected to find 'prophecy' (*προφητεία*). In 2:6 also, the two pairs are clearly so distributed that the first member of the one ('revelation') is, if not similar to, at least analogous to, the first member of the other ('prophecy') just as are the second members of the two pairs (*γνῶσις* and *διδάχη*). Here accordingly is seen what is the really essential distinction between prophecy on the one hand

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and wisdom and knowledge on the other; it lies in the suddenness and immediacy of the revelation from which prophecy proceeds. For we must assume that a prophet spoke from the basis of such a revelation even in those cases where he had received it, not as we find in 7: 39, while the meeting was actually going on, but some time previously—at home, let us suppose.

(c) On the other hand, prophecy has to be distinguished equally clearly from the 'speaking with tongues' with which it stands in such close parallelism. Whilst that which is spoken in tongue-speech remains unintelligible until it has been interpreted, the 'prophet' can be understood by any one (77: 37) because, during the time of his speaking, he is guided by his 'understanding' (νοῦς; 7: 14). Therefore, also, it is said of prophecy (7: 32) that 'the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets,' whilst those who speak with tongues are at the moment in the ecstatic condition.

(d) Taking all these considerations together, we find that the prophecy spoken of by Paul is entirely similar to the discourse of the OT prophets. In the OT also the contents of prophetic discourse are for the most part of a practical character, yet also informing; the origin is sought in a sudden revelation; the manner of speech of the OT prophets is quite intelligible. This holds good of the prophetic discourse so long as it has not, as in the Book of Daniel, or even in Zechariah or Joel, passed over into the apocalyptic style, but simply as we find it in the genuine writings of the older prophets, not as it is described by such authors as Philo and Justin for whom the OT prophets are men who speak in a completely ecstatic condition and are mere foretellers of the future.

Perhaps we might even go a step farther and conjecture that the manner in which the 'prophets' of the apostolic age were conscious of receiving their revelations resembled that of the OT prophets who say, 'The Lord spake to me,' and that the contents of such a revelation, as in the OT, had reference for the most part to some concrete detail. From what has been said it will be seen that on the whole the most suitable rendering of 'prophecy' will be 'inspired address' or 'inspired preaching.'

On the later stages of Christian prophecy see *MINISTRY*, § 38 [also *PROPHETIC LITERATURE*, §§ 30-33]; on 'discerning of spirits' (*διάκρισις πνευμάτων*), see below, § 18.

The discussion of the question of speaking with tongues has been brought into the state of confusion in which we

8. Speaking with tongues: the phenomenon itself.

find it by the circumstance that investigators were determined to take Acts 2: 1-13 as their starting-point, and to find the truth of that narrative confirmed in all circumstances, in other words, supported by Paul. The student, however, who is not prepared to give up the genuineness of the principal Pauline Epistles (as to which cp *GALATIANS*, §§ 1-9) is in duty stringently bound to consider the account of Paul as the primary one, and discuss it without even a side glance at Acts, and to reject as unhistorical everything in Acts which does not agree with this account. Nor will it be permissible to urge that Paul's information may have been defective; for he himself spoke with tongues more than they all (1 Cor. 14: 18).

(a) The speaking with tongues was unintelligible (1 Cor. 14: 9, 11) and therefore of no use to the church, unless an interpretation followed (77: 6, 9, 17). Paul goes so far as to say (7: 22) that in a mixed assemblage of Christians and non-Christians it has any purpose at all only for the non-Christians—namely, to be to them a sign which, in the context, can only be taken as meaning a mark of displeasure. True, along with this he concedes that the speaking with tongues has a value for the speaker himself, for his edification, namely, because it is a speaking on behalf of God (77: 2, 4, 17, 28). From the latter circumstance, and particularly from 7: 2 ('no man understandeth'), has been drawn the conclusion that the speaking with tongues was in quite low

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tones. Against this, however, has to be set the comparison of tongue-speech with musical instruments which give out loud tones, if not individually distinguishable, and with a foreign language which is heard but has not been learned (77: 7-11), as also the statement that a stranger must regard the tongue-speaker as one out of his mind (7: 24).

(b) The explanation of the unintelligibility of such speeches must accordingly be sought in this, that intelligent thought (*νοῦς*) had no part in their production (7: 14). For 'nutritious' (*ἀκαρπός*) in this connection must mean not 'receiving no fruit' but 'yielding no fruit.' Now, the antithesis to 'speaking' (*λαλεῖν*, or 'praying' *προσευχῆσαι*, or 'singing' *ψάλλειν*, etc.) 'with the understanding' (*τῷ νοῦ*) in 77: 15 f. is 'with the spirit' (*τῷ πνεύματι*), but in 7: 19 it is 'in a tongue' (*ἐν γλώσσῃ λαλεῖν*). 'To be in the spirit' (*ἐν πνεύματι εἶναι*), however, is in Rev. 1: 10, 12, 17, 21 to the *terminus technicus* for the ecstatic state.

Hence the meaning must be that not all tongue-speakers were in a position to be able afterwards to explain their utterances (77: 13, 28), and that it is only of the prophets that Paul says that the spirits speaking through them are well-known to be subject to the will of the prophets and could therefore, when a new speaker came forward, be silent (7: 32) although for his own part Paul enjoins silence (7: 28) also on the speakers with tongues (on occasions when no interpreter is present). How ecstasy was regarded is well described by Philo (1: 2, 7, ed. Mangey); only, he supposes he is describing the condition of the OT prophets (in the widest sense of the word so as to include all the OT saints) when he says: 'The is a sounding instrument of God, irresistibly struck and played upon by him. . . . The understanding that is in us goes abroad when the divine spirit arrives, and returns home again when the spirit departs; for it is not right that mortal and immortal should dwell together' (*ὄργανον θεοῦ ἔστιν ἡμεῖς, κρούμενοι καὶ πληττομένοι ἁπλοῦς ἐν αὐτοῦ. . . ἐξοικίζεται ἐν ἡμῖν ὁ νοῦς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματος ἀφ᾽ ἑνῆς, κατὰ ἕτερον μετασπασαίνοντός ἡμῶν εἰσοικίζεται. ἡμεῖς γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶν θνητὸν ἀθάνατον συνεικίζουσα*).

(c) What the listeners actually heard Paul does not tell, because it was perfectly well known to his readers. For as this is unfortunate, since on this point, perhaps the most important of all, we are thus thrown back upon conjecture, and many are only too readily inclined to support their conjectures by reference to Act-2: 1-13. If, as we ought, we hold strictly by 1 Cor. we learn from 14: 1-17 to distinguish between a 'praying' (*προσευχῆσαι*) and a 'singing of psalms' (*ψάλλειν*), whilst the 'blessing' (*εὐλογεῖν*), since it occurs in a confirmatory clause, is doubtless to be identified with the latter or with both, as also 'giving thanks' (*εὐχαριστεῖν*) with 'blessing' (*εὐλογεῖν*). But what are we to say as to the nature of these prayers, songs of praise (and thanksgivings)? They were unintelligible, and were spoken in the state of ecstasy; from this we must conclude that they consisted either of quite disjointed sounds, cries, sighs, and the like, or, if of actual words or short sentences, at all events not of connected ones. A Christian listener, who naturally did not, like the stranger in 7: 23, regard the speaker as insane, must yet have had the impression that he was speaking in a dreamlike state.

(d) We may, further, adduce analogies from earlier and later times. Whilst the prophets of the best OT period are clearly distinguished from the speakers with tongues by the complete intelligibility of their utterances, the oldest stages of prophecy manifest a strongly ecstatic character. Cp for example 1 S. 10: 5-12 (19: 20-24). These prophets, capable of being brought by music and sensory stimuli, to dancing and frenzy, stand for their part in turn quite on the same plane with the pagan oracle-givers (*μάντις*). In this connection we can appropriately adduce the description of such persons (*μάντις*) in Plato (*Tim.*, 71c-72b, *Ion*, 534b-d), according to which they need an interpreter; only, this interpreter here bears the name of prophet. Within Christianity, Montanistic prophecy shares fully the ecstatic character of the primitive Christian tongue-speech. Of Montanus, for example, Epiphanius (*Her.* 48: 4, begin.) has preserved an utterance in which he

says in the name of God: 'behold the man is as a lyre and I play over him like a plectrum; the man sleeps and I wake; behold, it is the Lord who takes away the hearts of men, and gives to men a [another] heart:' (ἰδοὺ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὡσεὶ λύρα καὶ γὰρ ἐπίπταμαι ὡσεὶ πλῆκτρον· ὁ ἄνθρωπος κοιμᾶται καὶ γὰρ γρηγορῶ, ἰδοὺ κύριός ἐστιν ὁ ἐξιστάνων καρδίας ἀνθρώπων καὶ δίδοις καρδίαν ἀνθρώποις). From recent times we may cite the inspired persons of the Wetterau and elsewhere (1714-1749); also the second stage of Jansenism from 1713 onwards, the Irvingites, the 'preaching sickness' and 'reading sickness' in Sweden, 1841-1854 (see R. ERRETTON, § 36 c), many cases of somnambulism, also the Quakers, and especially and above all the Camisards in the Cévennes¹ (1686-1707); not, however, the Jumpers and Shakers.

(e) The 'kinds of tongues' (γέννη γλωσσῶν) of Paul points emphatically to a manifoldness of tongue-speech with regard to which we are hardly able to form any concrete idea. In the 'praying' (προσεύχεσθαι), 'singing' (ψάλλειν), 'blessing' (εὐλογεῖν), of 1 Cor. 14:14-17 we have up to the present point become acquainted with two (or three) different kinds of contents of tongue-speech; but that by no means exhausts the subject. We may perhaps think in addition of such contents as: communication of a vision received, threatening of judgment, personal confession, and the like. On the other hand the expression 'kinds' (γέννη) can also be taken perhaps as intended to denote differences in the form of the speeches according as they were composed of complete but reciprocally disconnected sentences, of disconnected words, or of single sounds or syllables; whether they betokened joy or sorrow, delight or terror, and so forth.

Proceeding now, on the basis of the preceding paragraphs, to a consideration of what is meant by the expression 'speaking with tongues,' the

9. Tongues not foreign languages.

first thing to be remarked is that in the present connection Acts 2:1-13 must be set aside not provisionally, but definitively.

Nothing is more certain than that 'tongues' (γλωσσαί) in the case before us must not be translated 'languages.' (a) Were the case otherwise the expression '(to speak) in a tongue' (γλώσση [λαλεῖν]) would be quite impossible, although in point of fact it occurs not only in the mention of a single speaker (1 Cor. 14:24-26 f.; 10:26 f.)—where it might be argued that each individual speaks only in one language that is foreign to him—but also in 7: 9 where more than one speaker is in question.

(b) Where unquestionably the languages of foreign peoples are being spoken of (7: 10 f.) Paul as it happens precisely refrains from using 'tongues' (γλωσσαί); the word he employs is 'voices' (φωναί), an unmistakable proof that in this connection 'tongues' (γλωσσαί) is reserved for a different concept, and with these 'voices' (φωναί) the speaking with tongues is only compared, whilst on the other assumption the two would be identical.

(c) Paul concedes that the speaking with tongues is fitted for the private edification of the speaker, and therefore recommends that this gift should be exercised in solitude (7: 4, 13, 28). But that speaking in foreign languages should have this result would be indeed wonderful.

(d) The interpretation of tongue-speech would not have any miraculous character at all, and therefore have no claim to be considered a charism, if it rested upon acquaintance on the part of the interpreter with

¹ Cp Hilgenfeld, *Glossolalie*, 115-136 (1850); Goebel, *Ztschr. für hist. Theol.* 1854, pp. 267-322, 377-438; 1855, pp. 94-160, 327-355; *Evang. Kirchen-Ztg.* 1837, No. 54-56, 61 f.; Hohl, *Buchstäblich aus . . . Irving*, 1839; Oliphant, *Life of Irving*, 172-3; Joh. Nitzsch, *Köhler, het Irvingisme*, 1876 (contains examples of tongue-speeches actually delivered); Reich, *St. K. P.* 1849, pp. 173-242; E. J. *Die neuesten Erweckungen in Amerika, Irland, etc.* (1851); H. *Die Erweckungen auf deutschem Boden*, 1861; Delitzsch, *Bibl. Psychologie*, 113-120 = 121-124, 364-368 (1861); Kerner, *Die Scherirton Propheten*, 1829 and often.

the foreign language in question. If, however, we are to suppose that the interpreter understands the language in question just as little as the speaker, the interpretation would be a miracle of precisely the same order as the tongue-speech itself, and it would be incomprehensible how in 7: 28 Paul could have supposed the case that before the beginning of a tongue-speech the speaker could know that no interpreter for it was present at the meeting. For the gift of interpretation on such a presupposition as that under discussion could nevertheless be quite suddenly bestowed on someone immediately after the tongue-speech had been made.

(e) That to one in the meeting, apart from subsequent interpretation, understands tongue-speech (7: 2) would not hold good of those listeners who understood in a natural way the foreign language, the temporary use of which had been bestowed upon the tongue-speaker in a supernatural way.

(f) The antithesis between '(speaking) with a tongue' (γλώσση [λαλεῖν]) could not be 'with the understanding' (νοεῖ: 50: 7, 15) or 'by way of revelation,' 'of knowledge,' 'of prophecy,' 'of teaching' (ἐν ἀποκαλύψει, ἐν γωσσί, ἐν προφητείᾳ, ἐν διδαχῇ: 50: 2, 6), but must run: 'to speak in one's mother's tongue.' Of this we find no where the faintest trace.

(g) Finally, the main characteristic feature of tongue-speech—ecstasy—would be completely inexplicable. Wherefore this, if the whole matter is simply to speak in a foreign language which one has never learned? After all, ecstasy is a psychological condition which must have its psychological explanation. But if this kind of speaking can really bring ecstasy with it, why can it alone do so? One might say: the substance of these speeches was so exceedingly joyful that it transported the speaker to an ecstasy. But why not also the substance of many speeches held in one's mother-tongue? We should therefore have to say: on each occasion when a communication was received that cheered to ecstasy, the speaker was endowed in a supernatural way with the ability to speak in a foreign language. In that case, however, the counter question, Why not in his mother-tongue? would be difficult to put to silence.

(h) The latest defender of the view that foreign languages are intended, Arthur Wright (see below, § 21), does so in fact quite differently.

He points to 'the little prophets of the Cévennes' (1686-1714), children of three years and upwards, who, according to Heath (*Contemp. Rev.*, Jan. 1886), preached sermons not only in their mother-tongue, but also in good French, often for three-quarters of an hour. 'There was nothing hysterical or wildly excited about their manner, only they were insensible to pain and could not be induced to stop.' The explanation given is that they were merely repeating sermons which they had previously heard delivered by grown-up preachers; their memory was abnormally stimulated by the excitement of the persecutions. In like manner, according to Wright, the primitive Christian tongue-speakers in each case were simply repeating discourses which previously—of course without understanding them—they had heard with excited attention, especially in Jerusalem, where at one of the great feasts, for example, a multitude of unknown languages could be heard. He lays stress upon the argument that 'they who spoke with tongues are never said to have given utterance to distinctly Christian teaching' and goes on to say: 'Accustomed to the higher tone of St. Paul and his evangelists the Corinthians found little profit in these Rabbinic exhortations.' He thus draws his entire view as to the contents of all the tongue-speeches from Acts 2: 11 ('speaking the mighty works of God'), instead of the notorious overvaluation of tongue-speech in Corinth asserts the opposite, and moreover seems seriously to believe that all the Corinthian Christians, bond and free alike, who spoke with tongues had previously at one period or another been in Jerusalem, and there had excitement and anguish of so enduring a character that their memory could be stimulated with regard to them in this abnormal way; and this too for discourses of which they could not by any means have had the same impression as the Camisard children just spoken of, that all salvation lay in them, for they did not turn to Judaism; at least this is not affirmed by Wright. He is equally silent as to what it was that brought on the ecstatic state at the repetition of discourses formerly heard. He speaks of the whole as 'a miracle, not of power, but of providence'; the latter he sees in 'the choice of time, the preparation of the speakers beforehand, the selection of suitable words, the

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restriction of the gifts to particular persons.' Finally, he nevertheless finds himself compelled to add to his words quoted above, the following, as an explanation of the mental tension, but the direct impulse of the Holy Ghost. The interpretation of the tongue speeches on the other hand he accounts for by 'a knowledge of the language'; where, however, it is the tongue-speaker who is himself the interpreter, this explanation will not serve: for the speaker 'had no recollection of what he had said.' In such a case, then, 'interpretation' must mean 'any utterance made in the vernacular during the state of ecstasy.' Wright has been led to put forward his hypothesis 'from a sense of the very serious danger of calling in question the historical truth of the Acts of the Apostles.' With the purpose of obviating this danger it does as great violence to the language of Paul as any of his predecessors.

What is excluded by the word of Paul is exactly what is meant in Acts 21:13; the 120 of 1:15 spoke in the languages of the Parthians, 10, Acts 2:1-13, Medes, etc.

(a) The expedients that have been resorted to are innumerable: the friendly address proffered in the foreigners only a homelike feeling; or they interpreted the disconnected sounds of the actual tongue-speaking described in 1 Cor. in each case as utterances of their own language; or the 120 spoke a single language, a new one miraculously intelligible to all, whether that of Paradise or the future language of heaven; or they spoke not Aramaic but Hebrew, and in this the foreigners, who all of them were Jews or Proselytes, recognised the language of worship to which they were accustomed at home; or the 120 spoke only a few languages, not wholly unknown to them but only unfamiliar, such as Arabic, colloquial Greek, colloquial Latin; or those who spoke were not by any means only the 120 but all the foreigners who were present with them. This and all the like is strictly excluded by the thrice repeated statement (77: 6-8 11) that every man of the foreigners heard the 120 speaking in his own mother-tongue.

(b) The only theory still left open would seem to be that of a miracle of hearing instead of a miracle of speaking. Yet neither does such a supposition hit the meaning of the author; for according to what he says the foreign languages were not only heard but also spoken. The words of 7: 4: 'they began to speak with other tongues' (*ἑτέροις γλώσσαις*), receive their interpretation precisely in the statement 'we hear them speak in our mother-tongue' (*ταῖς ἡμετέραις γλώσσαις*, 7: 11; 'each in his mother-speech,' *ἕκαστος τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ*, 7: 6, 8).

It is possible to suppose a miracle of hearing, therefore, only in the sense of ascribing to the author a confusion of such a miracle with one of speech. But why should it have been precisely a miracle of hearing? If it occurred in the ears or rather in the minds of the hearers, there is no answer to the question wherefore it was that the Holy Spirit exercised his miraculous influence precisely in this quarter, whilst it is not only said (7: 4), but is also appropriate to the situation, that it was on the speakers that he wrought. According to others the miracle, in becoming a miracle of hearing, happened during the transmission from the mouth of the speaker to the ear of the hearer. The Holy Spirit 'interpreted the words during their passage through the air, so as to present them to the ears of the numerous listeners, to each in his native tongue.' Here one can only ask in increased surprise why it is precisely the Holy Ghost that is named as the author of a miracle which is accomplished in no human being but in a dead object.

(c) Another question: Wherefore the 'tongues as of fire' (*γλώσσαι ὡσεὶ πυρός*) in 7: 3? In this view that a miracle of hearing is intended, they are left wholly out of account. Other interpreters have, in view of what is said of the tongues, supposed that according to Acts the miracle was one wrought on the organs of speech.

Since 'tongue' in 7: 3 denotes the organ of speech this seemed to be the case also in 7: 4; the meaning would therefore be: they received in their mouths new tongues and therewith spoke a new speech. Here, however, not only does one miss all possibility of conceiving the nature of what happened, so that one is compelled to describe the suggestion of it as simply fantastical; the idea further is not in the least indicated by the words. The 'tongues as of fire' of 7: 3 have nothing to do with the 'other tongues' of 7: 4; for the tongues of fire do not enter the mouth but rest upon the head. Such remains the meaning even if the reading 'rested' (*ἕκαθισται*; sing.) is adopted; for

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here the subject can only be 'fire,' the only other subject which is grammatically possible, the 'sound' (*ἦχος*) of 7: 2 being excluded by the nature of the case. Perhaps the pl. (*ἕκαθισται*) is nevertheless to be read, as in *R²D sah. cop. pesh.*

(d) These tongues of fire, however, remain out of account also in the interpretation that a miracle of speech is intended in so far as that interpretation has been set forth under (a). Since, however, they cannot by any means be regarded as of subordinate importance they urgently call for some explanation. This has in part been given already (see *MINISTRY*, § 21 c). The event of Pentecost is there represented as a parallel to the giving of the Law on Sinai. To this parallel belongs also the loud noise from heaven with which the scene is opened in 7: 2. In virtue of this very circumstance, however, the narrative lies gravely open to the suspicion that it rests not upon observation of fact but upon the activity of the imagination.

(e) In what is said about the audience the text has suffered greatly. 'Both Jews and proselytes' (*Ἰουδαῖοι τε καὶ προσφύτοι*) in 7: 11 is impossible as a clause in the enumeration; it has sense only if taken as in apposition to all the other clauses together, so that what is meant is: 'and in fact of every nation, born Jews and also proselytes.' Thus it had its place originally either after 'Arabs' (*Ἀραβῶν*), or on the margin as a gloss, but a correct one. In order that foreigners should be hearing their mother-tongue it is not in point of fact enough that born Jews should be represented as present from foreign countries; proselytes also must be there, to whom the foreign language was really a mother-tongue in the full and proper sense of the word. (f) Against this, however, there is what we find in 7: 4, where all the hearers are called 'Jews dwelling in Jerusalem' (*Ἰερουσαλὴμ κατοικοῦντες Ἰουδαῖοι*). 'Jews in fact is wanting in 7: 4; but even so it is improbable that all these strangers in Jerusalem had their residence (*κατοικοῦντες*) there; it would be much easier to suppose that they were there only as visitors at the feast. The circumstance also that 'dwelling' (*κατοικοῦντες*) in C pesh. cop. comes before instead of after 'in Jerusalem,' and 'Jews' to E before instead of after 'dwelling' can be held as indicating that both words were originally a gloss, and in this case a wrong one. If so it would have to be attributed to the desire to produce harmony with 7: 14: 'Jews and dwellers at Jerusalem' (*Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ἰερουσαλὴμ*). Yet see below, *i. end.*

(g) For the same reason 'sojourners' (*οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες*) before 'Romans' (*Ῥωμαῖοι*) in 7: 10 is open to the suspicion of being a gloss if it means Roman citizens who were settled in Jerusalem. Should it be intended, however, merely to indicate that they were there on a passing visit, the expression will fitly apply not only to Romans but also equally well to all other nationalities, and therefore would have had its right place before 'Parthians' (*Πάρθοι*; 7: 9). That Roman citizens who were settled in Rome (not in the province) should be intended is excluded by the article, for this would affirm that they had come for the feast to Jerusalem a holy.

(h) Finally, 'Judaea' (*Ἰουδαία*) in 7: 9 between 'Mesopotamia' and 'Cappadocia' is very surprising [cp *Geography*, § 26, end]. That Jews understood the speakers really did not need to be said. Already in Tertullian and (once) in Augustine Iudaea, India, Ionia, Bithynia, Cilicia, Lydia, and even the N. Syrian kingdom of Tigrath-pileser [cp *Uzzani*, § 7].

(i) In other passages (1046, 196) Acts mentions tongue-speech without the idea of a speaking in foreign languages and without the addition of 'other' (*ἑτέροις*) to 'tongues' (*γλώσσαις*), so that there is no reason for doubting that the same thing is intended as that which we find in Paul. Now, this cannot by any means lead to our finding ourselves compelled, at the cost of whatever violence to the words, to find the same view of the matter also in Acts 2; but it does doubtless tend to raise the question whether perhaps Acts 2 also may not depend on an underlying source which spoke of tongue-speech as fittingly as did those which have been used in 1046 196. The same idea is suggested also by the remark of Peter in 1047 that Cornelius and his house 'have received the Holy Ghost as well as we' (cp 1115, 17). Further it has long ago been remarked that the reproach of drunkenness in 213, if the languages of foreign nations were what was being heard, would by no means have been appropriate, and that the speech of Peter in 214-36 has no relation to heresies from foreign parts or to any miracle of this description, but explains the event by the prophecy in Joel (31: 1) as to the outpouring of the Holy Spirit with prophetic speeches,

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visions, and dreams (2:16-17). Of the various attempts at separation of sources (see ACTS, § 11) the simplest and therefore the most probable is that which holds the source to have contained 2:4 (without 'other', *ἑτέρας*) followed immediately by 2:12f; in fact the conjecture has been hazarded that 4:31 presents only another account of the same event.

It would also be conceivable that a fragment of the source is preserved likewise in the words 'Jews dwelling in Jerusalem' (*οἱ Ἰερουσαλίμα κατοικοῦντες Ἰουδαῖοι*) in 2:5. The source in that case will have mentioned not foreigners but only men of Jerusalem as witnesses of the occurrence, and it would justly become a question whether the event occurred at Pentecost (see MINISTRY, § 21, *c, d*). Yet by its whole structure the sentence is fitted to describe a speech-wonder. Should 'Jews dwelling' then not be a gloss (see above, *f*), we should have to suppose that the redactor had very unskillfully retained these words from his source.

(*k*) The occasion for bringing in the idea of the giving of the law at Sinai, and thereby completely altering the character of the narrative, can perhaps be looked for in the increasing importance which gradually had come to be attached to the event of Pentecost as marking the presumed moment of foundation of the church (against this see MINISTRY, § 21, *b, d*). Yet subsidiary circumstances can also have contributed to the same result. One such can be sought for in the passage of Joel cited in Acts 2:19 in so far as it speaks of 'wonders in the heavens above and signs on the earth beneath,' and of 'fire,' even if this be associated there with 'blood' and 'vapour of smoke.' A still more obvious suggestion is that the occasion may have been furnished by a misunderstanding of 1 Cor. 14:21 for which Paul himself is responsible.

In 1 Cor. 14:21 Paul cites Is. 28:11f. as evidence of the unintelligibility and uselessness of tongue-speeches when, at observing that in Isaiah in the case of the Assyrians by whom God is about to speak to the people of Israel it is not the language spoken by them that matters but only the sword by which they are to destroy Israel. Paul, moreover, contrary alike to MT and the LXX, makes of the whole a divine utterance, and introduces the words 'saith the Lord' (*ἔσται ῥηθὴρ τοῦ κυρίου*) at the end, changes the preterite of the last verb ('they would not hear') into a future, and adds, 'not even thus' (*οὕτως οὐτως*). By this means and by the freely chosen composite verb 'will they give heed' (*εἰσακούσομαι*) he has correctly reproduced one solitary feature of MT and the LXX. In the interests of his parallel with tongue-speech what he ought to have taken from the OT passage was: 'one will not be able to understand the men of foreign speech.' Paul, however, a truly says—quite unsuitably for the purpose he has in hand—in real if not in verbal agreement with Isaiah ('they would not hear'): 'one will not give heed to them.' Yet it is very intelligible that a superficial reader could draw from the entire citation in Paul nothing further than that the speakers with tongues had spoken in the languages of foreign peoples.

(*l*) As Mk. 16:7-9 is entirely derived from the NT literature, including Acts (see RESURRECTION-NARRATIVES, § 8 *b, c*), there need be no hesitating in interpreting the 'they shall speak with new tongues' (*ἑλώσασαι λαλήσοισιν καινὰς*) of 1:17 simply as meaning 'they shall speak in languages' previously unknown to the speakers, 'new' (*καινὰς*) thus being substituted for greater clearness for the 'other' (*ἑτέρας*) of Acts 2:4. It is quite improbable that an independent tradition lies before us here.

Interesting but not indispensable is the conjecture of Michelsen (*Met Evangelie naar Marcus*, 25) by which 'new' is made to disappear. WH has before 'will lift up serpents' (*ὄψεις ἀρῶσιν*) in brackets the additional words 'and in their hands' (*καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσίν*). Out of this 'and in their' (*καὶ ἐν ταῖς*) or rather out of the contracted form (*καὶ ταῖς*) arose 'new' (*καινὰς*) and then 'hands' (*χερσίν*) fell away. Instead of 'in' (*ἐν*), Michelsen further conjectures 'at the original text read 'if' (*εἰ*), and writes 'lift' (*ἀρῶσιν*): 'and if they lift up serpents with their hands' (*καὶ ταῖς χερσίν ὄψεις ἀρῶσιν καὶ θαλασσίμων τι πῶσιν οὐ μὴ αὐτοὺς βλάθῃ*).

Returning once more to 1 Cor. 14, the next interpretation of 'tongues' (*ἑλώσασαι*) that invites our consideration

is the old Greek one, according to 11. 'Tongues not=archaic expressions.' which are meant archaic expressions no longer understood among the people, or, strange and unusual locutions generally, including new coinages. On this head see especially Bleek (below, § 21), and Heinrici in his own commentary and in Meyer's.

(*a*) On this interpretation, however, 'kinds of tongues'

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(*γλώσσαις*) can hardly be distinguished. (*b*) The sing. 'speak in a tongue' (*ἑλώσῃ λαλεῖν*) or 'pray in a tongue' (*ἑλώσῃ προσεύχεται*) can in this view, as Heinrici himself says, mean no more than the utterance of a shout of praise or the heaving of a sigh. In that case the question arises as to how a complete prayer of such a kind as to require an interpreter can be produced (1:14) and why Paul should be indisposed to allow more than two or three such 'speeches' (2:27), each of which would occupy a minute.

(*c*) Even a stringing together of such expressions, for which, according to Heinrici, the plural 'speak with tongues' (*ἑλώσασαι λαλεῖν*) is employed, can have resulted in no speeches of such length as to render regulations necessary for their restriction in this respect; on the other hand Paul gives not the slightest hint at discourses in which such 'tongues' were a characteristic feature, but which on the whole consisted of intelligible words and therefore could extend to considerable length. Heinrici refers discourses of this kind only from 7:19. The statement here made, however, would be quite ineffective if its meaning was: 'I had rather deliver five discourses with my understanding than ten thousand discourses in which archaic expressions occur. It becomes effective only if the meaning is (as in EV): 'I had rather speak five words . . . than ten thousand words.' (*d*) Why the Spirit should have inspired precisely expressions of this sort, and how the employment of them could have served for private edification (27:4, 13f, 27) remains wholly obscure.

(*e*) For interpretation of this kind of 'speech' what is needed is not the gift of the Holy Spirit, but philological knowledge.

(*f*) But above all we must ask, How is to be explained the ecstasy that accompanies the use of such out-of-the-way expressions? In short, whilst the interpretation of 'tongues' as meaning speeches in foreign languages still allowed the supernatural character of the occurrence to remain, that which takes them to mean mere rare expressions is simply a means of eliminating that character along with the ecstasy. Heinrici says (in Meyer: 1 Cor. 14:27, 28) expressly that the outsiders alluded to in 1:14 could have taken the speakers with tongues to be men possessed, because they confounded their condition with that of the Pythia and others who really spoke in ecstasy.

Beyschlag (below, § 21) accepts the speaking in ecstasy, and in fact actually proposes to explain the expression 'speaking with tongues' by means of it, referring for the expression (though not for the thing) to Acts 2:14. He holds that the tongues of fire are an echo of the fact that the tongues of speakers were actually moved with fiery eloquence. This figurative way of speaking about a tongue of fire is the origin of the name (*ἑλώσασαι*). The pl. 'tongues' is to be explained, he thinks, even in cases where a single speaker is in question, by the circumstance that such a tongue of fire was regarded as having been bestowed anew on each occasion of its exercise. The oldest expression accordingly was (he thinks) 'to speak with other (or new) tongues' (*ἑτέρας [or καινὰς] ἑλώσασαι λαλεῖν*); the simpler 'speak with tongues' (*ἑλώσασαι λαλεῖν*) is merely an abbreviation of this. In addition, however, it has to be replied, it is not usual to drop precisely the most important part of the expression; the correct abbreviation must have been 'to speak with other (or new)' (*ἑτέρας [or καινὰς] λαλεῖν*). The impossibility of this whole view of Beyschlag's is clearly exhibited, however, in 1 Cor. 14:26. Along with a psalm, a teaching, a revelation, and interpretation, a tongue of fire cannot fittingly be enumerated as a thing which one who takes part in a religious meeting *has*; for in the connection 'has' (*ἔχει*) means 'has to contribute'. In more points than one Beyschlag nevertheless comes very near the truth.

Above all, Beyschlag has rightly recognised that the

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literal sense—the bodily member within the mouth—is to be taken as the fundamental meaning of 'tongue'.

13. The tongue as a bodily member. (2) The decisive passage for this is 1 Cor 14:6. In connection with v. 7f. the sense must be: as the sound of pipe, harp, and trumpet cannot be rightly understood if they give out no clear sound, so also what is spoken by you cannot be understood if you give forth no clear speech with your tongue.

This is the exact logical course of the comparison; to the musical instruments which give forth either a clear or an unclear sound, corresponds as instrument of speech the member in the mouth. If here by 'tongue' were meant the particular manner of speech that is known as 'speaking with tongues', the case that an unintelligible speech is given could not for a moment be suggested as merely a possible case; for according to Paul this happens in all circumstances. Nor, again, have we here a new example, parallel to that of the musical instruments, but one drawn from what is observed in ordinary human speech. We do not reach this till we come to v. 10f.; and as the application of that example to the Corinthian speakers with tongues is made in v. 12 by the expression 'so also you' (οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς), in like manner we must regard the same expression in v. 9 as introducing an application of the preceding illustrations drawn from the musical instruments to the tongue of the Corinthian speakers, yet neither as producing the so-called tongue-speeches nor yet as producing ordinary human speech, but simply in so far as it is capable of giving forth alike (the always unintelligible) tongue-speech, and also a kind of speech parallel to this, still intelligible, in the church meetings—such speech as prophecy, for example.

(b) Here then we have the origin of the expression 'speak with a tongue.' If all discourse is effected by means of the human tongue and yet only this particular kind of speech is named from it, the idea can only be this, that in the case in question the part it plays is particularly strong, or even, so far as may be, exclusive. In excellent agreement with this is the use of the opposite expression 'speak with the understanding' (ᾠν ποτ λαλεῖς). In intelligible speech the 'understanding' (νοῦς) has a part, indeed so prominent a part that it alone calls for mention; in the contrasted case it is not engaged, and thus it might seem as if it were the tongue alone that produced the speech.

Needless to say, the belief was that in 'speaking with tongues' the tongue was set in motion by the Holy Ghost (7:12, 13), just as in intelligible speech it was set in motion by the 'understanding' (νοῦς); but 'to speak with the spirit' (πνεύματι λαλεῖς) was not an appropriate verbal expression for this, because it would have applied equally well to prophecy, word-of-speech, knowledge-speech, and so forth. It is also quite fitting that the designation of so characteristic a matter should be chosen with express reference to the impression which it produced upon the senses, and in this case it really appeared as if the tongue alone were speaking. True, that the lips, teeth, palate, etc., are also engaged, and here it was enough to name the most important organ; and that the tongue is in popular belief the most important organ of speech is evident.

(c) This explanation nevertheless leaves something still to be desired. The plural 'speak with tongues' (ἑλωσσαι λαλεῖν) is accounted for by it only in cases where it is used with reference to more speakers than one (12:30 14:51 22 f. 39); and thus not in 11:6 (and v. 18 according to WH), nor yet in v. 58 12:10, although here the singular, used of the person speaking, has a collective sense. Where only one speaker is in question, the attempt has been made to explain the plural (ἑλωσσαι) as arising from the idea that in passing from one manner of speech to another the 'tongue' is in some degree changed; but such an idea is much too fantastic to have arisen in popular speech, which nevertheless we must certainly assume to have been the case with all such expressions as this. And what of cases in which 'tongues' stands alone, without a verb (12:10 23 138 142)?

All the conditions are satisfied only by one assumption: 'tongue' (ἑλωσα, apart from 14:9) must be rendered 'tongue-speech,'—i.e., speech which, in the manner described in § 13, tongue speech, seems to be produced by the tongue alone. This is by no means a departure from the

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literal sense; rather is it simply an instance of the same transition from the instrument to its product which is exemplified in ordinary Greek when 'tongue' (ἑλωσα) is used in the sense of 'language.' It is necessary to assume that this transition was effected anew in the primitive Christian usage in a narrower sphere, for the reason that all other explanations have been shown to be unworkable. If 'tongue' could mean the language of a foreign nation, or an archaic individual expression, 11:6 would at least be intelligible; as these meanings are unpracticable we should have to render, 'when ye come together, each one hath a psalm, hath a teaching, hath a revelation, hath a (human) tongue in his mouth, hath an interpretation'—which clearly is meaningless. 'Tongue' must necessarily be something of the same order as the other things enumerated; and thus a definite kind of discourse which is capable of being delivered in a religious meeting.

So also v. 6: 'if I come into you speaking with tongues, what shall I profit you, unless I speak to you two must supply; at the same time either by way of revelation or of knowledge; and so forth. Similarly too 13:1: 'whether there be prophets . . . whether there be tongues . . . whether there be knowledge, it shall be done away.' Indeed, in the plural 'tongues' we now recognise everywhere the different 'kinds of tongues' (ἑλωσσαι).

In accordance with the attribution of tongue-speech to the operation of the Holy Ghost, the interpretation of it also is regarded as a spiritual gift. (a) It is in the first place to be remarked that the tongue-speaker himself, as well as another, can possess this gift. The first is established by 11:5, the second by the co-ordination in 12:10 11:6; for as not every one is capable of giving all the kinds of discourse there enumerated, the meaning must be: 'when ye come together each one hath either a psalm or a teaching . . . or a tongue-speech or an interpretation.'

In this sense then, we must interpret v. 27f. also: 'If any man speaketh in a tongue, let it be by two, or at the most three . . . and let one interpret.' If this interpreter is one of the tongue-speakers, who expounds his own tongue-speech, then what immediately follows will mean: 'but if he is not an interpreter' (ἐάν δε μή ἢ διαρρηθῆται); and this seems to be absolutely necessary, since the sentence closes with 'let him keep silence' (στυγατω), whilst if all the tongue-speakers whose speech had no interpreter at hand had to keep silence, the expression ought to have run: 'let them keep silence' (στυγατωσαν). In that case, however, Paul would on the one hand be enjoining that of the two, or three, tongue-speakers selected, one, or two, should remain uninterpreted, which is directly contrary to the principle laid down by him in 7:24 12:10 22 f. 26;—and on the other hand he would be excluding interpretation by some other person than the speaker, whilst yet such interpretation is, according to 12:10 14:26, a spiritual gift. Thus we must, after all, suppose that Paul, in a somewhat careless way, thought of 'the person concerned' as the subject of the singular 'keep silence' (στυγατω) and that we ought to render (with EV): 'if there be no interpreter.' This too is exactly said: 'let [only] one interpret' (εἰς διαρρηθῆτω). What Paul had in his mind perhaps was: 'let one at least interpret.' The continuation 'but if there be no interpreter' fits this well.

If this view be correct, we learn from the passage before us that those persons in the church who were in a position to interpret tongue-speeches were generally known and thus exercised this function with some regularity. The possibility was not excluded, indeed, that some one on some occasion might give an interpretation who had not previously done so. Clearly, however, Paul is not disposed to rely upon the uncertain, and therefore he prescribes that if an interpretation is not assured (such doubtless will be the intention of his words) the tongue-speech is to be from the outset suppressed.

(b) What, next, were the means by which an individual other than the tongue-speaker became able to understand the tongue-speech? If this faculty was a purely supernatural one, our question has no point; but the case was assuredly otherwise. With what degree of precision the interpreter was able to elucidate

1 Similarly, 'the persons concerned' is to be supplied as the subject of the plural γαμειτωσαν (1 Cor. 7:36) and παρελθουσιν (2 Thess. 3:6) as WHing. and Tischendorf read.

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the sense of a tongue-speech we cannot tell. The more one was disposed to rest satisfied with general renderings, the easier was it to supply them. The tone of the voice, the gestures, the recurrence of particular words or sounds certainly offered clues.¹ Further help was gained from observation of the habits of the tongue-speakers. We can hardly imagine otherwise than that their speeches readily assumed a stereotyped character. If, however, at any time a tongue-speaker brought forth something unaccustomed, a knowledge of what experiences he had recently been having would certainly not be useless towards an understanding of his speech.

(c) It must be expressly noted that the things enumerated in 11:5 alone with tongue-speech—revelation, knowledge, prophecy, log, etc.—do not constitute the interpretation of tongue-speech in some such sense that the meaning will be 'when I come unto you speaking with tongues what shall I profit you if I do not forthwith interpret these tongue-speeches in the form of revelation,' etc. This misunderstanding is from the outset precluded by this, that in v. 26 'interpretation' stands in co-ordination alike with 'revelation,' etc., and with 'tongue.' On the other hand, it is possible that interpretation of tongue-speech is intended in v. 15: 'I will pray with the Spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also, that is to say while I repeat in intelligible language the substance of the prayer I have originally uttered in ecstasy.' This view is recommended by the fact that, immediately before (v. 10), the tongue-speaker is admonished to aim at being able to interpret his own tongue-speeches.

On the subject of the diffusion of the tongue-charisma our information is very defective. (a) We are not

16. Spread and end of 'tongue-speech' and 'prophecy' charisms.

aware that tongue-speech (and the allied charisms) had any considerable diffusion within the Jewish-Christian area; but neither is there adequate ground for denying to the Jewish Christians all aptitude for such charisms, or for accusing the author of Acts of having as a Paulinist arbitrarily introduced it into his account of the primitive Christian world. If he had not found them in the sources on which he drew for 21:1, 1046 f. 136, but merely drew upon his imagination, we may be pretty confident that he would have brought in the same elements at other points as well. Of course, the mere fact that they were present in his sources does not of itself give any security that their picture of the diffusion of the charisms is historically correct.

(b) In exact proportion to the intensity with which the charism of tongue-speech was exercised in Corinth in Paul's time does the complete silence of the Epistle to the Romans on the same subject invite remark. In 1 Thess. 5:19 ('quench not the spirit') it may perhaps be intended, or at least included. In any case it cannot have long survived its most flourishing period. The author of Acts certainly can never have heard it exercised, otherwise he could not possibly have fallen into the mistake of supposing that it was speech in the language of foreign nations, or into the confusion of identifying with this foreign speech the speaking with tongues which occurred at the conversion of Cornelius (Acts 10:46 f. 1115-17). It is a significant fact that Justin for his own period (about 155 A.D.) mentions only prophetic gifts (προφητικά χάρισματα) but no speaking with tongues (*Dial.* 82, begin.). Irenaeus (about 185 A.D.), in his detailed treatment of the charisms of which numberless instances happened every day (*Har.* ii. 49:3 [=324]; also *ap. Eus. HE* v. 7:3-5), speaks only of exorcisms of demons, prophetic visions and utterances, healings, and some cases of raising of the dead. In another place (v. 61; also *ap. Eus. HE* v. 7:6) he mentions tongue-speech also, but only as something with regard to which he *hears* that it happens in the case of many brethren in the Church

¹ The most familiar example, by which it has been attempted to explain the process, is the following: a tongue-speaker labbled disconnectedly the syllables *ab* and *ba*; the interpreter believed himself to have discovered the Aramaic word *aba*. Possibly the matter often fell out so. It must not, however, be thought that precisely this word was known only to certain interpreters. As Paul employs it in Rom. 8:15 Gal. 4:6 it must have been known to Gentile Christians generally.

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and without letting us know whether by it he understands the phenomena met with in 1 Cor. 11, or what is described in Acts 2. Irenaeus says:

'We hear of many brethren in the Church possessing the prophetic gifts and speaking through the Spirit in all kinds of tongues, bringing to light for the general advantage the hidden things of men and setting forth the mysteries of God' (καλλῶν ἀνεκάλυψε ἀδελφῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προφητικά χάρισματα ἐκείτων ἐκ παρθενίας λαλοῦντων διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος γλώσσαις αἷ τα κρυφὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς φανερὸν ἀφέντες ἐκεί τῶν συμφερόντων τὰ μυστήρια τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκδηλοῦντες). It is to be noted that the making manifest of the secrets of men of which Irenaeus speaks immediately after mentioning tongue-speech is in 1 Cor. 14:17 attributed to the prophets, not to those who speak with tongues. Tertullian also does not say that there was speaking with tongues in his day; all that he does is contemptuously to call upon Marcion to exhibit in the case of any of his followers the exercise of spiritual gifts which, says he, 'are forthcoming to many side more easily' ('a me facilius profertur'): 'exhibe it Marcion . . . aliquid prophetas . . . quod et futura praenuntiavit et cordis ocella traduxerunt (or: produxerunt); edat ab ipso psallam, aliquid visionem, aliquid orationem, dumtaxat spiritalium, in ecstasi, id est, autem, si qua lingua interpretatus accessit' (*adv. Marc.* 52, end.). This tongue-speech appears, not as an independent thing, but merely in an added sentence, which with the whole of its surroundings is clearly reminiscent of 1 Cor. 14:25 f. The ecstatical spiritual utterance, of which Tertullian speaks, in his time refers not to 'tongue-speech' but to 'prophecy.'

(c) For the ecstatical form of utterance did not disappear so quickly as did tongue-speech. On the contrary it became merged in the exercise of 'prophecy.' This was favoured in the highest degree by the circumstance that already the OT prophecy was composed of as wholly ecstatical (above, § 86). This form of utterance was most strongly prevalent in Montanism. This may be the reason why stress is laid upon it by Tertullian; but as Montanism altogether was nothing new, but only a strong revival of a tendency which had once before had prevalence within the church although subsequently repressed, so also its view of prophecy was, even if not exactly what might be called the primitive Christian one, then at least the post-apostolic churchly one (Weinel, 78-96). It was only by way of reaction against the exaggerations of this and against the dangers for ecclesiastical office which grew out of it that brought churchmen at last to the view which finds expression in the title of the treatise of Milnaeus (*Phil. HE* v. 171). 'On the necessity of no prophets not speaking in ecstasy' (περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν προφητεῖν ἐκστάσει λαλοῦν). As to how it came about that 'prophecy' also in its turn had to recede into the background and give place to the ecclesiastical office, see *MINTSFRY*, § 38.

If, finally, we proceed to inquire into the value which the charisms possessed for primitive Christians, we shall find that judges differ. (a) In the church of Corinth (which is almost the only authority to which we can refer) they were valued very highly. They were regarded, and quite naturally, as evidences of special grace and favour, and were therefore zealously striven after (14:2).

This zeal, if a right zeal, was manifested in prayer (11:3 does not mean that he who speaks in tongue-speech is to pronounce this ecstatic prayer of his with the purpose of interpreting it afterwards; the meaning is that when not exercising his charism of tongue-speech he is to pray for the gift of being able himself to interpret any tongue-speeches he may subsequently receive). But we shall hardly be doing the Corinthians an injustice if we suppose that many of them sought to secure for themselves those 'gifts' by other means also—by imitation, or by artificially working themselves up into a condition of excitement, by efforts constantly repeated. Vanity, it would seem, was not altogether without its part in the matter; otherwise the gift most prized and coveted would hardly have been that of tongue-speech, the most conspicuous indeed of them all, but at the same time the least fruitful. In the mouth of the Corinthian Christians the tongue-speaker alone was the 'spiritual' person (πνευματικός: 14:7).

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and, in accordance with this, in all probability 12: also).

(b) From this we can see, at the same time, what it was that properly speaking was regarded as the valuable element in the charisms. It was the extraordinary, the wonderful or miraculous, that quality in them which conferred a special importance on those who possessed them. Fundamentally the view taken does not differ from that of the Greek religion. Man desires to enjoy the possession of the godhead, bestowing itself on him individually. The same view dominates in the OT, and in Gentile-Christian circles also the OT conceptions of the operations of the Spirit of God can have been familiar and influential. This conception has a marked leaning towards the quantify, or even, one might say, grotesquely miraculous. Thus it is the Spirit that enables Samson to rend a lion or burst his own fetters, that is able to convey Elijah from place to place at pleasure (Judg. 14b 15 14 1 K. 18 2 2 K. 2 6; cp in NT Acts 8 9). Whether the thing done has a religious purpose comes but little into the question.

This way of looking at the charisms is precisely that which makes it possible to attribute the same workings to other spirits than the Holy Spirit. (a)

18. Discerning of spirits.

The belief in the existence of such spirits was at that time exceedingly prevalent. Broadly speaking, they do not fall simply under the two categories of good and evil, but many of them are regarded simply as of a subordinate character and as restricted in their insight. Whether they were called demons in accordance with pagan ideas, or angels in accordance with those of the OT, was indifferent; in either case they were thought of as quite personal and as very active. Of such a spirit it is, for example, presupposed in 2 Thess. 2 2 that it can produce the erroneous belief that the day of the Lord is immediately at hand.

(b) That these conceptions are present in 1 Cor. 11 also is shown by the plural, 'spirits' (πνεύματα) which, for linguistic reasons, cannot be taken to mean 'operations of the spirit'—a meaning, moreover, which in 1: 12 is excluded by the connection in which the word occurs ('the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets'). Thus to each prophet is assigned a proper spirit, conceived of personally, by which he is inspired (cp Rev. 22 6: 'the Spirit of the prophets'). Quite similarly 1 Cor. 14 14 also: 'if I pray in a tongue, my spirit prayeth.' Here it is not the proper spirit, so to say, with which a man is born, that is intended; for this the apostle designates rather by the word 'understanding' (νοῦς), and distinguishes in this very verse from 'my spirit.' From this it follows that 1: 12 also is to be understood quite literally: 'ye are zealous of spirits,' that is to say, one of you seeks to obtain an inspiration from one spirit, another from another.

(c) If this were not the meaning, no such thing as the 'discerning of spirits' would be possible. By the 'spirits' here interpreters indeed have proposed to understand distributions of the one Holy Spirit such as in point of fact were actually believed in (Nu. 11 25 Rev. 14 3 1 5 5 6, Hermas, Sim. ix. 13 2 15 1-6 and often). Only, in this case also, any 'discerning' would be meaningless. For, beyond question, any act of 'discerning' would consist in judging as to whether an utterance founded upon spiritual suggestion was true or false, one to be followed or rejected. 1 Cor. 7 40 shows us how easily it could happen that conflicting judgments were put forward on the ground that they were inspired. Since Paul here supports his judgment on the subject of re-marriage of widows with the words: 'I think that I also have the Spirit of God,' we must conclude that in Corinth other persons on the ground of suggestion by the Spirit had decided in the opposite sense. Cp 13: 7, where the best reading (ἀγνοεῖτε) is to be pronounced as an imperative (ἀγνοεῖτε): if any man is ignorant, ignore ye him.

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(d) In all places where it occurs the 'discerning of spirits' is mentioned directly after 'prophecy' (1 Cor. 12 30 11 29, cp 1 Thess. 5 20). In itself considered, it is not easy to see why mention should not be made of it in connection with 'word of wisdom' or 'word of knowledge.' Yet it is easy to understand how it needed specially to be called into requisition in connection with 'prophecy,' if this last gave definite directions as to what ought to be done in definite particular cases (cf. 7 2). From 1 Cor. 11 29 we cannot infer that only those who also possessed that of 'prophecy' possessed the gift of 'discerning'; 'the others' (οἱ ἄλλοι) can include others also.

(e) The recognition of a 'discerning of spirits' involves in principle a complete abandonment of the belief in suggestion of the Holy Spirit. With the utmost emphasis Paul insists (1 Cor. 12 30 11 30) that all charisms proceed from the Holy Spirit or from God; but at the same time they can also come from evil spirits and the listeners must decide for themselves as to this, and in fact decide again upon the basis of inspiration. Here the most important point is that it is not Paul who introduces the 'discerning of spirits' as something new; rather does it exist in Corinth as a thing of course. Here reveals itself the impossibility of continuing to hold fast the belief in divine inspiration if a free use of it is made in the actualities of life.

Already in the OT it had been found necessary to set up criteria for discriminating between false and true prophets. But that the one class 'late dreams, the others 'speak my word faithfully' (Jer. 23 32) was, naturally, a quite inadequate distinction. That the true prophet must be a prophet of evil (Jer. 28 9) may have been true in Jerusalem in Jeremiah's day; but at other times, as, for example, in those of Deutero-Isaiah, this maxim might have been turned against the prophets now become canonical, and Jeremiah in fact finds himself constrained to add, 'if a prophet prophesies peace and his word comes to pass, then shall he be known to be a true prophet' (28 9). The result is set up as a criterion quite expressly in Dt. 18 20 22, cp Ezek. 33 33. Not only, however, does this criterion fail to be available early enough; in Dt. 18 2 4 is contemplated the case in which it may prove to have been deceptive, and for discerning the true prophet the only way left is to ask whether he labours in the service of Yahweh and (so Jer. 23 22) seeks to bring back the people from the error of their ways. (Cp Deuter. 1, 8 25 25.)

Equally inadequate is the criterion set up in 1 Cor. 12 3: 'no man speaking in the Spirit of God saith, Jesus is anathema.' As to the difficulties and inconveniences experienced by the apostolic age from the impossibility of finding proper norms by which prophets could be tested, see MINISTRY, § 38 a, b.

But what did Paul think of the charisms? (a) On the one side he entirely shares the popular opinion. He holds them all for operations of the Holy Spirit, and is not sensible of the contradiction which we have discovered (above, § 18 b, c, 2) in his own words, to the effect

19. Paul's view of the charisms.

that such operations can proceed from other spirits also, in fact from evil ones. At the close of the discussion, in order that any remarks of his in disparagement of tongue-speech may not be misunderstood, he says: 'forbid not to speak with tongues' (1 Cor. 11 30). He makes no effort to bring into action a criterion for tongue-speakers analogous to the 'discerning' applicable in the case of prophets. That no such criterion should have presented itself of its own accord is to be accounted for, on the one hand, by the consideration that tongue-speeches were too unclear to admit of their showing themselves to such disadvantage as in certain cases definite sayings of prophets did, and, further, that even in cases where they threatened to do so they could be explained away; on the other hand, by the consideration that in the case of a tongue-speaker, one was, more than in the case of a prophet, face to face with a seemingly supernatural communication which could be received only with reverence and awe. The first-mentioned consideration would hardly have restrained Paul from setting up a criterion to be applied to tongue-speeches; for his disposition towards them is much the reverse of

favourable and he has every reason for seeking to limit their undesirable influence. The second consideration, however, did, in point of fact, hold him back, especially as, according to 11:8, he himself was a speaker with tongues more than any of the Corinthians.

(b) Alongside of this agreement with the popular view there presents itself, however, in the case of Paul, the great thought that every Christian has the Holy Spirit (Gal. 3:25 etc.), and that the whole life of the Christian is an expression of the Spirit's activities (1 Cor. 12; Gal. 5:22f.; Rom. 8:1-16). This thought could not fail, in the case of every manifestation that laid claim to the character of a spiritual gift, to lead to the question being asked as to its spiritual value, but also, at the same time, to lead to a lowering of the estimate put upon gifts in which their wonderful character was the most important thing, and to an increased appreciation of those which consisted in an intensified exercise of the new Christian life on its moral side. In the first characteristic of our definition (§ 1) we have already seen that the idea of the charisms is by no means uniform. Some of them are expressly regarded as miraculous, in others it is very difficult to perceive anything wonderful. To this latter category belongs 'ministry' in all its forms; 'government' also, and the simpler forms of devotional utterance. It is hardly probable that all these things owed their designation as charisms to the pagan or OT presuppositions which had a share in the building up of the conception 'charism' (χάρισμα). Since, then, this idea must have come to its maturity in the course of the missionary activity of Paul, under his eyes and with his co-operation, it is hardly too bold to conjecture that it was through his influence that these comparatively non-miraculous, but, from an ethical point of view, all the more important, manifestations should have come to be included in the number of the charisms.

(c) To the same order belongs also the most important modification which Paul applied to the idea of a charism when he refused to recognise as being such anything which had no utility for the life of the Christian community (12:7, τὸ οὐκ ὀφείλει, 'profit'; 11:29, οὐκ ὀφείλει, 'edification'; see above, § 3d). By this miraculous manifestations were by no means excluded; but it was no longer their miraculous character that supplied the measure according to which they were to be valued. It was with this principle as his basis that Paul entered especially on his campaign against the over-valuing of tongues-speaking. Broadly speaking, his great merit in this field consists in his having normalised, in accordance with truly Christian principles, an idea that was only half religious, and essentially miraculous, and, so far forth, unfruitful.

We must proceed still further in the same direction if we are to arrive at an ultimate judgment on the historical significance of the primitive Christian charisms. It is easily intelligible that the joy of enthusiasm over the possession of a new religious religion should have expressed itself in an exuberant way which, according to the ideas of that time, could only be regarded as the miraculous operation of the Holy Spirit. Apart from the exceptions specified above (§ 17a) we have no reason for doubting that these manifestations were genuine expressions of the feeling of a strong religious life, not mere artificial imitations derived from the pagan cults. On the other hand, we know with regard to Paul that his ecstasies in which he had visions coincide in point of time with the attacks of his madly (see GALATIANS, § 27); we shall, therefore, hardly err if we bring into causal connection with this madly the strong tendency to tongue-speaking also, which, in any case, was intimately associated with the ecstatic condition. The ecstatic has always something of the unhealthy about it. Thus it is not difficult to explain why extensive circles in the early church kept entirely free from such manifestations. The church could get

on very well in their absence. It is, on the other hand, equally intelligible that, once they had made their appearance they were infectious, that they brought the church life into serious danger, and that they led to reaction. Paul led this reaction on sound principles; the later church led it increasingly in the interests of its conception of church office which was itself very unsound; Paul by the endeavour to persuade, the later church too often by the exercise of force. The phenomena in question owe their disappearance, however, by no means to this reaction merely, but quite as much to their own degeneration. This degeneration was in large measure due to the faith in their miraculous character. In this case also it was demonstrated that miracles produce a favourable impression only when seen from a distance; when they have to be fitted into the daily realities of actual life they always bring evil consequences in their train. This holds true of the gift of healing the sick also, and of miracle-working generally. The reaction just spoken of did not venture to deny the miraculous character of the charisms. We for our part, however, are constrained to do so, and to account for everything in the phenomena to which a miraculous character has been attributed by the known psychological laws which can be observed in cases of great mental exaltation, whether in persons who deem themselves inspired or in persons who simply require medical treatment.

The non-miraculous charisms on the other hand, which, from the outset, possessed a moral character were of abiding value. Without them the church could not have lived; but they have never failed her and are destined never to become extinct; even should they have ceased to be called charisms, it will remain everlastingly true that they come from the Spirit of God.

On the whole subject see Dav. Scholz, *Geistesgaben*, 6th ed., *Supernatural Religion* [1877], 3:321-307; popular edition, 1901, pp. 735-81; and the commentaries on 1 Cor.

21. Literature. 12-14. Works of a more comprehensive kind are: Gunkel, *Wirkungen des heil. Geistes nach der populären Anschauung der apost. Zeit* (in *Die Lehre des Paulus*, 1898); 2nd unaltered, 1909; and, Ed. Wiegand, *Weinl. Wirkungen des Geistes u. der Charismen nach apost. Zeitalter bis auf Irenaeus*, 1899; *Beiträge zur heiligen Geist- u. Charismenlehre*, 1901; *Neue Zeitschr. f. Theol.*, 1896. On speaking with tongues, see H. E. Gifford, 1896, pp. 379; 1896, pp. 45-64; Baur, *Publ. Theol. Zeitschr.*, 1896, pp. 75-111; N. K. 1838, pp. 618-702; Wieseler, *Zeitschr.*, 1838, pp. 704-772; Hildebrand, *Glossolalie*, 1892; *Konstanzber. Ges. der Sprachk.*, 1890; van Hengel, *Gave der taal*, 1901; Arthur Wright, *Some NT Problems*, 277-302 [1907].

SPOOL. The words are: (1) ἵψυ, *telid*, Gen. 49:27 (Ὁ τροφή), etc.; σπυλον, *pronomy*, *diapazh*; (2) ἵψυ, Jer. 15:13, etc.; σπυλον, *pronomy*, *diapazh*; also (3) ἵψυ, *mélissah*, 2 K. 21:14, etc.; ἵψυ, *mélissah*, Is. 42:34; Kt., *pronomy*, *diapazh*; ἵψυ, *tereph*, Job 29:17, etc.; ἀραγμα, *diapazh*. On the division of spoils cp TAXATION, § 1. See also SACRIFICE, § 8.

SPOKES, 1. ἵψυ, *ḥiṣṣūm*, *ḥiṣṣūm*, 1 K. 7:31 AV 'bells'. See WHEEL, 1b.

2. ἵψυ, *ḥiṣṣūm*, 1 K. 7:33 RV 'nave'. See WHEEL, 1c.

SPONGE (σπογγος). Mt. 27:48 = Mk. 15:36. In 19:20f. Neither σπογγος nor σφόγγος occurs in the LXX. The use of the sponge, however, was early known (cp, e.g., II. 18:44; Od. 11:10); see the classical dictionaries.

'Sponge' is the fibrous skeleton of a marine animal — the living part of which has been removed by drying, washing, and bleaching — belonging to the group Cornuaspungia of the non-calcareous sponges. The most important Mediterranean species are *Spongia officinalis*, the Levant toilet sponge; and *Fascia*, the Zante sponge, and *Hippospongia*, the horse-sponge. All these are found at a depth of

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3-100 fathoms along the coasts. The sponge fisheries of the Mediterranean are still the most important in commerce, and the Syrian trade is considerable.

A. E. S.

SPOON (שִׁיבֹן, ΘΥΙΚΚΗ). See ALTAR; § 10; COOKING; § 5, iii.; INCENSE; § 7, and MEALS; § 10.

SPOTTED (מִצְוֵה). Gen. 30:32 ff. Ezek. 16:16; see COLOURS; § 12.

SPRINGS. In a country where perennial streams are rare, and where months of summer may pass without rain, the possession and preservation of water has always been a matter of serious concern. Water means life, and its value to the people of Canaan is illustrated by manifold references and numerous beautiful metaphors in the OT. For details concerning the amount of rainfall in Palestine, see RAIN; § 2, and on the distribution of springs and other sources of supply, see PALESTINE; § 13. Generally speaking, it may be affirmed that the most poorly watered districts are the table-land of Judaea on the W. of Jordan and the heights of the *Belka* on the E.¹ Some of these tracts, however, were once better supplied, cp NEGEB; § 1.

Constructions for the preservation of water rank among the oldest specimens of masonry in Palestine. The simplest plan was to dig a hole, with perhaps a shaft of masonry, where springs were known to exist. Such a pit (*h'ôr*, חַרְז, *ph'ar*) was often covered over with a large flat stone, partly, no doubt, as a precaution against accident (Ex. 21:10), and partly to prevent its being easily discovered. For this latter purpose sand or earth might be strewn over the cover (cp also 2 S. 17:10).

The water was drawn up by a pitcher (*kad*, Gen. 21:9) or bucket (*duh*, Is. 40:15, cp verb in Ex. 2:16, 19), and for the watering of cattle was poured into a trough (*shâl*, Gen. 30:38-40; Ex. 2:16, *shâl*, Gen. 24:20, 30:35).² When dry a pit of this kind might be used as a prison, and as no attempt was made to keep it clean the accumulation of miry mud (*h'ôr*, Ps. 40:13), cp Jer. 38:6) at the bottom added to the discomfort of the prisoner.

The Heb. and Gk. terms for 'Spring' which require mention are:

1. *ayin* (עַיִן), Gen. 16:7, 21:6, 1 S. 29:1, etc.; AV's 'well' in Gen. 21:13, 19:22, etc., obscures the force and meaning. The 'spring of Jacob' (Dt. 33:28) refers to J's descendants; cp the metaphors in Is. 48:1, Ps. 68:26 [27].

For particular springs, see ref. above in § 1. The connection with *ayin* 'eye' is doubtful, nor, if the two are identical, is it easy to say which is older. The 'spring' can scarcely take its name from the circular shape of the orifice since this (as in English) is called the *mouth* (Gen. 29:2 f.). On the other hand, the eye could easily be called the fountain of the tears (as in Jer. 9:18 [19] עַיִן מַיִם זָרוּחִים). Perhaps some primitive belief underlies the usage.

2. *ma'ayan* (מַעְיָן), derived from the above, properly a place of springs, cp Ps. 81:6 [7], Josh. 18:15 (AV 'well'), etc.

3. *h'ôr* (חַרְז), cp above § 1, and see CONDUITS; § 1 [1] occurs chiefly in the Hexat.; for place-names compounded with it, see NAMES; § 101 (b).

¹ Full information is given by G. A. Smith, *IG* 77-79. For the evidence of place-names indicating the presence of water see NAMES; § 101.

² Other means of drawing up water are the *shadif* in Egypt (Wilkinson, *Im. Ec.* 1291), and the water-wheel in Babylonia (Peters, *Nippur*, 113, 141; cp Curtiss, *Prim. Sem. Kel.* 108 [Lamab]). There seems to be an allusion to the latter in Ezek. 1:10. Cp ARABIAN TERMS; § 5.

³ Cp also BOOKS; CONDUITS; § 1, POND; POOL.

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4. *mabbud'* (מַבְּבֹד), Eccles. 12:6 (AV 'fountain'), Is. 35:7, 49:10. Properly a place where water bubbles or gushes up, cp the verb in Prov. 18:4 of a bubbling spring, and metaphorically, of a gushing man in Prov. 15:2, etc.

5. *mikhôr* (מִיחֹר), a spring that has been dug (verb in 2 K. 19:24, 18:37, 25). Mostly used in a figurative sense (Prov. 13:14, 16:22, 18:4, etc.).

6. *mîšal* (מִישַׁל), properly, 'place of exit' (cp also above col. 88, n. 2), with עֵשֶׂה, 2 K. 2:21, Ps. 107:33, 35 (הִיעָפוֹתָם), Is. 37:23 (*avayayy*), etc.

7. *mišek* (מִשֶׁק), orig. obscure in Job 38:16, and perhaps also *ib.* 28:11 for 'עֵשֶׂה', see BDB *ad loc.*

8. *gullith* (גֻּלִית), Judg. 1:15; see GOLATH-MAIM. True meaning unknown, perhaps a C. Aramaic word. On the supposition that the word is corrupt see KEHAN.

9. מִיחֹר, Dt. 3:17 RVmg., see ASIOTH-PISCAN.

10. מַיִן (the usual word in *Q* for 'water'), Jn. 4:6, Jas. 3:11, 2 Pet. 2:27, etc.

11. *ph'ar* (חַרְז) word for 'pit', Is. 14:5, etc., an artificial well as opposed to *ayin* (cp Pool; 2).

A full supply of water, rivers on bare heights, wells in valleys, pools of water in place of a wilderness, and springs instead of dry land characterize the highest possible happiness to the Hebrew mind (Is. 41:18 cp 35:7, 44:3, Ps. 107:35). The possession of water is the one indispensable acquisition without which the right of pasture is useless. Hence, as Robertson Smith suggested, property in water is more important and probably older than property in land (RS²⁵ 104 f., cp CAUTIE; § 5). The digging of a well, accordingly, was an important function, and a typical specimen of one of the rites accompanying it has been fortunately preserved in Nu. 21:17 f. (see BÉAR, col. 515). Here the spring is addressed as a living being, and indeed not only is spring-water called 'living water' (Gen. 26:10 Nu. 19:17, etc.), but springs are regarded as endowed with life. They are regarded with reverence, credited with oracular powers, and frequently associated with sacred beings.¹ On the widespread beliefs connected with springs and wells among the Semites see IDOLATRY; § 2, NATURAL WORSHIP; § 4, Robertson Smith, *RS²⁵* (ref. in Index). Cp also Barton, *Semitic Origins*, 92 ff.; Curtiss, *Prim. Sem. Kel.*, *passim*; and the Abbe Bourcaus, 'La source divine et generale conception Chaldeenne dans les Monuments figures des Collections à Paris,' in Maspero's *Rev. de Trav.* 21:177-193 (1899).

S. A. C.

STABLE (שֶׁטֶל), Ezek. 25:5; elsewhere 'pasture.' See CAUTIE; § 5, INN (*ad fin.*).

STACHYS (σταχυς [Fi. WH]), greeted by Paul as 'my beloved' (Rom. 16:6).

He is mentioned in the apocryphal lists of the 'seventy,' and according to pseudo-Dorotheus was consecrated first bishop of Byzantium, by the Apostle Andrew. In the apocryphal *Acta Philippi*, a believer of the name of Stachys is the host of Philip in Hierapolis. The name has been found among the remains of the imperial household (*CIH* 6268, 7).

STACTE (שֶׁטֶט, *stactē*, 'that which drops'; cp Job 36:27; *στακτη*) is mentioned with onycha and galbannu as an ingredient in the holy incense (1 S. 30:34; Eccles. 2:15, RVmg. 'opobalsamum,' AV STORAX). A fragrant resin is obviously intended; but whether opobalsamum, storax, or some other substance, is uncertain. Jewish tradition identified *stactē* with opobalsamum; but against this see BALSAM; § 4, and MYRRH. Perhaps gum tragacanth is meant; see STORAX; 2.

N. M.

STAFF. The words are partly the same as those in ROB (where see 1, 2, 3, 5). Nothing depends on fil-

¹ This is not confined merely to medicinal waters (cp HAMMATH; MEDICINE; § 2, col. 307 and 10ff.) where supernatural ideas might readily arise.

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ness of references. By far the most interesting is Heb. 1121, cp Gen. 47 31, where it is said that Jacob, after blessing Joseph's sons, 'worshipped upon the top of his staff' (προσεκύνησεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ), implying מַטְּהָא (the reading of G. Pesh., It.) instead of מַטְּהָא. Chabas justifies this reading by a reference to an Egyptian custom. But it is clearly wrong, as the parallel passage 1 K. 147 shows. The 'head' of the bed is no doubt a peculiar expression; Holzinger suggests that a 'teraphim' may have been placed at the bed's head. But the true explanation is much simpler. ראש should of course be קרש 'couch'; cp קרש יצתי 'the couch of my bed,' Ps. 1323, RVms. The other words are—

- 1. מַטְּהָא, מַטְּהָא, mus'ēnah, miśneth (מַטְּהָא to lean), Ex. 21 19 Is. 366, etc. Used of the pastoral rod (מַטְּהָא) in Ps. 234 (see note in Che. Ps. 12).
2. קַי, 'es, of the 'staff' of a spear (1 S. 17 7 [Kt. is wrong], 2 S. 21 19 23 7 1 Chr. 20 5).
3. פִּלֶךְ, p'lek, in David's imprecation, 'let there not fail from the house of Joab one that hath an issue, or that is a leper, or that leaneth on a staff,' etc., 2 S. 3 29. So EV after G (κρατῶν σκιτάλης [-η, or -ης]) and Γg. Jon. (מַטְּהָא בַּאֲרָה; so read, not בארה). The rival rendering—that holdeth the spindle—does not suit the context nearly as well (cp H. P. Smith, ad loc.), but has a philological basis lacking to the first explanation. Moved by Driver's learned note (TBS 192, with n. 1) Lohr and H. P. Smith adopt 'spindle' for פִּלֶךְ (cp Prov. 31 19, and Toy's note). There can hardly be a clearer evidence of corruption; no philology can save this unsuitable reading. Read מַטְּהָא בַּאֲרָה, 'one that leans on (lit. grasps) a staff'—i.e., a lame person. In Prov. 31 19 the reading is of course undisputed (cp WEAVING, § 2).
4. מַטְּהָא, mat, Nu. 13 23 (a pole, for bearing a huge grape-cluster).
5. מַטְּהָא, had (in plur.), Ex. 25 13 ff. 1 K. 8 7 f. (to bear the ark).
6. ξυλον (in plur.), Mt. 26 47 Mk. 14 43, coupled with 'swords' (1n. 18 3 speaks of ὄπλα). Cp the use of מַטְּהָא and מַטְּהָא (Roo, 1, 2).
T. K. C.

STAIRS. The rendering 'stairs' in AV is generally misleading.

- 1. In 1 K. 6 8 f., no doubt, מַטְּהָא, lūlim (ἐπι)ακτῆ ἀναβάσεις; cochlea) can be plausibly rendered 'winding stairs' (EV; see however, Stade, Z. A. T. W. 3 136 ff., and cp TEMPLE, § 11, n.).
2. In 2 K. 9 13 'on the top of the stairs' (מַטְּהָא) can hardly be the right description of the place where Jehu's supporters acclaimed him as king (see J. H. C.).
3. In Neh. 9 4 it was not on the stairs but on the 'scaffold' (מַטְּהָא, ma'alah; ἀνάβασις) prepared for the occasion that Jeshua and Bani stood. So AVug. Cp PULPIT.
4. In Ezek. 48 17 (מַטְּהָא, ma'alah) 'stairs' should be 'steps' (RV); the steps of the altar are meant.
5. In Cant. 2 14 'the secret places' (מַטְּהָא, madrēgah; ἐχόμενα τοῦ ἀποτειχίσματος; in caverna macerie) of the stairs' forms a bad parallel to 'in the clefts of the rock.' מַטְּהָא, madrēgah (in plur.), is again rendered 'stairs' in Ezek. 38 20; most scholars suppose 'steep, ladder-like hills' (RV 'steep places,' φαραγγες) to be the true meaning. The word, however, is suspicious.
6. 'Stairs' is right for ἀναβαθμοὶ in Acts 21 40.
T. K. C.

STALL (מַטְּהָא, marbēk, etc.), Am. 6 4 etc. See CATTLE, § 5.

STANDARD (דָּגֵל), Nu. 1 52 etc. See ENSIGNS.

STARS. To the Hebrews, as to other races, the heavenly bodies were a constant source of interest and wonder. Their great number, comparable to the sand

1 Melanges Egyptologiques, 101. 'He then pronounced the ordinary oath, "By the life of the Lord Life-Health-Force," striking his nose and ears, and placing himself on the top of the staff.' The reference is to the baton which the magistrate kept stretched out during the ceremony. By this attitude and by these gestures the prisoner testified his submission towards the magistrate.

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of the sea-shore (Gen. 15 5 22 17 26 4 Jer. 33 22), and known only to God (Ps. 147 4), their unmeasurable height above the earth (Job 22 12 Ob. 4 Is. 11 11 cp Dan. 8 10 a), and the brightness of their shining (Job 25 5 31 26 Dan. 12 3), formed subjects for comment, but it was their movements that excited the keenest attention, and opened up the widest field for the imagination.

To realise the Hebrew conception of this phenomenon, it is necessary to make some reference to their cosmology.

1. Earth and Heaven. This bears close resemblance to the scheme of the Babylonians (Jensen, Kosmol. 9 ff.), and may be thought to have formed part of the common property of the primitive Semitic family.

The earth was regarded as a flat surface, bounded upon all sides by the watery deep. Above, the heavens formed a hollow vault, which, resting on the waters, might be said to describe a circle upon them (Job 26 11 Prov. 8 27). This vault was thought to be solid, and was spoken of as a firmament (רָקִיעַ, rāqīa', something beaten or hammered out; Gen. 1 6 etc.), or, in the language of poetry, a tent spread out above the earth (Is. 40 22 Ps. 19 4). Upon the farther side of the firmament, called by the Babylonians kirib šami, 'the inner part of the heavens,' there was again water, 'the waters which are above the firmament' (Gen. 1 6 f.). Indeed, one of the earliest of creative acts was the placing of the vault of the heavens, in order to cleave in twain the watery deep (תְּהוֹם, tēhōm, Bab. Tiamat), and thus make possible the appearance of dry land (Gen. 1 6-8 Prov. 8 28 f.). Beneath the earth was the realm of the underworld (שְׁהַד, šēhad), and the whole was perhaps conjectured to rest ultimately upon the waters of the deep (Ps. 24 2 1366).

2. Movements of heavenly bodies. Hebrews as to the Babylonians, to enter by a door in the eastern quarter of the heavens and to make their exit in the W. by a similar means. Thus, to the poet's mind, the sun has his tent in the heavens, and at his rising is like a bridegroom who issues from his bridal chamber (Ps. 19 5 f.).

The regularity of the movements of the stars arrested the attention. They are governed by 'ordinances' established by Yahweh and unalterable (Jer. 31 35 f.), beyond the reach of human understanding (Job 38 33). The spectacle of the heavenly host, led forth in full tale, is a wonderful proof of Yahweh's mighty power (Is. 40 26). Thus they naturally serve to mark divisions of time. They are set in the firmament 'to divide the day from the night' and to 'be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years' (Gen. 1 14, cp Ps. 104 19). The Hebrew month (חֹדֶשׁ, hōdeš; יָרֵךְ, yarek) is a lunar month, and the quarter of this period—one phase of the moon—appears to have determined the week of seven days (see MONTH, §§ 1, 6; WEEK, § 1). Since this constancy in the courses of sun, moon, and stars was so impressive, it is natural that anything which appeared to be of the nature of an interruption should, by the unscientific mind, be regarded as a portent of catastrophe. Of such a nature would be eclipses of the sun or moon, meteorites or falling stars and comets.

So we find the darkening of sun and moon and the falling of stars associated with troublous times of direst calamity (Am. 8 4 Is. 13 10 Ezek. 32 7 Joel 2 10 31 34) = Acts 2 20 Joel 3 15 Job 38 31 cp Mt. 24 29 Rev. 6 12 f. 8 12). Comets, as moving in orbits which baffled the calculations of the ancients, can be spoken of as 'wandering stars, for whom the blackness of darkness is reserved for ever,' and thus serve to depict the lot of the reprobate.

1 An eclipse of the sun which occurred in the year B.C. 763 is recorded in the Assyrian Eponym Canon. See ALT, § 4.

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To the primitive imagination that which moves is regarded as possessing life. Thus the heavenly bodies are pictured as living beings, and form subject of folk-lore and legend. Stars, in particular, are closely associated with angels.

The phrase 'the host of heaven' generally denotes the stars (Is. 40:26; Jer. 31:37; Zeph. 1:5; Job 38:31; Ps. 136:3; Is. 40:26; 45:12); but in some cases, especially in the writings, invisible agencies are also denoted by the same term (1 K. 22:19; Is. 34:4; Neh. 9:6; and perhaps Dan. 8:10). Cp. CREATION, § 21, c).

Special stars or constellations mentioned in the Bible are as follows:—

(a) עֲרִישׁ 'ayis (Job 38:32); on the versions and on the supposed form עֲרִישׁ 'ayis (Job 9:9), see ARCTURUS. The allusion to the 'children' of 'ayis

limits the possibilities of interpretation to such constellations as can be pictured under the form of a mother with children. Among the ancients there appear to have been two such—Ursa major, and the Pleiades.

In favour of Ursa major is cited the Arabic title for this constellation.

This is *na'if*, 'the bier,' the four stars forming the quadrilateral being regarded as a bier, which is followed by three mourners, *banat na'if*, 'the daughters of the bier.'

It is, however, quite impossible philologically to connect the Arabic word *na'if* with the Hebrew 'ayis; nor is there, in the passage of Job in which 'ayis appears, any trace of the idea of bier and bearers or mourners. It is the merit of M. A. Stern* ('Die Sternbilder in Hiob 38:31 f.' in Geiger's *Jüd. Zeitschr.* 3:23 ff.) to have been the first among moderns to adopt the interpretation 'Pleiades,' and to have stated his case with great cogency. Stern disposes of the claims of Ursa major by pointing out that 'ayis, with three other constellations mentioned in Job 38:31 f., is cited by the poet on account of its meteorological importance.

This is evident from the context. In vv. 22-30 we have mention of snow and hail, light and east wind, thunder-shower and lightning, rain and dew, ice and hoar-frost. Then follow the three vv. 31-33 with reference to certain constellations; and in immediate succession, further notice of meteorological phenomena—clouds and the outpouring water, lightning and the bottles of heaven.

Thus the inference is clear that the constellations mentioned are such as have special significance as weather-signs. Now Ursa major, as a circum-polar constellation, never passes below the horizon in the N. hemisphere;² and, being therefore a conspicuous object at all seasons, could never be regarded as possessing any kind of meteorological importance. Thus its mention in such a context would appear to be quite misplaced.

On the other hand, the Pleiades, though but a small group, possessed for the ancients great meteorological significance.

By their rising at dawn the Greeks and Romans divined the approach of summer, whilst their setting at dawn, heralded the approach of the wet and stormy season (Hesiod, *Opp.* 383 f. 391 f. 619 ff.; Virgil, *Georg.* 4:231 ff.; Ovid, *Fast.* 5:599 ff.). The expression 'ayis with her children' bears close resemblance to the name 'hen with her chickens' applied to this group of stars among both eastern and western peoples and actually employed in this passage as a translation of the Targum (עֲרִישׁ וְבָנֶיהָ).

The name 'ayis may then be thought to denote, not the group as a whole, but the principal star, known to astronomers as Alcyone. It must be deemed uncertain whether the Massoretic vocalisation עֲרִישׁ is correct. The

* Stern is followed by G. Hoffmann (*ZATH* 3:107 f.) and by N. deleke (*Bib. Let.* 4:179).

¹ Cp. Homer, *Od.* 5:275; *Od.* 8:460; Hesiod, *Opp.* 124; Aratos, *Oeumii metuentis aequore tingi.* *Met.* 13:727; Arcton aquoribus expertem.

² It is also worthy of notice that R. Yehūda's explanation of עֲרִישׁ וְבָנֶיהָ (*Yerushalmi* 58b) is interpreted by later Talmudists as עֲרִישׁ וְבָנֶיהָ, 'the tail of the Ram' (i.e., Pleiades), or עֲרִישׁ וְבָנֶיהָ, 'the head of the Bull' (i.e., Hyades).

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Peshitta renders by 'yrāthā,¹ which probably has philological connection with the Hebrew name, and perhaps upon this analogy we may vocalise עֲרִישׁ 'ayis (Hoffmann), or else, with closer approximation to the Syriac, עֲרִישׁ 'ayis, or עֲרִישׁ 'ayis.

(b) עֲרִישׁ 'ayis (Job 9:9; Amos 5:8) is generally supposed to denote ORION (צִיָּה), the most remarkable of constellations, both on account of the brilliancy and colour of the three principal stars,² and the striking resemblance of the figure to a gigantic human form equipped with belt and sword. The position of this group, a few degrees S. of the Ecliptic, renders it a very conspicuous object as viewed from the N. temperate zone, and among the Greeks and the Romans it was much observed as a sign of the seasons.

Thus its heliacal rising, setting, and setting are severally connected with different agricultural operations (Hes. *Opp.* 595 ff., 609 ff., 614 ff.); but, especially, the time of its setting marks the commencement of wet and stormy weather, when navigation becomes dangerous (Hes. *Opp.* 612 ff.; Hor. *Ep.* 13:7; Virg. *En.* 1:535-45).

The mention of the 'bands of Orion' in Job 38:31 is perhaps an allusion to the three stars of the belt, and refers to the chains with which the giant—'dull-witted obstinate' giant—(צִיָּה) was thought to have been confined by the Deity. If man cut loose these bands—the poet seems to mean—he may then hope to gain control over those changes in the season which the constellation marks. In Job 9:9 Amos 5:8 *עֲרִישׁ*, appears to be cited on account of its great brilliancy.³

(c) עֲרִישׁ 'ayis (Job 9:9; Amos 5:8) is translated 'Pleiades' by EV and many moderns, in accordance with the rendering of עֲרִישׁ in both passages of Job,⁴ Symm. and Vg. in Job 38:31, and Symm. and Theodot. in Amos. If, however, the grounds upon which 'ayis has been identified with the Pleiades can be considered sufficient, it is evident that we must look elsewhere for the constellation represented by *kimāh*. Stern presses the claims of Canis major with its bright star Sirius—by far the largest of the fixed stars—known to the Greeks as τὸ ἄστρον παρ' ἐξέλλειν.⁵

A constellation of so great a meteorological interest as Canis major and possessing a star of such brilliancy as Sirius, may naturally be expected to find mention in Job 38; and the identification with *kimāh* is rendered plausible by the close connection with *kešil*, just as the Great Dog lies nearly to the S. of Orion and close to his feet. A further point is the allusion to the 'chains' of *kimāh* (עֲרִישׁ וְבָנֶיהָ), which on this interpretation yields a good sense, since Canis major is the hound of Orion.

(d) The meaning of עֲרִישׁ (Job 38:32; see MAZZALOTH), is highly uncertain. By most scholars the term is supposed to be identical with עֲרִישׁ (see MAZZALOTH), the worship of which, in conjunction with that of the sun, the

¹ The same rendering is employed for עֲרִישׁ, Job 9:9, עֲרִישׁ, Job 15:27, עֲרִישׁ, Amos 5:8. The Talmudic עֲרִישׁ, *yrāthā* (note above), perhaps represents the same word with rejection of p.

² αβγ Orionis, named Betelgeuse, Rigel, and Bellatrix: the first and the second, of the first magnitude; the last, among the largest stars of the second magnitude.

³ On the phrase 'their *kešilim*' (עֲרִישׁ וְבָנֶיהָ) in Is. 13:10 see ORION.

⁴ In Job 9:9, ὁ ποιῶν ἡλαεῖα καὶ Ἑσπερον καὶ Ἀρκτοῦρον καὶ τομεῖα Νότου, it is quite clear that the order of the constellations has been changed, Εἰς being brought to the beginning and rendered ἡλαεῖα as in 38:31, whilst עֲרִישׁ, which thus stands second, is translated Ἑσπερον as עֲרִישׁ in 38:32. This change of order, which seems to have been overlooked by critics, is substantiated by Pesh. *وَأَحْمَ صَاحِبِ سَابِقِ*.

⁵ For the ancients Sirius marked the time of greatest summer heat (Hom. *Il.* 22:27-31; Hes. *Opp.* 417, 561, 597; etc.), and its connection with this period is still preserved in the popular expression 'the dog days.'

⁶ The rendering 'sweet influences' AV, RVm: can be traced back to Sebastian Munster (1535 A.D.), but appears to be philologically untenable.

moon, and all the host of heaven, was put down by Josiah (2 K. 235); and G in both passages employs the transliteration $\mu\alpha\zeta\alpha\rho\omega\theta$, whilst Targ., in accordance with Kings, uses in Job the rendering מַזְלֵי שָׁמַיִם . In Rabbinic Hebrew the *mazzaloth* are the twelve zodiacal signs (*Ḥerikhoth* 34b; *Shabbath* 75a), but also the planets, regarded as stars of good or ill fortune (*Ḥerikhoth* rab., § 10, etc.). In agreement with this latter signification, we have, according to the restoration of de Voglié, the dedication מַזְלֵי שָׁמַיִם answering to the Greek Ἄγαθὴ τῶν ἄστρον in a Phoenician inscription from Larnaca of about the 4th century B.C. (*CIS I* 95). It is doubtful, however, whether we can safely argue back in explanation of the earlier use of the expression. In Arabic *manzil* denotes a 'lodging-place' or 'mansion'; and the plural *al-manazil* is used of the twenty-eight 'mansions' of the moon. In Assyrian, according to Friedr. Delitzsch (*Is. III^b*), *manazu* denotes 'a place of standing,' from the root *manizu* 'to stand'; just as in Heb. מָנוּחַ , 'place,' is derived from נָח . *Manazu* occurs on the fifth table of the Babylonian Creation series (see CREATION, § 2) which begins: 'He made the mansions (*manazi*) of the great gods.' Further, there is a fem. form of *manazu*—viz., *manaztu* (= *manaztu*, *manaltu*). For this Delitzsch quotes 3 K. 59 35a: 'The gods in heaven in their mansions (*man-zal-ti-su-nu*) set me,' Jensen (*König*, 347f.) mentions the same facts. Whilst, however, Delitzsch identifies these *manalti* with the zodiacal stations (*Prot.* 54), Jensen thinks that they were perhaps fifty in number,² corresponding to the number of the great gods, and represent, not merely the signs of the zodiac (cp Lockyer, *Dawn of Astronomy*, 133 ff.), but rather certain fixed stars and planets, lists of which are to be found in the inscriptions, but of which the identification appears to be possible only in a few cases (*König*, 147 ff.).³ Here, then, it may be supposed that we have the original of *mazzaloth* of 2 K. 235; though, as is plain from the diverse opinions noticed above, the precise reference of these 'mansions,' as objects of worship borrowed by the people of Judah from the Babylonians, still remains uncertain.

With regard to *mazzaroth*, Stern is undoubtedly correct in stating that in the words of Job 38 32 'Canst thou bring forth *mazzaroth* in its season (מַזְרֵי), *mazzaroth* in conjunction with 'in its time' (בְּתֵמֶה) denotes a plurality which can be spoken of as a unity, and so a group of stars which form a single constellation. This consideration, which gains weight from the connection of *mazzaroth* with *lyil*, *ksil*, and *kimah*, each of which describes a single special star-group, cuts at the root of the identification of *mazzaroth* in Job with *mazzaloth* as mentioned in 2 K. 235, upon the view which has above been taken of the latter. The special constellation represented by *mazzaroth* can, however, in default of evidence, be merely conjectured. Stern's view, that the word denotes the Hyades, is not open to objection, and is to some extent supported by the position of *mazzaroth* after *kimah* and *ksil* and before *lyil*, according to the position of constellations in the heavens. But that this is the intention of the order of citation may be questioned, since in such a case the more natural method would be to reverse the order, and to speak of Pleiades, Hyades, Orion, Canis major, according to the order of rising. The Hyades were of meteorological importance to the ancients, who regarded their heliacal rising as the portent of wet weather (Hom. *Il.* 18 426; Hes. *Opp.* 613; Virg. *Æn.* 1 744, etc.). Stern, who would identify *mazzaroth* and *mazzaloth*, attempts to connect *mazzaloth* with the verb מָזַל (*mazzil*) in the sense 'rain-producers';

¹ See Jensen, *König*, 233 ff.; Schrader, *COI* 115.

² The number of the *manazi* appears to have originally been given in the Creation tablet.

³ Jensen finds allusion to the zodiacal signs in the *Mani* stars of *I. 2* of the Creation table, above cited. The word *manita* (not *mizarita*) or *gaita*, which occurs in *I. 3*, cannot, with Sayce (*Religion of Bab.* 389), be identified with *Mazzaroth*.

but this is certainly inferior to the derivation adopted above (see further MAZZAROTH).

(e) The expression, 'the inner chambers of the south' (Job 29) $\text{חֲבֵרֵי הַיָּם הַדְרִי תְּהִינָן}$, is too indefinite to be taken as a reference to any special star or group of stars, such as the bright star Canopus or the constellation of the ship to which it belongs (Stern). Prof. Dr. Dillmann is correct in suggesting that the author of Job, as a man of travel, would know that in journeying towards the S. more and more stars and constellations appear in the heavens, and might therefore reasonably refer in such terms to the stars of the southern hemisphere.

(f) On כְּדֹוֹן as a representation of the planet Saturn (*Y. 5 20*), הֶלֶל (C) as the planet Venus, and דִּבְעֻרִי as the constellation *Geniu* (indirectly referred to in Acts 28 10, see CHELEB, CASTOR AND POLLUX). [There is according to *Y. Bib.*, reason to think that the Arabic name of Saturn, *shab*, underlies the שָׁבִיב of 1 K. 19 15. It is held that the *shab* referred to was probably a N. Arabian, not a Syrian, king. *Adhuc sub iudice lis est.*]

It is highly improbable (cp CALE, GOLDEN) that the Hebrew tribes in Egypt came under the influence of the Egyptian religion, which was based

4. **Star-worship.** Egyptian religion, which was based upon the worship of the sun.

But such place-names as Beth-shemesh in SW. Judah, Har-heres, Tinnath-heres, and Heres on the E. of the Jordan permit the inference that the local Baal of the Canaanites, whose cults confronted the Israelites on their immigration into Canaan, was sometimes connected with the sun. See, however, 8 32, and on this and other difficult points which here suggest themselves for consideration see ASHTOROTH, BAAL, PHOENICIA, § 11. On the much disputed statement of Am. 5 26 see CHELEB AND SICCUTH, SALMA.

Am. 5 26 introduces us to the subject of star-worship. The compiler of the Book of Kings regards the worship of 'all the host of heaven'—doubtless introduced from Babylonia—as one of the causes of the fall of the northern kingdom (2 K. 17 16). In the case of the kingdom of Judah we possess fuller information. Star-worship was here, apparently, not introduced before the time of Manasseh; but of this king it is related that he built altars to all the host of heaven in the two courts of the house of Yahwe (2 K. 21 5). Priests were appointed to offer sacrifice to the sun, the moon (see MOON), the *mazzaloth* (see above, § 3 [d]), and all the host of heaven, and special horses and chariots were dedicated to the worship of the sun, probably to be employed in processions (2 K. 23 4 5 11). Cp NATHAN-MELECH. It was not until the reformation in the 18th year of Josiah (B.C. 621) that measures were taken to root out this Babylonian astral worship (2 K. 23), owing to the influence of the Book of Deuteronomy which contains special injunctions against the worship of the sun, moon, and stars (*Deut.* 17 2 f.; cp 4 10).

Josiah's efforts, however, were by no means wholly successful. The new cult seems to have been largely embraced by private individuals, who worshipped the heavenly bodies upon the roofs of their houses, burning offerings and pouring out libations (*Zeph.* 1 c. Jer. 2 19 11). More especially does the worship of the QUEEN OF HEAVEN (*Jer.* 7 1)—i.e., probably, Ishtar as a celestial goddess—appear to have enjoyed popularity among women² (*Jer.* 7 18). The reformation of Josiah, which must have been mainly concerned with public and national religious abuses, could not eradicate such private cults. Ezekiel (writing in the 6th year of the captivity of Jehoiachin, 591 B.C.), pictures the worship of the sun as carried on at Jerusalem within the Temple court (*Ezek.* 8 16 f.)³ and, as Jeremiah assures us, even after the fall of Jerusalem the Jews still persisted in the worship of other gods, and especially of the queen of

¹ Also in 37 9, reading with Duhm, מַזְרֵי for מַזְלֵי , and omitting בְּתֵמֶה . For the *mazzarim* of the corresponding clause (EV 'north'), cp MAZZAROTH, and on this passage and on 38 31:2 see CHELEB, *JBL* 17 103 ff. [1898].

² See Che. *Jer., his Life and Times*, 126.

³ The 'holding of the branch to the nose,' in worshipping the sun is commonly traced to a Persian origin. See, however, TAMMIZ.

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heaven (Jer. 11). The reference in Job 31:26f. to the adoration of sun and moon by kissing of the hand sufficiently shows the danger which still beset the Jews when the poem of Job was written.

The only distinct reference to astrology in the OT occurs in Is. 47:13, where the exilic writer, in predicting

5. Astrology. the imminent downfall of Babylon, advises her in mockery to resort to her astrologers, if perchance they may save her from the impending catastrophe. Several peculiar expressions are used (see 'Isa.' *SHOT*). The phrase 'dividers of the heavens' alludes to a division of the sky for the purposes of astrology, and the reference of 'the monthly prognosticators,' or, 'those who make known at every new moon' seems to be to the official reports drawn up by the Babylonian astrologers to be sent in to the king monthly by month (see *MAGIC*, § 3 [5]). Many such Assyrian reports are still extant, and one of them gives us an astrological calendar, each month or day of which is noted as being lucky or unlucky for the commencement of a campaign, or for other operations.¹

The interest and importance of astrology to the Babylonians is well known. According to the Chaldean priest Berosus (quoted by Piny, *NH* 757) astronomical observations had been recorded on by the Babylonians for 490,000 years before his day. In the sixteenth century B.C., a great astrological work was drawn up on seventy clay tablets, and deposited in the library of Sargon of Agade (see Sayce in *TSBA* 145 f.).

The word *אֲשֵׁרִים*, *asirîm*, which (in its Aramaic as well as its Hebrew form) occurs several times in the Book of Daniel, is rendered 'astrologers' by AV (RV 'enchanters'); but this interpretation is merely assumed. The word is of Assyrian origin (*asirû*, *asirû*, etc.), and means rather *sovereign, charmer* (*COI* on Dan. 2:4; *Del. Proleg.* 141; cp Syr. *Asirîm*).

A late evidence of the celebrity of Babylonian astrology appears in the narrative of the Messiah's star *Mt. 2*. [On the star cp *NATIVIT.* § 18.] For whatever the description *ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν* ('from the East') may mean, the title *magi* (*μάγοι*; see *ZOROASTRIANISM*) implies that the lore of the wise men was Babylonian. The star which they saw at its rising (*ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ*) was evidently such as to be regarded as a portent only by practised astrologers. Herod and 'all Jerusalem' appear not to have noticed the phenomenon until their interest was aroused by the inquiries of the strangers, and then the king had to 'inquire diligently' the time of the star's appearance. Thus the hypothesis which represents the star as a comet or new star of exceptional brilliancy may be considered to be excluded. Kepler (*De J. Chr. servatoris nostri veri anno natalitio*, 1605 A.D.) thought of a close conjunction of the planets Jupiter and Saturn in the constellation Pisces, which occurred in the year 747 A.U.C., and in this view he has found many followers (cp Ideler, *Handb. d. Chronol.* 2:200 ff.).² A similar conjunction in the year 1463 A.D. led the Portuguese Rabbi Abarlanel (1437-1506) to infer (*Comm. on Daniel*) that the birth of the Messiah was shortly to be expected. J. H. Stockwell (*Astr. Jour.* Nov. 26, 1892; quoted in *Nature*, Dec. 22, 1892) argues in favour of a conjunction of Jupiter and Venus which took place in the spring of 6 B.C.

It should be observed that the objection of Meyer (*Comm. on Dan.*), that the hypothesis of such a conjunction is excluded by the singular *ἀστὴρ*, is quite alien to the question, since the

¹ In Is. 47:13 W. Muss-Arnolt (*AJSL* 16:223 [1903]), developing an idea of Zimmern, would read *בְּשֵׁרֵי בָשִׂימֵי*, 'those who can see the heavens,' *בָּשִׂימֵי* being regarded as = *bāru* the Assyrian class-name for the soothsayers called seers. Another view, proposed in *Crit. Bib.*, is to read line 2 of stanza 5 of the Song of Triumph thus,

קְטַמְיָהוּ קְטַמְיָהוּ | לְבַנְיָמִן חֲבִיבֵי יְהוּדָה,

'Let the spell-repeaters of Ishmael, the diviners of Jerahmeel, deliver thee,' supposing *קְטַמְיָהוּ* to mean the capital of Jerahmeel in N. Arabia.

T. K. C.]

² See, on the other hand, the damaging criticism of this view by C. Pritchard in Smith's *DB*, 'Star of the Wise Men'; also *Mem. Roy. As. Soc.* 25.

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reference of 'his star' would not necessarily refer to the conjunction taken as a whole, but rather to one member of the conjunction, which, by its peculiar position, was calculated to cast the nativity of the King of the Jews.

For star-worship see further *NATURAL WORSHIP*, § 8. Cp Campbell Thomson, *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Bab. in the First. Moos.* (1903). G. I. B.

STATER. The word *στατήρ* means properly a weight, and was used generally by the Greeks for the unit of weight, corresponding to the eastern *shekel*.

There is no reason to doubt the current derivation of the word from the root *στᾶ*, to weigh; the attempt to connect it with *Istar* (Jensen, *Z. H. 193*; and Johns, *Asyr. Deeds and Documents*, 2:224), apart from philological difficulties, rests on the assumption that money was originally coined in Nineveh, and that some early coin might bear the head or figure of the city goddess *Istar*.

The word is used in Mt. 17:27 (AV 'piece of money,' RV 'shekel'), where it means a stater or four-drachm piece of the Phoenician standard. As regards the actual coin intended, it must have been a stater either of Tyre or of Antioch, since at the time concerned these were the only mints issuing coin of the right standard. Under *SHEKEL* (§ 5) will be found an illustration of the silver didrachm or half-stater of Tyre; the figure given here represents a silver stater of Antioch.



Stater of Antioch.

The obverse bears the head of Augustus with the title *ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ*. On the reverse is a figure of the Fortune of the City of Antioch seated on a rock, wearing a mural crown, and holding a palm branch; at her feet is the river-god Orontes, in the attitude of swimming, half-emerging from the waves. (This type is a copy of the famous group by the sculptor Eutychides set up soon after the foundation of Antioch.)

The coin is dated 'in the thirtieth year of victory'—i.e., of the era of Actium—and 'in the thirteenth consulship' of the emperor; i.e., 'belongs to the year 2-1 B.C. This specimen weighs 9.5 grs. Troy. Others of other dates bear the name of Antioch (*Ἀντιοχείων μητροπόλεως*).

Statere or shekels are probably meant by the word *ἀργύρια* used for the 'thirty pieces of silver' (Mt. 26:15 27:35).

That denarii (see *PENNY*, § 1) cannot be meant is proved by the analogy of Ex. 21:32 (thirty *shekels* of silver the price of a servant gored by an ox) and Zech. 11:12 f. (where denarii are out of the question). On the other hand, the 30,000 pieces of silver of Acts 19:10 (the value of the magical books) may have been denarii, as indeed the Vulgate translates them. G. I. B.

STATUTE (קִּטְוֹ, קִטְוָה; אֲקִטְוֹ, 'to engrave,' and so 'a statute, fixed by being engraved, or inscribed, on some durable surface,' *Dr. II. 6.*), *Dr. 25* § 11. See generally *LAW LITERATURE; LAW AND JUSTICE*.

STEEL For *תַּיִתִּי*, *nehāthāh*; *תַּיִתִּי*, *nehāthāh*, see *BRASS*; and for *תַּיִתִּי*, *nehāthāh*, *Nah. 2:3* [4], see *IRON*, § 2, col. 2174.

STEPHANAS (ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ [Ti. WH]), a member of the Corinthian church. His 'household' (cp the household of CESAR [2:7]), 'the first fruits of Achaia,' had been baptized by Paul, and its members had afterwards distinguished themselves by the zeal with which they had set themselves to minister to the saints (1 Cor. 1:16 16:15), the ministry intended being doubtless chiefly that of hospitality. Of Stephanas personally, all that we learn is that, along with Fortunatus and Achaicus, he had brought news to the apostle at Ephesus which had 'refreshed his spirit' (1 Cor. 16:17 f.).

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The narrative in Acts (¶ 1 f. 7).
The charge (¶ 3).
The speech (¶ 4 f.).
Style of the narrative (¶ 8).
Significance of episode (¶ 9).
Bibliography (¶ 10).

Stephen (ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ) in the NT is the name borne by an early Christian agent in Jerusalem, who was the first to suffer for his faith. As narrated in Acts (6:1-8:3, cp 11:19-22:23) the pregnant and tragic episode of Stephen falls into three sections: (a) the prologue (6:1-15), containing an account (1) of Stephen's appointment as one of the Seven, and (ii) of his subsequent arrest; (b) the speech (7:1-53) which he is represented as having delivered upon that occasion; and (c) the epilogue of his murder and its effects (7:54-8:3). Although by common consent this narrative is regarded critically as undeniably historical, it requires to be subjected to a close analysis before it can be employed as evidence for its period.

The isolated character of 6:1-6 [7] indicates that the editor here has a special source or tradition before him. Note the first occurrence of

1. Acts 6:1-7. 'disciples,' *μαθηται*, the solitary instance (in Acts) of 'the Twelve' (cp Lk. 8:1), the church still meeting as one small body (as against 4:4-5:14), the conception of communal charity (cp COMMUNITY OF GOODS, § 5, and O. Holtzmann, *Ztschr. für Kirchengesch.* 14:327-336), and the strange position of the Seven (Acts, § 10) who, though ostensibly appointed to the delicate and responsible subordinate task of superintending charity and money-matters (see Field, *Optim Norvicense, pars tertia*, 1899, p. 113), really do as spiritual work¹ as the apostles (cp 6:8 f. 8:4 f. 21:8; Holtzmann, *HC* 12 [1901], 52-54). The irrelevant summary of 6:7 is certainly an editorial addition which, like 5:14, interrupts the run of the narrative. For the increase of the church has nothing to do with what immediately precedes, and the conversion of priests has no connection with what follows. 6:8 f. is the original and natural sequel to 6:1-6. 6:1-6 has, indeed, a retrospective glance. It sums up the primitive Jerusalem-period (18) of the history, as 6:7—where otherwise the words 'in Jerusalem' (*ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ*) would be superfluous—is meant definitely to show; but its main object is prospective. The editor's aim is to introduce two new figures in Philip (8:4-39; see col. 3697-8) and especially Stephen (6:8-8:3), whose activities form the pivot of the next stage in the early church's history, as well as to connect Antioch (6:5:11:19-21) with the new mission-impulse. There may be a dramatic touch in 6:1 f., where the preceding outward success of the young church is set beside the first sign of inner friction. Yet the immediate interest of the historian is not this juxtaposition or even the office of the Seven—a vague order, who drop out of sight at once—but with the man who was their most prominent member, and who found before long that his energy led to his arrest 6:8-15.

Like some or all, perhaps, of his fellow-officials Stephen was probably a Hellenist—*i. e.*, a Greek-speaking Jew resident in some Greek city (HELLENISM, § 2)—and it is significant that his opponents (probably including Paul himself, 22:3) came from his compatriots

¹ The pragmatism of the editor is shown in 6:6 where he suggests that the apostles' ratification was needed for every new office and departure (cp 13:1-3) in the church (even though in this case the recipients of their blessing were already full of the Spirit, 7: 5), and that those who afterwards became preachers to the Gentiles were sanctioned by the heads of the Christian community. It is certainly not Stephen's efforts in charity or organisation which involve him in the controversy of 6:9 f. On the other hand, the incident of this internal discussion and its satisfactory treatment indicates not merely a certain liberality of spirit—however early—on the part of the Hellenist majority but also an absence of ecclesiastical pretension on the part of the apostles, since their action showed that the church was to be a church indeed: 'not a mere horde of men ruled absolutely by the Apostles, but a true body politic, in which different functions were assigned to different members' (Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, 52). Both of these ideas were probably present to the editor of Acts (cp CHURCH, § 11). Cp also 1 Pet. 4:11.

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(see LIBERTINES, DISPERSION, §§ 17 f., 22, CILICIA, § 3, PROSELYTE, §§ 3 f., also the Lucan touch in Lk. 21:16, 'delivered up *by kinsmen*'). The circumstances of their origin rendered Hellenists often somewhat suspect in the eyes of rigid Palestinian Jews. Hence, by the operation of a common psychological law, many of them—so far from being more liberal and open-minded—cultivated exceptional strictness and suspiciousness in the practice of their religion. Just as the convert frequently outdoes those born in the faith by his eager zeal to accentuate the difference between his past and his present, so Hellenists were by no means *ipso facto* emancipated from the particularism of the Jewish faith. Their 'colonial life' did not naturally create an atmosphere in which 'the hard lines faded and the ideal depths were opened.'¹ In practice and theory, as the subsequent narrative shows (cp 9:24:21:7:22:3 f.), they often attached themselves to the most pronounced and bigoted habits of Judaism practised by the Pharisees. And this throws light at once upon their antipathy to Stephen, who perhaps had set himself to labour among his former associates (6:9 f.), no less than upon his own exceptional character. To their scrupulous conscience he appeared a renegade, a discredit to them personally and a revolutionary force within the religious praxis of the nation. They were the first to detect and challenge this liberal preacher, and their antagonist proves that his wider outlook and unique grasp of the spirituality of religion were by no means an inevitable product of his training. As in the case of Paul, so with Stephen; Hellenism furnished merely the soil of the religious growth (6:5:8:1-9).

The dual nature of the narrative in 6:8-15, fluctuating between the riotous justice of a mob and a trial before

the Sanhedrin, is patent.² As almost **2. Acts 6:8-15.** all the critical editors are agreed, the conception of a trial is editorial or subordinate, and the alternatives are to regard the passage as a combination of two sources or as a single source edited and modified. In the case of a single source, the alterations and additions (possibly due to a correct enough impression of the speech and situation) are to be found in 7:1:11:7: (13) 15 (in whole or part); so *e. g.*, Weiss, Wendt, and Moffatt. In the case of two sources, it is most tempting to agree with those (Spitta, J. Weiss, Hilgenfeld) who find the second (inferior) source in 12:6-15 (12:6-14, Jungst). The isolated allusion to miracles in 7:8, and the better connection of 7:9 with either 5 or 7, suggest that 7:8 is also editorial.³ Why the Sanhedrin-notion was introduced, it is not easy to say. Probably the editor regarded the Sanhedrin as the representative body of the Jews, just as he concluded the apostles to stand for the Christian community, and considered that here as hitherto any Jewish prosecution must proceed from or at least through them, to be judicial and regular. Whether this idea was purely pragmatic, or based upon some independent oral

¹ Martineau (*Seat of Authority*, 631), who goes on, however, to point out that the fusion of Jewish and heathen thought in Hellenistic culture could not of itself have produced the Christian universalism. That reaches back, past Stephen, to Jesus and 'his infinite longing to open the soul of man to the life in the unhindered by the mediation of priest and ritual.' Thus the fountain of catholicity is in no confluence of philosophy, or combination of external conditions, but in the unique personality of Jesus of Nazareth.

² Similarly in the account given by Josephus (*Ant.* 20:2) of James's murder some thirty years later (see JAMES, § 3, and von Dobschütz, *Die Christlichen Gemeinden* (1) 3, 117 f. 121 f. 272). It is curious that these two martyrs, who presented the opposite wings of early Christian sentiment, should die—or be represented as dying—in somewhat similar fashion.

³ Bacon drastically regards 6:11:7:1 (reproducing Mk. 14:55-56:7:55-56:8:14:2), 3 (reproducing Acts 22:4 f. 20:26:1:18:22:9:23:34:4) as editorial modifications added to bring the speech into line with the general Lucan scheme; whilst the reference to miracles in 6:8 has been substituted for the substance of 9:12 (unhistorically—cp Gal. 1:21-24—transferred to Paul), and the words 'and of them of Cilicia and Asia' (*καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Κιλικίας καὶ Ἀσίας*) in 6:9 are an editorial (cp 7:58:8:1) addition to a source which knew of only one synagogue (*i. e.*, an Alexandrian or North African one).

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tradition which alluded to an appearance of Stephen before the Sanhedrin, or an inference from the rôle undoubtedly played by it in the subsequent persecution, we are not able to determine. The slight obscurity resting on the details shows that the editor's distance from the period prevented him from supplementing in strictly accurate fashion the gaps in his source. Fortunately the haze does not blur the main outlines of what happened: Stephen's arrest was the result of a popular *émeute*, which restrained itself just long enough to allow him to defend himself before a suspicious and exasperated audience, which numbered—perhaps unofficially—several members of the Sanhedrin.

Stephen's persistent propaganda had created quite a new situation. The people (612 cp 247 513) were now up in arms against Christianity, and the charge was both grave and religious.

3. The charge against Stephen. Whether 611 or 613 f. be taken as the original source, the accusation was that of rank blasphemy against the Mosaic law and the temple-cultus. To rigid high-churchmen, like these Pharisaic Hellenists (cp *ATOCALYPTIC LITERATURE*, §§ 56, 58), and indeed to the people as a whole, especially in the capital, where prejudices naturally ran hot and hard, it seemed a horrid impiety to suggest that these ancestral privileges (law and cultus) were neither final nor absolutely essential means of grace. Stephen had probably appealed to the authority of certain familiar sayings of Jesus, analogous to, if not identical with, those cited in Mk 7:13-23 13a 14 58 (cp 15:29 11).¹ Without suggesting that Stephen spoke disrespectfully of the law or of the temple²—which would have been untrue to the spirit of Jesus (particularly when Lk. had expressly maintained the genuinely Jewish piety of Jesus and his attendance on the temple, Lk. 2:22-49), as well as out of keeping with the normal tone of contemporary Christianity—Lk. implies that Stephen had assumed an attitude less of antagonism than of comparative indifference to such national institutions, refusing to treat (e.g.) the sacrificial system as of absolute validity for Jews who believed in a Messiah about to return and establish a spiritual era. Zealots are angered as much by a refusal to echo their beliefs to the letter as by deliberate opposition; to ignore their tenets is as keen an insult as to attack them; and it is a fair inference from the historical data to assume that the negative and positive aspects of Stephen's preaching were alike interpreted by the sterner fanatics as danger and a defection. Their fierce attachment

¹ Cp Keim, *J. v. Naz. (ET)*, 171 f. 5 220-230. There can be little doubt (but cp SON OF MAN) that Jesus did actually anticipate a messianic triumph for himself which involved at his return the downfall, not merely the supersession, of the Jewish temple; and yet a passage like Rev. 11:1 f. indicates how unable certain Galilaean circles of primitive Christianity were to sympathise with this outlook. It is true that, even beyond the Essenes (ESSENES, 43), there were abroad in Judaism movements of thought which attached quite a subordinate value to the sacrificial cultus and the temple itself (cp Holtzmann, *NT Theol.* 1104 f. 391 f.). These, however, could hardly be very influential in Jerusalem, although the Alexandrian culture of Stephen probably made him susceptible to such tendencies parallel with the teaching of Jesus. He does not notice, what a modern reader would be impressed by, that the very temple in question (611) had been erected by a man whose sympathies could not be termed—in any sense of the term—Jewish by conviction (see ISKARI, 188). A rather ancient reading which adds, after 'nation' (*ἐθνος*) in Lk. 23:2, and 'destroying the law and the prophets' (*καὶ καταλύοντα τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας*)—is found not only in some Latin MSS but also in Marcion.

² The greater prominence assigned to the temple in Stephen's oration is due historically to the fact that Jesus, to whom he appealed as his authority, had once at least—spoken more explicitly upon the cultus than upon the law, and intrinsically the law was, but a portion of the law, to be minutely maintained; and Israel's were realised, not in the temple-worship, but in the fulfilment of the law of which that worship was but a part (M. G. 11:1, *Hilbert Lect.*, 387). Notice that if Lk. omits Mt. 17:22-27 he also omits Mt. 12:6. On the early Christian conception of God's spirituality and the universalism it implied, see Tilley, *Die religiöse Anschauung von der Seligkeit im Christentum*, 8 f. (1900).

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resented his looser attitude as bitterly as a Roman procurator's public insults. Like one of their number, who afterwards recanted, they were shrewd enough to anticipate disastrous consequences to Judaism, if such liberal ideas prevailed (Gal. 1:13 f.).

In its extant form the speech put into the mouth of Stephen is, like the other addresses of Acts, the composition of an author who possesses considerable historical insight into his subject; the diction, style, and general standpoint of the address are sufficient to show its Lucan colouring and ability (cp 13:6-41, and the frequent analogies to Lk. 1-2, Acts 7:48=17:24, etc.). In the nature of the case, too, it is impossible to think of hearers taking down a verbatim report, or of the author having access to such archives of the court as furnished later martyrologists with graphic and accurate details of a Christian's last defence and struggles. But, from the verisimilitude of the contents as a whole,¹ and the points which differentiate it alike from Petrine and from Pauline speeches, it is plain that the source drawn upon by the editor, to say nothing of such oral traditions (from Paul and other eye-witnesses, like Philip) as may have reached him, must have sprung from the vivid memories of some early Christians, possibly Hellenistic refugees at Antioch or Caesarea; judged on the principles of comparative historical criticism, the speech therefore takes high rank as substantially exact. It is not difficult to suppose that so memorable a death—memorable for its consequences to the early church, as well as for its intrinsic details—made an exceptionally deep impression upon contemporaries,² and that this impression passed rapidly into some literary shape. Certainly the speech, as it stands, does not give one the impression of an unpremeditated reply, and (as many scholars have noticed) it hardly lies in line with the historical situation presupposed, even when the latter is critically analysed. But though the report is probably inadequate, it echoes an impromptu survey of history delivered from a familiar position. Elaborate rather than extempore, yet with gaps for all its elaborateness, it is an outline or authentic summary, representing in all likelihood ideas often repeated by Stephen in his synagogue-preaching as he encountered objections urged by people who, in ostentatious reliance upon the authority of Moses, found the rejection of Jesus by his nation an insuperable barrier to faith in him as the true Messiah, and also cavilled at his attitude towards the ancestral law and temple of the kind. The speaker does not seize the occasion to preach repentance to the audience. Nor does he even attempt to clear himself specifically from the charges brought against him, being sensible from the first that the case was hopeless. His aim is to say all he has to say,³ and he manages to do this by giving a reading of history in the light of religious experience—a light that is intensified as the speech proceeds, and hurriedly closes with a flash of lightning.

In several details of this speech, as elsewhere, Acts illustrates

¹ In psychological truth it has not its like in all Acts' (Spitta, 117). At the same time this long speech, the longest in the whole book, is evidently meant and (less evidently) arranged by the author to subserve the general apologetic motives of the volume. The writer's sense of the situation and the literary ability he displays here are the kind of evidence which makes it not irrelevant to say that Acts is 'the only one of the NT books which anyone would think of calling clever' (W. H. Sikes, *Early Church History*, 41).

² It is certain, however, that Stephen died under the stones. The narrative lends no support to the idea (Wendt) that he recovered (cp 14:19 f.) in time to breathe his last among pious Christians who heard him repeat his testimony. The devout men who buried him were, by all likelihood, respectable Jews who had little or no sympathy with the fanatical excesses of their fellow-citizens.

³ Consistent with the Lucan idea of Lk. 21:13, where the sense of Mk. 13:6 is altered into that of arrest giving an opportunity for witnessing to the gospel.

the midrashic tendency which had already embellished OT stories with rabbinic modifications and enlargements (see *CIRCONCISION*, § 6, *HISTORICAL LITERATURE*, § 14 f.). No significance attaches to the apparent confusion of Horeb and Sinai (729 f., cp. Ex. 31; MIDIAN, SINAI), the use of the round number 40 in vs. 6 (as occasionally in Josephus), the divergence between 722 and 40 and of Ex. 11:27, the loose version of 28:7 f. in Acts 7:46 and of Ex. 11:22 in Acts 7:13, or the alteration of 'Danians' into 'Babylon' (vs. 43). Other variations and innovations, however, are more serious. Thus (a) in 7:2 the theophany to Abraham is antedated (as by Philo and Josephus, it can an interpolation (Hass, *St. Kr.*, 1892, 490 f.) be suspected; (b) Terah's initiative is ignored and his death antedated in 7:4 (as in Philo; see rabbinic traditions cited by Hamburger on this point); (c) Jacob's family is numbered (vs. 14) not after the Massoretic (70 = Gen. 46:27 Ex. 1:5) but after the S text (75; known already to Philo); (d) Shechem is confused (vs. 15) with Machpelah in Hebron, and all the patriarchs — instead of Joseph only — buried at Shechem (perhaps a Lukan home-thrust [see Goswami, § 10] at the contempt felt by rigid Jews for the Samaritans; see Lk. 9:51 f., 10:31, 17:11 f., Acts 1:8, 4 f.), a curious divergence not only from the OT narrative but even from the tradition followed by Josephus who buries them all at Hebron (*Ant.* ii, 82); (e) vs. 20-24 are tinged with the Jewish legends (Moses, § 20 f.), current also in Philo and Josephus, upon Moses' beauty, eloquence (in contradiction to Ex. 4:10 f.), wisdom, and marital prowess, — 25 (accipitling Moses of rash violence and making his chiastius interference the first step in the deliverance) being repudiated from the tradition in Philo, *De Mos.* 18 f. and *Jos. Ant.* ii, 92 f.; (f) the rabbinic division of the lawgiver's life into three periods of forty years each, is followed in vs. 21-26; (g) the 'Red Sea' (vs. 36) is an Alexandrian touch (*Wisd.* 10:14-17, 1 Alacc. 4:2 Heb. 11:29), taken evidently from *1st. Mos.* 3:10 f., 'nonne hoc est quod testatur nobis tum Moyses in prophetis, qui multa passus est in Aegypto et in mari rubro et in eremo annos quadraginta'; (h) the association of angelic agency with the law (7:36-41), though free from the deprecatory spirit of Gal. 3:29 Heb. 2:2, etc., is like them (cp. Everling, *Die Paul. Angelologie*, 61-65) due to the rabbinic development of Dt. 33:2 (cp. *Jos. Ant.* xv, 53); and (i) the citation from Amos in vs. 42 f. reproduces the mistranslation of an obscure and corrupt original (cp. Amos, § 13, CURTIS, MOURN, § 1), Stephen arguing — in opposition to the normal and traditional view — that while the wilderness period had its divine means of grace (vs. 44), it was yet a period of idolatry and apostasy punished by the Exile.

Such phenomena, though quite minor in importance, indicate a speaker or an author who is drawing upon his memory of popular religious tales and has been trained in the spirit of that Alexandrian Judaism which, for all its reverence, could sit wonderfully free to the letter and even the traditions of the OT records.

In his brilliant and skilful address (7:2-8 9-16 17-43 44-50 51-53), Stephen urges one or two extremely

6. Contents. effective and apposite arguments, which amount to a counter-accusation against his opponents. In the opening sketch of patriarchal history, which is quite in keeping with the sententious and discursive style often affected by Orientals in unfolding some grave issue, the speaker is mainly concerned to explain the origin of the covenant and promise² which culminated in the Mosaic legislation and the Solomonic temple. But he manages indirectly to express his personal reverence for God (6:11, cp. 7:2-55) and the temple (6:13, cp. 7:7), as well as the common ancestry of Jew and Christian alike (*our* father, 7:2, cp. 12, etc., also Lk. 17:3). Then comes the development of two leading ideas; one already suggested, the other novel, yet both showing his desire to justify himself by an appeal to the original basis and trend of OT revelation. (a) Charged with depreciating

¹ The use of ἐκκλησία (38, cp. 8:13) is deliberate. The author hints at the normal position of the early Christians, who never dreamed of founding a sect but of continuing and developing the ancient people of God — to whom they served themselves as lineal heirs.

² Cp. Rom. 9:4 'Israelites, whose is the glory [Acts 7:2] and the covenants [cp. Acts 7:8] and the giving of the law [Acts 7:38-53] and the [divine] service [Acts 7:4] and the promises' [Acts 7:5] — ('Ἰσραηλίται, ὧν ἡ δόξα, καὶ αἱ διαθήκαι, καὶ ἡ νομοθεσία, καὶ ἡ λατρεία καὶ αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι). The allusion to the other prerogative of the 'inheritance' (ἡ κληρονομία, Acts 7:5) is too incidental to afford any basis for a theory (Bacon) which regards this section in the speech as an attempt to show the Alexandrian spiritualising of the territorial 'inheritance' into a non-local worship (Lk. 1:73-75). 7:5 is answered by 7:45. Stephen does not, like the author of *Ep. Barn.*, spiritualise 'the inheritance' by denying any local material fulfilment of it; he merely argues that, however real, the local and national culmination of it in the history of Israel was not final, implying that its fulfilment lay in the far future (cp. Heb. 4:1 f., 8:11).

the temple, he argues (40-43 44-50) that neither law nor temple had come until comparatively late in the national history, the temple in fact only in Solomon's reign; yrt, previously to that, the spiritual revelation of God had been carried on in foreign lands (for Abraham 2, 2, Moses, 72, 30-33, and Israel, 1, 38). The temple itself, as the prophets testified, formed no adequate or absolute medium for such a spiritual revelation (the tacit inference being, of course, that it could not therefore be any blasphemy or treason to OT religion to assert, as Jesus had done, that even the temple was not indispensable or final).¹ And as for the law of Moses (8), with its divine vitality and power to which, answering 6:13 f., Stephen does ample justice (38-53), not only had it, like the temple, been preceded by revelations (e.g., of circumcision), but its founder had been misunderstood (7:25 Lk. 2:50), rejected and thwarted by the very people (in Egypt 24-35, in the wilderness 36-39) to whom God had sent him as ruler and redeemer. Thankless, perverse, and obtuse: such had been their nature all along. Hence their failure to welcome Jesus with his authority and creative power to establish a new and final form of worship which should correspond to the ideal of the OT. This resistance, so far from being loyalty to religion, meant both unfaithfulness and disaster to it, representing indeed a conservatism to the letter and the form of religion which the fresh and fuller current of the spirit would leave stranded. Moses predicted² that the Messiah would be a second Moses, and Stephen argues vehemently (in quite a characteristic Lukan fashion, cp. Lk. 16:29 f., 24:27 f., Acts 28:2, etc.) that the true observance of the Law would lead its devotees to Jesus (51-53): real loyalty to the Law and the prophets culminates in Christian faith, the line of continuity running from the OT prophets to the gospel of Christ. Whereas, he grimly suggests, Jesus had been indeed a second Moses:³ his rejection, due to the same obstinacy and rebellious spirit (51 f.) that Moses and his successors⁴ (52) encountered, is really a proof of his genuine Messiahship. In short, the argument ends with a flashing retort. Stephen hurls back the charge of disloyalty on his accusers, implying, in characteristically Alexandrian and yet also in OT fashion, that the Jewish

¹ Stephen's reference to the Solomonic temple is curt and cool, but intended to depict its relative worth rather than its utter incompatibility with OT religion. His point, driven home by the citation from Is. 66:1 f., is that God is not bound to the temple in Jerusalem, but free to reveal himself in wider and less external ways; compared to the spiritual worship of God given by Jesus (41-42), even the temple service is merely another golden calf. It is obvious that, in a book circulated after 70 A.D., this line of argument would be specially apt, proving that the destruction of the temple was no irreparable loss to religion.

² vs. 37 is of cardinal moment to the argument of the speech in its extant form, since it destroys the Jewish claim that the Mosaic cultus and legislation were final. The prophet-Messiah, as a second Moses, at least equal to the first in authority, must have the right to supersede or transcend previous revelations. True, the Jews had rejected him whom Stephen claimed as the true Messiah. But that was no decisive argument against him, for they had done the same to the first Moses. Thus, although vs. 37 has all the appearance of a parenthesis or editorial addition to Lk., even so it would only sharpen an idea already present in the original and (like 6:11) reflect a correct reading of the primitive source.

³ So the Lukan addition (7 to 'and wisdom' καὶ σοφία (p. 22) = Lk. 2:40-52 (Bacon)? The idea dominates the *Companion Recognition* (e.g., 13). Cp. Acts 3:12 f. = 18 (Lk. 13:10). Of course the Messianic interpretation of Dt. 18:15 f., repeated in Acts 7:37, is a misapplication of the original sense, which refers not to an individual but to a succession or order of prophets in Israel.

⁴ Why the prophets (42-50)? Because (WRS, *OTIC*, 204 f.) they had vainly but vigorously protested against the formal tendencies of OT piety which with the temple became crystallised into yet more ceremonial worship. Without pronouncing the establishment of the temple itself a fresh token of the nation's sensuous bias, the speaker plainly hints that the Levitical ritual had thereby acquired a fatal prominence which tended to obliterate that spiritual worship for which the prophets stood, and to produce the further effect of rendering the worshippers incapable of estimating God's better and spiritual revelation.

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rejection of Jesus was an integral part of the sensuous temper and externalism with which they had all along been blind and dull to the spiritual significance of the Law and the prophets. Circumcision they had had; but it had brought no moral devotion (7, 52). Prophets they had had; yet only to disbelieve and persecute (17 43-52). A spiritual and heavenly law (Ναγια ζωατα, 'vim vitalem habentes,' Blass) they had received; yet only to prove unfaithful to it (38f., 53) by turning it into a dead letter.

As we possess only an epitome of the speech, it is useless to inquire whether 17: 51-53¹ imply some interruption on the part of the speaker's angry audience, now awakening to the speaker's drift, or whether some part of the source has been omitted by the editor (Schwanbeck). The words are abrupt and final. This curt, stinging thrust, which formed the climax of the harangue, roused a heat of anger in the audience which, at Stephen's further blasphemous cry (59), passed into a scream of horror. Nothing is said about any formal conviction before the Sanhedrin. The offender is simply stoned to death outside the city - the regular method and place of punishment for blasphemy (Lev. 24: 10, cp Lk. 4: 29).

For the Jews to put any criminal thus to death upon their own responsibility was utterly illegal (cp Jn. 18: 11); and the difficulty of the story is enhanced by the absence of any explicit evidence to show that a year or two after the death of Jesus Roman authority in the capital was seriously relaxed, or that—as afterwards (61, 62 A.D.) at the murder of James the brother of Jesus—an interregnum between two procurators was taken advantage of, or that the sentence of the Sanhedrin was formally connived at, if not ratified, by the Roman officials. At the same time, the broad unquestionable fact that the Jews proceeded to persecute the Christians without hindrance, whilst the Christians not merely fled from Jerusalem, where the Roman power was strong, but never had recourse to the civil power as a shield against their tormentors, suggests that the Jewish authorities must have had some sanction or other² for their outburst, although the historian—writing perhaps³ to convey the impression that such

¹ Stephen makes no attempt to explain the cause of this odour. He seems to regard it as innate. In *Ep. Barn.* 9f., where the allegorical interpretation of the Mosaic customs is propounded as their original sense, the failure of the Jews to apprehend this is attributed to the influence of an evil angel (πονηρὸν αἰθέριον) and to their lapse into idolatry. Stephen's speech, upon the other hand (as Salabier rightly points out), is at once the complement and the development of Jesus' parable in Lk. 20: 9. As a historical retrospect it is unjudly severe; but is a word for the immediate situation of the speaker it possessed a telling force. The thought of 7: 51 f. is remarkably in line (cp O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, 316) with Lk. 13: 34 f. (cp 11: 4), where Jesus speaks in the name of God, who has repeatedly sent messengers to the Jews, and finally the Messiah, only to meet the same fate. See *Ep. Barn.* 5: 11 'So the Son of God came in the flesh in order that he might sum up and complete the sins of those who persecuted his prophets to the death.'

² Stephen does not go nearly as far as *Ep. Barn.* (4: 9) which flatly denies that the Jews possessed the real law of God: 'ours it is, they lost it' by the idolatrous abomination mentioned in Acts 7: 41. He distinctly upholds the living authority of the Law (in contrast to Paul, Gal. 3: 21); only, whilst *Ep. Barn.* 14: 1, denies that the Jews ever got this divine covenant, Stephen argues that they got it and failed to keep it (Acts 7: 53). So 4: 1-4, 14: 2 f. from the Jewish standpoint: 'our fathers received the law of life which they kept not, which ye also have transgressed after them'; also Acts 13: 10.

³ Lucan chose to original (18-50), Holtzmann, *ZWT* (1885), 424-31. Mc Giffert finds in them the theme of the speech, viz., that temple-worship is not enough, denouncing obedient and spiritual hearts among the worshippers. But there is nothing distinctly Christian in such an attitude.

⁴ Though this finds no support in the words 'I gave my vote,' καταψηφισα ὑψου (20: 10), which are merely a rhetorically vivid expression of agreement (8: 1). Paul was not a member of the Sanhedrin.

⁵ Consonant with his usual tendency to emphasise the Jews as the real enemies of the faith and to avoid blaming the Roman authorities. The first martyrdom of Christianity was brought about by false evidence and tumultuous justice on the part of the Jewish authorities (as 12: 1 f., etc.), and betokened no collision of the Roman authorities with the new faith.

violence was illegal—has failed to notice it. The fairest solution of the critical problem is to suppose that Stephen perished in a fanatical riot, the account of which ended with 8: 2. The editor, however, has added not merely B 11 f., 15 but also 7: 58 8: 1, 3 to the original source, drawing in the latter interpolations upon a tradition which was no doubt accurate.

The editorial hand, or a different source, in at least 7: 58 8: 1, 3 is widely recognised—e.g., by Bleek, Weiss (adding 7: 55 59d e), Clemens, Sorof, Krüger (*TLZ* 1885, 299), Wendt, Hilgenfeld (adding 56, 59), Schmiedel (Acts, § 10), Moffatt (*Historical New Test.*, 429, 431, 667-670), and Bacon. Originally the source (58 f.) ran 'they stoned Stephen,' etc. (ἐσθοντο Στεφανον κ. τ. λ.); the insertion of 58b left 'stoned' without an object, and necessitated its repetition awkwardly in 59. Again 8: 1 is obviously parenthetical, whilst 8: 3 repeats the proleptic 8: 1c unless the latter be also excised (as by Weiss and Schmiedel). It is plain that Stephen died, not on the testimony of witnesses (B 11 7: 58b), but on account of his own recent word and confession. The references to Saul, which are quite authentic, link the source to what follows, and it is needless to dwell on the dramatic effect¹ of this silent figure watching the opening struggle of a campaign in which he himself was presently to play so diverse and prominent a part.² A similar result in general is reached by those who bisect the whole narrative—e.g., Feine (61-6 12: 14 7: 2-21 29-34 41-50 57 f. 8: 1-3 with 61-11 15 7: 22-23 35-43 51-53 54-56 59 f. 8: 1b-2), Jungst (69 f. 12-14 7: 1-21 29-34 41-50 52b-60 8: 1b c, with 61-6, 7b c-8 11 15 7: 22-23 35-43 51-58d 8: 1a 2-3), and Spitta (61-6 9: 1-2 7: 2-54 57-58 8: 1b-2, with 67 f. 12b-15 7: 1 55 f. 58b-60 8: 1d 3), or by less radical investigators such as Blass (7: 59d, a Lucan touch) and Ramsay (7: 58 8: 1, Lucan touches reproducing Paul's agonised confession when Philip narrated the episode, 60-8: 10, at Caesarea). If one is disinclined to follow those who (Spitta, J. Weiss, Hilgenfeld, etc.) adhere to the substantial integrity, as to the historicity, of the speech, the most tenable alternative is to consider that it represents a single source more or less edited (B. Weiss, Wendt, Holtzmann); it is quite in keeping with the author's practice in the third gospel (Wernle, *Synoptische Frage*, 18, cp 146) to deal more freely with narratives than with discourses in the traditional materials which lay before him.

The chief linguistic terms characteristic of 6: 1-8: 3 (especially in the speech), which do not recur elsewhere either in Acts or in the rest of the NT literature, are:—'defence,' ἑμυρισθῆναι (7: 24); 'murder,' λήαινα (8: 1); 'resist,' ἀντιστηναι (8: 1); 'unir-

¹ The whole story is full of admirable effects produced by an author who could write effectively as well as piously; e.g., the literary art shown in the sonorous opening of the speech, dramatic touches like the glow of 6: 15, 'they understood not,' and kept it not,' and 'he fell asleep,' (contrasting this death with the three already mentioned, viz., Judas, Ananias, and Sapphira), the vision of 7: 59 with Jesus standing (not 'sitting,' as usual) to welcome his martyr (cp Rev. 5: 6), the contrast of Stephen's denunciation and his forgiving spirit, and the oratorical handling of the various themes in the harangue, 7: 59 f., seems to echo a belief that the spirits of the dead (especially the martyrs) passed directly to God; cp Titus, 45; Schür., *Hist.* ii. 2: 100.

² See PAUL, § 7. Mommsen (*Z.N.V.*, 1861, 85 f.), taking ἐν τῷ γένει μου (Gal. 1: 14) in its local sense (= birthplace, cp Acts 4: 26 18: 24), considers that Paul directed his attack upon the separatists (including e.g., Andronicus and Junias? Rom. 16: 7) in Tarsus; which gives a good sense to Gal. 1: 22, but hardly fits in with Acts 8: 39: 1 f. In a famous passage (Essay on 'Secret Societies,' *Works* [1863] 6: 295-2: 0) de Quincey discusses the meanness and fascination stirred by such martyrdoms in some of the more thoughtful spectators, and argues that the radiant countenance of Stephen 'bringing down to earth some revelation of a brightness in the sky, the fountains of which were intercepted to Paul, perplexed him; haunted him sleeping, troubled him when awake. . . Upon this we may be sure that Paul brooded intensely, and that the noonday scene on the road to Damascus did but quicken and ante-date a result which would at any rate have followed in the end.' (Cp col. 408: 1.) The psychological nexus, alluded to in this passage, is reflected in the narratives of Acts, and probably formed one of the subordinate aims which the writer had in view as he used the Stephen-source and the Pauline tradition together. See further below.

cumelvd, 'ἀνεπίτητος (7 31); 'gnash, 'θρήνω (7 31); 'come after, διαδεχομαι (7 33); 'unpilate, ἰδκουσθη (7 27 35); 'expose, καθυστερο (7 30); 'coming, ελκουσθη (7 31); 'thrust out, εβωτω (7 43 127 39 41); 'boycott, ἰσταντω (7 41); 'daily, καθημεριος (8 1); 'ill-usage, καταστυγω (7 14); 'deal craftily, κατασφουριω (7 10); 'possession, κατασχεω (7 3 45); 'lamentation, λυκοτος (8 2); 'ravage, λυμαινω (8 1); 'redeemer, λυτρωστη (7 35); cp Heb. 9 12 Lk. 100 2 3 1; 'remove, μετακινω (7 4 11); 'make a call, κωσχοσκειω (7 41); 'neglect, παραθεωρω (8 1); 'corn, σπιτω (7 12); 'stiff-necked, τεκληροσπρηχλος (7 51); 'lift up, στυγειω (8 12); 'bury, στυγιω (8 2); 'set at one, συναλλασσω (7 2 1); 'slain beast, τρφυγιω (7 42); 'suborn, υποβαλλω (8 11); 'sustenance, τροφασμα (7 11); 'buy, τωρωμαι (7 10); 'appeared, εβωθη (4 sudden human appearance, 7 2). Of these 31, no fewer than 13 marked (f) come from the LXX or Philo, a fact which (especially as the citations are loose and unintentional) corroborates the impression of Hellenistic or Alexandrian colour. Even more remarkable is the absence of such distinctively Lucan traits as *an* with optative, δε και, εγενετο with infinitive, εν τω with infinitive, και ημερω, και αυτος, ονοματι, παρ (απαρ) ελκουσ, τω with a noun, and το or τα before prepositions.

At the same time, the Lucan phraseology of the passage shows that if a written source underlies the record it has been worked over² by the editor; see the following favourite or characteristic Lucan traits (words peculiar to Lk. Acts marked with an asterisk)—'holy, αγιος (8 13 7 31); 'bring, εγω (8 12); ληρω (7 41); 'bring up, ανατρεφω (7 20); 'men brethren, ανθρωποι αιδελφοι (7 2); 'look steadily, ατενιω (8 15 7 55); 'till, αχρι (7 18); 'and there arose, εγενετο δε (8 1); 'hale, βρωθος (7 19); 'ministry, διακονια (8 1 4); 'open, διανοιω (7 50); 'out, διασπρω (7 34); 'scatter abroad, διασπειρω (8 1); 'arrange, διατάσσω (7 44); 'ju-*, δικαιοσ (Messianic title, 8 14 7 52 22 14); 'seventy, εβδομηκοντα (7 14); εμει with dative (7 5 44); επειν δε (7 1 13); 'expose, εστημι (7 21); 'before, ενωπιον (8 5 f., 7 40); 'the following [day], τη επομωσθη [ημερω] (7 2); 'in those days, εν ταϊσ ημεραισ ταυταισ (8 1); 'send forth, εβαστασσω (7 12); 'year, ετοσ (7 34 42); 'devout, εδουλοσ (8 2); 'rejoice, ευφραντω (7 41); 'come upon, εφιστημι (8 12); 'having kneeled down, θεωε τα γονατα (7 60 cp Lk. 22 41); 'named, κολουμνωσ (7 34); 'behold, κατανοω (7 31, cp Heb. 3 1 9 27); 'amitie, λιμοσ (7 11); 'after these things, μετα ταυτα (7 27); 'summon, μετακαλεω (7 14); 'month, μην (7 20); 'young man, νεανιασ (7 58); νομιωσ=συμνωσ (7 25=Lk. 2 44); ποω, νυν (7 4 34 50); 'house of Israel, οικουσ Ισραηλ (7 42); 'with one accord, ομοθυμαδων (7 57); 'sight, οραμα (7 31); δε in attraction (7 15 f., 45); 'at the feet, παρ τουσ ποδοσ (7 50); πληθοσ (8 25)=community, Deissm., *Newe Bibelstudien*, 30; 'multiply, πληθυνω (8 1); 'except, πλην (8 1); 'full of the [Holy] Spirit, πληρησ πνευμ. [αγιου] (8 35 7 55); 'avenge, ποιωσ εδελφωσιν τινοσ (Lk. 18 7 Acts 7 24); 'betrayer, προδοτησ (7 52 Lk. 6 16 2 Tim. 3 4 only); 'show before, προκαταγ. γελλω (7 52); 'go before, προπορευω (7 10 Lk. 1 70); 'unto, προς, of speech (7 1); 'world, ρημα (8 11); 'host, στρατια (7 42 Lk. 2 13); 'kindred, συγγενεια (7 114 Lk. 1 61); συν (7 15); 'seize, συναρπασσω (8 12); 'approve, συνεδοκωσ (8 11); 'stop, στυγω (7 57); 'deliverance, σωτηρια (7 25 Lk. 1 70); τε (8 7 12 7 20 8 1); 'of forty years, τεσσαρακοντατησ (7 21, cp 13 18); τω with infinitive (7 10); τουτωσ=him (7 35, cp 2 23 5 31); υπορω (7 55); '[the] Most High, [ο] υψιστοσ (7 48, cp Lk. 1 32 Heb. 7 1); 'voice, φωνη with γιγωμαι (7 31); 'keep, φυλασσω (7 53, cp Lk. 11 29); 'widow, χηρα (8 1); 'rejoice, χηρα (8 1); ωσ=when (7 21); ωσει (8 15), impf. with ptc. (8 1); besides the proper names like 'Libertine, 'Αθηρωσ; 'Challean, Χαλδαιοσ; 'Hellenist, 'Ελληνοσ; and 'Rephan, Ρεφαν; the phrase 'Son of Man' (7 50=Lk. 22 69, almost only use of name outside gospel), 7 9 5 3 7 (Clem. Rom., 4 f.); the conception of Jesus as the prophet like Moses (7 37, cp 122 and Lk. 7 16 31 10 23 f., 24 27), Acts 7 27=Lk. 12 37, cp 122 with ptc. (7 12, cp Lk. 4 21), Acts 9 10=Lk. 24 15 Acts 7 22=Lk. 24 19—'preserve alive, ζωωγονισθαι (Lk. 17 33 Acts 7 10 1 Tim. 6 11, only); 'visit, επισκεψασθαι (7 21, cp Lk. 1 78 7 10); and one instance of the Lucan partiality for Is. 40 6 (Acts 7 47 f.; as in Barn. 16 2 with η τωσ for και ποιοσ and οχι for γαρ).

The significance of this episode for early Christianity is thus twofold. It formed one of those outstanding crises when, as the historian of Acts loved to show, the fanatical and malicious opposition of Judaism to the

¹ Peculiar to Hebrews and Lk. Acts (including Acts 68 3) are: 'goodly, ἀστυριοσ; 'star, αστρον; 'custom, εθωσ (except Jn. 12 4); 'bring in, εισαγωμωσ; (except Jn. 13 19); 'trembling for fear, ετρωμοσ; Red Sea, Ερυθρη θαλασσα; 'devout, εδουλοσ (rest); 'he that bears rule, ηγουμωσ (except Mt. 26 citation); 'rest, καταπαυωσ; 'change, or 'remove, μεταριθινω (except Jn. 4); 'journey, or, παροικωσ (literal sense); 'patriarch, πατριαρχεισ; *son of God* (except 1 Pet. 5 9); 'made with hands, χειροποιητοσ of temple (except Mk. 14 5). See also Acts 7 4=Lk. Heb. 8 2-5.

² This is perhaps betrayed also in the occasional roughnesses of construction—e.g., the change of subject in 4 ('removed, μετακινωσ), 8 ('bound, εγενετο), and 10 ('made, καταστυγω). Though Weiss goes too far in taking passages like 10 c 16 and 13 2 23 a, 26 20, 36 f., as editorial additions inserted in view of Lk.'s Gentile-Christian audience.

new faith only served to accelerate the extension of that faith to the Gentiles. But, further, it was an epoch when persecution broke upon the Church in general as well as upon individuals, owing to the fact that the Jewish authorities for the first time (within a year or so of the Crucifixion—i.e., 30-31 A.D.)¹ realised the radical consequences of the gospel as preached by more outspoken Christians, who could appeal honestly to the authority of Jesus himself. Hitherto these distinctive principles of Christianity, with their far-reaching issues, had been tolerated mainly because they had not been adequately expressed. Hence the fitful and comparatively ineffective attempts of the authorities to keep the new movement in check, as well as the general popularity enjoyed by the Nazarenes in Jerusalem. The latter lacked neither courage nor sincerity. For various reasons, however, they do not appear to have shown anything of the same insight into the tradition of Jesus which they preserved, as outsiders like Stephen, Philip, and Paul. Upon men like these fell the brunt of the advance which had to be made, if Christianity was ever to be anything more than a Jewish sect. With the spiritual freedom and universal range of the new faith, as urged by Stephen and others, the Jews probably were in essential sympathy; indeed there is every reason to suppose that Stephen carried the majority (yet cp 21 20-22) of the church, willingly or reluctantly, with him in his outspoken statements. It is one thing, however, to approve a course of action another and a nobler thing to start it. All credit for the more difficult step, with the wisdom and courage which it involved at this period, is due to Stephen, whose stand had a further liberating effect—hardly contemplated by himself—of forcing the early Christians into a consciousness of their real relation to the orthodox Judaism, side by side with which most of them had hitherto lived in peace. The break had to come, although as yet both sides had been for different reasons slow to disturb the *status quo*.² There is an inner freedom which may grow side by side with an allegiance fostered by birth and custom, prejudice and pity. But men first become conscious of this freedom when a demand is made that restricts it, or when it is assumed on account of some consequence already deduced from it by the enemy, but as yet latent to the mind that cherishes it (Weizsäcker). Such an awakening came to early Christianity at the martyrdom of Stephen. He first expressed a latent antithesis of principle, grasping the gospel of Jesus with a thoroughness and penetration which enabled him to formulate certain questions, afterwards elaborated differently yet along the same line by one who had been an accomplice in his murder. This is all the more remarkable because the stimulus originally came not—as in later controversies—out of practical exigencies due to the misused preaching of the gospel, but entirely from the inward fidelity of one man (who had not belonged to the original disciples) to the principle of religious freedom in the spirit and sayings of Jesus.³

¹ The dependence of the Stephen-narrative upon several of the best authenticated portions of the Synoptic tradition (for the Johannine, see Weidt's *Lehre Jesu* [ET], 2 13 f.) has been already noted; ² the general similarity of several details in the accounts of his death and of the trial of Jesus (see, Lk. 22 66).

³ One early tradition, followed by Ursinus, P. Lams, and other medieval and later scholars, put Stephen's martyrdom in the same year as the Ascension.

⁴ As the subsequent history, down to the third century, shows, there was a recurring tendency to gravitate back into Judaism on the part of certain Christian circles (cp Hamack's *Dogmengeschichte*, ET 1 209 f.).

⁵ In its account of the persecutions conducted by that 'imitus homo' (i.e., Paul), *Clem. Recogn. 1 20 f.*, like Hieronymus, ignores Stephen; James is for Hieronymus the prime martyr, though in *Eus. HE* v. 23 Stephen reappears as the model witness of Christ.

⁶ It depends upon the critical view taken of Jn. 12 44 whether that passage be regarded as a later expansion of the idea suggested in Acts 7 48 f., or as embodying a genuine logic of Jesus (cp Jn. 2 19 22) to the effect that only spiritual worship in his name answered to the true ideal of the OT revelation.

STEPS

STOICS

Acts 12) is not unnatural in a historian who is concerned to describe how loyalty to the authority and ideas of the great proto-martyr brought one of his followers to a like fate. Such confirmation was inevitable, though it is not easy to determine how far it was conscious and literary. It is distinctly curious, however, that false witnesses and an allusion to Jesus' saying about the temple should be introduced here by an author who deliberately omits both facts from his narrative of Jesus' trial; and also that the authentic saying on the Cross (Lk. 23:34) which does not form part of the original third gospel (see *Hist. New Test.*, 654)—should be reflected in Acts 7:59 (cp. Lk. 23:34, Acts 17:13-27), just as it was actually quoted by the brother of Jesus at his martyrdom (ὁμοίως τὰ ἔθνη λέγουσιν ἐπιθεὶς τὴν ναὸν λέγων: 'ὁ ἰσραὴλ οὗτος ὁ ναὸς οὗτος ὅτι ἠοροῦσθε, cp. 12), and by the Lyons martyrs (Euseb., *HE* v. 24). There is one very significant change, however, in Acts 7:59 (= Lk. 23:34), emphasised by the preceding words 'calling upon', ἐπικαλοῦσθαι (cp. 17:50). The similar parallels between Stephen and Paul (11:21-22; 12:21-27; cp. 24:12) are of no literary significance whatever, nor is Stephen's speech a literary expansion of certain Pauline ideas. For, whilst criticism has learned to do justice to the powerful impression (see above); also R. H. Hutton's *Apology of Stephen*, 1893, pp. 16 f., 88 f.) made by Stephen's religious consciousness upon Paul, Stephen cannot be described as a forerunner of Paul without serious limitations. In Stephen an original element worked like a ferment, which differentiated him not simply from his leading contemporaries, but from the line still equently followed by Paul. The very occurrence of similar ideas—e.g., in Rom. 9:11 (Acts 7:52=1 Thess. 2:14 f., see Origen on Mt. 13:43)—in some of several proofs that such ideas were widespread in certain circles of early Christianity, and the points of difference are upon the whole more tangible than the points in common between the two men. Paul was not interested in the cultus-question at all; Stephen was. Yet Stephen never raised the question of the Gentiles as Paul did from the first. Nor did he, like Paul in general, view the Law as superseded by grace; in Hellenistic fashion Stephen traces a spiritual current through Jewish history, believing that a proper interpretation of the Law, and obedience to the spirit, would have saved the Jews from their ancient lapses, even from the culminating lapse at the crucifixion. *Per contra*, as has been already indicated (III 2), Stephen had not advanced to the position which in later writers may be termed distinctively Alexandrian.

The scanty and worthless legends upon Stephen, collected by Tillemont (*Memories*; Eng. ed. 1734, pp. 15-159), mainly cluster round the place and time of his death, and the finding of his relics. According to one tradition of the fifth century, he was buried, thanks to the friendly intervention of Gamaliel, at Kafa (Camela in presence of the lamenting apostles. His festival seems to have been held generally on the 26th of December, the day following Christmas; which occasioned Augustine's saying that unless God had first become man to die for men, men would never have found courage to die for God. Epiphanius (*Her.* 204) numbers Stephen among the Seventy, and one curious tradition followed by Dante, *Purg.* 15) describes him as a youth. In addition to the critical editions of Acts, *ad loc.*, the monographs on source-criticism (Acts, § 11), and various biographies of Paul, see especially *Baur's *Paulus* (*Origin of Acts* (ET) 1:237-242; 2:175-177; Ewald's *History of Israel*, ET 7:155-164; *Wörter*, *Die heilige Schrift* (1875), 352-368; F. Nitzsch, *ibid.* (1876), 470-502; *Witz, *ibid.* (1876), 583-606 [finding the real thread of the speech in 1:18 f.]; W. Schmidt, *Bericht d. A. 1876/7, über Steph.* (1877); Sabatier, *L'apître Paul* (ET), 39-46; Pfeiderer, *Das Christenthum* (1877), 552 f.; Feine, *ibid.* (1890), 80-1-3; Benschlag, *NT Theol.* (ET), 1:277 f.; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 172-177; J. Weiss, *St. Kr.* (1893), 459-501; *Abh.* 11, 1-15; *Kranichfeld, *St. Kr.* (1900), 541-502; *Der Götterkultus*, 222 in der Rede des Steph.; *B. W. Bacon, *Biblical and Semitic Studies* (Yale Univ., U.S.A., 1902), 211-276, and *ibid.*; Hastings' *DB* 4:61-615; Harnack, *die Mission und Verbreitung des Christenthums* (1902), 34-37; and on the apocryphal *Revelatio sancti S.*, P. v. Winterfeld (*ZNTW*, 1902, 1, 303). The papers by K. Schmidt (*Revue des Etudes*, 1892, 1, 20-30); E. H. Phimprie (*Biblical Studies*, 347-375), and Nielsen (*Åskrift. Zeitt.* 1898, pp. 661-682) are much conservative, and the older sketches by Krause (1786), Luger (1836), and Thiersch (1849) have been largely superseded by more recent critical researches prompted here, as in so many lines, by the genius of Baur. Adequate materials for historical study may be found in the monographs marked by an asterisk, supplemented by Spitta's *AGesch.* (1891), 96-123, and discussions such as those of Weisssacker, *Das Apost. Zeitalter* (ET), 1:62-75, and McGiffert, *Apostolic Age* (1877), 76-93. J. M.

10. Bibliography. (ET), 1:30-69; *Zeller's *Contents and Origin of Acts* (ET) 1:237-242; 2:175-177; Ewald's *History of Israel*, ET 7:155-164; *Wörter*, *Die heilige Schrift* (1875), 352-368; F. Nitzsch, *ibid.* (1876), 470-502; *Witz, *ibid.* (1876), 583-606 [finding the real thread of the speech in 1:18 f.]; W. Schmidt, *Bericht d. A. 1876/7, über Steph.* (1877); Sabatier, *L'apître Paul* (ET), 39-46; Pfeiderer, *Das Christenthum* (1877), 552 f.; Feine, *ibid.* (1890), 80-1-3; Benschlag, *NT Theol.* (ET), 1:277 f.; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 172-177; J. Weiss, *St. Kr.* (1893), 459-501; *Abh.* 11, 1-15; *Kranichfeld, *St. Kr.* (1900), 541-502; *Der Götterkultus*, 222 in der Rede des Steph.; *B. W. Bacon, *Biblical and Semitic Studies* (Yale Univ., U.S.A., 1902), 211-276, and *ibid.*; Hastings' *DB* 4:61-615; Harnack, *die Mission und Verbreitung des Christenthums* (1902), 34-37; and on the apocryphal *Revelatio sancti S.*, P. v. Winterfeld (*ZNTW*, 1902, 1, 303). The papers by K. Schmidt (*Revue des Etudes*, 1892, 1, 20-30); E. H. Phimprie (*Biblical Studies*, 347-375), and Nielsen (*Åskrift. Zeitt.* 1898, pp. 661-682) are much conservative, and the older sketches by Krause (1786), Luger (1836), and Thiersch (1849) have been largely superseded by more recent critical researches prompted here, as in so many lines, by the genius of Baur. Adequate materials for historical study may be found in the monographs marked by an asterisk, supplemented by Spitta's *AGesch.* (1891), 96-123, and discussions such as those of Weisssacker, *Das Apost. Zeitalter* (ET), 1:62-75, and McGiffert, *Apostolic Age* (1877), 76-93. J. M.

STEPS (ἵππο), 2 K. 20:11 = Is. 38:8 RVmg.; EV I (Gal. 1:7-22; 2:10; lit. 'the man over the house'; cp Gen. 43:19 K. 169 (See AZA).

STEWARD. A convenient and familiar term (used for 1:7-22; 2:10; lit. 'the man over the house'; cp Gen. 43:19 K. 169 (See AZA).

One proof that the speech rests on a special source; for the idea of universalism was thoroughly Lucan (cp Lk. 24:47 Acts 8:25 f.). In 7:42 another comparatively isolated feature occurs, in the reference of sin directly to providence (Titius, 23 f.).

- 1. ἵππος, Gen. 15:2, a difficult phrase, on which see Euseb., 1, and cp Dillmann, *Delitzsch*, and *Ev. Bib. ad loc.*
2. ἵππος, Is. 22:15 RVmg. (EV 'treasurer'), applied to STEPHEN (cp. 2).
3. ἵππος, Dan. 1:11 AVmg.; see MELZAR.
4. ἵππος, 1 Ch. 28:1 RV 'ruler.' See PRINCE, 3.
5. οἰκονομος, Gal. 4:2 RV, etc. Hence οἰκονομία, 1 K. 16:2 f. EV 'stewardship.'
6. ἀμπελωνος, Mt. 20:8 (of the master of the vineyard) 1 K. 3 (cp CHUVA); see PROTECTOR.
7. ἀρχιστράτηγος, Ju. 2:6. See MEALS, § 11.

STEWAN (Σῆν), Lev. 11:35 RVmg. See COOK-ING, § 4; cp POTTERY, § 4.

STOCKS. For punishments involving restraint of the person, see LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12 (end), and cp CHAINS, PRISON.

- The word is used to render:
1. סָבַח, see col. 350 (7).
2. סָבַח, Prov. 7:22 AV; see ANKLETS, col. 171, and n. 1.
3. סָבַח; see COLLAR, 3.
4. סָבַח, Job 13:27 33:11 EV (probably an Aramaic loan-word), here mentioned specifically as an instrument for confining the feet.
5. סָבַח, Acts 16:24, lit. 'wood.' On the 'inner prison' into which Paul and Silas were cast on this occasion, see PRISON, § 1 (end).

STOICS (στοῖκοι) [St.], ΣΤΟΙΚΟΙ [WH], Acts 17:19. The Stoa was founded at Athens, about 300 B.C., by Zeno; and many of its distinctive doctrines were added during the third century by Cleanthes and Chrysippus. Stoicism was brought to Rome by Panætius about 140, and many distinguished Romans learnt its principles from Posidonius (about 80-40). It was the leading philosophical school in the early empire; the chief writers are Seneca (4-65 A.D.), Epictetus (flor. 100-110), and Marcus Aurelius (121-180). The Stoic doctrine was divided into logic, physics, and ethics. In logic its most characteristic feature is the search for a criterion of truth, and the placing of this criterion in the feeling of certainty. In physics the Stoics returned to the crude pre-Socratic views, and especially to those of Heraclitus. They were strict materialists, and conceived God, or nature, to be in essence a fiery process. In ethics, Zeno formulated the end of life as τὸ ὁμοιωγενεσθαι τῷ ἔτι, 'consistency'; but this was expanded by Cleanthes into 'life consistent with nature,' and by Chrysippus into 'life according to our experience of what happens by nature.' Thus ethics was set on a basis of theoretical knowledge—though the physical theory does not furnish any very obvious ethical guidance. Virtue alone was good, vice alone bad. Other things were indifferent—e.g., life and pleasure, death and pain. But of these the former were normally preferable to the latter—only normally, however, so that when life was blighted suicide was laudable.

The Stoics were the first to introduce into morals the idea of law—which is law for man because it is the law of the universe. In passing from 'end to duty,' from 'virtue to consistency,' they are the forerunners of modern ethics. But in abandoning the Greek standpoint they fall into rigorism, and set up in the passionless sage a colourless and uninviting ideal.

It was entirely in a practical spirit that ethics was developed by the Romans. Seneca dwells chiefly on the wickedness of man and on the constant war which must be waged against sin. Epictetus' teaching is summed up in his maxim ἀρετὴ καὶ ἀρετὴ, and that of Marcus Aurelius in the words, 'to be sufficient unto oneself by doing justly and thereby having calm.'

Stoicism owes something of its character to Heraclitus, something to the Cynics, something to the political indifference of the times. But its preoccupation with conduct it probably owes to a Semitic origin. Zeno came from Cyprus, and was commonly called 'the Phoenician'; Chrysippus came from Cilicia, Bablylonia, Palestine, Syria, Cilicia, Phrygia, and the Phoenician colonies were the homes of the sect, of which European Greece produced not a single distinguished member. Naturally then there are resemblances between Stoicism and some of the post-exilic biblical writings. The author of Ecclesiastes had probably a general

1 Cp POTTERY, § 3 (2).

STOMACHER

acquaintance with Stoic ideas (see ECCLESIASTES, §§ 10, 13). Some of the apocryphal writings—4 Macc. and the Wisdom of Solomon—display rather more than this. Seneca has very many sayings which recall the words of Jesus (especially in the SERMON ON THE MOUNT [p. 7]) and of the Epistles (and above all those ascribed to Paul). Many of the parallels are more apparent than real, but the frequency and closeness of those which remain exclude the hypothesis of mere coincidence, and it is almost certain that the influence was reciprocal. Seneca may well have met Christians and heard Christian views at Rome. And Paul must have known something of Stoicism, of which Tarsus was perhaps, next to Athens, the headquarters. Stoicism would have its attractions for a Pharisee. Paul can quote the Stoic Aratus (Acts 17:28), and he has at least two conceptions which owe something to Stoicism—the world-wide city of God (1 Cor. 12:14 f., 27 Gal. 3:28 Eph. 2:19 Col. 3:11), and the ἀνάγκη of the Christian (2 Cor. 6:19 9:8 11 Phil. 4:11 12). See HELLENISM, §§ 6, 10.

W. D. R.

STOMACHER (סֹמָאָךְ), Is. 32:4†. See MANTLE, § 2 (9).

STONES, FIGURED, AND SACRED. See IDOL, § 1 f.

STONES (PRECIOUS)

- Vague terms (§ 1).
- Uses of stones (§ 2).
- Stones known (§ 3).
- I. *Lapis* (§ 7).
- iv. *asphek* (§ 10).
- vii. *liam* (§ 14).
- viii. *liam* (§ 14).
- x. *liam* (§ 17).
- Result (§ 2).
- Kal'had* (§ 21).
- Hebrew names classified (§4).
- Greek names (§ 5).
- II. Priest's breastplate (§§ 6-20).
- iii. *shoham* (§ 8).
- v. *shoham* (§ 11).
- viii. *shoham* (§ 14).
- ix. *shoham* (§ 15).
- x. *shoham* (§ 15).
- xii. *shoham* (§§ 12-15).
- Covering of King of Tyre (§ 22).
- Foundations of New Jerusalem (§ 23).
- Bibliography (§ 24).

In addition to the more specific names for precious stones to be discussed later there occur the following more general terms:—

קֶמַח אֶבֶן, *'eben yehovah*, λίθος τιμιος, *lapis pretiosus gemma*, 2 S. 12:30 1 K. 10:21 f., 1 Ch. 20:9 29:2 2 Ch. 31:6 f. and frag. [yehovah, prob. orig. 'heavy'; cp 2 Ch. 3:8; then 'rare'; cp 1 S. 31]; cp יָצַח

קֶמַח אֶבֶן, *'eben yehovah*, λίθος τιμιος, *lapis pretiosus gemma*, 2 S. 12:30 1 K. 10:21 f., 1 Ch. 20:9 29:2 2 Ch. 31:6 f. and frag. [yehovah, prob. orig. 'heavy'; cp 2 Ch. 3:8; then 'rare'; cp 1 S. 31]; cp יָצַח

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It is only with long experience, and wide knowledge, that the distinction between 'precious,' 'fine,' and merely 'ornamental' stones becomes established. The majority of the 'precious stones' of the modern world were unknown in Western Asia, and still more in the Mediterranean, until Ptolemaic and Roman times; and even then they were regarded merely as rare varieties of the commoner stones which most nearly resembled them—e.g., the many varieties of *smaragdus* known to Pliny, which, even so, do not include the modern 'emerald.'

Natural stones which are in any way remarkable—for brilliance, colour, crystalline form, or any other property—are prized and treasured by many primitive peoples; either simply for ornament, or, more commonly, for use as charms (for real or imaginary influences); as engraved seals (for their hardness and resistance to wear); or as currency (for their rarity, value in exchange, and extreme portability).

STONES (PRECIOUS)

The first step towards identification of ancient 'precious stones' is to record what stones are actually found to have been in use on ancient sites of different ages and countries; as in the table below.

From this it will be seen (1) that universal commerce have preceded the more 'precious' stones; (2) that even quartz and its varieties (chalcedony, agate) were not much worked, except in Egypt, until late Babylonian and Assyrian times; (3) that rarer hard stones, such as *hyal*, are very rare until the time of Alexander the Great; and (4) that it is only after his time that the wealth of the further East became available except by accident. For this latter period, however, the centre of the Hellenistic jewel trade was in Alexandria; the translators of the LXX were therefore most favourably situated for the collection of authentic evidence as to the names of the stones.

It is not to be expected, therefore, that the biblical vocabulary will be either copious or precise; and that the Hebrew terms, being of (at lowest) pre-Alexandrian date, will be found to correspond accurately with those of the later languages; a period when the influx of gems from the far East had already depopulated many stones which thaberto had been relatively 'precious.' Still more is this the case as between the ancient versions and AV, the vocabulary of which represents a similar period of acute transition, due mainly to the recent expansion of the sea-routes to farther Asia and America; i.e., the persistent interchange of 'emerald' and 'carbuncle'; and the use of 'hyal' for 'coral.' RV is equally erratic, but without the same excuse.

The Hebrew phrases (e.g., 1 Ch. 20:9) clearly include all ranks of valuable stones, from 'stones to be set' and treasured gems to the 'stones of divers colours' which are coupled with 'marbles' (*shoham*, *shoham*, *shoham*, *shoham*).

4. Hebrew names.

STONES ACTUALLY KNOWN TO ANCIENTS

(marked with crosses)

Name and Colour.	Quality		Place and Period							
	Opaque.	Transparent.	Appear alike.	Hardness.	Egypt.	Bab. Ass.	Mediet.	Class.	Class.	Class.
<i>Red—</i>										
Marble	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Porphyry and Felspar	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Jasper	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Carneol	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Sard, Carnelian, Agate	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Jaunth (sardonyx)	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Yellow—</i>										
Serpentine	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Jasper	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Carneol (i.e. Quartz)	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Chrysolite (Peridot)	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Topaz	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Green—</i>										
Serpentine and Marble	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Porphyry and Felspar	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Marble	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Jasper	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Prase	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Beryl (all kinds)	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Dioptase (Chalcedon)	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Blue—</i>										
Turquoise	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Lapis lazuli	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Amethyst	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Sapphire	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>White and Colourless—</i>										
Quartz	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Chalcedony	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Striped—</i>										
Onyx	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Sardonyx	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

† Cut across the bands, not along them.

STONES (PRECIOUS)

partum), and were used simply 'to garnish the house.' No hard and fast line, however, can be drawn between these ornamental stones, and the 'precious stones' in the stricter sense; and the word *ishem* in particular, though it occurs in the breastplate of the high priest, and is used for the engraved 'onyx-stones' (AV) on his shoulders, seems also to be used generically for the whole category of variegated or brightly coloured stones (see § 18, below).

The interpretation of the several names does not take us much further, except to classify the qualities for which different stones were prized. Of the descriptive names:—(a) the majority refer simply to brilliancy and must be restricted to transparent or translucent stones; they give no clue as to colour.

- 1. 277, *hisheth*, Ex. 28 17, etc., from √'flash'; see § 9.
2. 278, *shith*, Is. 54 12, from √'kindle' [cp CRYSTAL].
3. *lithos epistemon* arises from confusion with 277, *hisheth*, 'fire'; Ar. A. *trouanissou* gives the sense 'kindle by rubbing'—i.e., either 'polished' or 'striking sparks.' Compare Ezek. 28 14, 'stones of fire' (שׁוֹנֵי אֵשׁ), on which, however, cp CURRAN, § 2, n. 2, with the Assyrian reference.

4. 279, *karish*, Is. 54 12 Ez. 27 10, from √'strike fire'; but perhaps = Ar. 'red', or a place-name. Variable; see § 21 [and cp CHALCEDONY, 1].

(b) Next come descriptions of colour, without reference to brilliancy, though not therefore to be confined to opaque stones; these names are rare and doubtful.

- 1. 278, *shem*, Ex. 28 17, etc., properly 'red'; cf *sharior* (cp Pers. *zerd*, 'yellow-red'); but perhaps a place-name ('Etonian stone'; see § 7.

2. 279, *hah*, Ex. 28 19, etc., may perhaps = Ar. 'red'; but is more probably a loan-word or a place-name; see below, § 15.

3. 277, *ishem*, Ex. 28 20, etc., from √'pale' = Ar. *isham*, or perhaps Ar. *mussham* 'striped garment' (Ges.), which if established would be decisive in favour of a *basalt* stone; or Ass. *shimtu*, a dark stone from Melihha in W. Babylonia (Del. *H.R.* xiv., and Schrader, *CO* 27 130 [cp, however, BERVIL, 140]); or a place name; or corrupt; see OSYX, and § 18 below.

(c) Other names describe qualities or uses other than brilliancy or colour:—

- 1. 277, *ahlimith*, Ex. 28 19, etc., perhaps from √'dream,' which identifies the stone as the well-known charm against bad dreams and drunkenness—*amethystos*, the mod. 'amethyst.' [But see ANETHYST, end, and Hommel, *AHT* 207, 233.]

2. 277, *sappir*, Ex. 28 19, etc., from √'engrave'; the inscription stone *par excellence* (Eg. says the Tables of the Law were made of it); or perhaps akin to Ass. *sappur* 'thumb-nail' signature—i.e., signet-stone, see § 5. It is described as 'like the body of heaven,' Ex. 24 10; and *sharpeiros* identifies it as *basilic lazuli*. See SAPPHIRE.

3. 277, *shmir*, Ezek. 39, etc., from √'sharp,' 'hard,' Eg. *amer*, Vig. *opos*, Germ. *Smirgel*, Eng. *emery*, is not strictly a 'fine lens stone,' though translated 'diamond' in Jer. 51 1 AV, and 'adamant' in Ezek. 39 Zech. 7 12; see ADAMANT.

4. 277, *yahlim*, Ex. 28 19, etc., from √'strike hard'; cp perhaps *hallim* 'flint,' and Ass. *shimtu*, a hard stone used for rings and on chariot wheels (*CPMG*, 4072). [Tu the references in *FLINT* (7. r.) add *D* 116:40 570.]

(d) Others again are clearly place-names, denoting the source of supply:

- 1. *karish* (see a. 1, above) for which *sh* has *karpor* in Ezek. 27 10. In Is. 54 12, Syriac has *karporion*; cp Plin. *HN* 37 20 for the 'Carthaginian carnelum,' and Pesh. *karish* for *hah* (Ex. 28 17 39 12).

2. 277, *shimith*, Ezek. 27 16 *shauap*, Vg. *sericium*, RV 'sarl,' need not be a stone at all. [See CORAL, but cp also KINY.]

3. *hah* (see 2, above), Ex. 28 19 39 12, may be the *Saba*, 'Pephe' of Strabo, 222, Theophr. 12, an island up the Nile, S. of Menoë, celebrated for its gems; but it is perhaps a loan-word; see below, § 15.

4. 277, *tarshish*, Ex. 28 20, etc., cp 'stone of Tarshish,' Ezek. 28, etc.; see TARSHISH.

5. *ishem* ('E-don,' see 1, above) and *isham* (see 3, above; *shim*, 'Sohien' in Yemen) may also be place-names.

(e) Finally, several names, which have no clear significance in Hebrew, are probably loan-words:—

- 1. 277, *ishem*, Ex. 28 19, etc., recalls Eg. *reshem* (Hommel, *AHT*, 233). [For another view see JACINTU.]

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2. 277, *shaphir*, Ex. 28 19, etc., has for *shaphir* and Ass. *shaphir*. The latter = EMERALD, and § 10 below.

3. 277, *shaphir*, Ex. 28 17, etc., seems to be Ass. *shaphir*. The Skt. *shita*, 'pale-yellow,' is unlikely; see 'onyx,' and § 8 below.

4. *hah* (see 2, a. 1, above), Ex. 28 19, may be Ass. *hah*; but perhaps also Ar. 'red,' or the place-name 'Pephe'; see 2 and 4 above.

5. 277, *shaphir*, Ex. 28 20, etc., seems to be Ass. *shaphir*, and perhaps also Eg. *shaphir*, see 2 and 4 above.

These vague terms [see also PEARL] obviously give little information; and in no case do we know the colour of the Assyrian and Egyptian equivalents. If any conclusions, therefore, are to be drawn from them at all, it must be by means of the renderings of C.

The Greek vocabulary may be classified in the same way as the Hebrew.

(a) *Thalium* is denoted only by *shaphir* and *shaphir*. *shaphir*, 'but soul,' for *shaphir* (§ 4, a. 1, above); *shaphir*, 'dazzling,' for *shaphir* (§ 4, a. 1, above), and also for *shaphir* (§ 4, b. 1, above), Ex. 28 20 35 27 39 10 (cp *shaphir*, *shaphir*, and perhaps *shaphir*; Skt. *shaphir* *shaphir* is a derivative, like *shaphir* and Eng. *shaphir*; *shaphir* itself may be a corruption of *shaphir* above).

(b) *shaphir* gives *shaphir*, *shaphir* and *shaphir*; cp *shaphir* below (only in N 1); from the *shaphir* flower of that name; the Ind. *shaphir* seems to be a derivative, like Eng. *shaphir*.

(c) Other qualities give the following:— *shaphir* (A. *shaphir*, for *shaphir* § 4, b. 1, above), Gen. 2 12; cp *shaphir*, Rev. 21 20, 'leek green.' *shaphir* (for *shaphir* § 4, a. 1, above), 'gold-stone.'

(d) Other qualities give the following:— *shaphir*, 'intracuticle.' In class. Grk. = 'steel-like.' For *shaphir* (§ 4, c. 1, above), Jer. 17 1; cp *shaphir*, Ex. 3 9, and the corrupt *shaphir* (*shaphir*), Ex. 3 9, and *shaphir*, Rev. 21 20, 'charm against drunkenness'; for *shaphir* (§ 4, c. 1, above), the Greek superstition taking the place of the Hebrew. *shaphir*, 'ice—i.e., 'crystal.' In Is. 54 12 a mistranslation of *shaphir* (see § 4, a. 2, above). In Rev. 4 22 1 a simile for clear water; in Rev. 21 4: *shaphir*, 'turning into crystal.'

(e) *shaphir*, 'finger-nail' (for *shaphir* § 4, b. 1, above). Popularly supposed, later, to be descriptive (Plin. *HN* 37 24); but probably a loan-word, see below.

(f) *shaphir*, 'hard-onyx'; Rev. 21 20, but cp Vg. *shaphir* for *shaphir*, *shaphir*, Job 28 10.

(g) Place-names are responsible for the following:— *shaphir* (= *shaphir*) § 4, b. 2, d. 3, e 4), from the river Achates in Sicily.

shaphir (= *shaphir*) § 4, e. 1, above), from Liguria in N. Italy. The descriptive Italic *shaphir* does not occur in C.

shaphir (= *shaphir*) § 4, b. 1, d. 5, above), popularly derived from Sardis in Lydia; but probably originally a loan-word; see below (c).

shaphir (Rev. 21 20 only), from Chalcedon in Bithynia. Cp *shaphir*, *shaphir*, and *shaphir*, transliterated, and the *shaphir* of Symm. in Is. 54 12 (*shaphir* § 4, b. 1, d. 1 [100]).

(c) Loan-words, finally, are the following:— *shaphir* (= *shaphir*) § 4, b. 1, d. 5, above), and [by error] *shaphir* § 4, e. 3, above, see below; Pers. *shaphir*, Skt. *shaphir*, Prakr. *shaphir*, Pesh. *shaphir*, *shaphir* (= *shaphir*), Heb. cp Ass. *shaphir*, *shaphir* (= *shaphir*) § 4, c. 2, above), Heb. *shaphir* (= *shaphir*) § 4, b. 1, d. 5, above), though actually obtained near Sardis in Lydia, is probably from Pers. *shaphir*, 'yellow-red.'

shaphir (= *shaphir*) § 4, e. 1, above), perh. Heb. cp Ass. *shaphir*; but derived by Pliny (*HN* 37 24) from the word 'to seek' in the language of the 'cave-dwellers' of the Iopuz-island in the Red Sea. In Ps. 119 127 *shaphir* = *shaphir* (12), 'refined gold'; cp *shaphir* in Cant. 5 14 [on which see GOLD, § 1 f.; TOBAC, § 2, n. 1; U 10 V].

shaphir, *shaphir* (popularly derived from *shaphir*, 'finger-nail') is probably Ass. *shaphir*, 'ring,' cp *shaphir*, 'circular seal'; cp Eg. *shaphir* (Muss-Arnold, *Nom. Hierogl.*, 119). The explanation, *shaphir* = 'finger-nail,' occurs first in Pliny, *HN* 37 24 (quoting Suides), and is supported by 1) the more resemblance of a pale onyx (the black onyx was not used till late Hellenistic times) to a finger-nail with its lunula in the flesh beneath. But the word is as old as Ktesias (about 400 B.C.) and may have arisen from the Assyrian custom of using the impression of the thumb-nail (*shaphir*; see *SAPPHIRE*, above) as the signature of a clay tablet; *shaphir* would then mean 'thumb-nail stone' in the sense of 'signature.'

For the interpretation of this Greek vocabulary, we have fortunately a good and slightly earlier authority in the treatise of Theophrastus, *περὶ λίθων* (about 300 B.C.), which sums up Greek knowledge on the subject just at the moment when Alexander's conquest had thrown open the farther East, but before its efforts had become generally felt. For the interpretation of the

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additional terms added by the Apocalypse, we have again a nearly contemporary commentary in Pliny, who represents the abundant materials, but mainly empirical classification, of the lapidaries of the Early Roman Empire. That the vocabulary of the LXX is probably trustworthy, is suggested by the general uniformity of its rendering. So uniform, indeed, are these, that in the four cases in which serious discrepancies occur (see under AGATE, BERYL, ONYX, and below), it is probably safe to assume that it is the Hebrew text which is at fault. The phrases in the Apocalypse, also, display close acquaintance with current terminology, and supply more than one striking confirmation of the conclusions derived from the comparison of MT and the LXX.

We may, therefore, proceed to discuss the identifications supplied by the LXX renderings. Of these, by far the greater number are contained in the description of the high priest's breastplate, Ex. 28:17 ff., to be read with the parallel passage Ex. 39:6 ff. and the corrupt variant, Ez. 28:1 (the 'covering of the king of Tyre'). It will therefore be convenient to take these stones in the order in which they occur, and to append (§ 21 ff.) those which do not occur in the breastplate.

Two preliminary considerations should be noted. (1) The BREASTPLATE (7:2), when folded for use, measured a span (about 8 in.) in each direction. The space available for each stone with its setting was therefore as much as $2 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ in.; and if the same proportion was observed between stone and setting as was customary in ancient jewellery, the stones themselves may have been as large as $2 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ in., and cannot have been much less than half that size. They were therefore each a good deal larger than the average size of the common Babylonian cylinder or Egyptian scarab. We are therefore probably safe in excluding, on the ground of size alone, stones which are really rare and 'precious,' even if these stones themselves could be shown to have been known. (2) Each stone was engraved with the name of a tribe, and some of these names are of some length. This again postulates a large surface and low hardness. The private Jewish name-signets vary from $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in length, and are of a very moderate degree of hardness (7 or less).

1. *Olim, sardius, sardius*, Ex. 28:17-39:10 (cp. Ez. 28:1), and *sardius*, Rev. 21:30. Both names signify 'red' (see above, §§ 4, 61, 5d), and the stone is no doubt the modern

7. Identification of stones, OT: 'Odem.

red or orange 'sard,' the commonest of all engraved stones in ancient times (cp. Plin. *HN* 37:60). The best of them came in Greek times from Sardis and Babylon, and a fine deep red kind from Yemen (hence perhaps [cp. SARDIUS] 'Edomite stone,' from the proximate source of supply). The material (translucent quartz stained with iron) is quite common, and merges in the clearer and lighter-tinted 'carneian' and 'red agate.' As this is probably denoted by *ἰσθὶ ἀράνης* (§ 15), it is not impossible that *ἰσθὸν* may originally have meant the opaque blood-red jasper, which is common in early Egypt, was used in Babylonia and Assyria, and also in Greece, and was valued as a charm against hemorrhage.

ii. *Pittāh, τρωάκιον, topazius* (Ex. 28:17-39:10, cp. Ez. 28:1); in Rev. 21:30 *τρωάκιον* is exchanged with *σαρδόνειος*,

see below) is identified with Ass. *hipindu*, a 'flashing stone' which recalls the 'stones of fire' in Ez. 28:13, and the *abū chdāh* in Is. 54:12. The rendering *τρωάκιον* makes it clear that the LXX understood by *pittāh*, a stone which was (1) translucent, (2) yellow. As the modern 'topaz' was hardly known² before Greek times, and is indistinguishable, except by

¹ So F. Petrie, in Hastings' *DR*, s.v. 'Precious Stones,' available and suggestive commentary based largely upon new material.
² *Brit. Mus. Guide to Bab. and Ass. Antiq.* (p. 16) gives both 'emerald' and 'topaz' in a list of materials used for cylinders; and nos. 27 and 13 in the Babylonian Room are apparently of a variety of base emerald or beryl ('mother of emerald'). Dr.

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its superior hardness, from 'false topaz,' or yellow rock-crystal, it is possible that the latter is meant. The *τρωάκιον* of the Greeks was a translucent, golden-coloured (*χρυσοειδὲς ἀποστρίλνον φέγγος*, Strabo, 770), or yellow-green, stone (*εἰς κρῖνον γενεῆς*, Plin. *HN* 37:1), probably the modern 'chrysolite,' or 'pendon.' This was a noble variety of olivine, and consequently of the yellow 'serpentine' (Ar. *ἄσφαιρος*, 'yellow'), which was in common use for scarabs and cylinders of all dates. It is identified by Petrie [and independently by Heyne; see Gottl., § 18; Oppert, § 1; Tournef., § 2] with the original *pittāh*; the only objection to this being that *hipindu* was a 'flashing' stone. This 'chrysolite' was found in the Levant, and occasionally in considerable masses; but the ancient supply came from an island (*τρωάκιος νῆσος*) in the Red Sea, which was the monopoly of the kings of Egypt (Strabo, 770; Diosc. Sic. 3:10; Plin. *HN* 37:8-14). Like olivine, 'chrysolite' is soft and easily engraved—*eadem sola nobilitate limam sentit* (Plin. *HN* 37:8).

iii. *Bārēketh, σμάραγδος, smaragdus*, Ex. 28:17-39:10 (Ez. 28:1, *σμάραγδος*; but *bārēketh* [*smaragdus*] changes places with *yohālam* [*jasper*], cp. § 12).

9. *Bārēketh*, below); Rev. 21:30 has *σμάραγδος, smaragdus*, in the place of *bārēketh*, and Rev. 1:13 has *ἰσθὸν . . . ὄμοιος ὄρασει σμαραγδίνω*. In Ex. 28:35-39:6, *σμάραγδος* translates *ishām* (N.g. *ourā*) where it is used of the high priest's shoulder-stones. Both *bārēketh* and *σμάραγδος* originally denote *brilliance* only, e.g. Herod. 2:44 describes a *σπῆλη* (probably a common natural crystal) *σμαράγδων Ἰθίου Λάμπροτος τὰς νύκτας μέγας*,¹ so large as to give light at night, but says nothing of the colour either of the stone or of the gleam. Of this same *σμάραγδος* Theophrastus (2:1) says that it was of the 'baeticum' variety, *εἰς ἣν διαψύδης σμαράγδος* and he adds (2:4) other instances of gigantic specimens which came to Egypt, *ὅτι δάμαρ παρὰ τοῦ Ἰλαθελαιῶν βασιλέως*, but confuses them all with the 'rooper emerald' (*diopside*) of Cyprus and Chalcidion (*χαλκιδῶν*, Rev. 21:30). Now, only two brilliant stones occur in such common *σπῆλαι* the 'rock crystal,' and the 'beryl.' In favour of 'rock crystal' we may quote (1) the comparison of the *εἰσπύδων* with *σμάραγδος* in Rev. 4:1; (2) the statement of Pliny (*HN* 37:64), quoted by Petrie (Hastings' *DR*), that Nero used a *σμάραγδος* to aid his sight—a statement to be compared with the superstition which survives, that better spectacles are made from rock crystal than from glass; (3) Martial's association of *smaragdus* with *adamans* (v. 11); (4) the probability that hexagonal beryl in its paler varieties was regarded as a harder and gemmish variety of 'milky quartz'; (5) the certainty that, as early as Theophrastus, a very large number of stones, all brilliant, and of all shades of green, from aquamarine to diopside (*χαλκιδῶν*), were included generically under *σμάραγδος*.

In favour of 'beryl,' on the other hand, are the following considerations. (1) From Theophrastus onward the *σμάραγδος* was more or less defined as *coloured*. Theophrastus, however, does not say what colour—and was believed to originate by the action of water upon green jasper (*ἰασπις*, Theophr. 27, see § 14). (2) Both the 'beryl' and its deep-green 'emerald' variety have been universally believed to give relief to the eyes; but this was through their restful colour, not through their refractive powers, and 'beryl' in particular had already given rise to it, *bareille* and High German *berille*, before the invention of spectacle-glasses. (3) The

Hedge kindly supplies the further information 'we have cylinders which may be certainly called topaz, but I have seen several in Mesopotamia among the natives'; he adds that nos. 128 and 629 (of Pehlevi time) are of 'topaz.' In *PLP*, p. 126, the announcement is made that a fragment of 'emerald' has been found in a prehistoric deposit at Trier; but no authority is given for the mineralogical determination.

¹ So MSS.; see Stein (1881). Wiedemann detects the conjecture *μεγίστος*, 'shining with great brilliancy,' and ascribes the glow to ancient use of a phosphorescent paint.

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kindred belief that 'beryl' shed a light of its own was known to Theophrastus (*l.c.*, 23), and has survived in It. *brillare* (low Lat. *berillare**) and Eng. *brilliant*.

(4) The probability that *σμαραγδος* could be mutated (*φειδης σμ.*, Theophr. 25) suits the prevailing greenish tinge of ancient glass better than a quite colourless stone; cp. moreover, Rev. 16, *θαλασσα ἰαλινη ὁμοια κρυστάλλω*. (5) The collocation of *κρυστάλλω* with *σμαραγδίνω* in Rev. 4 vs. 6 suggests that after all this writer distinguished 'rock crystal' and 'smaragdus.'

As to *bereth*, the probability is (1) that originally it meant the colourless flashing 'rock crystal,' which was commonly used for engraving, in Egypt of all periods, in Mesopotamia from the later Babylonian time onwards, and more rarely in prehistoric Greece; (2) that this meaning did not wholly die out even after the LXX translation was made, but survived in the use of *σμαραγδος* in Rev. 4, and in the confusion with *berith* in MT of Ez. 2811 (see below, § 10); (3) that the obvious likeness between the words, and the current confusion between the hexagonal forms of 'quartz' and pale 'beryl,' caused the LXX to render *bereth* by *σμαραγδος*, and provoked the substitution for *bereth* of *yahalom* in MT, so as to separate what now were two adjacent green stones.

iv. *Niphhek*, *ἀνθραξ*, *carbunculus* (Ex. 2818 3911); in Ez. 2811 *ἀνθραξ* remains, but *niphhek* [Vg. *carbunculus*] changes places with *sappir* [*sapphirus*] of § 11. In Ez. 276 the LXX mistranslates, and Vg. has simply *gemma*; Rev. 2120 substitutes *χαλαζῶν*. If *niphhek* could be identified with Egyptian *m-f-k-t* (see EMERALD [enc.], other malachite or turquoise would be meant; and it is supported by the equivalent *χαλαζῶν* (copper-emerald) of Rev. 2120; see § 23, below. But this identification would ignore the uniform rendering of both the LXX and Vg. and as *ἀνθραξ* (*carbunculus*) is descriptive and appropriate, whilst *niphhek* (probably a loan-word) gives no clue, it is better to accept the identification of the LXX with a translucent red stone. This latter, since the 'ruby' of Ceylon and Burma, and likewise the true 'carbuncle,' were unknown to Theophrastus (see CARBUNCLE), must denote the large class of red 'garnets' ('pyrope,' 'almandine,' etc.), which are found in abundance and of very considerable size, were known in Egypt from prehistoric times, and are easily engraved. As to *niphhek* itself, the alternative derivation, from the *rupakku* of Am. Tab. 2926 cp. EMERALD, 21, may probably be accepted. Of the colour of this *rupakku* we have no information; but we know that it came as tribute to Egypt from Ashkelon — i.e., from the NE. This fact is compatible with the occurrence of *niphhek* among the wares sent from Syria to Tyre in Ez. 276.

v. *Sappir*, *σάπφειρος*, *sapphirus* (Ex. 2818 3911); in Ezek. 2811 *σάπφειρος* remains, but *sappir* [Vg. *sapphirus*] changes places with *niphhek*.

11. *Sappir*, [*carbunculus*] (§ 10); Rev. 2120 has *σάπφειρα*. The true 'sapphire' (blue corundum) was almost unknown before Roman Imperial times, and when known was included, from its clear blue colour, under *ἰάκινθος*² (see § 23, below). The *adamantoprymna*, which occurred in the copper-mines and was known to Pliny for its sky-blue colour, was probably 'azurite.' *Σάπφειρος*, on the other hand, is identified (Theophr. 37; cp. 55, *ἀίαντος σάπφης*, and Plin. *HN* 3720 'optime apud Medos'), with the opaque blue 'lapis lazuli' of Turkestan, and the *uhur* of Babylonia and Assyria, which was known also in Egypt

and Greece from prehistoric times, and was frequently sent as a present from Babylon to Egypt in the Tell-el-Amarna period. As its Hebrew name implies, it is easily engraved, and occurs in large enough masses to make tablets like the 'Tables of the Law' (see to 'Larg.'; cp. the temple dedication on lapis lazuli, Brit. Mus. [Depart. Assyr. Antiq.] No. 91013). [Cp. Sapphirus.]

vi. *Yahalom*, *ἰασπις*, *iaspis* (Ex. 276 3911); in Ezek. 2813 *ἰασπις* remains, but *yahalom* [Vg. *iaspis*] changes places with *bereth* [*smaragdus*] see § 9. It is most improbable that *yahloph* (§ 13) could have so far changed its significance that *iaspis* should be used by preference to render *bereth*. [Cp. JASPER, *ad fin.*] Either *ἰασπις*, therefore, or *yahalom* must be transferred to the twelfth place (§ 10), and we have seen reason already (under *bereth*, § 9) to suppose that *yahloph* should be restored here, and *yahalom* transferred to no. xii. For other reasons identifying *yahalom* with no. xii see below, § 10.

Yahloph, which is a loan-word (Ass. *yah-pu* *ah-pu*, Eg. *h-s-p-d*), gives no clue, save that *ah-pu* was large enough, and not too hard, to be employed for the royal seal of Assu-bani-pal (Nabunahid stele). That *ἰασπις*, on the other hand, was (1) a dull or opaque stone, is shown by the combination *ἰασπίδι καὶ σαρδίῳ* in Rev. 11 (see § 23, below), by the compound terms *berethales* and *iasporus* known to Pliny *HN*, xxviii, 1054 97), and by Martial's association of *iaspis* with *ardemichus* (v. *llc* ix, 6020); and (2) that it was a green stone is probable from association with the *σμαραγδος* of the Cypriot copper-mines in Theophrastus (27; cp. *ἰασπίδι σπύραλλίζοντι*, 'jasper turning into a clear ice-like stone,' Rev. 2111) and from its medieval character (see JASPER). But (3) it had many variants; among them a red (*ἰασπις* = *kalkol* Is. 5412, cp. Symm. *καρχηδονικῶν*, cp. *berethales*, above), a yellow (*fulva*, Vg. *An.* 426), and an opalescent, perhaps actually the 'opal' (*opacus*, Plin. *HN* 3721; cf. Skt. *opala*, 'stone'). [Cp. JASPER.] All this combines to show that *yahloph*, *ἰασπις*, is the modern 'jasper' (opaque massive silical, and especially its green variety, which is widely distributed; often of considerable size, and easily engraved, being used commonly for Egyptian seals of all periods, for Babylonian and Assyrian cylinders, and for the seal-stones of prehistoric Greece (for engraved specimens from the Syrian coast [in Louvre], see Ledrain, *Notice Sommaire des Monuments Phéniciens*, Nos. 408, 427, 432 f. 437). All varieties of jasper are liable to occur together, and are associated, and easily confused, with the green chalcidony ('plasma,' 'prase'; the common 'bloodstone' is plasma spotted with red jasper), with the more opaque varieties of agate, and with the opal group, which all have practically identical composition. The green jasper, being the rarest, was not immaturally the most prized in antiquity, and gave its name to the group. As the Cypriot passage (Theophr. 27) shows, green jasper was not clearly distinguished from the harder varieties of 'malachite' and other green copper-minerals (see § 18, below).

vii. *Lésem*, *Λαγύριον*, *lagurinus* (Ex. 2810 3912); in Ezek. 2813, *Λ* has *ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον καὶ Λεγ.*; MT Vg. omitt. ending the list with *zahab* (*aurum*) in the tenth place, see § 22, below (Rev. 2120 gives *χρυσόπρασος* in the corresponding place; see § 23). *Lésem*, probably a loan-word (? Eg. *reshem*, but cp. *reshem*), gives no clue, *Λαγύριον* was taken by some to be a place-name, and the stone seems to have been so fixed with 'amber,' from its electrical qualities (which are possessed by several different genis); but Theophr. 28 gives *Λεγυρίον* (i.e. *Λεγυρίς οὐρά*) with a folk-tale about its origin, and a distinction between a clearer and a darker tinted variety. RV gives 'jacinth' (with mg

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and Greece from prehistoric times, and was frequently sent as a present from Babylon to Egypt in the Tell-el-Amarna period. As its Hebrew name implies, it is easily engraved, and occurs in large enough masses to make tablets like the 'Tables of the Law' (see to 'Larg.'; cp. the temple dedication on lapis lazuli, Brit. Mus. [Depart. Assyr. Antiq.] No. 91013). [Cp. Sapphirus.]

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12. **Yahalom and Yahloph in MT.**

Yahloph, which is a loan-word (Ass. *yah-pu* *ah-pu*, Eg. *h-s-p-d*), gives no clue, save that *ah-pu* was large enough, and not too hard, to be employed for the royal seal of Assu-bani-pal (Nabunahid stele). That *ἰασπις*, on the other hand, was (1) a dull or opaque stone, is shown by the combination *ἰασπίδι καὶ σαρδίῳ* in Rev. 11 (see § 23, below), by the compound terms *berethales* and *iasporus* known to Pliny *HN*, xxviii, 1054 97), and by Martial's association of *iaspis* with *ardemichus* (v. *llc* ix, 6020); and (2) that it was a green stone is probable from association with the *σμαραγδος* of the Cypriot copper-mines in Theophrastus (27; cp. *ἰασπίδι σπύραλλίζοντι*, 'jasper turning into a clear ice-like stone,' Rev. 2111) and from its medieval character (see JASPER). But (3) it had many variants; among them a red (*ἰασπις* = *kalkol* Is. 5412, cp. Symm. *καρχηδονικῶν*, cp. *berethales*, above), a yellow (*fulva*, Vg. *An.* 426), and an opalescent, perhaps actually the 'opal' (*opacus*, Plin. *HN* 3721; cf. Skt. *opala*, 'stone'). [Cp. JASPER.] All this combines to show that *yahloph*, *ἰασπις*, is the modern 'jasper' (opaque massive silical, and especially its green variety, which is widely distributed; often of considerable size, and easily engraved, being used commonly for Egyptian seals of all periods, for Babylonian and Assyrian cylinders, and for the seal-stones of prehistoric Greece (for engraved specimens from the Syrian coast [in Louvre], see Ledrain, *Notice Sommaire des Monuments Phéniciens*, Nos. 408, 427, 432 f. 437). All varieties of jasper are liable to occur together, and are associated, and easily confused, with the green chalcidony ('plasma,' 'prase'; the common 'bloodstone' is plasma spotted with red jasper), with the more opaque varieties of agate, and with the opal group, which all have practically identical composition. The green jasper, being the rarest, was not immaturally the most prized in antiquity, and gave its name to the group. As the Cypriot passage (Theophr. 27) shows, green jasper was not clearly distinguished from the harder varieties of 'malachite' and other green copper-minerals (see § 18, below).

13. **Yahloph.**

vii. *Lésem*, *Λαγύριον*, *lagurinus* (Ex. 2810 3912); in Ezek. 2813, *Λ* has *ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον καὶ Λεγ.*; MT Vg. omitt. ending the list with *zahab* (*aurum*) in the tenth place, see § 22, below (Rev. 2120 gives *χρυσόπρασος* in the corresponding place; see § 23). *Lésem*, probably a loan-word (? Eg. *reshem*, but cp. *reshem*), gives no clue, *Λαγύριον* was taken by some to be a place-name, and the stone seems to have been so fixed with 'amber,' from its electrical qualities (which are possessed by several different genis); but Theophr. 28 gives *Λεγυρίον* (i.e. *Λεγυρίς οὐρά*) with a folk-tale about its origin, and a distinction between a clearer and a darker tinted variety. RV gives 'jacinth' (with mg

1 The 'oriental emerald' (green corundum) is in any case out of the question. It does not seem to have been known in antiquity, and Soser *malachata*, apparently a loan-word from *lak*, suggests that, when discovered, it was regarded merely as a superior variety of *σμαραγδος*.

2 The only indubitable description is that of Solinus, see King, *Nat. Hist. of Pers. Stones*, 245 f.; the earliest specimens are noted in King, *l.c.* 253.

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'or, amber'); but there is no evidence that the jacinth was either found in Lagaria, or was known at all till Roman times. Probably a clear yellow stone is meant, like 'caringorm' or 'false topaz' (iron-tinted quartz). The rendering of Rev. 21:20, χρυσόπρασος, suggests a greenish yellow stone, and perhaps serves to differentiate the adjacent yellow χρυσόλιθος (§ 17).

viii. *Siba*, ἀχάρης, achates (Ex. 28:10 39:12; in Ezek. 28:13 \mathcal{G} has ἀχάρης; \mathcal{G} MT Vg. omit; Rev. 21:20 in the corresponding place has ἰδαυθός).

15. *Sibō*. *Siba* may be a loan-word (Ass. *šiba*) or the place-name Ψεφῶ, an island S. of Meros, noted for its gems (Theophr. 34, Strabo, 822). [Cp CHALCEDONY, 2.] 'Αχάρης (also a place-name) is definitely the 'Sicilian agate.' Pesh. *karkadān* in Ex. 28:10 39:12 may be a corruption of ἀσχηρόπους (cp Symm. on Is. 54:12, *kalkād*, and § 21, below), or of *kalkād* itself. For

(1) Sicilian stones going eastward would probably travel via Carthage, (2) similar 'agates' may have been found in N. Africa, (3) a Carthaginian 'carbuncle' is known to Pliny, *HN* 37:295. What particular variety of 'agate' (banded translucent silica) was exported from Sicily is not known: but banded agates, particularly of the deeper red varieties (approximating to *sardonyx* and *ispachates*) were in common use in Egypt throughout (the source here may well have been Ψεφῶ on the upper Nile), in Greece from prehistoric times (esp. common in early Crete), in later Babylonia, in Assyria throughout, and on the Syrian coast (engraved specimens in Louvre, *Lectrain, l.c.*, Nos. 413, 420, 422, 440, 449 red; 409 white).

ix. 'Aklīmāh, ἀμέθυστος, *amethystus* (Ex. 28:19 39:12; in Ezek. 28:13 \mathcal{G} has ἀχάρης; MT Vg. omit; Rev. 21:20, ἀμέθυστος). The folklore of the

16. 'Ahlāmāh. Hebrew and Greek names identifies with the modern 'amethyst' (transparent purple quartz), which was commonly used, and freely engraved in Egypt throughout (esp. under XII. dyn.), in Greece from prehistoric times, on the Syrian coast (*Lectrain, l.c.* Nos. 407, 414, cp 392, 421), and more rarely, in Babylonia and Assyria. [See also references in § 4 (c), 1.]

x. *Tarshī*, χρυσόλιθος, *chrysolithus* (Ex. 28:20 39:13; in Ezek. 28:13 \mathcal{G} has χρυσόλιθος here; and MT 'Tarshish',

17. *Tarshī*. Vg. *chrysolithus* at no. iv., see § 22, below; in Ezek. 10:9 Vg. has *chrysolithus*,

but \mathcal{G} ἀσθαξ [perhaps by identification with the Carthaginian carbuncle of Plin. *HN*, 37:25, see § 21, below]; in Dan. 10:6, θασαίς, *chrysolithus*; in Cant. 5:14 \mathcal{G} θασαίς, Vg. *hyacinthus*; Symm. has ἰδαυθός here and Ezek. 1:6 28:13; in Ezek. 1:6 \mathcal{G} has θασαίς, Vg. *visio maris*. *Tarshī* is simply a trade-name and gives no clue. *Χρυσόλιθος* is vaguely descriptive. A stone may be a 'gold-stone' in three different ways.

(1) It may apparently contain grains of gold—e.g., 'aventurine quartz,' and the epithet χρυσόπρασος applied to 'sapphire' (Theophr. 23, cp Plin. *HN* 33:31, 'aurum in sapphuro scintillat,' 37:28, 'aurum punctis conluet'). (2) It may be golden yellow and opaque—i.e., yellow jasper or yellow serpentine. The former is adopted here by Petrie (Hastings, *DB*, 5:2, 'Precious Stones'), and both were used commonly in Egypt and Babylonia at all periods, and in prehistoric Greece. (3) It may be golden yellow and transparent. This would be inartistic in juxtaposition with the transparent yellow *Itham*, χρυσοῦν (§ 14), but would agree better with the later uses of *chrysolithus*, which seems to represent the modern 'topaz' (as *topazius* is the modern 'chrysolite,' see § 8, above), and was found of very large size in Spain ('Tartessus'), Pliny, *HN* 37:127. Petrie notes that the topazius of the ancients (*peridot*) is actually a 'noble' variety of yellow serpentine, and so may have taken its place as the 'stone of Tarshish' in course of time; compare the correlation of *λασπίς* and *σμάραγδος* (opaque and clear green) in Theophrastus, 27.

¹ For the bearing of this on Rev. 21:20, ἰδαυθός, see below, § 23.

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The rendering ἀσθαξ may be a reminiscence of the Carthaginian 'carbuncle' (Plin. *HN* 37:25, see § 21, below), 'Tarshish' being taken for Carthage; and ἰδαυθός similarly may point to either 'sapphire' or 'zircon' as one of the products of an eastern 'Tarshish' towards India (see TARSHISH).

[For other solutions of the problem of the Tarshish-stone (to retain the traditional name), see TARSHISH, STONE, OR.]

xi. *Sāham*, θηρολίθιον, *onychinus* (Ex. 27:26, omitt., Ezek. 28:13; in Ex. 39:13 ὄνυχιον, *onychinus*; θηρολίθιον being transferred, cp § 19. Josephus, too (*BJ* v. 57) transfers

18. *Sāham*. ὄνυξ and for *yahālōm*, θηρολίθιον; but he makes *sāhā* and *ahhāmāh* change places, as also *sapphr* and *yahālōm* [λασπίς]. Elsewhere also, *sāham* is very variously rendered in \mathcal{G} , by *σμάραγδος*, Ex. 28:9 37:27 39:14, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

This the versions everywhere vary between (a) a green stone (*λίθος ὁ πράσινος*), whether clear (*σμάραγδος*) or cloudy (*θηρολίθιον*),¹ and (b) an opaque banded stone (*ὄνυξ, sardonyx ? sardōn*), the rendering adopted in EV. Between these two renderings we must decide according to (1) the evidence as to *sāham* itself, (2) the evidence as to *yahālōm* (MT *yahāphāh*) in xii. (§ 10), which likewise shares *θηρολίθιον* and *ὄνυχιον* in \mathcal{G} , and has probably contributed to the confusion.

1. The word *sāham* has no clear meaning. It may be a loan-word (a) from Ass. *šimtu*, the 'dark' or 'cloudy' stone, (b) from Ar. 'pale' (Ges.), which suits 'onyx' (see § 19, below) or 'beryl' (the commoner varieties, and the 'aquamarine,' not the deep green 'emerald,' *σμάραγδος*) almost equally well, (c) from Ar. *mu'alham* 'striped garment' (see § 4b 31, which, if it were established, would be decisive in favour of a banded stone; or it may be, (a) a place-name (cp Ar. *Saham* in Yemen), which would not be inconsistent with the indication in Gen. 2:12 that *shihim* (*λίθος ὁ πράσινος*) came from Havn. vii (9:2). It is clear, however, from passages like Job 28:16 and 1 Ch. 29:2, cp Ex. 27:30 35:35 37:27, either that the word had a wide generic sense (e.g., 'variegated stones'), or that some form of *shihim* stone was important enough to deserve separate mention apart from ordinary 'stones to be set.' Moreover, in 1 Ch. 29:2 *sāham* is coupled with *abnē pākē*, 'stones of pigment,' which is likewise generic, and here *shihim* might well mean 'variegated' or 'striped' stones.

Now there is one such stone, not yet accounted for in our list of identifications. It was common in Egypt in all periods, obtained from the Sinaitic mine-country and used throughout, both solid and as a 'stone of pigment.' It was known to Babylonia and Assyria, probably from the copious Siberian source. At the same time it is green enough (though only rarely and partially translucent) to be compared with *σμάραγδος* (which we have seen was regarded by Theophrastus as the 'maise' offspring of the opaque green *λασπίς*) and still more with the cloudy 'beryl'; and also opaque and striped enough to be described as a variety of 'onyx.' The stone is the 'malachite' (green copper carbonate with its wavy or concentric bands and cloudy *simulacra*) of light, vivid, and dark green, and its occasional crystalline varieties. It is soft enough like 'lapis lazuli' to be easily engraved, and occurs in large enough pieces to serve as a tablet for a six-line inscription like that of the high priest's shoulder-stones. If *sāham* (*λ. ὁ πράσινος, par excellence*; cp the base-like *μαλαχίτης*, 'marsh-mallow stone') be identified with 'malachite' (the Eg. *m-f-k-t*, according to W. M. Müller) the association of *sāham* with *ὄνυξ* in Job 28:16 (\mathcal{G} *ὄνυξ τιμῆς καὶ σμαραγδῶν*) would be a close parallel in the 'pyramids of green and blue stones.'

¹ Whence Petrie (Hastings, *DB*, 'Precious Stones') concludes in favour of (1) 'green feldspar,' passing later into (2) 'onyx'; cp the argument in favour of the latter *v.r.* BECKE (1907).

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which are quoted to illustrate the wealth of Rameses III. (Brugsch, *Gesch.* 596).

In Greek times, 'malachite,' owing to its comparative softness, and its profusion in Cyprus and other sources of copper, either ceased to be held in regard, or was confused with green jasper (*λασπίς*). Meanwhile, other 'striped stones'—namely 'onyx,' 'sardonyx,' and 'banded agate'—came rapidly into vogue, as soon as the art of engraving through a surface-layer was perfected; and consequently *khām* came to be rendered either by words for 'green' (*ἀσπράλλον, σάραζδος*) or by words for 'banded' (*δινύχιον; σαρδόνυξ*). Consequently, confusion arose on the one hand between *khām* (*onyx*) and its neighbour *yahālōm* (which includes the white-faced 'onyx'; see below), and on the other, between *khām* (green malachite) and *yāšēphōh* (green jasper), as soon as *yahālōm* and *yāšēphōh* were interchanged owing to the ambiguity of *hārkēth* in No. i. (see above, § 9).

2. For the correlative argument from *yahālōm*, see next §.

iii. *Yahālōm* (Ex. 28:20 39 (3), MT *yāšēphōh*; Ezek. 28:14, MT *hārkēth*) = (1) *βηρύλλιον*, Ex. 30:13, *Josephus* (= Vg. *beryllus*, Ex. 28:20 39 (3); *beryllus*, Ezek. 28:14);

19. *Yahālōm*. = (2) *δινύχιον* (Ex. 28:13 Ezek. 28:14 cp § 8; Vg. has *beryllus* throughout). The transposition of *yahālōm* has been discussed already in § 12, above, where the LXX *λασπίς* presumes an original *yāšēphōh*. For xii. the balance of textual evidence favours *δινύχιον* in the LXX, just as it favours *βηρύλλιον* in xi.; and *beryllus* in Vg. may result from the same source as that followed by *Josephus*.

The word *yahālōm* seems to be connected with *חלם*, 'strike hard,' and (possibly) with *חללמי*, *hallāmī*, 'flint' (*πέτρα στέρα*, Job 28:9, *ἀκρότομος*, 'abrupt-edged,' Ps. 118:13); with Ass. *almīšu*, Aram. 'almās; and with Greek 'pyrites'—(i.e., 'fire-striking stone'), [cp FLINT, but also DIAMOND]. The Assyrian *almīšu* was a hard and probably colourless stone (nowhere either 'clear' or 'brilliant') which was used, with gold, to decorate chariot-wheels (cp the 'stone of Tarshish,' Ezek. 1:6 [RV 'beryl']; and also alone, for whole rings (Del. *Prosl.* 85, *Hitt.* 2:1). What is wanted, therefore, for *yahālōm* is a hard stone, colourless or of indifferent colour; of which whole rings could be made; and recognisably akin to the 'fire-striking stone,' to the hard stone for hammers and pounders, and to ordinary 'flint' or 'chert.' The alternatives are rock-crystal and white chalcedony; the one clear or milky, the other milky or opaque. Both were fairly common, in association with either quartzite or flint; but both were rare in their 'nobler' varieties. Both were used for whole rings, as well as for engraved seal-stones, in prehistoric Greece, and in Egypt of all periods; and also commonly for later Babylonian, and for Assyrian cylinders.

At this point it should be recalled that the etymology 'finger nail' for *δινύξ* (§ 5) cannot be traced back earlier than Pliny—i.e., among Roman lapidaries, who took over an apparently Greek word, and gave it its Greek sense, though it is not at all an adequate description of the majority of 'onyx-stones.' Meanwhile the compound *σαρδόνυξ* shows that to denote a white-and-red 'onyx' it was the red which must be specified; the white surface therefore is the essential character of the generic 'onyx.' On the other hand, the etymology, *δινύξ* = Assyrian *unku*, 'ring,' would make *δινύξ* an obvious equivalent for a 'ring-stone,' like *almīšu* or cognate words—especially as *almīšu* was apparently colourless, and *δινύξ* meant a stone which had a surface, at least, of 'white carnelian' or 'chalcedony.' It follows from this identification that *yahālōm* was liable to be confused on the one hand with *hārkēth* (in the sense of 'rock-crystal'); on the other (together with *δινύξ*) with *khām* (in the sense of 'striped stone'); and yet again with *yāšēphōh*, when later study had once revealed the many intermediates (e.g. Pliny's *isap-achates*, *isap-onyx* and *red-achates*, *HN*, 37:54).

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Thus the high-priestly breastplate, as a whole, may be conceived as having presented the following series of stones:—

HIGH PRIEST'S BREASTPLATE.

iii. Bāreketh 1. ROCK-CRYSTAL white; <i>clear</i> . 2. GREEN JASPER green; <i>clear</i> .	ii. Fildah 1. LALIS LIZAZ yellow; <i>clear</i> . 2. CHALCEDONY yellow; <i>clear</i> .	i. Ōdem ? RED JASPER red; <i>opaque</i> . SARD red; <i>dull</i> .
vi. [Yāšēphōh] GREEN JASPER green; <i>opaque</i> .	v. Sappir LAPIS LAZULI blue; <i>opaque</i> .	iv. Nōphek GARNET red; <i>clear</i> .
ix. Aplāmāh AMETHYST purple; <i>clear</i> .	viii. Šōbō RED AGATE red; <i>opaque</i> <i>striped</i> .	vii. Lōsem CHALCEDONY yellow; <i>clear</i> . ? CHALCEDONY (REV.) yellow-green; <i>dull</i> .
xii. [Yahālōm] WHITE CARNELIAN OR CARNELIAN-FACED ONYX white; <i>opaque</i> .	xi. Šōham MALACHITE green; <i>opaque</i> <i>striped</i> .	x. Tarsīš 1. YELLOW SERRINITE yellow; <i>opaque</i> . 2. CHALCEDONY yellow; <i>clear</i> .

or, in order of colours:—

Red	ŌDEM	clear	NŌPHEK	striped SĒBŌ
Yellow	TAKMĪ		FILDĀH	? greenish LŌSEM
Green	YĀŠĒPHEK		HĀRKEṬH*	striped ŠŌHAM
Blue	SAPPĪR		(later)	
White	YAHĀLŌM		APLĀMĀH	(purple)
			BĀRKEṬH*	(originally)

One stone remains, which does not appear in the breastplate, but is mentioned in several other passages. 21. *Kadkōd*. This is *kadkōd* (AV 'agate,' RV 'ruby'), which is rendered in Is. 54:12 by *λασπίς*, *laspis*, Synm. *καρχηδόνιον*, and in Ezek. 27:10 by *χρυσόπ*, *chrysolite*. The word *kadkōd* may be from *קדקד* 'strike fire' (cp Ar. *red*); but the renderings *χρυσόπ* and *καρχηδόνιον* suggest confusion of *d* and *r*; cp Pesh. *kadkōdā* for *šōbō*, [ἀχάτης] in Ex. 28:20 39 (3). The rendering *καρχηδόνιον* suggests the 'Carthaginian carbuncle' of Pliny; and if, as seems probable, a red stone is intended, the *λασπίς* of Is. 54:12 must be interpreted as a red, not a green jasper. See *Yāšēphōh*, § 13 above, and cp AGATE, RUBY.

For *šāmir* ('emery') which is not a 'precious stone,' and for the descriptive *eklah* and *ra'wāth*, see above, § 4.

A distorted version of the 'high priest's breastplate' is offered by the 'covering of the king of Tyre' in Ezek. 28:13, the individual stones of which have already been discussed above. In this passage the LXX repeats its list of Ex. 28:17-20 in the same order, but inserts *καὶ ἀσπράλλον καὶ χρυσόπ* between *λασπίς* (vi.) and *ἀγύριον* (vii.). This arose probably through (1) a misreading, ΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΝ for ΑΓΥΡΙΟΝ, and (2) a misunderstanding of the last word in the list in MT (*zahab* = Vg. *aurum*), which would be facilitated by the double meanings of both *Ag* and *šneapov*. On the other hand, MT followed by Vg. gives only nine stones, and in a new order, as follows.

22. 'Covering of King of Tyre.'

Ōdem, *pidlah*, *yahālōm* (= the 'first row,' (i.) and (ii.) of Ex. 28:17 f., followed by (vi.) interchanged with (iii.), by confusion of *yahālōm* and *hārkēth*), then *laspis*, *khām*, *yāšēphōh* (= the 'fourth row' [N. M., 20] of Ex.); so that *asēphōh* is brought into its right place at (vi.) of the present list (= *λασπίς* of ②); then, *sappir*, *nōphek*, *hārkēth* (= the 'second row' of Ex., but with *sappir* and *nōphek* transposed, and *hārkēth* instead of *yahālōm*); then *zahab* (Vg. *aurum*, 'gold') as noted above.

110; *Genesis*, § 2, *Paradise*, § 3; and *Crit. Bib.* where the text of Ezek. 28:12 f. is considered.)

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These derangements are instructive. That they represent an old text is clear from Vg.; but that the corruption is later than \mathcal{E} is probable, firstly because \mathcal{E} follows Ex. 28:17f. (the variant ἀργ. κ. χρ. being mainly explanatory of Λγ.), secondly, because the derangements are all explicable on the single supposition that they are intended to remove difficulties which are raised by the identifications propounded by the LXX.

(1) The identifications $\delta\epsilon\mu = \sigma\alpha\rho\delta\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\zeta$, and $\nu\theta\rho\alpha\zeta = \delta\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$, brought two red stones together. So long as $\delta\epsilon\mu$, which is 'red' in any case, meant red jasper, it was opaque, and gave a certain contrast. 'Sards,' however are often nearly clear. Hence a difficulty, which was removed by transposing $\nu\theta\rho\alpha\zeta$ and $\sigma\alpha\rho\delta\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\zeta$; the further difficulty thus created, that the red $\nu\theta\rho\alpha\zeta$ is brought next to the red $\delta\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$, not being felt, because, as we shall see, the 'third row' dropped out altogether.

(2) The identification $\beta\acute{\iota}\rho\kappa\epsilon\theta\eta = \sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\gamma\delta\omicron\varsigma$ had already brought about the transposition of $\gamma\acute{\iota}\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ and $\nu\alpha\chi\acute{\iota}\lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\varsigma$, so as to separate the two green stones, and had caused the confusion in the LXX between $\delta\upsilon\omicron\chi\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ and $\beta\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ in xi. and xii. In MT it has had the further result that $\beta\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\epsilon\theta\eta$ in the old sense of a clear colourless stone became interchanged with the opaque colourless $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\varsigma$. Moreover $\beta\acute{\iota}\rho\kappa\epsilon\theta\eta$, it meant $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\gamma\delta\omicron\varsigma$, not 'green'; and $\lambda\alpha\sigma\omega\iota\varsigma$ was 'green,' whereas $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\gamma\delta\omicron\varsigma$ was ambiguous, and $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ had no special colour. So on all grounds $\beta\acute{\iota}\rho\kappa\epsilon\theta\eta$ went down to (vi.) and $\nu\alpha\chi\acute{\iota}\lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ up to (iii).

(3) Further, to restore $\gamma\acute{\iota}\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ to its proper place at (vi.), and perhaps as an alternative method of separating $\delta\epsilon\mu$ and $\nu\theta\rho\alpha\zeta$, the whole of the 'fourth row' was interpolated between rows one and two.

(4) Finally and consequently, the 'third row' fell out altogether; $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\iota\omega\varsigma$, being taken for $\eta\lambda\epsilon\kappa\tau\rho\omicron\nu$ —i.e. $\delta\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\iota\omega\varsigma$ and $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$ —and confused with the $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$ (= Vg. *aurum*), which actually ends the description both in MT and \mathcal{E} .

Another distorted version of the same list of stones is supplied by the 'Foundations' of the New Jerusalem, in Rev. 21:19f. Here, as regards the order, the problem has been, how to adapt the twelve stones of the breastplate, in their four rows-of-three, to the foundations of a 'foursquare' city. The result is as follows:—

23. Foundations of New Jerusalem.

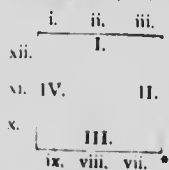
Another distorted version of the same list of stones is supplied by the 'Foundations' of the New Jerusalem, in Rev. 21:19f. Here, as regards the order, the problem has been, how to adapt the twelve stones of the breastplate, in their four rows-of-three, to the foundations of a 'foursquare' city. The result is as follows:—

I. $\lambda\alpha\sigma\omega\iota\varsigma$	$\sigma\alpha\phi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\varsigma$	$\chi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\eta\delta\omega\iota\omega\varsigma$
II. $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\gamma\delta\omicron\varsigma$	$\sigma\alpha\rho\delta\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\zeta$	$\tau\alpha\rho\delta\acute{\iota}\omega\iota\omega\varsigma$
III. $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\varsigma$	$\beta\eta\rho\mu\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\varsigma$	$\tau\omicron\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\iota\omega\iota\omega\varsigma$
IV. $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\omicron}\rho\alpha\sigma\omicron\varsigma$	$\nu\alpha\chi\acute{\iota}\lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\varsigma$	$\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$

Of these rows-of-three, the first row is the second row of the 'breastplate,' given in *reversed* order, (vi.), (v.), (iv.), with $\chi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\eta\delta\omega\iota\omega\varsigma$ for $\nu\theta\rho\alpha\zeta$ at (iv.). The second row is the first row of the 'breastplate,' also in *reversed* order (iii.), (ii.), (i.), with $\sigma\alpha\rho\delta\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\zeta$ exchanged for $\tau\omicron\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\iota\omega\iota\omega\varsigma$ at (ii.). The third row is the fourth row of the 'breastplate' in *direct* order (x.), (xi.), (xii.), but with $\tau\omicron\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\iota\omega\iota\omega\varsigma$ exchanged for $\sigma\alpha\rho\delta\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\zeta$ at (x.). The fourth row is the third row of the 'breastplate' also in *direct* order (vii.), (viii.), (ix.), but with $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\omicron}\rho\alpha\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ for $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\iota\omega\varsigma$ at (viii.), and $\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$ for $\delta\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$ at (viii.).

That is to say, the 'Foundations' are conceived as in the diagram below, and to describe them the writer has started from the angle * between sides II. and III. He has first described II. and I., vi. in correct sequence; but when he reached IV. and III., he has resorted to the traditional order within each of the 'rows-of-three,' or has perhaps attempted to work outwards again from his starting-point at the angle between II. and III.

This account also adds several minor points (i)



STOOL

The confusion between $\sigma\alpha\rho\delta\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\zeta$ and $\tau\omicron\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\iota\omega\iota\omega\varsigma$ suggests that the authority, which is followed, read $\beta\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ for $\delta\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$ at no. xi. (§ 18), and $\delta\upsilon\omicron\chi\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\varsigma$, or $\sigma\alpha\rho\delta\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\zeta$ for $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ at no. xii. (§ 19). (2) The $\chi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\eta\delta\omega\iota\omega\varsigma$ which takes the place of $\delta\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$ at no. iv. substitutes a green gem ('diopase' or copper silicate) for the red 'garnet', giving some slight support to the discarded rendering $m.f.k.l$ ('malachite') for $\nu\theta\rho\alpha\zeta$, but confirming the view that $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\gamma\delta\omicron\varsigma$ in Rev. does not mean a green stone merely—for $\chi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\eta\delta\omega\iota\omega\varsigma$ was itself regarded as a variety of $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\gamma\delta\omicron\varsigma$. $\Sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\gamma\delta\omicron\varsigma$ here, therefore, may perhaps still be translated 'crystal' as in its primary meaning. (3) The $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\omicron}\rho\alpha\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ which takes the place of $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\iota\omega\varsigma$ and is not otherwise found in OT or NT, belongs, like $\chi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\eta\delta\omega\iota\omega\varsigma$ and $\sigma\alpha\rho\delta\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\zeta$, to a more advanced stage of experience, when intermediate tints were recognised; it may represent either a greenish 'chrysolith,' or, more probably, the opaque apple-green 'chryso-prase' (chalcidony tinted with nickel oxide), which is intermediate in tint between a yellow serpentine or yellow jasper, and the $\lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ δ $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omega\varsigma$ (cp $\mu\alpha\lambda\alpha\chi\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\varsigma$) of Gen. 2:12. The modern 'prase' (deep-green chalcidony) and its variant the jasper-spotted 'bloodstone' were used for scaraboid gems as early as the sixth century B.C. in the Levant (e.g. Myres and Ohmetschek-Richter, *Cyprus Museum Catalogue*, No. 4581), but are not clearly to be identified even in Pliny. (4) The $\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$, which takes the place of $\delta\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$, is similarly mentioned in OT or NT only here and in Rev. 9:17, $\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$, cp Enoch 71:2 (of 'streams of fire'). Pliny (37:1) represents it as a dull sort of 'amethyst.' Solinus describes what is evidently the modern 'sapphire' (blue corundum) and says that it came from Ethiopia; probably he is thinking of a port-of-exchange on the Red Sea, and consequently of the true Indian gem. Later, the meaning expanded, including many different coloured varieties (five according to Eppiphannus, six according to Ben Mansur [quoted at length in King, *Nat. Hist. of Prec. Stones*, 250f.]). But the use of $\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$ in Vg. Symm. to render $\tau\omicron\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\iota\omega\iota\omega\varsigma$ in Cant 5:14 (where the LXX has $\delta\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$) as well as by Symm. in Ezek. 1:16 28:13 (where the LXX has the normal $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\omicron}\rho\alpha\sigma\omicron\varsigma$) suggests that an early use of $\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$ may have been to render the native Indian word which appears in Arabic as $\gamma\acute{\iota}\lambda\acute{\iota}\theta$ —this denoting the modern 'jacinth,' a 'noble' variety of 'zircon' (zirconium silicate), which is a transparent deep-red stone. Now the $\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$ of Rev. 21:20 takes the place of a dark-red translucent stone, $\nu\theta\rho\alpha\zeta$, $\delta\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$. The epithet $\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$ of Rev. 9:17, too, is coupled with $\pi\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\iota\omega\varsigma$ 'fire-like' (cp Enoch 71:2, above, and the equation $\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma = \nu\theta\rho\alpha\zeta$ in Cant 5:14), so that in both cases 'sapphire' is out of the question, whilst the sultry glow of the 'jacinth' is exactly what is wanted. Moreover, both $\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$ and $\delta\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$ might very well stand as parallel attempts to transliterate $\nu\theta\rho\alpha\zeta$, and the displacement of the one by the other becomes in every way intelligible.

Other passages in Rev. dealing with 'precious stones' have been noted already above—e.g. $\lambda\alpha\sigma\omega\iota\varsigma$, $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\omicron}\rho\alpha\sigma\omicron\varsigma$, 21:11 (§ 13); $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\iota\omega\varsigma$ δ $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omega\varsigma$ δ $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\gamma\delta\omicron\varsigma$ 4:3 (§ 9); $\theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$ δ $\nu\alpha\chi\acute{\iota}\lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ δ $\nu\alpha\chi\acute{\��}\lambda\acute{\��}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ 4:6 (§ 9). The striking simile $\omicron\mu\omicron\iota\omega\varsigma$ δ $\nu\alpha\chi\acute{\��}\lambda\acute{\��}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ δ $\nu\alpha\chi\acute{\��}\lambda\acute{\��}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ recalls the portrait statues of Roman Emperors and others, in which the raiment is worked out in hard-coloured stones—a fashion introduced in the last years of the Republic from Ptolemaic Egypt.

C. W. King, *Natural Hist. of Precious Stones*; *Antique Gems* (1866); S. Menant, *Glyptique Orientale* (1883); N. Story Maskelyne, *Catalogue of the Maskelyne Collection* (1891); J. H. Middleton, *Ancient Gems* (1892); Flinders Petrie, *Precious Stones in Hastings' DB*; Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen* (1900).

24. Bibliography. See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12

STOOL. See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12
 On the original meaning of which word see TITMUS, I.
 On the $\delta\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$, $\delta\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$ (RV 'birthstool'), of Ex. 1:15 cp POTTERY, § 8, and Baentsch's note, with the references in *ISDB*, s.v.

STORAX

STORAX 1. It is plausible to find the storax (so RVm^s) mentioned in Gen. 30:37 as לִבְנֵה, *libneh*, where EV has ΠΟΛΛΑΡ (ΡΑΒΔΟΣ ΣΥΡΑΚΙΝΗ; Ar. *lubni* = storax). In Hos. 4:13, however, the *libneh* is mentioned as a shady tree; this does not suit the storax, which is a mere bush. The shrub called storax by the ancients (Diosc. 179; Plin. *II* V12:1725) is the *Syrax officinalis*, a showy shrub covered with a profusion of white flowers, found throughout Syria and Palestine and abundantly in the hill regions of (Gilead, Carmel, Tabor, Galilee, etc., and other places (FPF 354).

Storax exuded a gum, which was used for incense (and also for medicinal purposes), and at an early period formed an important article of Phoenician trade. It is to be carefully distinguished from the modern article, which is the product of the *Liquidambar orientalis*. Lagarde (*Utth* 1:214) has suggested, with great probability that the name Storax is derived from the Heb. שָׂר, *šar* ('halm'); but whether the two words denote the same thing is doubtful. See BAILM, § 1.

2. RVm^s also gives 'storax' in Gen. 37:25 43:11 for רִבְנֵה, *ribbōth* (after Aq. σπιράξ [in both], Sym. σπιράξ, and Vg. storax [in 43:11], which was adopted by Bochart); EV, however, has SPICE-RY, SPICES (p. 1.). More probably (so RVm^s) the gum intended is the Tragacanth (Ar. *nakī'a*, Syr. *ankath aili*, cp Low, 24), which is the resinous gum of the *Astragalus gummifer*, of which numerous species exist in Palestine.

Like שָׂר (in connection with which it occurs), tragacanth was an article of commerce imported to Egypt (according to Ebers, *Egypten*, 292, the word has been found in Egyptian), and also to Tyre (Ezek. 27:17, see (o. *al loc.*). There is no reference to this product in the בַּיִת הַשֵּׁנִי 2 K. 20:13 Is. 39:2 (EVmg 'house of his spicery'; so Aq. Sym., Vg.), on which see TREASURY.

3. AV has 'storax' for σπαστή in Eccles. 24:15; but RV (as EV in Ex. 30:14) has STACTE (p. 1.). The fragrant resin intended may perhaps be the gum tragacanth mentioned above (2).

STORE CITIES, STORE HOUSES (מִסְכְּנֹת), Ex.

1:11 1 K. 9:19, etc. See CITY (f.), PITIOM, § 4. According to Winckler (*GI* 2:210), the phrase means 'cities of the governors' (Ass. *šaknu*, plur. *šaknūtu*; Phoen. קָנָן; cp FRIEDL).

STORK (הַסִּירָה); from סָרַר 'pietas' [see LOVING-KINDNESS], in allusion to the mutual affection of parents and young; Lev. 11:19 Dt. 14:18 [17] Job 39:13 1 Ps. 104:17 Jer. 8:7 Zech. 5:9; אֶלֶסְרִיפְדָּא [in Job and Jer.], אֶרֶב [in Zech.], אֶרֶבֶס or אֶרֶב [in Lev. and Ps.], אֶרֶבֶס [in Dt.]; Vg. *herodius* [in Lev.], *herodius* [in Job and Ps.], *concoloratus* [in Dt.], *milvus* [in Jer. and Zech.]. One of the unclean birds.

Both the White (*Ciconia alba*) and the Black Stork (*C. nigra*) are found in Palestine.

The White Stork is a well-known visitant to Europe, and is occasionally, though rarely, seen in Great Britain; in Palestine it is usually met with during the month of April (Jer. 8:7), on its way N. to its breeding-places from its winter quarters in Central and S. Africa. It is regarded as a sacred bird and never molested, and in return acts to some extent as a scavenger. It frequents the haunts of man, and usually nests on such prominent structures as chimneys or towers, more rarely on trees. Many legends and stories have grouped themselves around this bird.

The Black Stork has a black head, neck, and back; it winters in Palestine, and, avoiding the habitations of man, frequents the deserts and plains, especially in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea. As a rule it lives in small flocks and breeds on trees or rocks; in the summer it migrates northwards. A. E. S.

STORY WRITER (ο [εἰς] τὰ προσηπτοῦντα), 1 Esd. 2:17. See REUIM, 5.

STRAIT OF JUDEA (τοῦ πριονος . . . της τοῦ λαιαδ), Judith 39. See JUDEA.

1 AVmg and RVmg. both recognise 'stork' as the right rendering of *hishithā*. The former gives, 'or the feathers of the stork and ostrich', the latter, 'But are her pinions and feathers (like) the stork's?'. In the text AV, 'or wings and feathers onto the ostrich'; but RV (agreeing with D¹), 'But are her pinions and feathers knotty?'. The text is difficult, and most probably corrupt (see Balde and Duhm).

STRANGER AND SOJOURNER

STRANGER AND SOJOURNER. This phrase, together with 'stranger or sojourner' and 'sojourner or stranger,' is used by AV to translate

1. **Terms.** P's phrase גֵּר וְתוֹשָׁב; RV more consistently has 'sojourner' for תוֹשָׁב uniformly. גֵּר, *gēr* and תוֹשָׁב, *tōshabh* denote a resident alien or μέτοικος, a foreigner settled for a longer or shorter time under the protection of a citizen or family, or of the state; as distinguished from תוֹשָׁבֵי כְנָעַן, *ben-nikhār*, or תוֹשָׁבֵי אֶרֶץ, *nekhi* (fem. תוֹשָׁבָה), which simply denote a foreigner. גֵּר, *gēr*, is a more general term, including both foreigner and stranger. It is used in Nu. 16:40 of anyone strange to —i.e., not belonging to—the priestly clan. It is often used of persons who might also be called *nekhi*, 1 S. 17. The distinction between *gēr* and *tōshabh* will be considered later (§ 11 f.). The verb גָּרַע, *gār*, is sometimes a denominative of *gēr* in its technical sense of resident alien, and sometimes has the more general sense of *abide*.

It usually has προσήλυτος for *gēr*, less frequently παροικος; which latter is the usual rendering of *tōshabh*; *gār* is usually παροικεω; and ἀλλοτριος is the usual rendering alike of *nekhi*, *nikhār*, and *gār*; *gār*, however, is often rendered by ἀλλοτριος. The Vulgate does not clearly distinguish these terms, but uses *alienus*, *colonus*, and *peregrinus*, etc., for *gēr* and *tōshabh*; *alienus*, etc., for *nikhār* and *gār*, and gives very various renderings of *nekhi*.

1. **Foreigners, other than gērīm (strictly so-called), in the land of Israel.**—Jud. 1:9 21:27-30 (1 J¹) make it clear

2. **Remnant of Canaanites.** that Canaanite clans maintained themselves in the land long after the settlement. At first, many of these clans

stood to the Israelite tribes in the ordinary relations of neighbouring independent states. In conquered districts surviving Canaanites would be reduced to slavery.

Where, however, they were too numerous, or submitted on conditions, they were employed in forced labour (*corvée*), עֲבָדִים . . . עֲבָדִים, Jud. 1:28. Thus in Josh. 9:27, J¹, the Gibeonites are spoken of as temple-servants. Probably the status of such subject-clans was similar to that of the *gērīm*; but the data do not enable us to decide whether they were formally reckoned as *gērīm*, or placed in a distinct category. The deuteronomic editor of Joshua supposes that the Israelites exterminated the Canaanites at the Conquest, Josh. 10:40 11:20. Such a view would not have been held unless, long before the exiles, the Canaanites in Israel had disappeared as a distinct class and been absorbed in Israel and its *gēr*.

This absorption is also attested by the inclusion in Noh. 7:25 57:60 of the Gibeonites, Solomon's Servants, and the Nethinim among the Men of Israel.¹

Many of the slaves owned by Israelites were of foreign birth; but the slaves became members of the family and shared its *sacra*, and thus virtually became Israelites. Thus, in Israel, the slave was circumcised (Gen. 17:12 f. 4), kept the Sabbath (Ex. 20:10 E), and the Passover (Ex. 12:44 1). See SLAVERY.

The examples of Moses, Boaz, David, Solomon, etc., and the law as to marriage with a female captive (Dt. 21:10-14), show that Israelites during the monarchy frequently married foreign wives. These, like the slaves, became Israelites in civil and religious status; thus Ruth, though a widow, assumes that, if she remains in her mother-in-law's family and settles in her late husband's native land 'thy people shall be my people, and thy god my god' (Ruth 1:16). See MARRIAGE.

The trade of Israel was mostly in foreign hands, and trade-routes passed through the land. For the most part traders would enter or pass through the country in caravans. Similarly, nomad clans would be occasional visitors, especially in the border lands.

4. **Traders, nomads, mercenaries.** In ordinary times such caravans and clans could rely on

¹ Kittel, *Hist. of L. (ET)* 2:277, points out that the inclusion of Israelites in the *corvée*, 1 K. 12:41, must have tended to obliterate any surviving distinction between Israelites and Canaanites. 1 K. 9:21 22 is by a late editor. [CP SOLOMON, § 6.]

their own strength and the general moral sentiment without seeking any special protection. Dt 227 *f.* gives us the terms on which caravans might pass through a foreign country. They were to keep to the beaten track and pay for food and water. Further, the more powerful Israelite kings were anxious to foster commerce, and no doubt did what they could to afford a general protection to traders. Facilities for foreign traders were sometimes guaranteed by treaties; e.g., the 'streets' or quarters which the Syrians had in Samaria, and the Israelites in Damascus, 1 K. 20.14. Cp TRADE AND COMMERCE, §§ 46 *f.* The mercenaries of the royal household formed another important class of resident foreigners (2 S. 8.13 15.13 20.7 23 1 K. 1.33 50.44 2 K. 11.4 RV); cp CHERETITES and PELETITES. It is noteworthy that David addresses the mercenary captain Ithai the Gittite as a *nokhri* who came but yesterday and might be expected at once to quit a service that promised little advantage (2 S. 15.19). On the other hand, in Uriah the Hittite we have a foreign soldier who married a high-born Israelite woman (2 S. 11).

H. *Gérim* in the technical sense.—The peculiar status of the *gér* arose (1) from the primitive sentiment that a stranger was an enemy, an outlaw; (2)

5. Temporary guest.

The guarantee of security of life lay in the blood-bond between a man and his kinsfolk. He was protected by the assurance that his kinsmen would avenge his murder upon the criminal and his kinsmen. Thus the foreigner, who was far away from his kin, was at the mercy of any evil-disposed persons. His only safety lay in putting himself under Israelite protection, by becoming the *gér* or guest of an Israelite family. He then became included in the blood-bond, and his hosts defended or avenged him as if he were of their own kin. As in Arabia, such protection was freely accorded even to complete strangers. Abraham and Lot (Gen. 18 *f.*) press their hospitality on unknown travellers. In Judg. 19 the depravity of the men of Gibeon is shown by their inhospitable behaviour; and in Job 31 it is a mark of the righteous man that he does not leave the *gér*—i.e., the stranger who wishes to be received as *gér*—to lodge in the street. In Arabia (WRS, *Kin.*, 41 *f.*) the stranger becomes a *gér* by eating or drinking with his patron; 'even the thief who has surreptitiously shared the evening draught of an unwitting host is safe. Nay, it is enough to touch the tent-ropes, imploring protection.' Further (259), 'he who journeys with you by day and sleeps beside you at night is also sacred.' But the hospitality so readily accorded can be enjoyed unconditionally only for three or four days. The *gér* who stays longer ceases to be a guest and becomes a dependent (Bertholet, 27). But, while the relation lasted, the obligation laid upon the host to protect the *gér* was stringent; the stories of Lot and of the Levite at Gibeon show what extraordinary sacrifices a host would make to defend his guests. The latter narrative reminds us that, in early times, an Israelite in a strange tribe was almost as helpless as a foreigner.

Analogy suggests that whole clans or tribes might put themselves under the protection of a more powerful people and become its *gérim*. The several Jewish clans of Medina were compelled by their weakness to become *yan* (*gérim*) of the Aus and Khazraj. Or a group might attach itself to its cousins—i.e., to a tribe with which it reckoned kindred' (WRS *Kin.*, 42). Thus the Israelites were *gérim* in Egypt, Ex. 22.10; Bertholet, 50, considers that the subject Canaanites became a kind of *gérim* to Israel, and that foreign traders and mercenaries may be considered *gérim* of the kings; but the terms *gér*, *gér* are not applied to any of these classes. Both the Israelites and the Canaanites rendered service to their patrons. We might perhaps regard as bodies of *gérim* the 'mixed multitude'—Ex. 12.38 JE 277, Nu. 11.4 JE 2228—that went up from Egypt with Israel. Possibly,

too, the Kenites might stand in the same relationship. See MINGLED PEOPLE, KENITES.

The traveller's necessities might be met by a few days' protection; but foreigners often came into the country needing a permanent home. The

7. Permanent *gér*.

Jacob, they might have provoked the dangerous hostility of powerful enemies. In Arabia, 'men are constantly being cut off from their own tribe, generally for murder within the kin, sometimes for other offences against society, or even for dissipated habits. . . . There were, however, many other circumstances that might lead free Arabs, either individually or in a body, to seek the protection of another tribe and become its *yan*' (*Kin.*, 42). In such cases the *gér* became for a longer or shorter period the settled client of a clan, or chief, or other individual head of a family.

Bertholet maintains with great probability that such *gérim* would often attach themselves to the king; and that he would welcome them as a means of strengthening his authority. He includes among the royal *gérim* the mercenaries and foreign traders. He further supposes that a foreigner might attach himself to a sanctuary as *gér* of Yahwe, and understands Ps. 15.6 *f.* as referring to such cases. The Gibeonites would be another case in point.

The express references to *gérim* in Israel, however, deal with the *gér* who is a dependent member of an ordinary family; in Ex. 20.2, etc., the *gér* is grouped with the slaves and the cattle. There are constant exhortations to deal justly and generously with the *gér* (Ex. 22.2, etc.); he is grouped with other needy and helpless classes, the Levites, orphans, widows (Dt. 26.11-13 Ps. 94.6), and the poor (Lev. 19.10). The *gér* was at the mercy of the individual or the clan within whose gates he took refuge. They could take advantage of his helplessness to accord protection only under oppressive and burdensome conditions. The prophets (Jer. 7.6 14.8 22.3 Ezek. 22.27 Zech. 7.10 Mal. 3.5) and the Law (Ex. 23.9 Dt. 24.17 Lev. 19.34) alike protest against such oppression. It appears, moreover, from Dt. 1.6 24.17 27.19, that the *gér* was not wholly at the mercy of his patrons; disputes between them might be referred to judges.

The *gérim*, however, were not always poor; Lev. 25.47 contemplates the possibility that the *gér* may prosper and purchase impoverished Israelites as slaves. Shubna, Hezekiah's treasurer (Is. 22.15), was probably a foreigner, and the captains of foreign mercenaries and other foreign courtiers would readily acquire power and wealth.

The relation of the *gér* to his patron was voluntary on both sides, and there was nothing in the nature of the relationship to prevent its being terminated at will by either party; but circumstances—the need of the *gér* and the power of his patron—tended to make the relation permanent. In Arabia (*Kin.*, 43) 'sometimes the protectors seem to have claimed the right to dismiss their *yan* at will. . . . at other times. . . . protection is constituted by a public advertisement and oath at the sanctuary, and holds good till it is renounced at the sanctuary.'

The terms upon which *gérim* were received were matter of agreement between them and their patrons, and their position was similar to that of 'bond servants,' *sikkir*, with whom they are classed (Lev. 25.49 Dt. 24.14). Only, the *gér* was more helpless than the native *sikkir*, and less able to insist on favourable terms. Jacob at Haran, Israel in Egypt, rendered service for their hosts; David fought for Achish or pretended to do so. Micah's Levite came to Mt. Ephraim to find someone with whom he might become *gér* (725, *lógur*), and agreed to serve Machab as a priest for board and lodging, and ten pieces of silver and a suit of clothes annually (Judg. 17). The prosperity of Jacob illustrates the possibility of a *gér* becoming rich; and his stealthy flight shows that a *gér* might find it difficult to leave his patron.

STRANGER AND SOJOURNER

Naturally—just as Jacob married Laban's daughters, and Moses Jethro's *gērīm* sometimes married Israelite women—*e.g.*, Urah and Bathsheba. But the case of Jacob and Arabian parallels (Bertholet, 62) suggest that a *gēr* who returned to his native land could not compel his Israelite wife to accompany him. The *gērīm*, as a class, would necessarily be landless. Moreover, both prophets and lawmakers did their best to keep family estates in the family. Their efforts, and the sentiments that prompted them, would tend to exclude even the rich *gēr* from acquiring land.

In pre-exilic literature *gēr* is essentially a term denoting civil, not religious, status. But civil status involved religious consequences. Various religious observances were matters of public order and decency, and as such would be required from *gērīm*. Thus, in the Book of the Covenant, the duty and privilege of the Sabbath extend to the *gērīm* (Ex. 20:10, 23:12; cp. Amos 8:1). Further, a foreign *gēr* would naturally wish to worship Yahweh as Lord of the land of Israel, without necessarily renouncing his allegiance to the god of his native land (cp. 2 K. 17:24-41). Moreover, it is probable, though by no means certain, that the *gēr* may sometimes have been included in the *šarā* of his patrons, as a member of the family. On the other hand, Moabite, Ammonite, and Phoenician communities at Jerusalem maintained their native worship for centuries (1 K. 11:57; 2 K. 23:13). But in any case the religious obligations and duties of the *gēr* are simply the consequences of his civil status as an inhabitant of the land of Yahwē, a guest of the people of Yahwē; they are limited by his non-Israelite blood.

In Deuteronomy, the *gēr* seems expressly included in the family *šarā*; in 16:9-17 the *gēr* is to share in the rejoicings at the feasts of Weeks and Tabernacles—*i.e.*, partake of the flesh of sacrifices, amongst other food. The teaching of the prophets and Deuteronomy, which drew a sharp religious distinction between Israelites and foreigners, naturally furthered the assimilation of the *gēr* to the Israelite—the only alternative, the entire exclusion of *gērīm*, was impossible. Thus, in the deuteronomistic passage Dt. 31:12, the *gēr* is to be exhorted to study and obey the law, and in 29:10-13 the *gēr* is to enter into covenant with Yahwē.

The exile and return further promoted the religious identification of Israel and the *gērīm*; those who shared these experiences with their patrons became united by close ties. Moreover, in the restored community, *gēr* lost its civil, and acquired a religious meaning. A subject community, under a foreign governor, hemmed in by settlement of foreigners, was not likely to include a class of dependent foreigners. The tendency was for the Jews to unite with their neighbours to form a heterogeneous community. They were saved from this fate by asserting an exclusive relation to Yahwē and his Temple. Under such circumstances the foreigner who united himself with Israel had to become a worshipper of Yahwē, *gēr* came to mean proselyte. Constantly, especially in the Law of Holiness, laws are said to apply equally to the Israelite and the *gēr*, according to the common formula *kaggēr k'israhī* (Lev. 24:16, etc.). The *gērīm* must refrain from idolatry (Lev. 18:26, 20:2), from blasphemy against God (Lev. 24:16), must observe the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:29-31), the Passover (Ex. 12:48; Nu. 9:14; but cp. below), must abstain from eating blood (Lev. 17:10-13), and must observe certain rules in offering sacrifices (Lev. 17:8, 22:19). The religious status of the *gēr* is almost the same as that of the Israelite—almost, not quite. In Lev. 23:42 it is the native Israelite, the *israhī*, who is to observe the Feast of Tabernacles, in express contradiction to Dt. 31:12, which includes the

¹ The references to the *gēr* in these verses are sometimes ascribed to a deuteronomistic editor.

STREET

gēr; but in view of this, and of the fact that everywhere else *israhī* is combined with *gēr*,¹ Bertholet suggests that in Lev. *i.e.*, *gēr* may have dropped out. Ex. 12:48 lays down that if the *gēr* wishes to eat the Passover he must be circumcised. Probably, with circumcision, the *gēr*, or at any rate his descendants, attained to the full civil and religious standing of an Israelite. For in Dt. 23:2 we are told that the children of the Edomites and the Egyptians shall enter into the congregation of Yahweh in the third generation, and this may be extended to *gērīm* generally. It is true that, in spite of Ezekiel's direction that *gērīm* should be given land in Israel (17:22), P's Law of the Jubilee theoretically reserves the land for the original Jewish holders. Such a law, however, could scarcely have been enforced against foreigners in a country under foreign rule. And generally, the tendency must have been for *gēr*-families to be absorbed in the Jewish community. The main distinction between the *gēr* in P and the later proselyte is that the *gēr* is still thought of as coming to live in a Jewish community. On the use of *gēr* as proselyte, see in 2 Ch. 30:25, see PROSLYTE.

III. *The distinction between gēr and israhī.*—

Outside of the Priestly Code *israhī* occurs only in Ps.

39:13² (= 1 Ch. 29:13). In eight passages *israhī* is either coupled with, or parallel to, *gēr*; in three others it is, like *gēr* else-

where, coupled with *sakir*; and in two others it is qualified by *haggērīm*, 'that are *gēr*'s'. Neither the usage, nor the versions (see above, § 1), suggest any clear distinction of the two terms, and of the many distinctions drawn, none have met with much acceptance. Probably the passages in which *israhī* occurs represent an unsuccessful attempt to substitute a new term for the old *gēr*. The older *gērīm* were now incorporated with Israel, and a new term—either *gēr* qualified by an addition, or simply *israhī*—might have served to distinguish newcomers from the descendants of former *gērīm*, and to indicate that the status of new foreign adherents was different from that of the old *gērīm*. The familiar term *gēr*, however, persisted.

Lev. 25:15. 'And if thy brother be waxen poor, and his hand fail with thee; then thou shalt uphold him;

12. Lev. 15:35. as a stranger [*gēr*] and a sojourner [*israhī*] shall he live with thee,' RV,

or better 'thou shalt uphold him as a *gēr* and *israhī*, and he shall live with thee' presents peculiar difficulties. *Gēr* and *israhī* are usually the antithesis of 'brother.' The Hebrew naturally implies that the poor Israelite would actually take the position of a *gēr*—*i.e.*, fall from his full Israelite citizenship; it might, perhaps, be strained to mean that he was to receive the same help and protection; or this meaning might be obtained by reading *gēr* 'like' before *gēr* with G. Driver and White (SBOT), with Dillmann and Siegfried-Stade, excise *gēr* as *israhī* as a gloss.

Literature.—Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden* (to which this article is greatly indebted); WRS *Kin.* 42 ff., 142; *Rel. Sem.* 75 ff.; *Acad. III.* 339 ff.; Nowak, *H. A. V.* 35 ff.

STRANGE WOMAN. For (1) אֲחֵרֶת, *ahēreth* (Judg. 11:2), see JEPHTHAH; for (2) נֹכְרִיָּה, *noḳriyyāh* (Pr. 24:16, etc.), see STRANGER, § 1.

STRANGLER. AV 'things strangled,' RV 'what is strangled' (*strangled*). Acts 15:20, 21:25. See COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 11, FOOD, § 11, and STRANGERS.

STRAW (סֵבֶלֶת, Gen. 24:25, etc.; cp. סֵבֶלֶת, Is. 25:16). See AGRICULTURE, § 8; CATTLE, § 5; cp. also BRICK.

STREAM OF EGYPT (נַחַל מִצְרַיִם), Is. 27:12. See EGYPT [RIVER OF].

STREET (רֹחַל), Gen. 19:2. See CITY, § 2, c.

¹ Nu. 15:13 is only an apparent exception; *gēr* occurs in v. 14.
² *Israhī* in 1 K. 17:1 is a misreading; either an accidental repetition of 'the' 'israhīte,' or, as D^b, an *israhī* for 'of' 'israhīte.' Cp. FISHER.

STRING

STRING (קָטִיל). Judg. 10:9 RV^m. See CORD.

STRINGED INSTRUMENTS (קִינִים). Ps. 150:4; see MUSIC. §§ 6-10.

STRIPES (קִצְרֵה). Dt. 25:3. See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12.

STRONG DRINK (שִׁכָּר). Nu. 6:3. See WINK AND STRONG DRINK, § 8.

STRONG HOLD (מִבְצָר). 2 Sam. 24:7. See FORTRESS, MILLO.

STUBBLE. (1) קִטְוִי. אֵל; ΚΑΛΑΜΗ; Ex. 5:12 etc. (2) קִטְוִי אֵל; so rendered in Job 21:14; elsewhere 'straw.' See AGRICULTURE, § 8 f.; CATTLE, § 5. (3) קִטְוִי אֵל; 1 Cor. 13:3. See LABOUR.

STUD (1) קִרְמִיקִים. Adrammikum, Esth. 8:10 RV. See HORSE, § 1:15. (2) קִרְמִית, קִרְמִית, Cant. 1:11. Graetz very plausibly emends to קִרְמִית (see NECKLACE, 3).

SUA (סוּא [B]). 1 Esd. 5:39 RV = Ezra 2:44. SIA.

SUAH (סוּחַ). סוּחַ [B]. סוּחַ [A]. a name in a genealogy of ASHER (q. v., § 4, ii.). 1 Ch. 7:36.

SUBA. RV SUBAS (סוּבָא [BA]), a group of children of the servants of Solomon (see NEKITINIM) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9, § 8 c.). one of eight inserted in 1 Esd. 5:34 (om. B¹) after Pochereth-hazzebaim || Ezra 2:57 = Neh. 7:59.

SUBAI (סוּבַי [BA]). 1 Esd. 5:30 = Ezra 2:46. SIRAUMAI.

SUBURBS (1) מִקְנֵי אֶרֶץ. migratī, περιπορία and ἀπορροια in Josh., περιπορία and περιπόσια [L] in Ch. κατασχεσθαι of אֶרֶץ אֲשֶׁר 1 Ch. 13:2, ἀπορροια in Nu. ἀπορροια, τῶν, σὺν τοῖς οὐνοῖς, Ps. 4: σὺν τοῖς οὐνοῖς, Fom., v. 5, διασχεσθαι in Ezek., [ἀπορροια] ἀπορροια in Lev. [ἀπορροια] ἀπορροια 2 S. 8:1, and see METHEG-AMMAN; Lev. 25:34 Nu. 35:5-7 Josh. 21:11-19 21-37 39 f. Ezek. 45:2 48:17 1 Ch. 3:40 f. 155 f. 152, RVmg. 'pasture-lands.' See CATTLE, col. 712, n. 2.

(2) מִקְנֵי אֶרֶץ, פִּרְזֵי אֶרֶץ, 2 K. 23:11. RV 'precincts.' See PARBAR.

SUCATHITES (סוּכָתִיִּים). 1 Ch. 2:55 RV, AV SUCHATHITES. See SUCCOTH.

SUCCOTH (סוּכּוֹת, i. e. 'thickets' or [see Gen. 33:17] 'booths'; usually סוּכָּח; in Josh. 18:27 -סוּכָּח [B], סוּכָּח [A], סוּכָּח [L]; 2 Ch. 4:17 סוּכָּח [B¹] | סוּכָּח [B], סוּכָּח [L]; סוּכָּח in Gen. 33:17 Ps. 60:8 108:8 [סוּכָּח אֶרֶץ]).

1. A town in Gadite territory (Josh. 13:27; GAD, § 12 [col. 1587]) in 'the valley' (אֶמְקָה). It is also mentioned in 1 K. 7:46, 2 Ch. 4:17, in connection with Solomon's foundries, which were in 'the clay ground (?) between Succoth and Zarethan.' The description has been held to point to 'Ain es-Sākūt, an old site, close to the Jordan, but on 'this' side, some 9 m. N. of Beth-shean (so Robinson), which is supposed to be referred to in these words of Jerome (Quaest. Hebr. in Gen.), 'est autem usque hodie civitas trans Jordanem hoc vocabulo in parte Scythopoleos.' Against this view, however, see ADAM. Merrill (PEFQ, 1878, p. 83) and Conder adopt as the site the large Tell or mound now called Dēr 'Alla, about 1 m. N. of the Zerkā, discovered by W. Gren; the special reason is that the Talmud identifies Succoth with תְּרָעָה. Ter'ala (Neub., Geogr. 248), which seems to be this Dēr 'Alla. This is rejected by Moore as not agreeing with the topographical details in Judg. 8:4-17. All this, however, is precarious, unless supported by a thorough textual criticism.

(1) As to Josh. 13:27. The text must originally have belonged to a geographical survey of the Negeb, in which 'the rest of the kingdom of Cushan, king of Heshbon' was assigned to the Gadiites. מִקְנֵי is mentioned just before מִקְנֵי (see ZARHOS), and most probably is miswritten for מִקְנֵי, 'Maacath' (in Negeb);

1 See Threlawney Saunders, Introd. to the Survey of W. Pal. (1851), 158.
2 'In the valley,' Josh. 13:27, should be 'in Maacath.' Cp

SUKKIIMS

(2) As to 1 K. 7:46 (and the '1). The true text probably stated that Hiram the artificer cast the vessels in Maacath-jerahmeel, between Maacath and Zarephath. See TERAN.

The other occurrences of the name in MT are very doubtful. It has been inferred from Gen. 33:17 (1), where Jacob appears to have crossed the Jabbok before moving on to Succoth and thence to Shechem, that Succoth lay on the S. side of the Jabbok, near the point where it forces its way into the Jordan. This is thought to agree with the representation in Judg. 8:5, where Succoth is apparently the first town reached by Gideon after crossing the Jordan somewhere near Zerelah (Zeredah) and Abel-meholah. This may possibly have been the notion of the redactor of the narrative; but it is not what the original story intended to convey. 'Succoth' is a corruption either of סוּכָּח, Sulekah = סוּכָּח, Salhad, the border city on the S. E. corner of Bashan (cp JEGAR-SARADUTHA), or, more probably, of Maacath, a district of the Negeb. (Cp, however, GIBSON. In Ps. 60:8 108:8 the 'valley of Succoth' is thought to be that part of the Jordan valley which adjoins Succoth (cp Josh. 13:27; but this unique and obscure phrase is improbable. The oldest but also perhaps the most critical conjecture is that the psalmist wrote 'I will mete out Cushan and Maacath' (see Ps. 60:8). He also recognises a place-name Succoth in 1 K. 20:16 (cp סוּכָּח [B], cp סוּכָּח [A], B). Both here and in v. 12 probably we should read סוּכָּח סוּכָּח, 'on their thrones'; see Crit. Bib.

2. A station (מִדְבָּר) mentioned repeatedly in the Exodus narrative (Ex. 12:37 | סוּכָּח [B], סוּכָּח [A], סוּכָּח [L] 13:20 סוּכָּח [L] Nu. 33:5 f. סוּכָּח [B] v. 4). See EXODUS, i. § 1:5. GOSHEN, and PITHOM, § 2. Here, too, 'Maacath' may originally have stood (sub justice lis est). See WILDERNESS AND WANDERINGS. T. K. L.

SUCCOTHE-BENOTH (סוּכּוֹת בְּנוֹת). סוּכּוֹת בְּנוֹת [BA]. Babiloniam idol introduced into Palestine (2 K. 17:30). As some critics think, a Hebraised form of Sarpanitum, consort of Marduk (on the name see Jastrow, KBL, 121 [Germ. ed. 115], 449). So Rawlinson, Schrader, Hommel. Delitzsch (Par. 215) explains Sakkub-binitu ('supreme judge of the world?'). But surely if the usual explanation of Am. 5:26 is correct we can hardly doubt that it is a corruption of סוּכּוֹת בְּנוֹת, Succoth-Kewan (two names of Saturn combined; see CHUS AND SECCUTH).

There is, however, a better theory. It is probably of the non-Israelite Negeb that the original narrative spoke as the country from which the new colonists of the cities of שִׁמְרוֹן (see SHIMRON) came. Among them were the men of סוּכּוֹת, Jerahmeel; the idol they made was of סוּכּוֹת, or rather סוּכּוֹת, 'Cushit,' a title of the so-called 'Queen of Heaven' (cp '4 Jerahmeel'?) worshipped by the N. Arabians. See Crit. Bib. סוּכּוֹת possibly comes from סוּכּוֹת (2 written too soon). The men of Cuth, or rather Cush, made Nergal, i. e., Jerahmeel (a name for the Jerahmeelite); those of Hamath (Maacath) made Ashima—i. e., Ishm. 1, the Arvites (Arabians) made Nibhar and Tartak (= Terad); the Sepharvites (Zarephathites) made Adrammelech and Anammelech (= Jerahmeel). T. K. L.

SUD (סוּד [BA]; סוּר [Syf.], סוּר), a Babylonian stream (canal) near which Jewish exiles are said to have been settled (Bar. 14). Cp BARUCH [BOOK], §§ 1, 4. There must be some error in the text. Since Bar 1:38 probably had a Hebrew original, we may venture to assume a confusion between סוּר and סוּר, and read either סוּר, סוּר, i. e., Sora, the seat of a famous Jewish academy (so first Bochart), or more probably סוּר, 'Shihor,' the name of a wady in the Negeb, assuming that סוּר in the source from which the writer drew meant Jerahmeel. See STUTOR. For a less probable view, see WILKINSON in Del. Jes. (2), 701 f. T. K. L.

SUD (סוּד [B]). 1 Esd. 5:29 AV = Ezra 2:44. SIA.
SUDIAS (סוּדִיּוֹ [BA]). 1 Esd. 5:26 = Ezra 2:44. HODAVIAH 4.

SUKKIIMS. RV SUKKIIM (סוּכִּיִּים). ΤΡΩΓΟΔΥΤΑΙ [BA] ΤΡΩΓΟΔΥΤΑΙ [cp Sweic] ΣΟΥΚΙΕΙΜ [L]. Τρωγολύτρ var. [Libyes scilicet] Τρωγολύτρ. In 2 Ch. 12: Ps. 60:8, where סוּכּוֹת סוּכּוֹת represents a twice written סוּכּוֹת (see Ps. 60:8).

SUN

SUSANCHITES

the army of SHUSHAK (q.v.) is described as consisting of soldiers 'of Egypt, the Lubim (i.e. Libyans), the Sukkiim (שׁוּכִיִּים), and the Ethiopians.' By Sukkiim, evidently an African nation is meant; and considering the position between Libya and Ethiopia, one understands why Q and Vg. guess at the *Troglodytes* (the correctly wanting in B). This, however, is only a guess; no such name is known in antiquity. The Egyptian name for those nomadic tribes of Hamitic blood, living between Egypt and the Red Sea, was *Inti*. This seems to have about the same meaning as the Greek name, viz., 'inhabitants of rocks, cliff-dwellers.'

Gesenius's explanation, 'dwellers in booths' (מִשְׁכָּנִים) is philologically and practically impossible. C. Niebuhr, *O.Z.S.*, has observed that the name is almost the same as the עֲשָׂרָה (tukkijyim), c. K. 10:22 2 Ch. 9:17, the supposed 'peacocks' (see Peacock) brought to Solomon, and conjectures that the word really means there 'black slaves,' correcting into *tukkijyim*, as above. As such a word or name remains unknown, W. M. Müller proposes, 2:29, to assume עֲשָׂרָה, 'grey-hounds' (from Egyptian *shu*), as the original reading in the African curiosities brought to Solomon, and thinks that the chronicler mistook this for a name of an African nation. Thus C. Niebuhr's observation, which is undoubtedly correct as far as the similarity of both words in vocalisation is just reversed. Of course, the last explanation rests on a somewhat bold assumption. W. M. M.

SUN (שֶׁמֶשׁ; שֶׁמֶשׁ; on etym. see BDB). As to the gender of the sun, Semes or the corresponding word is masculine in Heb. generally, Aram. and Ass. In Arabic it is feminine, but the heathen Arabs knew Sams as a sun-god (see further below). For sun-worship among the early Israelites there is little positive evidence, and that little (one would far rather think otherwise) threatens to disappear as the result of a searching criticism of the place-names Beth-shemesh, En-shemesh, Har-heres, Kir-heres, Timnath-heres, which it is possible are comparatively late corruptions of Beth-cusham, En-cusham, Har-ashhur, Kir-ashhur, Timnath-ashhur (see *Crit. Bib.* on 1 S. 11:2 Judg. 1:15, and other related passages). The ordinary view, of course, is that שֶׁמֶשׁ, *shemesh*, and שֶׁמֶר, *shemir*, in the traditional forms of these names, prove that the places to which the names are taken to have belonged were centres of the cultus of the sun-god. We must remember, however, that the solar character of the *Ruhs* has not been made out (BAM., § 2 f.; NATURE-WORSHIP, § 5), and (not to fall into repetitions) that it is in S. Arabia that the worship of sun and moon was 'strikingly prevalent.' On the other hand, Winckler has produced a considerable body of evidence (most of it, to be sure, is unsafe) from the early narratives, to show that solar and lunar mythology is represented in Hebrew legends, and holds that the god variously called Ramiian, Hadad, and Yahu is not only the storm-god, but at the same time the god who, in the spring-tide, restores fruitfulness to the earth, and one of whose forms is the well-known Tammuz (*GI* 278). In Gen. 49:10, where Dillmann supposes the moon to be represented by Joseph's mother, Winckler holds that, since שֶׁמֶשׁ may be feminine (see Gen. 15:17; and cp Ges. *Thes.*, s.v. שֶׁמֶשׁ) and שֶׁמֶר, *shemir*, neither is nor can be feminine, the mother is the true representative of the sun, and we have here a sign of the influence of a different form of mythology from the pure Babylonian—viz., the S. Arabian, in which the children of the moon-god are 'Athtar, who is masculine, and Sams, who is feminine. Winckler also (*GI* 279) thinks we may infer that in the early Hebrew myth (which was also the original Semitic as well as S. Arabian) mythi Sams, the sun-deity, was the mother, 'Athtar the wife of the moon-god. Zimmern (*A.T.* 7³⁰, 365,

369) gives a qualified support to Winckler's theories, but thinks that Egyptian influences on Hebrew cults may be presumed, in addition to Babylonian. If we throw back this influence far enough, the possibility of this may be granted. But, so far as the biblical evidence goes, it is surely Babylon (directly or indirectly) rather than Egypt which is indicated as the source of such influences. We must also desist from a much keener and more methodical criticism of the Hebrew texts, especially of names and phrases bearing on cults and myths, than is yet habitual among biblical and archaeological scholars. For instance, is it safe to build either on the place-name Beth-shemesh, or on the personal names SAMSON and SHEMIAZZAR (*q.v.*)? However this may be, the worship of the sun and moon and of the 'host of heaven' in general among the Israelites in the seventh and sixth centuries is not doubtful (see MOON, NATURE-WORSHIP, § 5, STARS, § 4, TAMMUZ).

On the relation of Yahweh to the spring-sun god Marduk, see CREATION, § 3, and cp Zimmern *A.T.* 7³⁰, 369, 594, on other points, see CLARION, § 13, HORSE, § 4, NATHAN-PROFET. See also ECLIPSE. For SUN-GATE (1 S. 30:2) see GATE; for SUN-GATE (Jer. 19:2 AVMG.) see POTTERY, HARSHLY, cp JERUSALEM, § 24; for SUN IMAGES see MASSEBAH, § 1, c.

SUPH (שׁוּפַח; ΤΗC ΕΡΥΘΡΑC [BAF], Τ. Ε. ΘΑΛΑCΣΗC [L.]), the name of a locality, from which, Dillmann conjectures, the שׁוּפַחִים (*yam suph*; EV RED SEA [q.v.]) took its name, Dt. 1:1 (cp S). The neighbouring names in the traditional text are as perplexing as Suph, and there is some reason to think that D₂ has, either by accident or under the influence of theory, misread an earlier text which lay before him. שׁוּפַח may originally (cp S, Nu. 21:4, ἑβλαογισσ = שׁוּפַח) have been שׁוּפַחִים, and the whole verse may have run, 'These are the words which Moses spoke to all Israel in Arabia of Jethrah-meel, in the wilderness (in Arabic) opposite Zarephath, between Paran and Peleth and Libnah and Mizrim.' In Nu. 21:14 the same name appears as *Suphah* (שׁוּפַח). See VAHERB, and *Crit. Bib.* T. K. C.

SUPPER (ΔΕΙΠΝΩΝ). Mk. 6:21 etc. See MEALS, § 2 (2), EUCCHARIST.

SUR (סׁוּר [Bab. *ṣar* = סׁוּר]; T. [N^o]; ACC. [B^o]; Syr. *Sarrā*), one of the coast-towns of Palestine which submitted to Holofernes (Judith 2:28). Fritzsche too boldly corrects to 'Dora' (Dor). If, however, OCHINA is Accho, this violates the geographical order of the places. Most probably Judith (like Tobit; see THIRBE) was retracted from a narrative in which the scene of the events was mainly in the Negeb. The place-names easily adapted themselves to this view. 'Sidon and Tyre,' as often, represents סׁוּר, 'Mišsur,' 'Sur and Ocina' (i.e. the Kenites), סׁוּר וְקֵנָז, 'Mišsur and Kenaz.' T. K. C.

SUR, GATE OF (שׁוּר וְצַדִּיק), 2 K. 11:6; cp 2 Ch. 23:5. An unexplained riddle in a doubtful text. See Kitzel, and *Crit. Bib.*, also JERUSALEM, § 24.

SURETY (שׁוּבַע), Gen. 43:9. See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 17, PLEDGE, § 3, and TRADE AND COMMERCE, § 82 (c) 1 (4); cp EARNEST, DEPOSIT.

SUSA (ΣΕΝ ΚΟΥΚΟΙC [BNAVLB]), Esth. 1:13. See SHUSHAN.

SUSANCHITES, RV SHUSHANCHITES (שׁוּשַׁנְיָיִם, ΣΟΥCΥΝΑΧΑΙΔΙ [B], ΣΟΥCΑΝ: [M.]), one of the peoples represented among Osnappar's colonists (Ezra 4:10). Delitzsch (*Par.* 327; *Culver Bib. Lex.* 876), following Lenormant, compares Shushinak, the name of the capital and of the chief god of Susiana on the native Elamite inscriptions. If, however, the present writer's theory that Ezra-Nehemiah has been recast, on the basis of a mistaken historical theory, by a Jewish editor, be accepted, 'Shushan' will (cp עֲשָׂרָה in 1 S. 6:2) have arisen out of Cushan (cp CRUC, 2) and 'Susankäyê' (Ezra 4:6) out of Cūshānyê 'Cushanites.' See SHUSHAN, and on 'Osnappar' see CRUC. T. K. C.

1 [For a consideration of the question whether 2 Ch. 12:212 refers to Mizraim or Mizrim, and to Shishak or to Cush, and how שׁוּשַׁנְיָיִם should be read, see SHUSHAK, § 3, and *Crit. Bib.*]
2 Masculine in Ps. 104:19; feminine in Gen. 15:17. In Sam. p. 1. it is sometimes constructed with a feminine where MT has a masculine. *Vice versa*, in Jer. 18:9 Kt. has שׁוּשַׁנְיָיִם where K₁ has שׁוּשַׁנְיָיִם (of the sun).

1 Perhaps written 'שׁוּשַׁנְיָיִם.'

SUSANNA

SUSANNA (COYCANNA, i.e. חַסְיָאָה, 'holy, § 69). 1. The pious and beautiful wife of Joakim, in one of the apocryphal additions to Daniel. See DANIEL (Book), § 5. 2. One of the women who ministered to Jesus (Lk. 8.3).

SUSI (סוסי, סוסי[ע] [BAFL]), a Manassite, father of Zaidi, Nu. 11.11[12] (col. 2919, n. 6).

SWADDLE, SWADDLINGBAND. The verb (לחבו, לחבל, in Ps. and, Hoph. is found in Ezek. 16.7, the noun חבלוללה (חבלוללה) in Job. 38.9, figuratively of the dark cloud enveloping the circumambient ocean.

The marital speaker in Wisd. 7.17 says, 'I also when I was born, drew in the common air, and fell upon the kindred earth, uttering, like all, for my first voice, the self-same wail. In swaddling clothes was I nursed and in watchful cares in sorrow-garments ἀνταρτήρησαι ἐν θρονησίῳ.' See also Lk. 2.7[12] (παργασίαι, ἐσπαργασίαι). Cp. ROBERT; FAMILY, § 13; MERICHE, § 6. In Lam. 2.22 the verb is נסע, נסעתי, more probably 'dandled'; so RV. See SPAN.

SWALLOW. 1. שוורר, שוורר: Ps. 81.4 [4], Prov. 23.1; שוורר in Ps., שוורר in Prov. See below. 2. שוסי, שוסי, Is. 38.14 Jer. 8.7; שוסי Kr.; חלידון; correctly rendered in RV; AV wrongly CRANE (q.v., for explanation of error).

Canon Tristram considers that שוורר is rightly interpreted swallow or martin, whilst the identity of שוסי² with the swallow or swift has been satisfactorily proved by Bochart 2.13 (cp. Lagarde in GCN 1888, p. 67), and receives interesting confirmation from the fact that Tristram heard this name given to the swift (Cypselus arvensis, L.) by the present inhabitants of Palestine (FFP, 827.).

Although zoologists place the Hirundinidae (swallows and martins) some distance from the Cypselidae (swifts), swallows and swifts are very frequently mistaken for each other, and it seems improbable that the ancient Jewish writers distinguished between them.

There are three species of swallow, Hirundo, now found in Palestine. (1) The common swallow, H. rustica, which, like its congener (2) H. vulgaris, returns from its winter quarters towards the end of March, whilst (3) H. savignii, the oriental swallow, winters in the Holy Land. Four species of martin and three species of swift are known in Palestine, one of them being the common swift, Cypselus arvensis, referred to above.

The swifts fly, like the swallows, with great rapidity, and their return from the S. in the early spring is a most striking event (Jer. 8.7). It usually occurs at the beginning of April. 'Clouds pass in long streams to the north, but still leave prodigious numbers behind.'

They return to their winter quarters in November. It is thought that the reiterated complaining cry of the swift is referred to by the prophet (Is. 38.14) rather than the more musical and less frequent note of the swallow (see farther Che. ad loc.).

Both swifts and swallows frequent towns and villages. The swallows build their nests of mud (Ps. 84.3). The swift usually builds its nest of straws, feathers, etc., cemented together by saliva; it uses such materials as it can obtain without recourse to the ground, as with its long wings and short legs it experiences difficulty in rising from the earth.

1. חוסי, חוסי: Is. 38.14 Jer. 8.7, rendered in RV CRANE (q.v.). A. E. S.—S. M.

[It seems probable that חוסי should also be substituted for מ' in Job 76. 'My days are swifter than a crane' will be instinct with pathetic force to those who remember travellers' descriptions of the migration of the crane. See Crit. Bib. T. K. C.]

SWAN (תוכרתי, tūkrēth Lev. 11.15 [פורפריאון [BFL]-פואן [A]]. Dt. 14.16 [(ע)BIC BAFL].)

Two species of swan, Cygnus musicus (C. ferus), the Whooper or Wild Swan, and C. olor (C. mansuetus), have been found in Palestine; but they appear to be comparatively rare, and scholars do not now defend AV.

Following C in Dt., Tristram identifies tūkrēth

1 חלידון represents both חוסי and חוסי in Is., in Jer. חלידון חוסי: חוסי or חוסי. M. J. J. in Is. 38.14; Sym. חלידון in Is. 38.14, rendered in Jer. 8.7; Theol. etc. in Is. 38.14.

2 This form, which is the Ere in Jer. 8.7, is also supported by Th. in Is. 38.14 and is the name which Tristram sees (see above).

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with the sacred ibis (Ibis aethiops); but see HERON or with the purple gallinule (Porphyrio carolinus) allied to the moor-hen. See, however, OWL.

The same Hebrew word is found in Lev. 11.10 in the Arabian quadrupeds, where AV has מלה (q.v.), & RV מלה. See LIZARD, 6.

SWEARING (שבע, Gen. 21.23, etc.; אָמְנוּן Mt. 5.1, etc.). See OATH.

SWEAT, BLOODY. Of the passage in Lk. 22.44 (the agony in the garden, 'and his sweat became as it were great drops of blood falling down upon the ground' (καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἰδρῶς αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ θρομβοὶ αἵματος καταβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τῆν γῆν), these interpretations are current (a) that a literal (and preternatural) exudation of blood is intended; (b) that the sweat-drops were of the blood drops in colour, size, abundance, or the like; (c) that the expression is to be taken rhetorically, somewhat as the modern 'tears of blood.'

It is to be observed that τῶν 41f. are absent from many MSS (see the discussion in HWH² 204 ff.). It is a question whether they were suppressed by the orthodox (ὀρθόδοξοι δὲ ἀφείλαντο τὸ ἄγρον, Epphramus, An. 1.1.1. 31), or whether they are to be regarded as a later insertion, explicable perhaps on some such principle as that suggested above in col. 1808, middle. Amongst the most recent commentators Holzmann accepts them as genuine, whilst H. Weiss rejects them. There is a recent discussion of the subject by Harnack (SB. III. 1901, 251-255), who holds it to be certain that RV give an intentionally shortened text, and places the excision perhaps in the beginning of the second century, but perhaps also many decades later. His arguments are four: (1) Every feature in the disputed passage which can be compared with certainly genuine Lukan passages bears the Lukan stamp. (2) There is no direct evidence that the words were wanting in the MSS. before 300, whilst Justin, Tatian, and Irenaeus attest them for the first half of the second century. (3) In two important points the passage could not have offended the orthodox: (a) the statement that in some strengthened Jesus—we remember how earnest was the struggle in the earliest times for the super-natural dignity of Jesus; (b) the ἀγῶνη with its consequences was produced not by external attacks but by an inward struggle (this goes beyond Heb. 5.7). (4) We cannot, it is true, give a full answer to the question whence the fourth evangelist drew his material, but it is clear that in the narrative of the Passion and the Resurrection he had no other source than the Synoptics. Now it is not highly probable, asks Harnack, that Jn 12.27 ff. is the Johannine transformation of Lk. 22.41 ff.? Cp. CROSS, § 5.

SWEET CANE (חֶמְדָּה, Is. 43.24 Jer. 6.28. See REED, 16.

SWEET ODOURS. (1) חֶמְדָּה, חֶמְדָּה, 2. חֶמְדָּה, חֶמְדָּה, Lev. 26.31, etc. Cp. SACRIFICE, § 36.

SWEET SPICES (סִסִּים), Ex. 30.14. See SPICE 2.

SWINE (חֵזִיר; cp. Ass. hamširu, ² חז; חזיר, Is. 8.32f. 15.15f. etc.). Apart from the prohibition of eating swine's flesh (Dt. 14.8, cp. Lev. 11.7) there

1. Biblical references. is probably no pre-exilic reference to this animal in the OT. The fine proverb comparing a 'fair woman without discretion'

1 According to Professor Macalister (Hastings, 1913: 40): 'There are no modern trustworthy cases of genuine bloody sweat; and although in some older writings comparable instances are quoted, none of them are properly authenticated.'

2 Hamširu and piazu are two animals which belong to the class represented ideographically by חז (i.e., swine). They lived in reedy, marshy districts. Whether hamširu is quite the same as the Arabic hanzir is uncertain; but the affinity must be great (Jensen, 241-202). The Aramaic hanzir is like the Arabic form, derived from Babylonian; cp. references in Muss-Arnolt, 277. hamširu. 'Narrow-eyed' (B114) is not a satisfactory explanation.

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to 'a jewel of gold in a swine's snout' (Prov. 11:22) may already presuppose the proximity of Gentiles who kept swine. This is certainly the case with the two most literal NT references to swine—viz., 'he sent him into his fields to feed swine' (Lk 15:16), and 'neither cast ye your pearls before the swine' (Mt. 7:6). But we can go deeper into the meaning than this. It is difficult not to think that, at any rate in its present form, the crowning error of the 'prodigal son' consisted in his becoming paganism¹ (an ever present danger of Jews in the Roman period); 'the swine', as well as 'the dogs' (note the article in Jesus' warning, are 'gentiles' of the class described so often in the O.T. as 'the wicked' (contrast Is 12:4). Such passages are intelligible only at the period when both Judaism and the young religion of Christ were confronted by an alien religious system in the very midst of the sacred land. No more striking exhibition of this perpetual contrast can well be imagined than that in the narrative of the demoniac of Gerasa (see GERASA). This place was (like Gadara) in the heathen territory of Peraea, and a 'herd of many swine' (Mt. 8:30 Lk 8:32) we need not lay stress on the too definite detail in Mk. 5:13² ('about two thousand')—was a familiar sight.

It is probable that the story of the Gerasene demoniac or demoniacs has not reached us in its earliest form, and that the departure of the 'legion' of demons into the half-bogon of swine is a secondary element.³ If so, we gain a fresh illustration of the Jewish way of regarding heathenism as a 'swinish' error (see Wetzinger's weighty remarks, *Apoc. Age*, 261). The author of 2 Peter regards the immoral heresy of his day as just such another (2 Pet. 2:22, where EV 'sow,' 87).

There are three references to swine in Φ which are not found in MT. Probably, however, they are due to corruption of the text. See 2 S. 17³ (where Φ appears to insert $\alpha\sigma\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\iota\sigma\alpha\iota$ in $\nu\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$; but see K1, *at l. c.*) and 1 K. 20:19, 22³ (where the $\alpha\sigma\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\iota\sigma\alpha\iota$ of BA1, and BA respectively has evidently sprung out of $\alpha\sigma\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\iota\sigma\alpha\iota$).

The swine occupied a highly honourable place as a sanctified animal in Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, but was neither sacrificed nor eaten by the Jews.⁴ Their feeling of repugnance was not shared by the Assyrians, who relished swine's flesh;⁵ though the hog, which was only half-tamed, was not included among their ordinary domestic animals.⁶ In Egypt the pig was unpopular, if not tabooed.⁷ Swine were certainly kept, but only in certain localities—e.g., in the district of el-Kah (the city of Eleuthia). Among the live stock belonging to Keani, whose tomb is at el-Kah, 300 swine are mentioned. As Renni (13th dynasty) was a prophet of the goddess at el-Kah (perhaps to be identified with Senu; cp Herod. 2:47), it is probable that he had to provide swine for sacrifice; for swine, as Herodotus states, were sacrificed to Selene and Dionysus (Osiris). The drove of swine depicted in the tomb of Paheri (18th dynasty) at the same place may be for agricultural

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purposes. Elsewhere swine came to be regarded as embodiments of Set and Typhon, and were loathed accordingly. To the Syrians and Phoenicians, however, the swine was sacrosanct and its flesh prohibited (cp Lucian, *Dea Syria*, 34). Antiphanes states that it was sacred to Aphrodite of Astarte (Athen. 3:49).

Probably it is from the European bear (*Saxo*) that the domesticated swine of Palestine is derived, though this is still to some extent a matter of conjecture. Swine are very uncommon in Palestine, and there may have been the same scarcity in Jewish territory in ancient times on account of the repugnance of the Jews to this animal. This repugnance (which is shared by Mohammedans) is not to be explained on mere sanitary grounds (cp Phil. *De B. et O. p.*, 8). It is but the reverse side of that earlier veneration for the swine as *phoeniceus*⁸ which also accounts for the original taboo upon swine's flesh; and the legend of the death of Adonis may be a primitive (Phoenician) explanation of this change of feeling. There is indeed some evidence among the Jews of a survival of the ancient feeling in certain quarters. As Robertson Smith has pointed out,⁹ the strange statements in Is 65:4 (cp 66:17) and 66:17 are most easily explicable if the flesh of swine was partaken of in secret sacrificial meals.

The correctness of this view is by no means bound up with his view of the date of Is 65:4, which later criticism regards as belonging to the time of Nehemiah, and referring to certain unorthodox rites practised by some at least of the Jews, and by the Samaritans, or the N. Arabians (Che.), and disapproved by the adherents of a legal orthodoxy. It has also been made at any rate plausible by Robertson Smith that the swine, the dog, and the mouse (see Dea, *Monst.*) were the totems of the Jewish families which took part in the mysteries described in those strange prophecies.¹⁰

The BEAR in Hebrew has the same name as the swine. The Talmud for clearness uses the phrase

3. References פָּרָה וְחֵזֶה (cp פָּרָה , 'the open country, to boars. Job 39:4); a psalmist (Ps. 80:11 [14] סֵרַר [BA], סֵרַר [ART]) once speaks of 'the

beast from the jungle' (פָּרָה , EV 'out of the wood'). This is in fact the more descriptive phrase. It is in the 'jungle' of the Jordan, from Jericho to the Sea of Galilee, that the wild bear specially dwells, though he is also to be found in the lowlands of S. Phlhistia and Beersheba and on the slopes of Hermon. 'A party of wild boars,' says Tristram (*Arabia* 54), 'will uproot a whole field in a single night.' The Assyrian storm-god in his fury is likened to a wild boar (*chamsirru*); not unnaturally we may interpret Ps. 80:11 [14] of the havoc wrought in Palestine by the armies of Artaxerxes Ochus. Similarly in 4 Esd. 15:3, the CARMANIAN [4:3], are compared to 'the wild boars of the forest' (in one of the late additions to 4 Esd.); and in Enoch 89:2 the Samaritans who attempted to prevent the rebuilding of the Jewish temple are symbolised by wild boars.

A. E. S.—S. A. C.—L. K. C.

SWORD (כֶּלֶבֶת , *Arab.*: سيف , μαχαίρα , ριπυφαία , Σιφάκι). In Eccles. 4:6 ριπυφαία (EV 'sword') represents *kidin*, כֶּלֶבֶת . See JAVELIN, I. 5. In Job 20:25, כֶּלֶבֶת , lit. 'lightning,' is poetically used for 'sword' or 'blade' (cp DL 32:41).

¹ The theory of the primitive sanctity of the swine is unassailable (cp E151, § 9 *ff.*). Callistratus's explanation of this sanctity (Phil. *Sympos.* 45) may be absurd; but the fact remains. Cp Frazer's important remark, in his *Pausanias*, 4:19; and see CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 8; FORD, § 40, and JQR, 1902, p. 422.

² Kinship, 307 *ff.*; RSP² 34, 357, 368. (Other illustrations of the subject of this article will also be found in RSP².)

³ [See SIABIAN, SANFALLAT, ZERUBBAHEL, and especially *Crit. Bib.*, where the evidence relative to the captivity of the people of Judah and their subsequent relations to their oppressors is considered, and Is. 64:3-5, 6:17 are restored to what the present writer takes to be their original form. He would gladly have come to other results, as the new considerations compelled him to abandon the brilliant and plausible theory adopted from W. R. Smith in *Intr. to Is.* 366 *ff.*—T. K. C.]

⁴ On the reading see HIPPOCRITAMUS.

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Other words doubtfully or wrongly rendered 'sword' are

1. *ḫāh*, חָהָב, Joel 2: 1; RV 'weapons' (IV's usual rendering). 'Dart' would be better (חָהָב, to send, shoot). So in Neh. 4: 7 [10], and elsewhere, 'weapon' should be 'dart' (חָהָב, ḫāh) 2. *ḫāh*, חָהָב, Gen. 49: 17. So AV96, RV. The meaning is suitable; but the sense has no philological justification (see Spurr's note). See *SURINEM*.

3. *ḫāh*, חָהָב, Ps. 42: 10 [11]; Ⲭ ⲉⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁⲛⲁⲥ (Ⲭⲁⲃⲁⲛⲁⲥ [Ⲭⲁⲃ]); AV96, 'Or, killing'; RV96, 'Or, crushing'. Baethgen agrees with RV, comparing Ⲭⲁⲃⲁⲛⲁⲥ. See *Ch. Fr. G. We. 3801*, on the text of both passages.

The *ḫāh* or sword (the sheath of which was called *ḫāh*, חָהָב, or *ḫāh*, חָהָב) was suspended from the girdle (Gen. 48: 22; 1 S. 17: 35; 2 S. 20: 8), probably on the left thigh (cp. Judg. 3: 16, with Moore's note), as was also usual with the Assyrians (see Layard, quoted below) and the Greeks. Though so frequently mentioned in the OT, we need not utter that it was in very common use; the sword cannot have been so easy to make as the arrow (see WEAPONS, § 2) or SPEAR. Nor must we suppose that an instrument of the same size and shape is always intended by *ḫāh*; the same word may have denoted the most primitive form of sword, as well as the later knife-like weapons (cp. Josh. 5: 2 and see KNIFE, 2), including scimitars and the longer poniards.

Taking a wider survey of the evolution of the sword, we notice that the earliest form of this weapon was of wood; the antelope's horn, merely sharpened, which is still used in every part of the East where the material can be procured, may also, as a writer in Kitto suggests (*Bibl. Cycl.*), have served the same purpose. The Egyptian soldiers of the first Theban Empire were armed in some cases with wooden swords (Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, 452), and swords of heavy wood are said to be still used in Nubia; in Mexico and Yucatan the wooden sword was provided with a flint edge, and 'the destructive powers of this formidable weapon are frequently dwelt upon by the early Spaniards' (Wilson, *Prehistoric Man*, 119). Later, bronze and iron were used.

The sword, however, would not appear to have been a favourite weapon in ancient times. Where it is found, it seems to be carried as a rule as an additional security. The Chaldean soldiers, whose equipment was of the rudest kind, though they seem to have used the dagger, did not apparently carry a sword (see Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 722). According to Erman (*Life in Anc. Egypt*, 516), the swords (*ḫāh*) imported into Egypt in the eighteenth dynasty came from Syria. Wilkinson (*Anc. Egypt*, 120 f.) gives the following description of the Egyptian sword:

'The Egyptian sword was straight and short, from two-and-a-half to three feet in length, having apparently a double edge, and tapering to a sharp point; and Herodotus compares the sword of Cilicia to that of Egypt. It was used for cut and thrust; but on some occasions they held it downwards, and stabbed as with a dagger. The handle was plain, hollowed in the centre, and gradually increasing in thickness at either extremity' (cp. the picture of the storming of Dapur, the fortress of the Heta, by Ramesses II., reproduced above, col. 122).

This is very like the sword of the bronze age as we find it elsewhere (cp. the bronze swords given in Evans, *The Ancient Bronze of Great Britain*, 273-300; Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, 135). Like other bronze swords it is without cross-piece or handguards; and like these, in spite of what Wilkinson says, it was perhaps 'intended for stabbing and thrusting rather than for cutting' (Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times* 6, 301).² The swords of the Mediterranean pirates seem to have been of the same kind (Wilkinson, 246; cp. WMM,

¹ Cp. the earlier broadsword of the ante-Norman period; see Evans, *Ancient Armour and Weapons in Europe*, 131 ff.

² The handles of the bronze swords are very short, and could not have been held comfortably by hands as large as ours, a characteristic much relied on by those who attribute the introduction of bronze into Europe to a people of Asiatic origin' (Lubbock, *op. cit.*)

SYCHAR

As. n. Exc. 375); and we meet with it again on the silver patera found by Gen. di Cesnola (1870) in pl. XIX, opp. p. 2761 at Unium.¹ For cutting a curved sword, like a sickle, was often used. In the nineteenth dynasty the Pharaoh himself is represented as fighting. 'He even takes part in the hand-to-hand fight, and his dagger and sickle-shaped sword are close at hand' (German, *Anc. Egypt*, 527).² The Assyrians, whose martial equipment was remarkable, used swords of various kinds and sizes. The spearman, besides his spear and shield, often carried a short sword in his belt (Maspero, *Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, 321). But Assyrian soldiers also used long swords; 'the swords were worn on the left side, and suspended by leather passing over the shoulders, or round the middle' (Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, 242); some of the swords have quite a modern appearance (see Ball, *Light from the East*, 190). That amongst the Israelites the sword was sometimes slung in the same way seems to be shown by such passages as 1 S. 17: 35; 2 S. 20: 8; 2 K. 21: 1. Both sword and sheath amongst the Egyptians and Assyrians were often highly ornamented (see Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt*, 120; Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, 242; cp. also the poniards found in the coffin of 'Ah-hotep, as shown in Maspero, *Egyptian Archaeology*, 318 f., *Struggle of the Nations*, 97).

Amongst the metal objects found by Bliss (*A. Mon. of Many Cities*, 105) were spear-heads, lance-points and knives, but apparently no swords. On p. 106, however, he gives what he describes as 'a large knife, which fitted on to a wooden handle, as a few shivers of wood still clinging to the end show.' Perhaps this was rather a poniard. Schliemann in his Mycenaean excavations (*Mycenae*, 283) found swords the length of which 'seems in a great many cases to have exceeded three feet . . . ; they are in general not broader than our rapiers.' But, strange to say, he found no swords on the supposed site of Troy (see *Ilios*, 483). At Hisarlik 'weapons of copper and bronze occur frequently—lance-heads, daggers, arrow-heads, knives, if we may designate these as weapons—but no swords' (Preface by Prof. Virchow, xii). The reputed sword of Goliath was preserved as a sacred object in a sanctuary (1 S. 21: 9). There are Babylonian parallels (see Got. VIII, § 3; and Lubbock (*Origin of Civilization*), 323) points out that to some peoples the sword itself has been an object of veneration and even of worship.

M. A. C.

SYCAMINE TREE (CYKAMINOC, Lk. 17: 6), as all agree, the mulberry, that being the invariable meaning of the Greek word (Cels. 1: 288 ff.).

Both the black and the white mulberry (*Morus nigra* L. and *M. alba* L.) are at this day commonly cultivated in Palestine. The Greek name is probably derived from Heb. סִימָרִית, *Simarit*, though this denotes a different tree, the sycamore or fig mulberry. The Mishnic name for the mulberry is *ḫāh*. 'Mulberry trees' as a rendering for סִימָרִית is a mere guess. Cp. M. T. TO KEY TREES.

SYCHAR (CΥΧΑΡ [Ti. VII]), mentioned in the account of the conversation of Jesus with a Samaritan woman (Jn. 4: 5). It was a 'city of Samaria' and it was 'near the piece of ground (χῶμα) which Jacob gave to his son Joseph.' 'Jacob's fountain' (πηγή) was there, by which we are told that Jesus sat, 'warmed with his journey.' From the expression 'a city . . . called Sychar' (cp. 11: 54, 'a city called Ephraim') we may plausibly assume that the place referred to was not very well known. On the other hand it is not impossible that the redactor of the Gospel may have misread the manuscript which lay before him, and put not knowing any places called Sychar and Ephraim.

¹ The weapons of Cyprus were greatly prized; 'Vespasian had a Cyprian sword given him by the King of Cyprus, and prized for its lightness and good quality' (p. 10).

² Cp. the curved sabre of Rammân (Adad-Nirari I.); Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 100; Ball, *Light from the East*, 190. The Etruscans also used the curved sword; Dennis, *Im. Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, 120-244.

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may have modified the phonology so as to suit these apparently obscure places. ... In the present to have been close Sychar, ...

From the time of Eusebius, no doubt has been entertained as to the identity of 'Jacob's fountain.' It is called later in the gospel narrative a well (φύσας = οὗτος, ἀπέχθη), and this double

1. Sychar = Shechem. ... well (φύσας = οὗτος, ἀπέχθη), and this double title is, in fact, applicable to the venerable 'Jacob's Well' of our day, if the various reports of travellers are correct.

It is no doubt rain water that produces the softness claimed for the water of 'Jacob's Well'; but it may nevertheless also be true that, as Comber says, the well fills by infiltration. ... Few of the sacred sites in Palestine thrill one so much as this, because of the beauty of the narrative with which it is connected, and because of the unimpeding and universal acceptance of the early tradition. ...

If 'Sychar' were the only somewhat improbable place-name in the Fourth Gospel, it might perhaps be rash to question the accuracy of the reading; but ...

1 It is remarkable, however, that in Gen. 33 18, as the text stands, the well-known Shechem is described in a way which would rather lead to an obscure place like 'Sychar' (on the assumption that 'Sychar' is right).

2 Cp. L. A. Smith, *IG* 74; and papers on the Jacob's Well, *PEFQ* 1897, pp. 67, 149, 196. ...

3 *IG* 76A. 'Askar must be meant. Cp. a similar uncertainty about the pronunciation of another Palestinian name (I. v. 110).

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suppose the corruption to have arisen. The text may have become indistinct, and the redactor may have misread 'Sychar' for 'Shechem'.

To suppose that the narrator, being an allegorist, deliberately changed 'Shechem' into 'Sychar' in order to suggest that the Samaritan religion was a 'theocracy' (cp. Hild. 20), or that the Samaritans were 'democrats' (cp. Hild. 20), or that in the extreme. The latter suggestion (Klein) is doubly inappropriate, for 1:28 relates to the politics of ancient Samaria, and has nothing to do with Shechem. ...

The above, however, is not the only solution of the problem of Sychar. ...

2. Sychar distinct from Shechem. ... that at the neighborhood of ... found in the

(1) As ... Every ... delight ...
The place is shown in the suburbs of Neapolis, where, too, the Tomb of Joseph is shown. ...

In addition to other notices we may add the Itinerary of Jerusalem (333 A.D.), which places Sychar at the distance of *milie passus* from Neapolis, and the following testimony of Eusebius (OS 297.26). ...

(2) It was long ago pointed out by Lightfoot (1:673) that the Talmud mentions a place called Suchar (סוצר, סוצרת) or Suchar (סוצר, סוצרת), and a fountain of Suchar (סוצר צה, סוצרת צה), and a plain of En Suchar (סוצר צה, סוצרת צה).

1 *IG* 76A. 'Askar must be meant. Cp. a similar uncertainty about the pronunciation of another Palestinian name (I. v. 110).

2 Cp. Jerome, *EB* 86. 'Et ex latere montis Gerizim exivit uisum circum puerum Jacob intravit ecclesiam.' The church built over the well was visited by Anonimus Martyr near the end of the sixth century, and again in the seventh century by Arulphus, and in the eighth by Willibald.

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to a Jewish.¹ That at the time referred to by the evangelist a Samaritan population occupied Sychar is explained by the fact that under Herod the Great, Archelaus, and the Roman procurators, the Samaritans were able to recover from the fearful blow dealt to them by the vindictive John Hyrcanus.

It is difficult not to conjecture that the localities intended in the Talmud are the Sahil el-Askar (Plain of el-Askar) and the 'Am el-Askar (Mountain of el-Askar) discovered early last century by Berggren. Though Prof. G. A. Smith does not mention this evidence, it is hardly likely that he rejects it.

(c) On the slope of Mt. Elbal, about 1½ m. ENE. from Nablus and little more than half a mile N. from Jacob's Well, is a little hamlet called 'Askar, with rock-tombs and a fine spring called 'Am el-Askar (or el-Asgar). The neighbouring plain, too, bears the name Sahil el-Askar. It is tempting to think that this is the Sychar of the Fourth Gospel (cp Conder, *Lebanon*, 175). Not only does it at once virtually prove the traditional Jacob's Well to be the true one, but it seems also to show conclusively that the evangelist had a singularly minute and accurate knowledge of the scene of his narrative, and this suggests in turn that the narrative itself may be, at least, founded on fact. It is true, there still remains the difficulty that nothing is said of a Sychar distinct from Sychem before the fourth century; that Eusebius's language is indecisive; and that Jerome, the most learned scholar of his time, and, like Eusebius, a resident in Palestine, maintains that Sychar is a bad reading; but perhaps the evidence of the Talmud and of the native nomenclature may plausibly be held to counterbalance this. Von Ränner, Rwald, Keim, Furrer, Lightfoot, etc., adopt this theory.

The disputants on either side may sometimes have been unduly influenced by their interest in the question, Did the fourth evangelist make great mistakes in his geography? The author of *Supernatural Religion*, for instance (2^d, 242 [pop. ed. 531]), whose tone is not altogether dispassionate, holds that the mention of a city of Samaria called Sychar is one of several geographical errors which show the author not to be a disciple of Jesus, or indeed a Jew. There is another point of view, however, already briefly referred to. The Fourth Gospel, as it now stands, may have several errors in names; but these errors may not be due to the writer, whose work has been edited and largely transformed by a redactor. It is most unlikely that the city which fills such a prominent place in the narrative of Jn. 4 should be any other than Shechem. Sychar is most probably incorrect, and it is a mere coincidence that the Talmud contains the name שִׁיכָר, i. e., probably Sychar—and that the native nomenclature has preserved the name 'Askar. How שִׁיכָר, 'Sychar,' is to be explained, is by no means clear; it can, of course, have no connection with שִׁיכָר, Shechem. 'Askar, however, may quite well have grown out of Suchar; the 'Am, as G. A. Smith well remarks,² may quite well represent an original 'Eluf. It is one of the many plays on names discernible in the Arabic nomenclature, 'Askar being a common Arabic word for 'soldier, army.' Cp Taylor, *Tristram's Akko*, 170.

SYCHEM (ΣΥΧΗΜ [Ti. VII], Acts 7:16; **Sychemite**, δ Συχημίτης [Judith 5:15 AV, RV SYCHEMITE] AV, RV SYCHEMITE [7:15].

SYCOMORE (ΣΥΚΟΜΟΡΕΑ; Lk. 19:4†) and **SYCOMORES** (ΣΥΚΟΜΟΡΑΙ, *Sykamin*, 1 K. 10:27 1 Ch. 27:28 2 Ch. 1:15 9:7 18:21 [cf. Am. 7:14], and ΣΥΚΟΜΟΡΑΙ, *Sykamin*, Ps. 78:47).

Wrongly renders by *sycomore* Cp in R. of Ps. 78:47, in an Am. L. word which is probably derived from *akmin*, but denotes the mulberry. *Sykamin* (שִׁימֹן) and Aram. *Sykmin*, on the other hand, denote a quite different tree—*Ficus sycomorus*, L., whose leaves to some extent resemble those of the mulberry, but its fruits those of the fig.

¹ Delitzsch, 'Talmud, Studien, 8, Sichern und Sychar,' *Zf. f. Luther. Theol.* 17 [1856] 243 ff.; cp Neidh. *Gloss.* 179 f.
² In opposition to Robinson, *Later Researches*, 133.

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From the deep shade cast by its spreading branches the sycamore is a favourite tree in Egypt and Syria, being often planted along roads and near houses. It bears a sweet, edible fruit, somewhat like that of the common fig, but produced in racemes on the older boughs. The core of the fruit is sometimes removed, or an incision is made in it, to produce earlier ripening. This is the process denoted by the verb *babas* (בָּבַס) in Am. 7:14 (cp Fie. § 35). The sycamore, as a common and a lowland tree, is repeatedly contrasted with the more valued and majestic mountain cedars (1 K. 10:25, etc.). At the present time it grows in Palestine mainly on the coast and in the Jordan valley (*FFP* 411). Cp AMOS, § 2, end, *Picnic*, § 35.

The British 'sycamore,' which is a species of maple, is of course an entirely different tree.

SYELUS (ΣΥΗΛΟΣ [H¹A], Η ΣΥΝΟΛΟΣ [H¹B]), 1 Esd. 13:2 (Ch. 35:8, Judith, 7.

SYENE (סִינַי, סִינַיָה). Ezek. 29:10 threatens destruction to Egypt 'from Migdol [to] Syene (RV Sevech) and even unto the border of Ethiopia (thus RV¹⁹⁰¹); similarly 30:6 without the reference to Ethiopia. Cornill, following G, sees the same name in 30:16: 'Syene (reading שִׁינָה, *Shin*, for שִׁינָה, *Shin*) shall have great power.'

Theloses—that is to say, even the most remote cities of Egypt shall tremble (in 5:15, however, Cornill keeps שִׁינָה as Pelusium). Cp also SIS, SUSIM, *Sisim*, or *Siseneh* (סִיסַי, סִיסַיָה), rendered in Ezek. 29:10 (A. Σοσηη [cp G in Is. 33, see SEBA], Σοσηη in G, *Syene*, Vg.), and the context shows that this is correct, cp especially the allusion to the Ethiopian frontier with Strabo, 32, 118, 600, 693, 787; *Jos. B. J.* iv. 103, 111, v. 1011. The ancient Egyptians wrote *Shen*, *Sene*, *Siant* (no safe etymology of the name is possible, cp Briggsch, *Dict. Geogr.* 666; the Coptic form is ΣΟΥΑΝ). The Arabs rendered this *Swanin*; the modern orthography is *Suwayn*. The Massoretic punctuation is, evidently, taken from the Greek form, which also the English Bible has taken from the Versions.

This catinact-city seems to have been very old; but it was completely eclipsed by the capital of the nome, the island city of Elephantine (Egyptian *Ithya*, due to opposite. Syene does not seem to have been more than the landing-stage for the famous quarries, from which the ancient Egyptians cut e.g. most of their obelisks. The stone, however, they called 'stone of Elephantine,' and the troops guarding the Nubian frontier had their headquarters in that island-city. Herodotus therefore does not mention Syene, not because he had not been there (*Syene*, *Journ. Phil.* 1127), but because for him it belonged to Elephantine. The great garrison of Elephantine, of which he speaks, must have had its quarters mostly around Syene (not on the island) to protect the desert roads alongside of the catinacts against incursions of the nomadic Ethiopians. It is the more remarkable that Ezekiel knows the name of Syene and its importance as a frontier fortress. Under the Romans Syene came more into prominence, receiving a garrison of 3 cohorts (Strabo, 817); Juvenal lived there in 65 as governor of the city. Elephantine still had the temples. Under the Arabs Elephantine was deserted, and Syene became a very considerable town, being the point of arrival for the caravans from the Sudan. Modern Assuan (Aswan) is a very small town owing to the decline of the caravan trade; its population, which had fallen to 6000, is said to be now about 10000. The most remarkable antiquities are the tombs of the monarchs of Elephantine (beginning from dyn. 26) on the mountain opposite, discovered in 1885, large Assyrian cemeteries, and the quarries.

SYMEON (ΣΥΜΕΩΝ [Ti. VII], Lk. 3:36 AV 13:15 14:16 AV SIMON [9:7, 4-6].

SYNAGOGUE. The term synagogue conveys a

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narrower and a broader meaning: in the broader meaning, a synagogue is a local community in its corporate capacity and as under religious and more or less civil jurisdiction; in the narrower, it is the building with its assemblies and services. Naturally, the two meanings often merge into one. The designation common to both is *synagoga*.

The Heb. *קנין*, and the Aram. *קנין*,¹ are derived from *קנן* and *קנין* respectively, 'to gather'; hence they strictly correspond to the Gk. *συναγωγή*,² 'congregation' or 'assembly.' The narrower meaning is expressed also by *קנין בית*, Aram. *קנין בית*, and in Gk. by *προσευχή*,³ *συναγωγίον* (Philo, 259f 1-7), *προσευκτήριον* (Philo, 219), and *σάββατειον* (Jos. Ant. xvi. 62).

At first, the church also seems to have been called synagogue.⁴ Ja. 22 is often quoted as evidence; but it may well be questioned whether 'assembly' (as *ἐκκλησία*, *ἐκκλησία*, in Heb. 10:25) would not meet all the requirements of the passage (so v. Soden, *HC* on Ja. 22). Of more weight is the fact that the Ebionites called their church 'synagogue'; that the anti-Jewish Marcionites inscribed upon one of their church-buildings: *συναγωγή Μαρτιωνιστῶν* (καίτης) *Λεββαίων*,⁵ and that in patristic literature *συναγωγή* is occasionally used for the church.⁶ That the church abandoned the term in favour of *ἐκκλησία* may be accounted for by the fact of the separation of the two faiths; the two terms are used interchangeably in the LXX, and *ἐκκλησία* was like and unlike enough to be just the designation wanted. Schürer thinks that the word *ecclesia* was adopted because of its deeper ideal and spiritual significance (see *GTZ* 243), and (cp ASSEMBLY, CHURCH).

The origin of the synagogue as an organised religious community is bound up with the general history of Israel after the exile (cp GOVERNMENT, §§ 25-31).

2. Origin. When the assemblies first began, and when buildings were first set aside for this specific purpose, cannot be definitely stated. It seems most probable that the assemblies originated during the exile (cp Wellh. *HC*, 193). In strange environment, and in default of a centre of worship, something of this sort in a limited form and extent must be presupposed to account for the religious zeal that emanated from the exiles. Whether, on the return to Palestine, any need was felt for such assemblies, the sanctuary becoming now again the centre of worship, may well be questioned. The activities of Nehemiah and Ezra and the introduction of the Law must in time, and in connection with the springing up of Jewish communities outside of Jerusalem, have given a new occasion for them (see Cayon, § 18). No reference to the institution of the synagogue, however, is met with in the canonical or apocryphal books of the OT except Ps. 718, where *מִקְדָּשׁ* (*מִקְדָּשׁ*) is best taken as meaning 'sacred meeting places,' and as belonging to the Maccabean period (see Che. *Palma*, *ad loc.*), but cp PSALMS, § 25, v.) In NT times the synagogue is already a well-

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known institution with a hoary past; 'Moses from generations of old *ἐκ γενεῶν ἀρχαίων*) has in every city those that proclaim him, being read in the synagogues every Sabbath' (Acts 15:21). (For full references in NT see § 1 n. 4; see, further, § 8.)

In considering the function and organisation of the synagogue, it will greatly conduce to clearness if the distinction between the broader and the narrower meaning of the term is observed.

3. Function, etc. The synagogal assemblies and services presuppose the existence of an organised Jewish community of which they form an essential part. The wider function is evident in *ἀποσυναγωγίως*, 'put out of the synagogue' (Jn. 9:22 12:42 16:2), which means more than mere exclusion from the synagogal assemblies, viz. exclusion from social and religious intercourse, that is, from community life (cp EXCOMMUNICATION). The wider function included not only the religious but also the civil and municipal affairs of the community. The distinction between secular and religious is foreign to Judaism. Mishmic legislation throughout presupposes Jewish control of civil life (*Sederim* 5, *Makk.* 3:1); but this is ideal, and could not actually prevail except in towns where the Jewish population preponderated. Where that was not the case the organised synagogal community was found by the side of the civil. In the former case, the synagogal officials were identical with those of the town; in the latter case, they only ruled more or less the Jewish portion of it. Larger towns had more than one synagogal community. In Jerusalem, for example, according to Acts 6:9, the Hellenistic Jews had either two or five separate organisations, representing aggregations homogeneous in nationality or condition (cp Schürer, *i.c.* 240 f. 176 ff.)

Members of the synagogal community (*קנין בית*, *Makk.* 5:5) were subject to discipline and punishment by the synagogal government. The local governing body, within whose jurisdiction it lay to try disciplinary cases, was called

4. Government. *בית דין*, 'court,' or (its Gk. equivalent) *sanhedrin*, *סנהדרין*,¹ *σινεδριον*, 'council' (Mt. 5:22 10:17 Mk. 13:9); also *βουλή* (Jos. *BJ* ii. 141). It was composed of twenty-three members in larger towns; and in smaller, of seven members (cp GOVERNMENT, § 31; and see Schürer, 2:176 ff.). The members were called 'elders' (*πρεσβύτεροι*, Lk. 7:3) or 'rulers' (*ἀρχαίτες*, Mt. 9:18 23 Lk. 8:41), and the chief *γερουσιάρχης* (see Schürer, 3:46 f.).

The chief methods of punishment were (a) scourging, (b) excommunication, and (c) death.

(a) Scourging (*μαστιγώω* [*Makk.* 3:12], Gk. *μαστιγῶω* [Mt. 10:17 23:34] and *δέω* [Acts 22:19 Mk. 13:6]) was inflicted in the synagogue building by the synagogal attendant (*קנין* [*בית*], *ὑπηρέτης*, *Makk.*, *ibid.*). The minor floggings for which it was administered are given in *Makk.* 3:1 ff. The number of stripes was forty save one (*Makk.* 3:10, 2 Cor. 11:24, Jos. *Ant.* iv. 821). The tribunal competent to decide upon the punishment is variously given as consisting of three or twenty-three members (*Sanhedrin*, 1:2).

(b) The punitive exclusion of unsubmitive members of the Jewish community is met with already in Ezra 10:8; it was to be the means by which to keep exclusive Judaism intact. There seems to have been at first (so in NT times) but one form of excommunication—*ἄνωγ*, *ἄνωγ* (*ἄνωγ*),² 'ban,' that is, absolute exclusion from the synagogal community. Its origin and conception lie in the OT (see BAN). *ἄνωγ* and its Gk. equivalent

¹ *Sanhedrin*, 1:1; the two terms *סנהדרין* and *בית דין* are used interchangeably; and *בית דין* should not be limited to the lowest tribunal, as is done by Weber, *Stud. Theol.* 141.

² Scourging by Roman officials, referred to in NT (Mt. 20:19 Jn. 19:1), is not considered here.

³ For the rabbinical use of *קנין*, which does not differ from OT usage (see BAN), cp Jastrow, *Dict.*, *i.c.*

¹ The rabbinical references will appear in the course of the article.

² Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 63; *BJ* ii. 144 f. vii. 83. In the NT *συναγωγή* occurs fifty-six times; with the broader meaning in twelve cases: Mk. 13:6, Mt. 10:17, Lk. 21:12 Mt. 23:34 Lk. 8:41 12:11 Acts 6:9 22:19 26:11 Rev. 2:26 3:9. Of the remaining forty-four cases it means 'assembly' twice: Acts 13:42 (not in BVA) Ja. 2:2; and the synagogal building and its services in the others: Mk. 1:21 6:9 Lk. 4:15 12:10 Lk. 4:35 13:10 Lk. 4:44 31 Mt. 12:9 Lk. 6:6 Mt. 13:54 Lk. 4:12 12:10 Mt. 23:7 Lk. 20:46 (doublet 11:4) Mt. 4 (doublet 9:41) 6:25 Lk. 4:15 20:28 7:8 13:10 Jn. 6:59 18:20 Acts 9:13 14:14 15:21 17:11 19:17 18:47 10:26 19:8.

³ *ἄνωγ*, of which it is the NT translation in 1s. 567 (quoted in Mt. 21:1); but as a designation of the synagogue it is not found until late.

⁴ Epiphanius, *Haer.* 30:34; *συναγωγήν δὲ οὗτοι καλοῦσι τὴν ἑκκλησίαν καὶ οὐκ ἐκκλησίαν.*

⁵ Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines*, 1:26, n. 1, quoted by Schürer, *GTZ*, 2:443.

⁶ Cp Harnack, *ZH* 7, 1876, pp. 104 ff.; Zahn, *Gesch.* NT 2:21, n. 106; *Fest.* 1:107.

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ἀνάθεμα mark an object as 'devoted,' or under the curse of idol and deserving death (cp Holtzmann, *Vendel. Zeitsch.* 150).

ἄβρα meant, in fact, the penalty of death, and its infliction was prevented only by lack of power. We must take it that the NT terms ἀφοριστί, ἀειδίξις, ἑβλαλίον το ὄνομα (Lk. 9:23), ἀποσυγαγῆναι γινώσκειν ὁ ποιῆν (Jn. 9:22, 12:42, 10:2), and ἀνάθεμα ἢ ἀνάθεματίζῆναι (Rom. 9:1, 1 Cor. 12:1, 16:22, Gal. 1:9; Mk. 11:7; Acts 23:12, 14, 21), all contain this meaning.¹

(c) The tribunal composed of twenty-three members was competent to inflict the penalty of death (*Sanh.* 14), and it is most probable that excommunication was pronounced by it; if so, 'shall incur the penalty of the judgment' (*ἄρχος ἔσται τῷ κρίσει*), Mt. 5:22, refers to the lighter punishment of scourging; 'shall incur the penalty of the council' (*ἄρχος ἔσται τῷ συνέδριῳ*), to the severer punishment of excommunication or death.

The Mishna mentions a second kind of excommunication - viz., *nidday*, נִדְּבָי, 'isolation,' called also by its Aram. equivalent *ḥammath*, חַמְמַת. Its main purpose seems to have been to guard the dignity and authority of the rabbinical teacher; it might be imposed for disobedience to a rabbinic decision, for an impertinent remark to a teacher, or for failure to greet him properly. It might be imposed by a mere hint - for instance, by saying, 'I have never known thee,' or 'Some one is calling thee outside!' The Gemārā mentions a third kind of excommunication - viz., *ne'iphalah*, נִפְלָה, 'rebuke.' It seems to have been a severe reprimand uttered by a rabbi, carrying with it in Palestine one day's, in Babylonia a seven day's, overhanging displeasure. The *nidday*-ban, according to the Gemārā, extended over a period of thirty days, and involved greater restraint as to intercourse, though not exclusion from the temple or synagogue service. But both forms are later than NT times, and they are too mild to represent the NT terms quoted above.²

Recently discovered ruins of synagogues in Northern Galilee, belonging probably to the second, some perhaps

5. The synagogue building.

to the first, Christian century, furnish scanty, but the safest, information regarding the architecture of ancient synagogues. Negatively, they show that the rabbinic directions (*Pis. Mig.* 122 f.) that synagogues should be built on a height of the city and should have the entrance on the E. (like the temple) had not yet come into force. The ruins do not lie in the most prominent positions of the towns, and, with the exception of the synagogue at Irbid, whose entrance is E., they were built from N. to S. with the entrance on the S. On the whole, a Greco-Roman influence in style is noticeable. The buildings were quadrangular in form, divided into five or three aisles by means of four or two rows of massive columns. The columns bore an architrave of stone, the roof was of wood, and the ornamentation, especially of the cornices, was extremely rich, and figures of animals are frequently met with. The entrance was by means of three front portals, a larger for the centre and two smaller for the sides; the lintels have carved on them Hebrew inscriptions and sacred Jewish symbols.³

Various parts of the synagogue building, outside of Palestine, find occasional mention in Lk. inscriptions: ἑβραῖα, 'porch'; πρῶτος, 'vestibule'; ἐκκλησία τοῦ ὄνομα, 'council.' The synagogue of Hammat Lib. not far from Caesarea, had a mosaic floor with varied animal forms in its design (see Schürer, 2:17, n. 26). Kaufmann has shown that both painting and sculpture were in use in decorating the synagogues, even at a later time, the lion being a favourite symbol (*Art in the Synagogue*, JQR

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9:25 ff. (1897)). In a rabbinic description of the synagogue at Alexandria we meet the following terms: ἑβραῖα, basilica; ἑβραῖα, ἑβραῖα, ἑβραῖα, a double-columnade, ἑβραῖα, columnade.

The synagogue of Philippi was outside the city probably a river (Acts 16:13), and a decree of Heliarnastes

6. Site. (in Jos. *Ant.* xiv 10:21) speaks of synagogues as customarily placed by the sea side (on these passages see PRAYER, § 4). This, however, does not seem to have been the usage in Palestine, nor is it the account of it in the ideal rabbinic legislation. Schürer's contention (2:444), as against Low (*MGG* 7, 1884, pp. 167 ff.), that the ceremonial ablutions made the water site preferable, is overdrawn. These ablutions do not require a river, and though orthodox Judaism now, more than ever, demands them, no preference is shown for such sites, which are, moreover, opposed to the positive requirement to build them on the highest point of the town. Neither does the position of the discovered ruins bear out Schürer's view. It would seem then that foreign lands a preference was shown for sites outside the city (for obvious reasons), and then near the water-side; whilst on native soil, or in strong Jewish environment, a central site was chosen.

The chief piece of furniture was the 'ark' (אָרְן, אָרְן Aram. אָרְן, אָרְן) containing the scrolls of the Law

7. Interior. and other sacred writings, which probably stood by the wall farthest from the entrance. In the centre, upon a raised platform (פֶּדֶן βῆμα), stood the lecturer (διδάσκων, Heb. מְדַבֵּר or מְדַבֵּר). The rest of the room contained wooden seats (פֶּדֶן, *subsellium*; אָרְן, אָרְן) for the congregation

(cp Jer. *MGG* 11, 734 f. 604; *Kilim*, 167). The chief seats of the synagogue (πρωτοκαθεδρία) were near the ark, facing the people, and were occupied by those held in highest honour. (Mt. 23: Mk. 12:19 Lk. 11:20; Tos. *Megilla*, 4:2.) Schürer (2:450) takes it for granted that the women were seated separately in the synagogue. This is not at all certain; such evidence as there is points the other way. That the Talmud and the ancient sources should not mention such an arrangement is hardly accidental, and the facts gathered by Low (*MGG* 11, 1884, 304 ff.) show a prominent part of woman in the synagogal service; to these statements added what Schürer himself mentions (3:50), that they could bear the titles of honour, ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ and *mater synagogae*, and could sit in the seats of honour in the synagogue (2:450). The present writer has found out elsewhere (*Woman in the Ancient Hebrew Church*, *JHL*, 1898, p. 111 ff.) that the exclusion of women from the cult was gradual, and came with the progress of the development of the cult itself. Relegation to the galleries of the synagogues was seemingly the last stage and belongs to the Middle Ages (cp Israel *Arabian Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, 25 f.).

The primary function of the synagogue assembly was the popular instruction in the Law. The children

8. Synagogue assemblies. were taught in the 'school' (עֵדֶן, עֵדֶן; Jer. *Kilim*, 32 c. *Kilim*, 2) and more technical training was given

in 'the college' (עֵדֶן, עֵדֶן; Jer. *Megilla*, 7:2) and the synagogue assemblies were for the religious instruction of the people. Worship, in the narrower sense, was only a secondary object. That this was so in the times of Jesus we learn from Josephus (*J. Ant.* 1:21; *Ant.* vi 24), from Philo (2:68), who calls the synagogues διδασκαλεῖα, 'schools,' and from the NT (John 1:19; *Ant.* 1:21; *Mk.* 1:21; *Lk.* 4:15; *1 Pt.* 1:16; *1 Cr.* 14:20). But there is evidence that at the time the synagogues stood as it was in the middle stage of their growth. In earlier times the synagogue was called 'the assembly of the people'

¹ It seems most probable that 1 Cor. 5:25 and 2 Cor. 2:14 do not refer to a Jewish form of excommunication; see EXCOMMUNICATION, § 2, and cp article 'Anathema' in *PKF* 2.

² See *Palæstina* 38, *MGG* 1:123 f. and 140 f.; *Edaysch* 58, *Middleth* 22. The full details of procedure in excommunication, as found in Hamburger, *KE*, 2:6, 'Bann,' and in Ederstein, *Life and Times of Jesus*, 2:67 f., are based upon a combination of Talmudic law of the Middle Ages and do not illustrate NT times.

³ There are eleven of these ruins: at Kefr Bo'im (two), Meirān, Irbid, Tell Ham, Kerāzeh, Nebatein, el-Ish (two), Fimm el-'Amūd, and Susaf; cp *PKF* 1:1273, pp. 123 ff., *PKF* *Mem.* 1:224, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

⁴ In Ahrāb (Egypt), Mantinea, and Pholis respectively; cp *KEJ* 17:23 f. 31 f. 1:1: 2.

SYNAGOGUE

people' (שבתה: Shabbath, 32a), and corresponded more nearly to the 'gate' (שער) as a common meeting-place. The Targum translates 'gate' (שער) in Am. 5:12 as Beth Kenisah (בית כנסת). But after the destruction of Jerusalem, when the synagogue began more and more to take the place of the temple, the assemblies took on gradually more of the form of worship. The name 'assembly of the common people' (בית כנסת) was then seriously objected to (Shab. 32a), and the sacredness of the synagogue was specially asserted (Tos. Meg. 3a).²

For conducting the synagogue service, an official, strictly speaking, was not deemed necessary; any competent Israelite could officiate. The freedom with which Jesus and Paul took part in the service illustrates this fact. The person who led in the exercises was called 'representative of the community' (שליח צבור), and if he erred while performing his duty, some one else present might immediately take his place (Berakoth 5a). The same freedom still prevails, in theory at least, in the present synagogue service; but naturally those who are especially qualified by experience and efficiency are preferred.

9. Officers. The chief official of the synagogue as a religious assembly was the ἀρχισυναγωγος, EV 'ruler of the synagogue' (Mk. 5:22-25; Lk. 8:49; 13:14; Acts 13:15; 18:17; Heb. קהלת, Rom. 7:7). The office was not identical with that of the 'elder' (πρεσβυτερος) or 'ruler' (ἀρχων), nor with that of the 'president of the gerousia' (γερονσιαρχος; see § 6), though one might serve in both capacities at the same time. The duties of the Archisynagogos related to the care and order of the synagogue and its assemblies and the supervision of the service.

A second functionary was the λειτουργος (לויטן, Lev. 7:7; Rom. 7:1), the λειτουργος AV 'minister,' RV 'attendant' of Lk. 4:20. It was his duty to present for reading, and return to the ark after the reading, the sacred scrolls; he also taught the children (Shab. 13) and acted as the factor in scourging, as the agent of the synagogue council (בית דין), cp § 8.

The giving of alms was a religious service in the time of Christ, and was administered in the synagogue by special officials called 'administrators' (διοικηται), who had under them 'collectors of alms' (συναγωγηται), and 'distributors of alms' (ἐπιμεληται); see Shab. 112b, and cp ALMS, § 3f.

The rabbinic requirement was that at least ten men must be present for the conduct of public service (Meg. 4a). Whether this was already in force in NT times is doubtful; but it had in post-Rabbinic times to the custom of providing by payment of 'taxes of leisure' (מנוחה כסף, decem denarii), whose business it was to attend the service; they possessed, however, no official rank.

The Mishna (Meg. 4a) enumerates five principal parts of the service: (1) the Shema', (2) the prayer; (3) the reading of the Law; (4) the reading of the Prophets; and (5) the benediction; but to these must be added the translation and explanation of the Scripture lesson. How much of each of these was already in use in NT times will appear in the sequel. On the whole, as has been indicated above (§ 8), the synagogue service was much simpler before the destruction of the temple, that crisis in Judaism exerted a strong influence upon the development of Synagogal institutions.

10. The service. The Shema' (שמע ישראל) is so called from the opening word of the first passage: 'Hear, O Israel:

1. P. 12. P. 13. P. 14. P. 15. P. 16. P. 17. P. 18. P. 19. P. 20. P. 21. P. 22. P. 23. P. 24. P. 25. P. 26. P. 27. P. 28. P. 29. P. 30. P. 31. P. 32. P. 33. P. 34. P. 35. P. 36. P. 37. P. 38. P. 39. P. 40. P. 41. P. 42. P. 43. P. 44. P. 45. P. 46. P. 47. P. 48. P. 49. P. 50. P. 51. P. 52. P. 53. P. 54. P. 55. P. 56. P. 57. P. 58. P. 59. P. 60. P. 61. P. 62. P. 63. P. 64. P. 65. P. 66. P. 67. P. 68. P. 69. P. 70. P. 71. P. 72. P. 73. P. 74. P. 75. P. 76. P. 77. P. 78. P. 79. P. 80. P. 81. P. 82. P. 83. P. 84. P. 85. P. 86. P. 87. P. 88. P. 89. P. 90. P. 91. P. 92. P. 93. P. 94. P. 95. P. 96. P. 97. P. 98. P. 99. P. 100. P. 101. P. 102. P. 103. P. 104. P. 105. P. 106. P. 107. P. 108. P. 109. P. 110. P. 111. P. 112. P. 113. P. 114. P. 115. P. 116. P. 117. P. 118. P. 119. P. 120. P. 121. P. 122. P. 123. P. 124. P. 125. P. 126. P. 127. P. 128. P. 129. P. 130. P. 131. P. 132. P. 133. P. 134. P. 135. P. 136. P. 137. P. 138. P. 139. P. 140. P. 141. P. 142. P. 143. P. 144. P. 145. P. 146. 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SYNAGOGUE

Yahwe' our God, Yahwe' is one,' is composed of three passages of Scripture (Dt. 6:4-9; 11:13-21; Nu. 15:17-41), two introductory benedictions for morning and evening, one closing benediction for the morning, and two for the evening.¹

That the benedictions in their present form are the result of gradual additions was pointed out by Zunz (*Gottesdienst. Vorlesung d. Juden* [1818], 350 ff.); the same is most probably true also of the selection of the Scripture passages.

The origin of the reciting of the Shema' (שמע ישראל) is most probably to be sought in the endeavour to imitate the sacredness and importance of the Law, for which the selections are most admirably adapted in that they not only emphasise these attributes, but also insist on certain outward symbolic signs as reminders of them (see FRINGS, FROSTLETS). As the phylacteries and fringes are well known in NT times (Mt. 23:5; Jos. Ant. iv. 81c), the origin of the reciting of the Shema' must date back into the pre-Christian period as probably one of the first customs introduced by those who caught the spirit of Nehemiah and Ezra. That the object of the ceremony was accomplished may be seen from the fact that the act is regarded in the beginning of the second century A. D. as 'receiving the yoke of the kingdom of God'—i.e., the obligation to keep the Law of Moses (*Berakoth*, 25; see Dalman, *Hebr. Lexic.*, I. 26). The conception of it as a confession of faith (Schur, 2450), or as a substitute for the daily sacrifices (Hamb. *Kl.* 21088), belongs to later times.² In the NT the opening words of the Shema' are quoted in Mk. 12:29 (cp Mt. 22:37; Lk. 10:27), but without any reference to its liturgical character.

(b) That the disciples could ask Jesus, 'Teach us to pray, even as John taught his disciples,' (Lk. 11), would seem to indicate that a fixed form of prayer was at that time not in vogue (cp PRAYER, § 7). This is made the more probable by the history of the most ancient synagogal prayer, the *Shema' u'c'arot* (שמע ישראל ושבעה עשר), the 'eighteen'—i.e., petitions and benedictions. There are now two recensions of this prayer, a Babylonian and a Palestinian.³ It appears evident that in the original form each of the petitions consisted of two members; the Palestinian recension has more nearly retained its original form, and is the shorter, as well as the older; the Babylonian has received considerable additions. We have, therefore here also to deal with a piece of synagogal liturgy which has passed through various stages of growth. The present writer is inclined to take the hint of Dalman (*VK*, 71) and regard the eight petitions mentioned in Jer. *F. M.* 146, as pointing to an earlier form of the *Shema' u'c'arot*. If the legislation regarding these eight petitions is not ideal, they fit into a period prior to the destruction of Jerusalem (70 A. D.). The fuller forms cannot be as early. The arrangement in the present order of sequence is ascribed to Shemaiah the Bekah (about 110 A. D.; *Berakoth*, 28b). Dalman thinks it probable that as petitions 7 and 10, 14 are later than the destruction of Jerusalem, the form in vogue before that even consisted of three opening benedictions (1, 3), six petitions (4, 6, 8, 9, 15), and three closing benedictions (16, 18), and holds that this prayer, composed of twelve petitions, may be regarded as the Pharisaic-Judaic counterpart of that of Jesus composed of five or seven petitions (Mt. 6:9-13; Lk. 11:2-4). An abbreviated form of the Palestinian recen-

¹ Translations of these may be found in *Hebr. Engl. Prayer Books*.
² Detailed rubrics, dealing with the matter and time of recitation and the persons who are and who are not under obligation to perform it, are given in *Berakoth* 2413. The authorities differ as to whether it may be begun in the morning when it is light enough to distinguish between sky and white, or between sky blue and leek green.
³ The Palestinian was recently discovered by S. Schiller in a copy of Cairo, and published by him in *JCh* 10:44, 50 (1901). His edition is published with recensions (the probable one added) in a booklet with notes in his *Hebr. Engl. Prayer Book*, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000.

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sion (from Jer. Birkh. 8a) is here given for comparison with the 'Lord's Prayer.'

'Grant us understanding; graciously accept our repentance; forgive us, our redeemer; heal our diseases; bless our years; for thou gatherest the scattered, and it is thine to judge the erring; put thy hand upon the wicked; and may all who trust in thee rejoice in the building of thy city, the renewal of thy sanctuary, in the Branch of David, thy servant (i.e. the sprouting of a horn for David); for thou answerest before we call. Blessed art thou, Lord, who hearest prayer.'

Petition 12 of the Palestinian recension calls for special mention. The text and its translation are as follows:

יִסְתַּקְדּוּם אֵל מְהֵרָה
וְיָרִיבֵם זָקֵן מְהֵרָה מִכָּל
וְיִנְעָמֵם וְיִקְדְּמֵם מִכָּל
[יָקוּם סִסְמָר הַחַיִּים יָקֵם עֲצָקוֹם אֵל יִתְחַבְּרוּ]
כִּדְמָה אֲתָה יְיָ מְהֵרָה וְיָרִיבֵם

May the apostates have no hope;
And the kingdom of arrogance be quickly uprooted in our day;
And the Christians and heretics perish in a moment;
Let them be blotted out of the book of life, and not be written
with the righteous.
Blessed art thou, Lord, who bringest low the arrogant.¹

The third line has settled it beyond question that Justin Martyr and the Church fathers were right in their statements that the Christians were mentioned in the daily synagogal prayers (Did. c. Trapp. 93 133 137; and see Schür. 245).

By the end of the second century A.D. it was an established custom to close the synagogal service with the priestly benediction (ברכת הכהנים, Num. 6:22-26). As this was originally a part of the temple service, it was probably not introduced into the synagogal liturgy until after the cessation of that service. When priests were present, they pronounced the benediction, standing between the ark and the congregation and facing the latter (Lev. 24:10, 11); raising the hands as high as the shoulder (Gen. 14:18), and repeating the formula after the precursor word by word, the congregation responding after each of the three parts with Amen. In the absence of priests the benediction was offered in prayer, and then, just before the closing prayer for peace, petition 13 (Schür. 186).

(c) The Sabbath lesson from the Law and the Prophets, and the occasional exposition or exhortation following upon them, were customary in NT times (I. K. 116 f. Acts 13:15 27 15:21; cp. 2 Cor. 3:15; Jos. c. Ap. 2:2; Philo, 2:63). The lesson from the Law was unquestionably the oldest, and so the most prominent, part of the synagogal service. The tradition says that Moses instituted the reading of the Law on the sabbaths, feast-days, new moons, and half feast-days; and that Ezra appointed the reading of the Law for Mondays and Thursdays and the Sabbath afternoons' (Jer. 17:22 75:1). Such early and general origin, however, is out of the question. That here also there has been a gradual development is made probable by the fact that the present system of dividing the Pentateuch into fifty-four sections (פרקים), to be completed in an annual cycle, can be traced back to an earlier cycle of two years' duration, and that again to one of three years and three years and a half. The special lessons still in use for the sabbaths of new moons, the four sabbaths before the Passover, and for other festivals (I. K. 116 f.) give ground for the supposition that the lessons of penitence in the selection of appropriate passages for particular occasions, and that only out of these grew the more definite arrangement.² Since the reading of

1. The Hebrew text may be found in Daln, H. J. 1, 1304.
2. A further fragment of this recension adds: וְיִנְעָמֵם וְיִקְדְּמֵם אֵל מְהֵרָה. The parts that are bracketed are of Palestinian origin as shown by Daln, H. J. 1, 1304.
3. The Babylonian recension of this petition omits וְיִנְעָמֵם, and the Talmud reads: וְיִקְדְּמֵם וְיִנְעָמֵם. According to Birkh. 8a.
4. Schür. 186. The Small adds the petition against heretics: וְיִרְשָׁעוּ מְהֵרָה וְיִכָּלְדוּ וְיִנְעָמֵם וְיִקְדְּמֵם אֵל מְהֵרָה; the Palestinian recension inserts the petitions for the restoration of Jerusalem and the coming of the Messiah into (c) and (d) respectively.
5. Cp. Han. 2:21 21:6 f. Philo, De Rebus. c. 164. The Law in the Pentateuch, T. P. 1, 1304.
6. I. K. 116 f.

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the Law was binding upon all, every Israelite, even minors, could partake in the public reading; and on the Sabbath morning seven, at least, were called up. Each person read his own portion, and only in case of inability to read was a public lector employed (Schür. 172 a; Phil 2:26). The Mishna (M. 1:4, 14) provides for a benediction before and after each person's reading. According to Sopherim 13, both closed with: 'Blessed art thou, Lord, who hast given the Law.'

(d) The selection of a portion from the second part of the Jewish canon, 'the Prophets' (נביאים), to be read after the lesson from the Law marks a further step in the synagogal ritual. Its original aim may be gathered both from the term by which it was called and from the character of the earliest selections. The term Haphtarā (הפטרת; Aram. אַפְתָּרָא) is derived from patah (פָּתַח), which, in the Hiphil, means 'to dismiss' or 'to dismiss a meeting'; the Haphtarā was, therefore, the dismissal exercise. The selections show that they were meant to enforce, by an historical example or by a promise of a lesson from the Law on a particular occasion.

The Haphtarā for the first day of the Passover was Jos. 24 for the second day, 2 K. 23; for Pentecost the lesson from the Law was, Dt. 16:9 f., the Haphtarā, Hab. 3, including 27:17, on the Day of Atonement, it was in the morning Is. 57:1 f., in the afternoon Zech. Here again the earliest selections recorded (Jos. 24:1 4:1; M. 1:4) are those for special days, and most likely they served as the nucleus for the present arrangement.

It is most probable that in NT times the prophetic portions were not yet fixed, but were chosen by the reader, and that the selection of Jesus (I. K. 116) was his own choice.

(e) Both the lessons from the Law and those from the Prophets were translated or paraphrased into the vernacular Aramaic by an interpreter (מַתְּרָגְמָן); in the case of the Law, one verse at a time; in the lessons from the Prophets, three verses might be taken at once (I. K. 117; 118). These translations and paraphrases were of the nature of explanations, and led naturally to the more extended expositions (פְּרָשָׁה, פְּרָשָׁה) teaching in the synagogues; the NT contains many illustrations (Mt. 13; Mk. 12; 6:2). The practice of sitting while speaking (I. K. 120). The Scripture exposition was not a required part of the service, neither was it the prerogative of an ordained class; any one might instruct might be invited to speak (Acts 13:15); ordinarily it fell to the rabbi of the community (Birkh. 8a, 28 a). Cp. Jesus, § 9.

Much of the literature has already been mentioned in the preceding section. See Schür. 6:119, 2:477 f. and 2:477 f.

11. Literature. Synagoga (Synagoge), a Greek word, has been applied to both the subject and the building, and, significantly distinguished from itself by a severer cation in using the Mishnaic material at the time of Christ. To the literature given by Schür. Daln add: Dinschok, Gesch. u. Darstellung d. synagogen, Mannheim, 1906; Nowak, Hebr. Archa Synagoga, Hildesheim, Neutest. Zeitschr. 12: 11; Daln, 1:1304. See also Schür. in Synagoga and H. J. 1, 1304.

SYNEDRIUM (συνεδριον), a Greek word, means 'assembly' and is especially used of ecclesiastical representative assemblies; its name by which it is known in its Hebrew transcription, סִנְדְרִיּוֹן, is also known to Jewish body which in its original municipal council of Jerusalem, but in a later period the functions and no small authority and influence of the Jews at large (see GOVERNMENT, §§ 2, 4, 5, 8, 81 f. SYNAGOGUE, § 4). In the NT the word is used in the sense of the synod (Acts 15:2, 32).

1. Meaning and constitution. [members], and 'the council' (I. K. 116 f.). The word is used in the sense of the existence and constitution of the synod of Jerusalem is probably to be found in 2 Ch. 35:10; priests, Levites, and hereditary heads of houses were spoken of as sitting in Jerusalem as a court of law from the local public-assembly do not carry out the

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anything mentioned in the old history, but may be taken as representing an institution of the Chronicler's own time. And just such an aristocratic council is what seems to be meant by the gerusia or senate of 'elders' repeatedly mentioned in the history of the Jews, both under the Greeks from the time of Antiochus the Great (Jos. Ant. xii, 53) and under the Hasmonean high priests and princes. The high priest, as the head of the state, was doubtless also the head of the senate, which, according to Eastern usage, exercised both judicial and administrative or political functions (cp 1 Macc. 125-142). The exact measure of its authority must have varied from time to time, at first with the measure of autonomy left to the nation by its foreign lords, and afterwards with the more or less autocratic power claimed by the native sovereigns.

As has been shown under ISRAEL (§ 817), the original aristocratic constitution of the senate began to be modified under the later Hasmoneans by the inevitable introduction of representatives of the rising party of the Pharisees, and this new element gained strength under Herod the Great, the bitter enemy of the priestly aristocracy.¹ Finally, under the Roman procurators, the synedrium was left under the presidency of the chief priest as the highest native tribunal, though without the power of life and death (Ja. 1831). The aristocratic element now again preponderated, as appears from Josephus and from the NT, in which 'chief priests' and 'rulers' are synonymous expressions. But with these there sat also 'scribes' or trained legal doctors of the Pharisees, and other notables, who are called simply 'elders' (MK 15c). The Jewish tradition which regards the synedrium as entirely composed of rabbis sitting under the presidency and vice-presidency of a pair of chief doctors, the nasi and sh'beth din,² is quite false as regards the true synedrium. It was after the fall of the state that a merely rabbinical ish'ah din sat at Jahmeh and afterwards at Tiberias, and gave legal responses to those who chose to admit a jurisdiction not recognised by the civil power. Gradually this illegal court usurped such authority that it even ventured to pronounce capital sentences, acting, however, with so much secrecy as to allow the Roman authorities to close their eyes to its proceedings (Origen, Ep. ad Afr., § 14). That this was possible will appear less surprising if we remember that in like manner the synedrium of Jerusalem was able to extend an authority not sanctioned by Roman law over Jews beyond Judaea (— 2, in Papiasens (A. 19, 22).

The council of other is'rahel, where the synedrium usually sat was between the Naxos and the temple, probably on the temple hill, but hardly, as the Mishna states, within the inner court.

The term 'Sanhedrin' does not occur in EV; but the Greek συνέδριον is found in a number of passages in NT where EV has 'the council'.

2. τὸ συνέδριον in NT. In some cases it denotes an ordinary Jewish tribunal (Mt 18c), in other it seems to be used of the supreme body, or of the Sanhedrin (MK 11c; Acts 5c). In this latter sense the word is commonly understood to have employed in the narratives of the trials of Jesus. It may be doubted, however, whether we have before us the original text.

1 The name gerusia first appears in the history of Antiochus the Great (Jos. Ant. xii, 53).
2 A Mishnaic expression for the supreme council of the rabbis (Mishna, Sanhedrin, c. 1, § 1).

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In Lk. 22c it is said, 'And as soon as it was day the assembly of the elders of the people was gathered together, both chief priests and scribes; and they led him away into their council, saying, If thou art the Christ, tell us.' (καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ γραμματεῖς συνέδριον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον αὐτῶν [καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ γραμματεῖς, κ. τ. λ.]). Here the abruptness with which the ἀρχιερεῖς and following words come in, together with the use of συνέδριον for the place of assembly as well as for the Council itself (for which the evidence usually brought forward from other sources is not very strong), arouses suspicion. εἰς τὸ συνέδριον looks very like an insertion, and καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς (or ἀρχιερεῖς) αὐτῶν an alteration of καὶ γραμματεῖς αὐτῶν.

It has been found that whereas τὸ συνέδριον occurs in Mk. 15c it does not appear in the parallel passage, Mt 27c. In addition to this, the word is a late insertion in Lk. 22c; it is a question whether in an earlier stage of the narrative τὸ συνέδριον was present in any of the passages.

When this article was already in print, an important work, by Dr. Adolf Ehrlich, Das Synedrium in Jerusalem, appeared (1902). He thinks that the 'scribes' in Mk. 14c are clearly in addition, and that in all the passages ἀρχιερεῖς means (not the chief priests, but) the Temple authorities, to whom (and not by the Synedrium) Jesus was seized (see p. 205).

In any case the narratives of the trial are not satisfactory when examined from a critical and scientific standpoint.

The meeting in the palace of the high priest who had denounced our Lord was exceptional. The proceedings also on this occasion were highly irregular, if measured by the rules of procedure which, according to Jewish tradition, were laid down to secure order and a fair trial for the accused (WRS, Lk. 22, 42b). Cp 208 of MSS. § 27, 30f.

It has been pointed out by Brandt (Die T. 1902, Gesch. p. 67) and Eidersheim (Life and Times of Jesus, 258) that the whole proceedings of the Sanhedrin, if they were such as they are represented to have been, contradict all that we know about the Jewish method of trial from other sources, even when we admit an ideal element in the Rabbinic notices.² The Jews, no less than the Romans, have at all times shown great reverence for the law (see Hamburger, Real-Encyclopaedie 2153). If, as Retan (Life of Jesus, p. 222) supposes, Jesus was condemned not so much by Tiberias or Pilate as by the old Jewish party and the Mosiac Law, it is remarkable that 'Paul' in dealing with this very law is silent on the subject (cp Brandt, p. 26).

But it is still possible to hold that Jesus was condemned at an informal meeting of the Sanhedrin (Eidersheim), or by a smaller Court of Justice (Origen, Hist. of the Jews, 260). Eidersheim (258) thinks there can be no question that Jesus was condemned and led to death by the whole body of Sanhedrists, if not by the Sanhedrin, 'in the sense of expressing what was the judgment and purpose of all the Supreme Council and leaders of Israel' with only very few exceptions. It is difficult, however, to think that the Romans would pay much attention to an informal Council. The high priest's task was simply Eidersheim thinks, 'to formulate a charge which would tell before the Roman Procurator'; but the charge he selects, that of blasphemy, however serious its estimation among the Jews, could hardly influence a Roman (cp Keim, p. 84). The charge of claiming to be the Messiah (Keim) might have had more weight, had Keim admitted that the refusal of Jesus to claim what he meant in the claim was 'surprising' (p. 85). It is more reasonable to suppose that the charges of blasphemy and of claiming to be a new Messiah were not presented by a mere Council of Jews, but by the Sanhedrin and crucifixion was the result.

1 W. is of the opinion that the Sanhedrin was a council of Roman procurators and high priests.

2 A. Ehrlich, Das Synedrium in Jerusalem, p. 205.

3 This is the opinion of W. Retan, Life of Jesus, p. 222.

4 W. Retan, Life of Jesus, p. 222.

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supposed to assert that Jesus was condemned 'at the suggestion of the principal men among us'; but it has been contended that this passage is an interpolation (De Quincey, *Collected Works*, 7:27 [1897]), and in any case the statement would not prove much.

The trial before Pilate, as it is represented in the Gospels, seems to have been no less irregular, and the judge's conduct can only be accounted

4. Roman trial. by making him quite an exception to the general rule, a man of all men the most perverse and inconsistent (see Keim, 683 ff.; Farrar, *Life of Christ*, chap. 60).² Pilate, however, it would seem, was not such an exceptional character. See PILATE. When, therefore, he condemned Jesus to suffer crucifixion he must surely have done so on other grounds, and the proceedings must have been different from those recorded by the synoptists. The charge would have to be a political one (cp Tac., *Ann.* 15:44). It may have been, as I. K. 23:2 suggests, only with more circumstantial evidence arising out of misconstruction of 'sayings,' that of 'forbidding to give tribute to Caesar' (cp Mt. 17:24-27 22:17-22 = Mk. 12:14-17 = Lk. 20:22-26, where the words of Jesus, as reported, are ambiguous). With this charge Pilate would have been competent to deal, as Roman Procurator, more perhaps than with any other.³

Keim has made a serious and important attempt to give a reasonable account of the trials of Jesus on the basis (mainly) of the synoptic narratives. His work is the more valuable as it takes note of the investigations

5. Origin of Narratives. of so many other critics. But the variety of views to which he refers, and his own failure to present a satisfactory picture, show the insurmountable difficulties of his task.⁴ It seems better, therefore, to admit that it is difficult, if not impossible, to gather from the crucifixion of Jesus (cp Brandt, p. 202). In trying to transmit a complete life of Jesus the biographers may have done Jesus himself, the Jews, and the Roman Empire injustice. They can hardly have had more than rumors about the trial to draw upon;⁵ but they also seem to have made free use of the OT and of the Messianic interpretations.⁶ There are perhaps also indications in the narratives that they, or their redactors, borrowed features from

Stephen. At a moment of great excitement, and on such an occasion, would the cry of exclamation that would burst from the lips of Jews be 'Crucify him!'? Eidersheim, in spite of his view mentioned above, confesses 'that such a cry should have been raised, and raised by Jews, and before the Roman, and against Jews, are in themselves almost incontrovertible facts, to which the history of these eighteen centuries has made terrible proofs' (2:577).

It was their appreciation of law, their respect for law, their study of law, far more than anything else, which gave its greatness to the character of the Roman people. Even in the most degraded ages of their history, and with the worst individual types of men, this is the one bright spot which relieves the gloom (Lichtfoot, *Pretoria* sermon).

² Cp Pearson, *An Exposition of the Creed*, art. iv. Jeremy Taylor (*Life of Christ*, Works, 2, 1) says, 'Not only against the divine laws, but against the Roman law, he condemned an innocent person, upon objections notoriously malicious; he adjudged him to a death which was only due to public thieves and homicides (crimes with which he was not charged), upon a pretence of blasphemy, of which he stood accused, but not convicted, and for which by the Jewish law he should have been stoned if found guilty. And thus he did put into present execution, against the Tiberian law, which about twelve years before decreed in favour of condemned persons that, after sentence, execution should be deferred ten days.'

³ See Pearson, *op. cit.*, p. 284 (1866).

⁴ He is obliged to admit that the actors in this drama acted in quite an extraordinary and exceptional manner. Cp Renou's account.

⁵ The end therefore is as uncertain as the beginning. See MARK, NATIVELY, RESURRECTION. These matters should not be made of vital importance. 'About the birth of Jesus I know nothing,' says Tolstoy (*Fast*); 'nor do I need to know.' Cp Brandt's elegant conclusion to his work, *Die Evangelien*, Gech. 6, p. 577; see also Leo Tolstoy, *What is Religion?*, Herbert Spencer, *First Principles*, chap. 5.

⁶ Cp Brandt, *Die Evangelien*, Gech. p. 21. The 'Pauline' Epistles have no details to give us, though the authors know that Jesus was crucified (Rom. 6:1 Cor. 1:13 2:2 2 Cor. 13:4 Gal. 2:20 3:1 5:4 6:14) by 'the rulers of this world' (1 Cor. 2:8).

⁷ Cp Brandt, *Das Leben Jesu bei Paulus*, pp. 17, 18.

⁸ Cp Pearson, *op. cit.*, 3; also Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, R. W. Meyer, *The Tübingen School and its Antecedents* (1893), pp. 146 ff.

⁹ For these see Aug. Wünsche, *Die Leiden des Messias* (1871)

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the ceremonies connected with festivals kindred to the Saturnalia; or it may even be that in collecting materials for an expanded life of Jesus the editors seemed to find in the ceremonies that were performed at the sacrifice of the corn and wine, and information regarding the Master who suffered a somewhat similar fate.² The narratives, in their present form seem also to indicate that at the time the life was re-edited, the gap between Jews and Christians had become wider, and the effort to win converts among the Gentiles keener.

Of the older literature of the subject it is enough to cite Selden, *De Synedriis*. The most important critical discussion is that of Kuenen in the *Verslagen*, etc., and

6. Literature. the Amsterdam Academy, 1866, p. 437-440. A good summary is given by Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, 2, 21, 3. See also Hamblen, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v.; Günzburg, 'Synhedrin' in *Kitt's Bibl. Cyclop.*, and the works on the Life of Jesus; and for an apocryphal account of the trial, E. v. Dobschütz, 'Der Prozess Jesu nach den Acta Pilati,' in *Z.N.W.*, 1902, p. 89 ff.

W. R. S., § 1; M. A. C., §§ 2 & 3.

SYNTYCHE (ΣΥΝΤΥΧΗ [Ti. Wh]), Phil. 4: 2. See EUNIA.

SYNZYGUS (ΣΥΝΖΥΓΕ [Ti. Wh]) in Phil. 4: 3, though rendered '[true] yokefellow' in EV, is, though not met with elsewhere as such, almost certainly to be regarded as a proper name (Συζύγιος [W.H.]). Various unsuccessful attempts have been made to guess who is meant, the Pauline authorship of the epistle being assumed. Clement of Alexandria thought that the apostle's own wife was intended; Chrysostom the husband or brother of Erodia or of Syntyche; Lightfoot, Epaphroditus; others, Timothy, Silas; Tholot and De Wette, the chief bishop at Philippi; Wiesner, even Christ himself, 'real introducing a prayer.' Judging from the context, we can only say some one who was worthy of that designation and this could be addressed in the words *συνζυγίου* Σινζυγος, 'yemine Synzygus'—i.e., 'Synzygus who art rightly so named' (Vincent). In fact, *Συζύγιος* means, as contrasted with *εταρσίγιος* (cp *εταρσίγιος*), 'to yoke incongruously' in 2 Tim. 6:11, one who has the power of bringing together what belongs together. The name is a symbolical one the use of which in this passage cannot be explained as coming from Paul, who is represented as writing to the church 'with the bishops and deacons' (11). The force of the name does not become clear until we suppose it to come from an unknown author writing to the Philippians in the character of Paul. In addressing a certain circle he introduces the name with the purpose of showing in what manner men of high ecclesiastical position ought to act with regard to brethren from a distance visiting their church. Cp Lipsius, *III*, 2, 1892; Vincent, *Comm.* 1897; and PHILIPPIANS, § 3 f.

W. G. V. M.

SYRACUSE (ΣΥΡΑΚΟΥΣΑΣ, Ti. Wh), a city on the SE. coast of Sicily, famous in Greek and Roman history, is mentioned in the journey-narrative of Acts (28:1) as having been for three days a halting-place of Paul on his way from Mehta to Rome. Cicero often speaks of Syracuse as a particularly splendid and beautiful city, and still in his own day the seat of art and of lore (*Tusc. 5:66*, *De Nat. Deor.* 38:1, *De Rep.* 1:21), and his speech against Verres (52:54) gives an elaborate description of its four quarters (Achradna, Neapolis, Tyche, the Island), or rather the four cities which composed it. We hear nothing of importance about Syracuse during the period of the Empire. It had local self-government and its own senate and its own magistrates—like most of the Greek cities. Cithgula restored its decorations and some of its famous temples (Suet. *Caes.* 21). Tacitus, in a passing mention of it (*Ann.* 13:4), says that permission was granted to the Syracusans by Nero to exceed the prescribed number of gladiators in their shows.

¹ See Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 2:1, *Lyonesse*, Oct. Nov. 1900; Gean Allen, *Evil of the Idea*, etc.

² Cp Edward Child, *Pioneers of Exonant*, etc., 1890, p. 106 ff.

SYRIA, MESOPOTAMIA, ASSYRIA, A



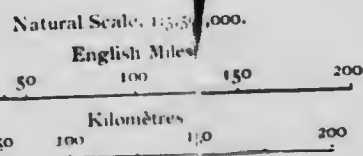
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URARTU, AND BABYLONIA.



Explanation.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|
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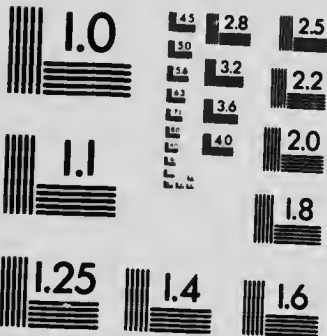
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OF SYRIA, MESOPOTAMIA, ASSYRIA, AND BABYLONIA.

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 Hilakku, C₁, 2, D₁ (CILICIA, § 2)
 Hilleh, I₄ (BABYLONIA, §§ 3, 14)
 Hindanu, G₃
 el-Hira, I₅
 Hit, H₄ (MESOPOTAMIA)
 Holwān, J₃
 Homs, F₃ (HETHLON)
 Hubuškia, H₂
 bahret-Hüleh, D₄
 Huleilan, J₄
 Bit Humri, D₄
 Hurin, I₃
 Huzro, G₁
- Ialman Mts., I₃
 Iarinnua, B₅, C₅
 tell Ibrahim, I₄
 Iconium, C₂
 Ilgun, B₁
 Imeri-sū, E₄
 Irhid, D₄
 Irkata, D₃
 Isaura, C₂
 Isfiz, G₂
 Isin, I₅
 Aškaluna, C₅
 Iskenderūn, E₂
 Isma'iliyeh, K₅
 Isma'iliyeh, C₅
 Isparta, B₂
 Ispidhe, F₃
 Issos, E₂ (CILICIA, § 1)
 Bit-Istar, J₃
 Itheri, E₅
 Izertu, H₂
- Jebel, D₃
 Jēfat, D₄
 Jelu Dagħ, H₂, I₂
 Jerābis, F₂ (CARCHEMISH, § 1)
 Jerawe, F₅
 tell Jezer, D₅
 jeziret ibn 'Omar, H₂
 Jibbah, I₄
 Jihān, E₂
 Jindaris, E₂
 el-Jōf, F₅ (ISHMAEL)
 Jokha, I₅
 Juanro, J₃
 Judr Dagħ, H₂
 Julamerk, H₂
 Julfa, I₁
- el-Kaf, E₅
 Kaidu, I₄, J₅
 Kaisa, D₃
 Kaisriyeh, D₁
 Kaisriyeh, H₃
 tell Kaiyāra, D₄
 Kala-esh-Shush, K₄
 Kala-i-Risa, K₄
 Kaldū, I₄, J₅
 Kalhi, H₂ (PHENICIA, § 7)
 Kammanu, D₁, 2, E₁
 Kandil, I₂
 Karadja-Dagħ, G₂ (MESOPOTAMIA, § 3)
 Karadja-Dagħ, H₂, 3
 Karalla, J₁
 Karaman, C₂
 Kara-su, F₁
 Kara-su, E₂
 Kare-tepe, J₄
 Karkar, E₃
 Karāsiya, G₃ (MESO-

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Name, etc. (§§ 1-3).
 Greater Syria (§ 4/7).
 Fauna (§ 56).
 Lesser Syria (§ 6).
 History: introductory (§§ 8-10).
 Babylonia (§ 11/7).
 Hatti, Egypt, Assyria (§§ 13-15).
 Aramæans (§ 16).
 Tiglath-pileser I. (§ 17).
 Syria left to itself (§ 18).
 Later Assyrian Empire (§§ 19-23).
 Later times (§§ 24-27).
 Literature on Geography (§ 7).

'Syria' is unknown to Hebrew, but possibly identical with Bab. *Suri*, a N. Euphratean district of uncertain boundaries. We find *Syria* first in Herodotus (212, etc.). In Homer's list (II. 2783) only 'Αραμιοι (Aramæans) appear. Ⓒ employed *Syria* to translate ARAM (*q.v.*) in its divers applications (e.g., *Syria Δαμασκού*, 2 S. 85; *Μεσοποταμία Syria*, Gen. 2520), and EV followed. Herodotus (763), misled (?) by the resemblance of 'Ασσυριοι and Σύριοι, stated that these were 'barbarian' and Greek forms of a single ethnic. In consequence he used 'Syria' and 'Syrians' even more widely than OT used 'Aram'; and his vagueness reappears in Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 44) and in one passage of Strabo (16737).

Strabo, followed by Pliny and Ptolemy, in stricter use (see § 1, end) confined Syria to the geographical area bounded N. by Taurus, S. by the Arabian Desert, W. by the Mediterranean, and NE. by Euphrates. The SE. limit was formed by the vague frontier of the 'Syrian' desert, known in antiquity as the 'Arabian.' Both ancient 'Arabia Deserta' (= N. Hāmād) and 'Arabia Petraea' (*i.e.* the Arabia of *Petra* = S. Hāmād) would be included now by most geographers in Syria; whilst Arabia would be restricted to the ancient 'Felix,'¹ *i.e.*, all peninsular Arabia S. of and including the Nefūd or desert belt between the heads of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. In the Roman provincial arrangement 'Arabia' = Petraea and Deserta. Roman 'Syria' (at first one province and under Hadrian three) ended S. with Palestine, and E. with the limit of the Hāmād Steppe. So also Byzantine Syria split into seven districts. Moslem geographers had some doubt whether to reckon the Hāmād to Syria or to Arabia. Mukādassi (early 10th cent. A.D.) protested against the extension of Syria or esh-Shām (*i.e.*, the 'left-hand' land, relative to one facing E. in Mekka) into the E. desert; and the later geographers (e.g., Edrisi and Abulfeda) mostly agreed with him in drawing the limit of Arabia obliquely NE. from 'Akāb' to Raḡka on Euphrates, thus detaching the Hāmād from Syria. For the purposes of the present article we shall follow them, and confine Syria to the area contained by N. lat. 38° and 31°, by the Mediterranean sea, and by an imaginary line drawn roughly parallel to its coast and on an average 150 m. inland.

There seems also to have been a special use of 'Syria,' which still prevails, restricting the term to that part of the wider area which lies N. of Palestine, but excluding the Lebanon littoral (Phœnicia). This territory was regarded as peculiarly Aramæan, and when the large Roman province Syria was divided, it retained its name without qualification. It had at most periods a distinct history, having been successively the peculiar seat of the 'Hittite' dominion, of the Aramæan confederate power, and of the Seleucid monarchy, at a time when Palestine and Phœnicia were Egyptian. Only the inclusion of the whole of wider Syria in a great alien empire, such as the Egyptian or Assyrian, ever made the history of all parts identical.

¹ The vulgar restriction of 'Arabia Felix' to the SW. of the peninsula (Yemen and Hadramaut) is due to a medieval error, repeated and confirmed by D'Anville. Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy alike apply the term Felix to all peninsular Arabia.

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Syria has strong natural boundaries: high mountains N. (average summits 8500 ft.), sea W., and deserts S. and E.; but there are weak points, whose influence is shown in Syrian history. The deserts S. and E. being indeterminate social limits. Supporting nomad populations, which are constantly being reinforced from *foci* in the Arabian oases, and forced outwards by the inability of the desert to maintain their increase, these steppe-deserts do not divide nearly as sharply as the N. mountains, which retain barrier populations of peculiar character. Settled folk do not migrate into deserts, but desert folk constantly migrate into settled lands. Throughout the S. and E. border of Syria, therefore, 'Arabisation' has always gone on; and especially in Palestine, even W. of the Ghēr, many features of nomadic life appear intrusively in the settled society. The history of the Aramæan Semites has never been wholly distinct from that of the Arabian.

NE. and NW. are easy passes. Euphrates, fordable in an ordinary summer at various points below the Taurus gorges, has not served strongly to differentiate N. Mesopotamia from N. Syria. These regions are of very similar character, and the eastward roads pass readily from one to the other. On the other hand the Amānus mountains, though rising to 6000 ft., have many low and not difficult passes, notably those traversing the depression which divides the two main constituents of the system, the Elma and the Giaur chains, and will shortly be traversed by a railway. The strong boundary lies much farther W., where the main Taurus runs obliquely down to the sea in the 'Rugged' Cilicia (*Tracheia*). Eastern influence, therefore, which entered Syria from NE. passed readily out of it to NW. and caused the civilisation of Tarsus to be more Mesopotamian than that of Jerusalem. 'Plain' Cilicia may more truly be reckoned to Syria than to Asia Minor, as indeed was apparently the view of Herodotus, who included Commagene in Cilicia (cp CILICIA, § 2). The influence of Mesopotamia is, therefore, as marked in N. Syria as that of Arabia in S. Syria.

The area within these limits has always presented a certain social homogeneity; but its great excess of length over breadth has militated against political unity, and given to its internal geographical barriers a separative power which their own character would hardly confer. The main internal barrier is a mountainous region extending to almost an equal distance N. and S. of lat. 34°. Here the land slopes up from N. and S. to a sill of 3000 ft. elevation (*Calcsyria*). On either flank E. and W. of the plateau so formed rise longitudinal calcareous ranges. That on the E. (*Antilibanus*—J. esh-Sharḡi) is a five-fold system, radiating N. from a lofty nucleus on SE. of the plateau (J. esh-Sheikh, *Hermon*, 8600 ft.). The average elevation of the other principal summits is about 8000 ft. and of the valleys between the radii 5000 ft. The main drainage of the E. slopes flows SE. into a lacustrine pan, about 30 m. in diameter, where it is absorbed by irrigation, or goes to form marshy inundations, united or divided according to the season. Of these the principal are Bahr el-'Ateiba N., fed by the Baradā (*Abana*) and Bahr Kiblyeh S., fed by the A'waj (*Pharphar*). E. of this oasis stretches a very barren steppe falling away to Euphrates. N. of it the swell of the central plateau is continued NE. from the spurs of Antilibanus by a barren ridge which runs to Euphrates and beyond. W. there is easy approach from the central sill of the plateau by a pass (4200 ft.) which leads between Hermon and the spring of the radii of the Antilibanus system to the upper valley of the Baradā. SW. there is also an easy, though at first barren road to the low country S. of the central plateau (= Palestine). This *oasis of Damascus*, therefore, placed almost on the axis of partition

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between N. and S. Syria, and communicating readily with both these regions and with the elevated frontier district, is marked by nature for the locality of the capital city of an independent and undivided Syria. Were it not for its oasis character, Damascus would have played the part of capital more often. The W. range of the central plateau (J. el Gharbi or Liban = *Lebanon*) is a single chain of Jurassic limestone with basaltic intrusions, very steeply inclined and without passes under 6000 ft. The highest summit reaches 10,200 ft. (see *LEBANON*, § 6). This walls off from the rest of Syria a narrow maritime strip, stretching from N. el-Kebir (Eleutherus) on the N. to Carmel on the S., much interrupted by spurs of Lebanon, very fertile, thanks to the heavy precipitation on the western slope, and supplied with many harbours, good in the days of small sailing craft. Communication being difficult both with the interior (except by artificial ways made at great cost, such as the French mountain railway opened from Beyrouth *via* Zahleh to Damascus in 1899), and within the littoral strip itself, the inhabitants of this region have not shared in the main currents of Syrian life, but have been attracted towards navigation (see *PHENICIA*, § 9). The distinctive character of their small territory was recognised by its constitution under Hadrian as a separate province (Syria Phoenice).

The main floor of the central Syrian plateau falls gradually N. and S. from a scarcely perceptible sill just N. of B'falbek, which is the main water-parting of Syria. It is an ancient lake-bed and the most important part of the mod. 'Lebanon' district, administered since 1861 as a province independent of the *vilayet* of Syria. Along this deep and easy upland valley of *el-Bukā'* (anc. Coelesyria), and between the flanking ranges, flow to N. the head-waters of the 'Asī (Axios or Orontes): to S. those of the Lātāni (*Leantes*), called in its lower course *el-Kāsimiyeh*, which force their way W. between the S. butt of Lebanon and its continuation, the *missif* of Galilee, to the sea; and those of the Wady et-'Teim, which, after receiving the drainage of the S. butt of Hermon, becomes Nahr el-Kebir (Jordan), and flows down into the rift of the Gh'or and to the Dead Sea (see *JORDAN*, § 3 *f.*), where it is dissipated by evaporation at 1300 ft. below sea-level. The Bekā' and the central plateau in general terminate S. in a steep and rugged hill-system, rising to 3860 ft. in J. Jarinak. This, which is the N. beginning of Galilee, renders access from the S. difficult, and diverts the natural trunk road eastward of the E. flanking range and to Damascus, whence it either gains the Bukā' through the Baradā pass (see above), or it continues N. under the E. flank of Antilibanus, to debouch in the 'Asī valley lower down (near Hims), or it crosses the steppe N. or NE. to Euphrates.

S. Syria is all that lies S. of the central plateau and the oasis of Damascus, from the sea to the Euphratean watershed and the edge of the steppe-desert, which is here fringed in great part by lava-fields. All this district formed the *Syria Palestina* of Hadrian's provincial arrangement. It is divided longitudinally by the deep rift in which Jordan flows; and its eastern half, being thus in great measure detached from the western, and from all maritime influences, is especially open to influences of Arabia. W. Palestine merges insensibly in the desert on the S. For further geographical details concerning S. Syria see *PALESTINE*, § 2 *f.*

D. G. H.

It has been pointed out under *PALESTINE* (col. 3542 *f.*) that, owing to the geographical position of

the land, the fauna, though in the main Palæartic in character, was modified by the intrusion of certain forms from the Oriental region towards the E. and from the Ethiopian region towards the S. Syria, lying to the N. of Palestine, is equally with it subject to invasion from the E., but is naturally much less exposed to intruders from the S., which,

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indeed, in Palestine, chiefly affect the hollow cleft which contain the Dead Sea and the valley of the Jordan.

The fauna of Syria, like that of Palestine, is of a great extent a steppe-, desert-, and rock-fauna, but it differs considerably from that of southern or even central Palestine in the character of its mammals. As might be expected, there are many animals with a northern provenance found in Syria which do not penetrate as far S. as southern Palestine, whilst the latter area harbours many forms which extend into the Peninsula of Syria, Egypt, and Nubia, but which do not reach into Syria. Nehring¹ has recently pointed out that a line which leaves the coast in the neighbourhood of Karthak, skirts the southern limits of the Carmel group of hills, and then turns NE. to strike the Sea of Galilee a little W. of the exit of the Jordan, corresponds with the lower limit of the distribution of several of the more conspicuous Syrian mammals. Nehring's line, although it includes a considerable portion of Galilee, may be taken as the boundary of Syria considered from a zoological standpoint. It does not of course correspond with any historical limit; but animals are seldom found to respect political delimitations.

N. of this line we find the Syrian variety of the bear, *Ursus isabellianus*, which frequents the heights of Lebanon, Hermon, and is met with in Hama and Gilead. The badger, *M. taxus*, like the bear, seems to reach its southernmost limits in the wooded and hilly districts just mentioned. The polecat, *Mustela putorius*, and the ermine, *M. erminea*, are found on the slopes of Hermon, Lebanon, and Tabor, but do not pass Nehring's line. Their congener, *M. foina*, the beech-marten, however, spreads through Palestine. The otter, *Lutra vulgaris*, is also not uncommon on the shores of the Sea of Galilee. The striped hyena, *Hyena striata*, a nocturnal animal, the human leopard, *Cynelurus jubatus*, are amongst the commoner carnivora, whilst *Felis claus*, the jungle-cat, is found in Syria in a special variety. The roe-deer, *Capreolus caprea*, reaches its southernmost limit on the slopes of Mt. Carmel; neither it nor the fallow-deer passes the above-mentioned line. The Syrian wild-ass, *Equus hemippus*, is another conspicuous form which very rarely enters Palestine. The wild-boar, *Sus scrofa*, is more widely distributed. It frequents not only wooded and marshy localities, but even the desert, where it lives on roots. The gazelle, *Gazella dorcas*, extends southward from Lebanon as does the Syrian hare, *Lepus syriacus*. Of the ermine family Rodentia, which supplies so large a proportion of the mammals in this part of the world, the Alpine-vole, *Microtus agrestis*, and the water-vole, *M. amphibius*, are common in Syria but do not pass Nehring's line. On the other hand, several species of ground-vole extend far beyond it, as do three common species of dormice, *Myoxus glis*, the squirrel-tailed dormouse, *M. arista*, the garden dormouse, and *M. bryas*. The Syrian squirrel, *Sciurus syriacus*, is peculiarly Syrian, and the ponched-marmoset or sowlit, *Spermophilus xanthopsomus*, is not encountered S. of Gilead. The gerbil, *Gerbillus lentivus*, is also peculiar to Syria. According to Nehring, the *Psaunomys insularis* mentioned under *PALESTINE* (§ 14 *f.*) is more correctly referred to the genus *Neotoma*, and thus represents one of the intrusive elements from the Oriental region.

It will be seen from the above that Syria has several mammals peculiar to itself, and a number which reach their southernmost point in or about Mt. Carmel. The fauna of this region is further characterised by the absence of many creatures we are accustomed to associate with the Bible-lands. Conspicuous amongst these are: the coney, which recent research seems to confine to southern Palestine; the genus *Lepus*, a hedgehog-like mouse with spiny fur; the fascinating little jerboas, and several other rodents; and the *Sus* illex or bodeu. Enough has been said to show that the mammalian fauna of Syria (including a large part of Galilee) differs considerably from that of S. Palestine, and that probably there are few spots on the world of so restricted an area in which the mammals at one extremity differ so much from those at the other as they do in the little country of Palestine.

A. I. S.

N. Syria is all that land which lies N. of the central plateau, and E. of Lebanon; but politically it has always tended to include not only the plateau itself (there being no such barrier to the N. as the mountains of Galilee form to the

¹ *Globus*, 81, 1902, p. 309. See also WMM, *OLZ*, 1922, p. 394.

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S.), but also the oasis of Damascus, between which and Palestine intervenes a barren tract. It comprises the NE. steppe as far as Euphrates, and all the N. land up to Taurus. Since this region is most strictly 'Syria' and is not treated elsewhere, a more particular description is subjoined.

(a) *The 'Asi' basin.*—The Bukā' valley, after a course of about 100 m., opens out in lat. 34° 40'. The mountains on either hand fall to grassy downs, and the river 'Asi leaves the rocky gorge in which it has fallen over 2000 ft., and expands at a level of about 1000 ft. into a lake of 30 m. area, formed in part by an artificial dam of ancient construction. At the head of this stood the ancient Kadesh; at the foot now stands Hama (anc. *Kemsa*)—to hold the pass between the plateau valley and the lower Orontes lands the heart of Syria proper (*Schamis*). At the same point come in natural roads (1) from Tripoli (Farābulus) on the W. coast, round the N. butt of Lebanon by way of the valley of the N. el-Kelbir, (2) from Tadmor and Damascus round N. of Antilibanus. Railways will, not improbably, cross both shortly over both these roads, and Hama will regain its old importance. The 'Asi flows on through a widening valley for about 25 m. to the rich marshy district of Hamat (Hamath-Epiphanica), to the E. of which point the steppe grows more down-like and habitable as far as the Euphrates, while to the W. rises a broad, low, and fertile range (J. Nušeriye) which on the W. leaves considerable littoral strips here and there of its own creation between itself and the sea. The most important of these contains the town el-Lādakiyeh (*Laodicea*). The range ends N. in the abrupt mass of J. el-Akrā' (*Castus*), 5750 ft., which falls direct to the sea and closes the littoral. A road over J. Nušeriye meets, at Hamat, the direct Aleppo road, which continues the easiest route from Euphrates.

Leaving Hamat, the 'Asi bends somewhat W. of N. and flows through rich pastures (el-Ghāb) bounded on the E. by a triple system of basaltic hills (J. el-Yla) with fertile intervals, which contain numerous remains of ancient habitation. It passes successively the sites of Larissa (Sajar) and Apamea (Kal'at el-Mudik), and after a course of 50 m. from Hamat, is turned sharply W. by a rocky obstruction (Jir el-Jadid) and hugs the N. butt of J. Nušeriye. To the N. in the line of its former course now opens out a wide plain (el-Amk), partly filled by a marshy lake (Bahj-el-Abyad, or Ak-Demir) into which it once flowed, and where it once met important tributaries, the Afrin and the Kara Su. These now feed the lake which discharges into the 'Asi by the channel, Nahr el-Kowsit. The Afrin flows down a broad valley (anc. *Cyrrhestica*) from the NE., which prolongs the plain far up towards Euphrates and carries a trunk road thitherward, which crosses a low water-parting E. of 'Ain Tāb and strikes the great river at Birejik, or following the valley of the Sijur at Carchemish a few miles S. The proposed Baghdad railway will ascend the Afrin valley after descending that of Kara Su. The Kara Su comes from the N., bringing the eastward drainage of S. Amānis. A natural road leads up its valley to its source on the marshy sill of Zinjirli (1650 ft.), and there forks (1) W. through the lowest Amānis passes to Cilicia and Asia Minor, and (2) NE. into the valley of Mar'ash and ancient Commagene. Ancient remains of a palatial Assyrian fortress of an importance suitable to its strategic position have been explored at Zinjirli by Dr. Von Lusehan (FORTRESS, § 5). From the 'Amk plain a direct road also leads due E. to Aleppo and the Euphrates near Rakka (Thapsacus). The deep and fertile region in which all these waters and roads meet is the natural centre of N. Syria, and accordingly the locality in which its greatest city of antiquity, Antioch.

1 'Asi in Arab. = 'rebel', and the title is variously explained by the turbulence, the inaccessibility, or the anti-Meccan direction of this stream. But it is undoubtedly derived originally from the same ancient native name which the Greeks wrote *Asios*.

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was situated (see ANTIQ. II, § 1). The modern Antakieh lies near the point at which the 'Asi, leaving at last rounded the butt of J. Nušeriye, is about to plunge SW. into a gorge worn down between that range and the S. masses of Amānis. Through this it falls about 150 ft. in 10 m. to the sea in a series of unnavigable rapids. On the small deltaic fan N. of its mouth stands Suedah (anc. *Selucia of Pharia*) which was the port of Antioch. At the unsheltered character of the port and the difficulties of the road in this gorge have caused N. Syrian trade to seek the more distant Alexandretta (Iskanderun), which lies NE. of the plain of Antioch and behind the S. extension of Amānis, here crossed by the low col of Beilan (2230 ft.), about to be pierced by the Aleppo railway. The whole course of the 'Asi is about 170 m.

(b) *Commagene.*—To the N. of the 'Asi basin a small district intervenes before Taurus closes Syria. It is bounded S. by the heights in which the Afrin and Kara Su rise. These heights start from Euphrates near the mouth of the Sijur, and run NW. to 'Ain Tāb; thence they bend sharply to the SW., rise in Kurd Dagh to 4500 ft., and are linked to Amānis by the Zinjirli sill. The hollow N. of them is divided into two basins by a low swell running N. from Kurd Dagh to Taurus. The W. basin drains W. by the Ak Su through a rift in Amānis to the Cilician Jihun (*Pyramus*), and is the territory of Mar'ash (*Germanicia*); it communicates, as we have seen, with the rest of Syria readily by way of Zinjirli. The E. basin drains to the Euphrates, looks eastward, and communicates less readily with the lands to the S. This is the ancient Commagene proper (Assyr. *Kummuh*), of which Samosata (Simeisit) was capital. Two important crossings of Euphrates, at Samosata and Zeugma (Birejik), placed it in communication with N. Mesopotamia and especially Edessa (Urfa).

(c) *The Euphratean plains.*—To E. of the 'Asi basin lies the lean steppe-like plateau described above as sloping E. to Euphrates. It is one in formation with the Arabian desert which limits Palestine on the E., but more fertile by reason of higher latitude and greater precipitation. It must be reckoned therefore to habitable Syria. It is limited on the S. by the ridge already mentioned, which runs NE. to Euphrates from Antilibanus, and along whose S. foot lies a chain of oases, marking a natural route from Damascus to the E. Of these the chief are Kariktein (*Arzab*) and Tadmor (*Palmyra*), both just on the verge of Arabia. The rolling downs to the N. of this chain once contained a large number of villages, dependent on wells, whose ruins have been explored by De Vogüé, Burton, Drake, Ostrup and others. This region is now deserted owing to its 'nomadisation' by the migrant Anazeh Bedouins, who have been pressing N. from central Arabia since the thirteenth century. In the latitude of J. Alā, whose E. slopes fall insensibly into it, the plateau is still steppe-like; but immediately N. of this point occur a series of pans, whose northern limit is the ridge which bounds Commagene on the S. These pans receive water draining S. from that ridge, and are all of more or less saline character. Of the two principal basins, that on the E. receives a watercourse (N. el-Dahab), which rises just S. of Membij (*Hierapolis*) and ends in the great *selikha* (salt-pan) of Jabul. That on the W. is more fertile and better supplied with fresh springs. It receives the Kowak, which rises near 'Ain Tāb, and ends in a tract of permanent saline inundation (Mat) near Kemisrin. Fine pasturage surrounds it, and its lower lands are arable. This is the ancient district Chalybonitis, which now supports Aleppo (Haleb; anc. *Chalybon-Beros*), a town of 65,000 inhabitants and the successor of Antioch. Through it lie the directest route from Asia Minor to Baghdad, or Babylonia, which crosses the Euphrates at Rakka (*Thapsacus*), and the easiest road from S. Syria to the same point or to the more northern crossing at Birejik (*Zeugma*).

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For S. Syria see under PALESTINE and PHOENICIA. For N. Syria see Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria* (1822); Porter, *Five Years in Damascus* (1839); Burton and Drake, *Unexplored Syria* (1872); Ainsworth, *Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition* (1845); Humann and Fuchslein, *Reisen in Nordsyrien*, etc. (1879), and a recent account of part of the E. steppe by H. C. Butler, in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, series 2, 4 (1909); (p. also Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf* (1909), and Blunt, *Reisens in the Euphrates* (1879). The summary by Reclus, *Géogr. Univ. (Asie Antérieure)* is very good (1881); and for more recent statistics, as well as local detail, see Cuinet, *Syrie, Liban et Palestine* (1896).

D. G. B.

II. HISTORY

The region which we designate as Syria has never constituted a political unity; of itself a proof that it is not, like Egypt or the Euphrates-country,

8. Idea of Syria. a single land held together by common conditions of living. There is no river to furnish a natural channel of inter-communication and bond of union. For the same reason, there has never been any such separate entity as a Syrian civilisation; in this respect also, precisely as in things political, the various districts gravitated towards the countries of the neighbourhood great civilisations. If Syria as an idea has maintained its existence for millennia, it is possible to see in this also a proof of the tenacity of the ancient Babylonian conception of the world. For it is to the ancient geographical division associated with that conception that the idea of Syria owed its origin, and its revival upon the fall of Assyria, after the Assyrian ascendancy had well-nigh sent it to oblivion.

Suri-Syria is closed in by the two civilisation-areas of Babylonia and Asia Minor, and thus its development was determined by them. Being separated from the Egyptian area by Palestine, it was not so directly influenced from that side.

The movements of nations, the immigrations, to which it is exposed are, mainly, those from the S. (Arabia) and those from the N., by way of Armenia and Asia Minor. The first are those of the Semites; the second, those of the peoples whom we are accustomed to call Hittite because they stand to Asia Minor, the seat of the Hatti or Heta, in a relation analogous to that of the Semite immigrants to Babylonia. The natural consequence is that the population of Syria is in the main a mixture of both racial elements, and that in the course of the millennia and centuries representatives now of the one, now of the other, give the prevailing character to the whole.

For any knowledge of the conditions in detail we must turn, for the remoter antiquity exclusively, for later times chiefly, to the accounts we possess of the neighbouring peoples—primarily of the Assyrian-Babylonian, and then also of the Egyptian conquerors. The soil of the country itself has as yet yielded but few documents. Of these, for the older time, the monuments excavated at Zenjirli-Sam'al are of primary importance. The many monuments bearing Hittite inscriptions, which the soil of Syria, both in the narrower sense of that geographical expression (Hamath, Aleppo, Mar'as, Carchemish) and in the wider (the eastern borderlands of Asia Minor), has yielded, still remain undeciphered.

The oldest Babylonian period shows Syria standing in the same relation to Babylonia as afterwards to Assyria. Sargon of Agade and Naram-Sin must have directed their armies thither precisely as was afterwards done by Tiglath-pileser I., Shalmaneser II., and the later Assyrian kings. That Sargon went forth to Amurru (Palestine) is repeatedly mentioned in the Omnia, and 'Sargon subjugated and settled all Syria' is said of that monarch exactly as Shalmaneser II. and others might have had it said of them.

In the time of Naram-Sin and the period that

SYRIA

followed, at least down to that of the first dynasty of Babylon, the ascendancy in Syria is already held by that Semite wave of immigration which we regard as the second. I call the Canaanite. At that time, accordingly, Syria must, like Babylonia itself, have received a considerable influx of population of this race and language. The next Semite wave consists of the Aramaeans, whose lordship in Syria does not emerge until comparatively late. Until that event, accordingly, that is to say, during the second millennium B.C., and even later, 'Canaanite' dialects—i.e., languages like Hebrew and Phoenician—must have been spoken in Syria. Even as late as the eighth century B.C., we can learn from the inscriptions of Zenjirli-Sam'al that the influence of the Aramaic had still to struggle with the older Canaanite dialects. A fragment of an inscription of Hasan Bey, not far from Zenjirli, and inscriptions of Zenjirli dating from the ninth century (of Kalamun bar [?] Hama) show, indeed, that by that time the Semite language of ordinary intercourse must already have become Aramaic, but at the same time exhibit purely Canaanite forms of speech, closely corresponding to Phoenician.

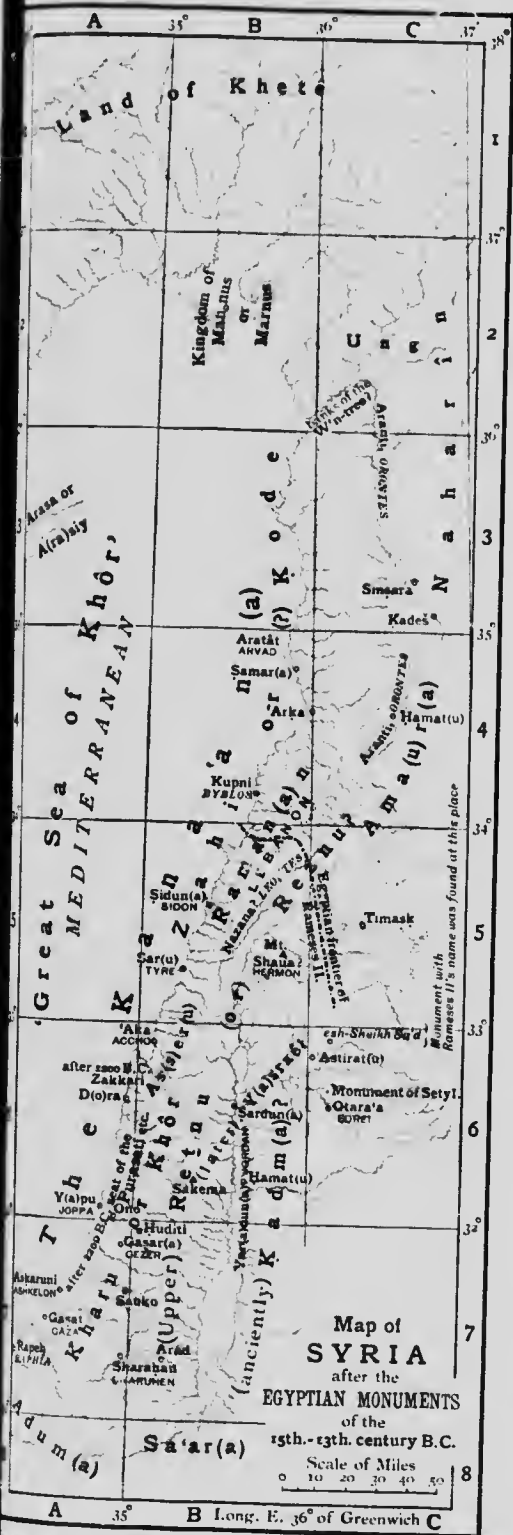
In the middle of the second millennium we find a Hittite people, the Mittani, masters of Mesopotamia and N. Syria (Hani-gallat = Melitene). Though they are the first people of this race which we have as yet been able to discover on Syrian soil, we must not therefore conclude that they were the first to force their way thither. On the contrary, it seems as if we were able to trace, in the Amarna despatches, the existence of an older Hittite layer of population even in Palestine (such names as Sura-sar are unquestionably 'Hittite'). Both phenomena alike are to be interpreted as consequences of a larger Hittite migration into or conquest of Syria, advancing from N. to S., in other words in the opposite direction to that of the Semite immigration.

To the same period belong also the Egyptian conquests of the eighteenth, and the nineteenth dynasty. How far the Egyptian lordship over Syria was in point of fact extended by these, hardly admits of ascertainment, but the princes to the N. of Aleppo, we may be sure, will hardly have accepted the Egyptian suzerainty for any longer period than that during which the Pharaoh was in a position at any time to despatch an army against them. Thus in N. Syria relations will have prevailed towards Egypt, similar to those which under Sargon and Sennacherib prevailed towards the adjacent border countries of Asia Minor (Tabal, Hilak).

In the Amarna letters in the fourteenth century, we find three powers keeping an eye upon Syria and Palestine: Babylonia (under the lordship of the Kassites), the Mitani, and the state of the Hatti or Heta in Asia Minor. Of these the Hatti would seem to have been at that time the most dangerous to the influence of Egypt. Again and again mention is made of the advance of princes of Heta into the Bekā'.

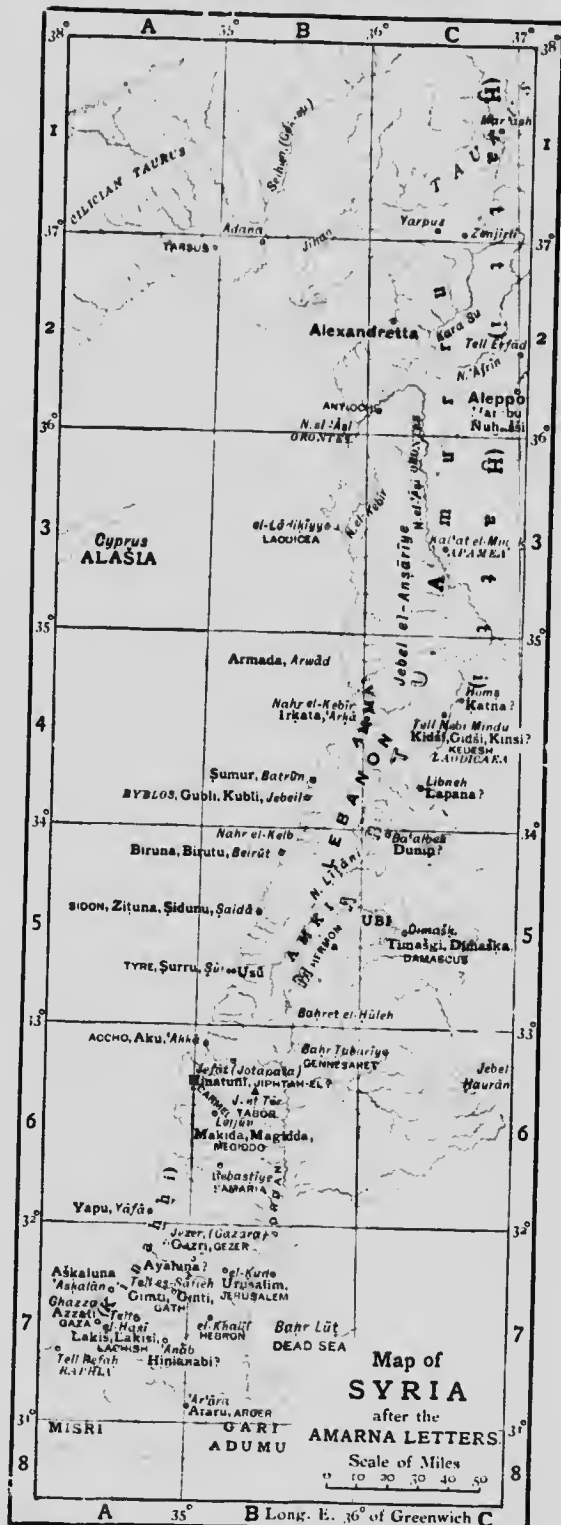
In the thirteenth-twelfth century Egypt is powerless, until under Ramesses II. it again takes up a somewhat more vigorous foreign policy. During this interval Syria was naturally at the mercy of the other great powers, and it is in agreement with the picture presented in the Amarna letters that Ramesses in the twelfth century comes into conflict with the Heta in northern Palestine and Coele-Syria. In the interval the movement which we find already in existence in the fourteenth century must have been completed, and Syria have fallen in the main under the power of the Hittite state. The fourteenth-thirteenth century would thus be the time which witnessed a Hittite predominance in Syria and saw Syria drawn politically into closer connection with the Hittite empire. All the great Syrian cities from the N. to the S. were at this period governed by viceroys or vassal princes of the Hittite sovereign; from Commagene to the valley of the

I. EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS.



Walker & Cockerell sc.

II. AMARNA LETTERS.



Walker & Cockerell sc.

Col. A. Billerbeck del.

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Orontes, in Malatja, Mar'aš, Aleppo, Hamath, and Kadesh on the Orontes the sovereignty of the Hittites was established. From this period, we may be sure, Carchemish on the Euphrates also was reckoned a Hittite city. It must have been the principal seat of the Hittite rule in central Syria, for with the Assyrians later it passed as the capital of Syria, in so far as it was Hittite, and they called its king also, without qualifying phrase, the Hittite (Hatti) king.

The advance of the Hatti southwards over Cilicia must have occurred in connection with these movements. For if their power had its seat in Asia Minor and on the Halys, they would have been first to overthrow the Mitani power in Hanigalbat, if they had wished to force their way through Melitene and Commagene. Struggles with this power were not wanting; the Amarna letters tell of a victory of Dušratta of Mitani over the Hittite king, but the overthrow of the Mitani was accomplished by Assyria.

The Mitani and their successors, accordingly, held northern Syria, whilst the advance proper of the Hittites upon Cilicia (the Kue of the Assyrian inscriptions) appears to have been made through the 'Cilician Gates' and through Cilicia and over Amanus.

At the same time we can learn also from the Amarna letters that Assyria under Asur-uballit is beginning to

14. Appearance of Assyria.

be dangerous to the king of Babylon, and to arouse his jealousy as well as that of the king of the Mitani. Soon afterwards, under Ramman (Mad)-nirari I. and Shalmaneser I., Assyria broke the power of the Mitani, and thus subdued Mesopotamia, setting it in part with Assyrian colonists, as well as extending also westwards of the Euphrates. Shalmaneser I. took possession of the lands to the N. of the Taurus and subjugated Kummān as well as Musri—i.e., Cappadocia, at least between Taurus and Anti-taurus. In other words, he took possession of the whole area of the Mitani empire and brought that power to an end.

In doing so, Assyria at the same time stepped into the place that the Mitani had occupied over against the Hatti, and this new acquaintance thrust itself in almost like a wedge between the original land of the Hatti and their new acquisitions. The territory of the Hatti would in the event of any fresh advances of Assyria through Cilicia down to the sea be torn in two. The necessary consequence would then have been that the Assyrians would be compelled, as were the Mitani kings in the Amarna period, to go to war with the kings of the Hatti, in which all Syria from Commagene southward would have been involved.

The Hatti, however, were apparently spared this struggle by the sudden collapse of the Assyrian power at the death of Tukulti-Ninib I., and by his efforts to secure his position in Babylonia before pressing westward. This happened in the thirteenth century, and in this way the Hatti were enabled to develop and establish themselves in Syria undisturbed by the new and dangerous enemy.

15. Hittite and Egyptian.

The advance of Egypt under Rameses did not curtail this Hittite territory, for in spite of all alleged triumphs over the 'miserable Heta' Rameses acknowledged their lordship over Syria, the mutually-recognised frontier having been possibly the Nahr el-Kelb near Beirut, if not some river still more to the S.

By the peace concluded between the two powers, expressed in an offensive and defensive alliance between Rameses and Hetasar—an alliance rendered famous by the preservation of the terms of the treaty¹—was effected a definition of political rights in Syria of great importance; the Pharaoh renounced his rights in Syria in favour of the Hittite king, and thus the country which hitherto had been in theory Egyptian now became Hittite.

¹ See WMM *MITG* 1902, no. 5 (*H(e)-št-š-ra*).

SYRIA

This theory was taken advantage of and zealously pressed by Assyria. If in the sequel Syria figures with the Assyrians as 'Hatti land,' they employ this designation because they come forward as lawful heirs to the Hittite claims.

The same period which witnessed the subjugation of the Hatti saw also the gradual pressing forward of the Aramaeans into Syria. Already in the Amarna letters we find mention of the *ahlamū*, by which expression we are to understand the Aramaic bedouins. Kammān (Adad)-nirari I. and Shalmaneser I. fought with Aramaeans mainly on Mesopotamian territory, and similarly also, about 1100, Tiglath-pileser I. speaks of struggles with Aramaean *ahlamū* who had forced their way across the Euphrates into Mesopotamia.

The reign of Tiglath-pileser I. brought with it a renewed advance on the part of Assyria along the paths

17. Tiglath-pileser I.

Shalmaneser I. Crossing across the Euphrates through Melitene to Kummān and Musri, Tiglath-pileser became master in the first instance of the former territory of the Mitani which belonged to him as lord of Mesopotamia. This was not possible without a previous clearing out of other invaders. For now also the 'Hittite' tribes of the N. were seeking to make their way into Mesopotamia and Syria, a counter-current to the Aramaean immigration. Tiglath-pileser names the peoples of the Kummān—who thus, perhaps, at that time, gave their name to the country—of the Muski, and Kaska, as having been repelled by him from Mesopotamia. The people in question are racially of the same kindred as the then masters of Asia Minor and the Hittite empire. This empire was, of course, still more profoundly affected by this same movement of population, and in the reign of Sargon II. in the eighth century, it reappears still under the name of Muski.

These peoples thus, from the present period onward, constituted the population of the borderlands of Asia Minor and of Asia Minor itself. The Hatti empire also, accordingly, was the scene of new displacements of population. From a statement of Tiglath-pileser we learn, too, that the collision with the Hatti empire which had not yet occurred under Shalmaneser I., was no longer delayed. The Hittite king—this is our only reminder of the existence of a Hittite power at all at this period—was defeated by Tiglath-pileser, and the way to N. Phœnicia was once more open, and with it access to a port on the Mediterranean.

Tiglath-pileser I. pressed on as far as to Arvad, the most northern city of Phœnicia, and so found himself on territory which had formerly been recognised by Rameses as Hittite, and at the same time he had cut off the Hittite possessions in Syria from the mother country farther N. He tells us how (in Arvad) he received gifts from the 'king of Egypt'—amongst them a crocodile, apes, and the like. This means nothing either more or less than that the then Pharaoh—his name is not recorded—recognised him as conqueror of the Hatti and as heir of the rights which had been ceded to these by Rameses II. Assyria thus had become the rightful successor of Egypt in Syria.

Even Tiglath-pileser I. advanced by the most northerly route to N. Phœnicia. Though recognised by Egypt he had not yet gained the recognition of the Hatti nor, above all, that of the broken-up Syrian vassal-states or provinces themselves. We do not yet know what was the attitude of these states—Carchemish, Aleppo, and those further to the S. That matters would not have been settled without an appeal to arms may be taken for granted; but they do not seem to have come as far as that, for once more, as previously at the death of Tukulti-Ninib I., the Assyrian power speedily collapsed.

In this way Syria was rid at one and the same time

of both its lords, for the Hittite power also must at that

18. Syria left to itself.

period have been severely shaken by the incursions of the Maski and others, and so precluded from effective intervention in the affairs of Syria. Syria, therefore, exactly as Palestine, was in the eleventh and tenth centuries virtually left to itself, and at liberty to follow its own political development independently of the great powers; as such at this date come into account not only Egypt and Assyria but also Babylonia. In Palestine and Phoenicia across the kingdoms of David and of Hiram, in Syria a number of states with populations essentially of one and the same character, a mixture of Hittite and Aramean. Needless to say, under these conditions the Aramean immigration went on with much less impediment than would have been the case if a strong and great power had held sway. We have evidence for this Aramean advance in occasional statements made by later Assyrian kings regarding the time in question. Thus Shalmaneser II, bears witness that under the Assyrian king Asurnirbi the Arameans had taken possession of Hitri (see Hitri on the Sagur).

This movement will have been in the tenth century, for from the second half of that century onwards we are again able to follow the course of the Assyrian kings (from Tiglath-pileser II. onwards).

19. Asur-nasir-pal.

In the ninth century Asur-nasir-pal begins anew to expand. He begins by subjugating the Aramean states which had in the meantime sprung up in Mesopotamia (the most important of them was Bit-Adini which had its centre about Harran), and next he proceeds to cross the Euphrates. It is, nevertheless worthy of remark that he did not follow quite the same route as had been taken by his two predecessors Shalmaneser I. and Tiglath-pileser I. Whilst they took possession of the territory which had belonged to the Mitani and from this base were thus able, after the conquest of the Hatti, to make their way to the sea, Asur-nasir-pal advanced direct through Syria proper. He already possessed legal claims to the 'Hatti land'—for as such Syria is now constantly represented by the Assyrians, whilst the Hatti land proper on the Helys is henceforward known as Miski. The development which had gone on in the interval appears from what Asur-nasir-pal tells us. In the N. it was Kummuh, on both banks of the Euphrates, that was always most fully exposed to the Assyrian influence, and it acknowledged the Assyrian sovereignty immediately upon the subjugation of the Aramean states of Mesopotamia. The region to the S. of Kummuh embraced in Asur-nasir-pal's time the state of Carchemish, now called the capital of Hattiland (see above, § 13). Its king submitted in like manner without a struggle, thus recognising the claims of Assyria. Westward of this had grown up a state which included the northern portion of Syria proper (substantially Cypriestica) from the borders of Carchemish—let us say the Sagur—southwards to the mountains of the Nosairi; its southern and eastern neighbour here may have been Hamath, of which Asur-nasir-pal for very good reasons says nothing. The new state was that of Patin (see PADDAN-ARAM), which had Libarna or Labarna for its king, and Kumalna or Kinalia as its capital. Libarna did not submit until his capital had been besieged. In the southern Nosairi range, that is in the mountains of North Phoenicia, Asur-nasir-pal founded an Assyrian colony in Arilba.² Of any further steps he took Asur-nasir-pal tells us nothing; but the state of affairs under his successor shows us what occurred in the immediately following years in this Aramean state in the '20's.

Shalmaneser II. proceeded immediately in the first

¹ From the order of the annals it is possible to doubt whether this happened in 876 or in 873 B.C. The latter date is probably to be preferred.

² Kal'at el-Arba'in, E.S.E. from el-Ladākiyeh? see Sānda in *MT*, 46, 1902, 73.

years of his reign to strengthen his hold on the territory

20. Shalmaneser II.

which Asur-nasir-pal had subjugated in Mesopotamia, Syria, Kummuh, Bit-Adini, and Carchemish in its neighbourhood, or were overthrown. In place of the single state of Patin, however, Shalmaneser set up in the same region several smaller states. Libarna had thus to share its dominion with the various princes of the districts of its former territory—perhaps in virtue of an arrangement of Asur-nasir-pal's on the principle of *divide et impera*. Shalmaneser mentions by name Mutalnu of Gubarna, Ham or Hayat bar Gabar of Sam'al, Sapalunu of Hamath, afterwards Kalparnuda of Patin in 853. Thus, in his first campaign which carried him to the Aramean states, Shalmaneser kept himself practically within the limits of Patin, which had recognised the Assyrian overlordship. Some years later (in 854) he already names along with this the people or tribe of Gusi (or Agusi), which had its seat near Apfal under its prince Arame, and in the N. of the Telli of Melitene.

The same expedition was destined to bring the whole of Syria or Hattiland under the Assyrian sway, and the course of it explains why formerly Asur-nasir-pal had advanced by the 'Ank-route. For the territory of Hamath, and that immediately adjoining it on the S., were at that time the seat of a greater power which possessed the ascendancy over Central Syria. Hence in the tenth-ninth century DAMASCUS (9.7.) had developed into a principal state. Shalmaneser II. reckons in the 'allies' of Benhadad (Bir-idri)—i.e., vassal states which had to render military service—in 854 B.C. and for long years thus: Hamath, Kue, Misri, North Phoenicia, the 'Arabians,' Ammon.

The humiliation of Damascus was the task which henceforward confronted Syria. Shalmaneser grappled with it in vain. Even in 842 when Hazael was besieged in Damascus it was found impossible to force him to submit. On the other hand, from that year we hear no more of any 'allies.' Assyrian politics had drawn them all over to the Assyrian side. The question of adherence to Damascus or to Assyria is at this period the decisive one for every prince in Hatti-land, and it is accordingly the one of supreme importance for Israel also (see II. 1. c.).

Towards the end of the reign of Shalmaneser (822) a revolt broke out in Patin; but it was quelled (Shalmaneser, *Oh.*, 137 B.).

21. Later kings.

The troubles connected with the change of government and the reign of Samši-Ramman (Abdi IV. left Syria, in particular Damascus, in much freedom. Ramman (Adad-nirari III. was the first to get energetically to work again. Mari of Damascus made submission to him, and thus all Hatti-land acknowledged Assyrian suzerainty. At the same time Amurri also, down to its most southerly extremity Edom, was subjugated, and thus Assyria now went beyond the limits of the claims which could be inferred merely from the acknowledgment made by the Pharaoh under Tiglath-pileser I.² Henceforward, accordingly, Amurri also is included in the expression 'Hatti-land'. We are unable to say how far circumstances of the Aramean period were held to justify the claims made in § 13.

Next follows a period of decline of the Assyrian power, bringing along with it greater freedom for Syria and Palestine. Mention is made of risings in Damascus (773) and more particularly in Hadrak (Hadrak, 772, 765, 755). The latter must thus at that time have been a town of importance in Syria. Probably Aramean princes sought to establish a kingdom there.

The powerlessness of Assyria had as one of its results that the northern part of Syria came under the influence of the Urartii, which at that time was strongly asserting

¹ I. c., the name 7723 of the Aramean inscription (CIS, 2 no. 75) see Sachau in *Z.L.*, 94.2. The names are partly Aramean, partly Hittite, and thus show the mixed character of the population.

² Meanwhile Šošenq had again asserted the Egyptian claims to Palestine.

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itself. This is true specially of the states of a pre-viously 'Hittite' character, — Kummuh, Mitanni, Carchemish. By contact with the 'Hatti-land', the Hittites properly so called, who are now designated as Muski by the Assyrians, — the kings of Urtu had doubtless acquired like claims with those of Assyria. Under the changed conditions in Assyria, we see them already desirous to extend its influence also over Middle Syria. Sometimes the kings of Urtu take the title of 'king of Sami', with the old-Babylonian meaning (cp. § 20), and in opposition to their adversaries the kings of Assyria.

In Middle Syria Arpad was in the hands of Mati-el-pance of Agusi (§ 20), and his subjugation, as well as the expulsion of the Urtu king Sarduris from Syria, was thus Tiglath-pileser III.'s first task. The reign of this monarch with its rapid increase of the Assyrian power, brought about in the end the subjugation of Syria and Palestine, and the prosperity of the Assyrian empire proper under the dynasty of Sargon. 'Hatti-land' in the extended sense which includes Amurrit and thus reaches to the Nabal Musri, comes under the sway of Assyria as a province or vassal-state.

After the subjugation of Arpad and Urtu, the 'Amk was again overthrown in 738. Here Azriyah of Ashdod sought to make a stand. His capital Kulani (see C. 1. 10) became the chief city of an Assyrian province; the other districts of what had formerly been Patin (Sam'al, Gurgum), retained in the meantime their own princes. In Sam'al Tiglath-pileser mentions Panammi whom we know from the inscriptions of his son Bar-sur in Zinjirli. The king's next effort was directed against Damascus, which fell under Rašon in 732 B.C., and became an Assyrian province.

By avoiding collision, Hamath seems to have maintained a government of its own from the time of Shalmaneser II. It is not mentioned again after it had given up the 'alliance' with Benhadad to submit to the Assyrians (§ 20). By the formation of the province of Kinnani in 738 it had sustained a great loss of territory. The whole of the North Phœnician district which had belonged to it was — as belonging to Patin (cp. end of § 19), and therefore rebellious — annexed by Tiglath-pileser as an Assyrian 'province Šimrri'.

23. Sargon II. After the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C. an attempt was made in conjunction by Samaria, Damascus, and this 'province Šimrri' to cast off Assyrian sovereignty. Enil, the king, doubtless, of the old ruling house, had been set aside, and a certain Hu-bi'di, 'a peasant,' called to the throne. The previous peasant condition of the new king shows that here there was a question of internal revolution which connected itself with similar movements in the adjoining countries and was somewhat related. In Israel some fifteen or twenty years earlier Amos had in like manner spoken out in favour of a popular movement. The result naturally was that Hamath too lost its independence (720 B.C.).

The same fate overtook Carchemish under its last king Pisiris in 717. He had vainly sought support from Mita of Miski (i.e., Mitas of Phrygia¹), the ruler of the old Hatti-land. Thus the whole of Middle Syria down to the borders of Judah had come under the provincial administration of Assyria.

In the 'Amk Sam'al had also in the meanwhile lost its independence, doubtless at the time of the rising of Hamath. The same fate befel Kummuh (Kammamu) and Mithen in 712, Gurgum with its capital Markis (Mar'is) in 711, Kummuh in 708, so that North Syria also was now once more under Assyrian administration.

Under Sennacherib Assyria made no progress; on the contrary, in Palestine repeated efforts were made simultaneously with a like effort on the part of Babylonia in the rear, to shake off the Assyrian yoke. This applies, however,

¹ Wi. AOF, 2 136.

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only to the self-ruling countries — Sidon, Tyre under Lutfi, and Judah under Hezekiah; the Assyrian provinces remained tranquil — perhaps because they had themselves at all events better off under the Assyrian administration than they had been under rulers of their own.

Under Esarhadon and Assurbanipal, in like manner, more of the same temporary changed habits, broadly to be called 'the conditions' which had been established under Sargon continued, with the single exception that the territory of Tyre and Sidon (not the city of Tyre) also had become Assyrian.

On the fall of Assyria, Nebo-mad made the attempt again to establish the old rights of the Phœnicians over Hatti-land. He advanced to Carchemish where he was defeated by Nebuchadnezzar². At this period he must

25. Babylonian supremacy.

like Nebuchadnezzar have had his headquarters in the Bekai. Kiblah seems then to have played an important part. The district of Hamath to which it belonged was very favourably situated for such purposes.

By the victories of Nebuchadnezzar Hatti-land (or *dir niri* (§ 20, 22)) for it is now again, as usually designated by its old name, came under the power of Babylonia, and there it remained. The rebellions of Judah which eventually led to the abolition of that kingdom, met with no support elsewhere in Syria. During the whole of this period the capitals of the former states of Syria figure as the administrative centres of an equivalent number of Assyrian (afterwards Babylonian) provinces.

The same position of affairs is still indicated by Nabonassar in his third year (553), when this ruler once more summons the kings 'of Gaza and the Middle Sea, beyond the Euphrates' to take their part in the rebuilding of the temple in Harran. At that time, therefore, 'Hatti-land' in the widest sense of the word was still acknowledging the Babylonian supremacy. Fourteen years later the new king of Babylon was Cyrus the Persian.

Under Cyrus and Cambyses the government of the country seems in the first instance to have been carried on unchanged; thus the provinces remained under their pahas and sakins as

26. Persian. before. The internal revolution within the Persian empire and the rearrangement of the administration under Darius next brought about the division of the empire into satrapies. As a result of this the 'Abar Nah'ra' (§ 20, 22), as it was now officially called in Aramaic (*dir niri*) still in the Cuneiform inscriptions, became a separate satrapy. Its first satrap was Ustani (see TAANU), who was also at the same time satrap of Babylonia and thus received the whole Chaldean kingdom as his satrapy. At a later date the two satrapies were separated. The Macedonian Conquest brought about, in the kingdom of the Seleucids, a fresh revival of the kingdom of Babylonia. Very soon, however, the capital was transferred to Syria (Antioch). Through the Roman and the Parthian ascendancy Syria was severed from Babylonia; its civilisation, through closer contact with that of the West, received new impulses, whilst the Babylonian came to ruin under the Parthian influence. The same state of things persisted under the Sasanian rule in Babylonia, and the Byzantine in Syria. The two were again united by the Mohammedan conquest which once more brought together the whole of the east into one common area of civilisation. Even then, however, the contrast was marked. The seat of the caliphate is at first in Syria; not, however, in the Christian Antioch but on the borders of Arabia, in Damascus, where formerly Benhadad had sought to found an empire. On the other hand 'Ali found himself compelled to transfer his seat from the native land of Islam to the other region of Eastern civilisation, to Babylonia (Irak). By his

27. Later. ¹ Nabuchodonossor in Antilibanus and in Wady Erisa (W. from Be'aillek).

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overthrow Syria triumphed in the first instance, and continued for a century to be the seat of the caliphate under the Ommyyads. Then the East obtained the upper hand once more, and the Abbasids took up their residence in old Babylonia, in Baghdad. The Orient had its last period of prosperity, which came to an end in the overthrow of Baghdad by the Mongols, by which time Syria as well as Mesopotamia had already for long displayed the old tendency to break up into detached kingdoms or sultanates.

D. O. R., §§ 1-57, 6, 7; A. E. S., § 54; R. W., §§ 8-27.

SYRIA MAACHAH, RV ARAM-MAACHAH (1 Ch. 18:16). See ARAM § 5, and SYRIA, § 1. MAACHAH

SYRIAN LANGUAGE (2 K 18:26 Is. 36:10; also Ezra 17 Dab. 2:4). See ARAMAEU.

SYROPHENICIAN (Mk. 7:26). See SYRIA, § 5, and compare GOSPELS, col. 1842 n. 2.

SYRTIS, AV **QUICKSANDS** (H. EGYPTIC, Acts 27:17, WH). The Great and the Little Syrtis (Συρτις μεγάλη και μικρά, Ptol. 14) were the eastern and the western recess respectively of the great bay or indentation in the coast of northern Africa between Fiume and Tripoli. The Great Syrtis, the eastern recess (the modern Gulf of *Siberia*), extended from the promontory called Boreum on the E. to that of Cephaee on the W. (Str. 834 f.). The Little Syrtis, the western recess (now the Gulf of *Gabon*), was included within the promontories Zeitha and Brachades (Str. 834, Scyl. 48).

If a vessel became involved in them escape was regarded as almost hopeless (Str. 836, σπασειν δ' εστιν το σωθμενον σκιδος); consequently, ships kept far out to sea in passing between the eastern and the western Mediterranean. *Strab.*, διαιτηρ παραρθεσι τον παρακλιον ποιουντες φελακτικουσι μη εμπεσουσι εις τους κολπους ον αι ονομα εβρυλασται Αρβηθουσι. Polybius (13) records how the consuls Gnaeus Servilius and Gnaeus Sempronius were caught in waters in the Little Syrtis (231 n.c.), and had to jettison their stores in order to get off Cap Apoll. Rhod. 412 n. Σορτιν ιδ' ηικετι κοστος οπισσω | νηυσι πελει, οτε τον γε βιωματο κολπον ικασθαι.

The danger was attributed not so much to the

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shallowness of the water and the treacherous bottom, but to the sudden and unaccountable action of the tides and consequent variations in the position of the banks (Pomp. Mela, 17, *impotens abruptio et obrepens frequentium brevis, magisque etiam ob altiorum maria pelagi affluentia de rediensis infestus*. Cp Str. 836, Apoll. Rhod. *loc.*). It was from this action of the tides that the name Syrtis was derived (Sallust, *B. Jug.* 7, *nomen ex re inditum . . . Syrtis ab tractu nominis*. From the Greek *συρην*, 'to draw'). Nevertheless, masters with local experience found little difficulty in running along the coast (Str. 836). It is probable that the dangers of the two bays were exaggerated in the minds of those unfamiliar with the coast; exaggerated accounts were also given of the inhospitable character of the mainland, which was represented as a desert sand full of dangers (Diod. Sic. 20:42; Sallust, *op. cit.* 79; Verg. *Aen.* 4:41, 'inhospita Syrtis'). As a matter of fact the coast of the Syrtis in ancient times was fringed with small towns (Str. 834 f.), and the territory was rich (Ibid. 32).

From what has been said it is easy to understand the fear on the part of the crew of the Alexandrian galley of finding themselves on a lee-shore, and that the shore of the dreaded Syrtis. From the probable direction of the wind (E.N.E.; see Smith, *Geographical Sketches of St. Paul*, 110 f.), which can be inferred from the bearings of the island of Claudia with reference to the region of the Syrtis, it is probable that the Great Syrtis was the immediate object of alarm, for a ship scudding before the wind (*επειδουτες εφερωθησαι*) must inevitably have found herself entangled in the bay ultimately. It was to check this course and to lay the ship upon the starboard tack, that the operations described in v. 17 (*χαλασατες το σκαφος*) were wrongly in AV, 'strike sail'; RV, 'lowered the gear'. See Smith, *op. cit.* 110 f.; Rams. *St. Paul's Traveller*, 329) were undertaken; with the result of throwing the ship ultimately upon the coast of Mauretania.

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TAANACH (תַּנְחֵן or תַּנְחָה) Josh. 21:25, ΤΑΝΑΧ [B], ΘΑΝΑΧ [A]; Egypt. *Tinku, Tīanak* [WMM, *At. u. Eur.* 170], a royal city of the Canaanites (Jos. 12:21, ΘΑΝΑΧ [A], ΖΑΝΑΧ [B], ΘΑΝΑΧ [L]), in the territory of Issachar, but assigned to Manasseh.

So, in Judg. 1:27 (*θαναχ* [B], *εθανααθ* [A]) 5:19 (*θαναχ* [B], *θεναχ* [A]) Josh. 17:11-21 (*ταναχ* [A], *θιδαναχ* [L], B. 10:1) 1 K. 4:12 (*πολιταναχ* [B], *θαναχ* [A], *αιθανα* [L]) 1 Ch. 7:29 (*θαλμη* [B], *θαναχ* [A]).

Schubert (*Morgenland*, 3164), followed by Robinson (*BR* 3:156), found it in the modern *Tāannak*, now a mean hamlet on the S. side of a small hill with a summit of table-land, where Dr. Sellin is now excavating. It lies on the south-western border of the plain of Esraclon, 4 m S of Megiddo, in connection with which it is mentioned in the triumphal 'Song of Deborah' (Judg. 5:19). It is a question, however, whether in all the biblical passages the redactor has not, through a geographical misapprehension, substituted the northern city Taanach for a city in the Negeb called probably Beth-anak (Che.). See *Crit. Bib.*

TAANATH-SHILOH (תַּנְחַת שִׁילֹה), a landmark on the frontier of Ephraim situated eastward of Micmethath (Josh. 18:21, ΘΗΝΑΘΑ και βελλαθηα [B], ΤΗΝΑΘΘΗΛΩ [A], ΘΗΝΑΘΑ [L]). If Taanath has the right vowels, we may identify with the mod. *Tānā* or *Ain Tānā*, N. from Yānūn, a ruined site with remains of large cisterns. The form given in G, however, favours a different pointing -תַּנְחָה, 'fig-tree of Shiloh' (NAMES, § 193), cp *θηνα'θ*, OS² 261:6.

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TABBAOTH (תַּבְּאוֹת), § 71; '[signed] rings,' but see TABOOTH; ΤΑΒΑΙΘΘ [BBL]; cp HOFBAIM, the family name of a company of (post-exilic) Nehbians; 1 Era 2:11 (70-80) *ταββαωθ* [A] Neh. 7:45 (*γαβαωθ* [B], *ταββα* [A]) 1 Est. 1:1 *Tabbaoth* (*ταββαωθ* [A]).

TABBATH (תַּבְּת), with the reading of the old form, ending, § 78; ΤΑΒΑΘ [BL], ΓΑ [A], mentioned only in the account of the defeat of the Midianites by Gideon, where it is probably a corruption of JOUBATH (Judg. 7:22). See GIBBON, col. 1720, n. 4, and note that this name, disguised as Tabbaoth, which comes from the Negeb, is borne by a family of Nehum or Ethantes (?). See TABBAOTH, SOLOMON'S SERVANTS.

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TABEEL, AV **Tabeel** (תַּבְּעַל), in Is. found from תַּבְּעַל [see Ko., *Lehrgeb.* 2537], 'God is good,' (1 [W], *Alt. Unt.* 74) 'God is wise,' cp Tab-rimmon; ΤΑΒΕΛΑ [BBLAQL].

1. Ben-Tabeel (RV 'the son of Tabeel,' AV 'the son of Tabeel') is the only name given by Isaiah to the person put forward by Rezin and Pekah as a substitute for Men on the throne of Judah (Is. 7:6). G regards the name as 7-compound, the second part of which is 'God.' The points, however, imply the pronunciation 'Tab'al' (i.e. 'good-for-nothing' (cp Nold. *ZDMG* 33:11 [187] *jeu d'esprit* in the old Jewish manner. Winckler *Alt. Unt.* 74) and Guthe (ISRAEL, § 32) take 'the son of Tab'al' (as is usually read) to be Rezin (Rezin). Most scholars suppose that an Aramean or Syrian is meant, but not

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Kezib himself, who is surely the chief speaker in Is. 75 f. Marti, however, suggests that the name of the father of Kezib's tombstone may have been Tūb'el or Tūb'el, so that he would have been a Judahite (but see FOUNTAIN); he declines, however, to speak positively. If, however, the view referred to elsewhere (KEZIB, TUBAL, TUBER) is correct, and the invaders of Judah were Kezib (Kezou), king of Aram, and Pū'āmīn, king of Ishmael, it becomes at once probable that the title of the pretender's father was Ben-Tūbal. TUBAL (זָבָל) being an ethnic name of the N. Arabian border-land. According to this view, the invasion was from the S., and the news brought to Ahaz may have been 'Aram has encamped against Ephron'; Ephron (עֲפְרוֹן), corrupted in Is. (LXX) into 'Ephraim' (עֲפְרַיִם), was the name of a town of Jerahmeel which became Judah's, according to 2 Ch. 13.10, under king Abijah; it may also have been Judahite under Ahaz, and if so have been on the frontier of Judahite territory towards the S. The case parallels enough in corrupt passages elsewhere to warrant our reading in Is. 76, 'Let us go up against Jerusalem . . . and let us appoint a king in the midst of it, namely, the son of Tūbal (the Tūbalite).'

2. A Persian official in Samaria, Ezra 47, who in 1 Est. 2.16 is called **Tabellius** (טַבְּלִיּוֹס [TAL.]). It is very possible to read the name טַבְּלִי, 'Tūbalite' (i.e., a man of the N. Arabian Tūbal). This is connected with a critical theory on the original narratives in Ezra, for which see *crit. Bib.*. It involves holding Shobal (Gen. 36.20, etc.) to be the original of Bishlam, and perhaps Kamath (1 Ch. 27.27) of Mithroslath in the same passage, the present readings being due to a later editor.

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TABERAH (תַּבְּרָה, 'burning' of RV¹⁹; ΕΜΠΥΡΙΣΜΟΣ [BIL.]), a locality in the wilderness of Paran (presumably near Kibroth-hattaavah), which is said to have derived its name from the 'burning' which took place there (Nu. 11.1 Dt. 32.2). See KIBROTH-HATAVAH, WANDERINGS, §§ 7, 10.

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- Traditional view (§ 1).
- Description in P (§ 2).
- The tabernacle: its walls (§ 3).
- Its coverings (§ 4).
- Curtains (§ 5).
- Gold (§ 6).
- Furniture (§ 7).
- Significance of tabernacle in P (§ 8).
- Symbolism (§ 9).
- Unhistorical character of record (§ 10).
- Impossible in the wilderness (§ 11).
- Sacred tent in E (§ 12).
- Tabernacle non-existent in historical times (§ 13).
- Literature (§ 14).

According to the traditional view, which goes as far back as to P, and even to the period of the exile, the temple in Jerusalem had its prototype in the portable sanctuary—the tabernacle—set up in the wilderness by Moses.

In accordance with directions received on Mount Sinai (Ex. 26 f. P) he constructed for Yahwe and the ark a sumptuous tent which accompanied the Israelites as their only sanctuary during their forty years' wandering in the wilderness. Though never anything but a 'tent,' a provisional and temporary house of God, designed for the journey from Sinai to Palestine, it continued long after the settlement in Canaan to be Israel's sole legitimate sanctuary—set up, now here now there, in various parts of Palestine until at last Solomon built his temple, to which the ark of Yahwe was finally transferred.

The most usual designation for this tabernacle in P is *taberah* (תַּבְּרָה; e.g., Ex. 27.1 28.43 29.4 f., etc.; see ASSEMBLY, 2; col. 346). According to Ex. 29.42 f. Nu. 17.10 [1] this expression denotes the tabernacle as the place where Yahwe meets with Moses and the people and communicates to Moses from the *kapporeth* (see MURPHY-SMAY) between the cherubim his messages to the children of Israel. On this view the usual interpretation of the expression as meaning 'tabernacle of

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the assembly' or 'tabernacle of the congregation' (Bahr, 1.187; Ewald, 198) is incorrect, moreover in point of fact the sanctuaries of the Semites never were, primarily, places of meeting for the community—they were places where the deity dwelt and revealed himself (see TEMPLE, 1.1). So also the tabernacle (see below, § 8).

The tabernacle is expressly spoken of (Ex. 17.1 f. P) as being 'tabernacle' (לִּבְיֹהֵן, Nu. 16.7 19.13 21.29 32.47 J. 9.22 f. 1.15 m. 4.19) *Yehoh* (יְהוֹה) a phrase which on the other hand, it is true, is also used to designate the deity of heathen, the dwelling-place proper of the deity, undistinguished from the deity, the structure (Ex. 26.1 f. 35.11 39.1 40.34, 40.37; Nu. 3.1 1.1 p. 1.1 f. 39.1 40.2 40.3). Another name for the tabernacle is *taberah* (תַּבְּרָה) (Nu. 10.15 17.22 f. 17.2 [18.2] m. 4.19) *taberah* (תַּבְּרָה) (Nu. 10.15 17.22 f. 17.2 [18.2] m. 4.19) or 'dwelling-place' of the 'possession' or 'with' (עַם אֲרָק אוֹתוֹ הַבְּרִיתָה, 1.1). Thus after the analogy of *taberah* is taken by Ruland and others as meaning 'the dwelling-place where God bears witness to himself and to his will, in other words as equivalent to 'trinit of revelation'. It seems more probable, however, that here, as in the expression 'ark of the *taberah*' (Ex. 25.22 26.1) the word *taberah* means the two tables of the law, and the whole expression the tent in which the two tables are deposited (cp. ὁ σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου, *Ag. tabernaculum testimonii* or *testis*, *op. cit.* Ex. 31.18 34.2 f.).

The details of the tabernacle and its furniture have been preserved to us in two-fold form—once in the form of a divine instruction to Moses in which all the measurements and specifications to the smallest detail are given (Ex. 25.10-27.19), and again in that of a narrative relating how this instruction was carried out when practically everything is repeated (Ex. 36-38.1). These two sections belong to different strata of P.

2. Description in P.

which all the measurements and specifications to the smallest detail are given (Ex. 25.10-27.19), and again in that of a narrative relating how this instruction was carried out when practically everything is repeated (Ex. 36-38.1). These two sections belong to different strata of P.

The whole description leaves at first sight such an impression of painstaking precision that the reader might be tempted forthwith to take for granted its historical truth. As soon, however, as he begins to examine more closely, and on the basis of this description proceeds to attempt to form for himself a definite picture of what the tabernacle was, he finds that in spite of the multitude of data supplied, or rather precisely because of their multitude, it is impossible to arrive at any clearness on the subject. As Wellhausen very truly remarks (*Proleg.*, 353, cp. E. 1.348): 'without repeating the descriptions of the tabernacle in Ex. 25 f. word for word, it is difficult to give an idea how circumstantial it is; we must go to the source to satisfy ourselves what the "narrator" can do in this line.' One would imagine that he was giving specifications to masons for estimates or that he was writing for weavers and cabinetmakers; but they could not proceed upon his information, for the incredibly matter-of-fact statements are fancy all the same.

The tabernacle consists of two parts: (1) the 'dwelling-place' (*am-kan*), and (2) the enclosing court (*ahaz*).

3. The tabernacle: its walls.

The 'dwelling-place' is spoken of in the narrative as a 'tent' or tabernacle (*Yehoh*). On closer examination, however, this accords very imperfectly with the detailed description.¹ For the so-called 'tent' forms an oblong with upright walls made of thick 'boards' (EV, עֲבֹט, *abot*,

¹ Other words rendered 'tabernacle' in EV, but only in the more general sense of that word, are: אֹהֶל, *ahel*, see TEMPLES, FEASTS, etc.; אֹהֶל, P. 762 (RVmg 'cover'), or אֹהֶל אֵשׁ, Lam. 2.8 (RVmg 'booth or hedge'); אֹהֶל אֱלֹהִים, Am. 4.26, AV; RV 'Sicuth'; see CURTAINS; Mt. 17.4 (1); σκηνος, 2 Cor. 5.14; σκηνωματα, Acts 7.45 2 Pet. 1.13. See FOUNTAIN.

² It is clear that the writer is at great pains to make it appear that the structure is a tent. Only in this way can we explain the surprising circumstance that in both cases—both when the instructions are being given and when the construction is being described—he begins with the roof. Plainly he feels that the walls, etc., as he is about to describe them, do not give the impression of a tent. Therefore he gives to the curtains—the roof—the place of chief importance, which of course they would have in the case of a tent, and treats all else, the walls, etc.—as secondary and merely as necessary accessories for the curtains just as tent-pole-ware.

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ⲉⲁⲓⲛⲓ, Philo and Josephus κῶρες). These boards are each 10 cubits high (this quite rightly designated in the Greek: 'pillars' or 'posts'), the wall itself somewhat more, as the 'feet' (see below) of the boards have to be added in. In all there are 48 boards, 20 on the N. and 20 on the S. side (the structure being eastward) and 8 forming the western (rear) wall. The front has no such wall; it is closed merely by curtains.

The boards themselves are (as Ex. 26:16 ff. expressly states) each $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits broad. From this, their arrangement and the thickness of each can be easily calculated.

The long side of the oblong (interior measurement) as is implied in Ex. 26:15 ff., is to be 30 cubits, and that of the rear wall (this interior measurement also) is 12 cubits. This last measurement indeed is not expressly given, but it is clearly implied by the whole context; the holy of holies at the west end of the structure is conceived of as a cube of 10 cubits, just as that of the temple of Solomon is a cube of 20. This being so, the boards of the rear wall were so placed as to make it the exterior wall which covered the breadth of both the longitudinal walls. The right boards of the rear wall together made a breadth of 6 x 11 = 12 cubits; as the interior measurement was only 10 cubits, there remained a difference on each side of 1 cubit which could only have served to cover the ends of the side walls. These, therefore, and the rear wall also were 1 cubit thick (so Bahr, Ewald, Kamphausen, and others).

Holinger,² it is true, supposes that these dimensions (10 cubits and 12 cubits) are meant to be taken not as interior but as exterior measurements. In support of this he points to the measurement of the curtain of goats' hair which is calculated for a framework of 10 x 10 x 30 cubits. This argument holds good, however, only if we ignore Ex. 26:12 (Holinger eliminates it as a gloss) and double the curtain for 12 cubits in front while at the rear it comes down to the ground (4 + 10 + 10 = 24 cubits). The passage just referred to, on the other hand, clearly reckons 11 cubits as hanging down at the rear and 2 cubits in front as doubled; thus leaving 31 cubits to be allotted for (viz. 30 cubits as length of the exterior and 1 cubit as thickness of rear wall).

In Ex. 26:27, it is true, the two corner boards of the rear wall are described, not from the above, and from this the inference has been drawn that they were of slender proportions, and thus the boards altogether thinner than has been calculated above (so, for example, already Josephus, who gives their thickness as half a cubit). The motive for this is manifest; a structure formed of boards 2 ft. 7 in. broad and 28.67 in. thick can no longer in fairness be called a tent; beams of such a size are no longer mere supports for a curtain roof; they are substantial walls, and it is also hard to say where in the wilderness trees capable of yielding such massive timber are to be found. Hence the pains taken in the apologetic interest to reduce the beams. Thus, for example, Knobel cites Ezek. 27:6 where the same expression *kōres* is used for panning (EV, RVmg. 'deck'), thus plainly indicating thin boards, not thick beams. As already observed, however, the writer's manifest object is to make the structure appear as a tent, and therefore he may very well have deliberately chosen this word even although (or rather because) it elsewhere means only 'plank.' Keil maintains that the interpreter has no reason for magnifying the planks into colossal beams such as can neither be obtained from the acacia tree nor be transported on wheels in the wilderness. Nevertheless, there is no getting past the fact that in Ex. 26:15 ff. it is expressly stated of all the boards that they were alike. The text of Ex. 26:15 ff., however, is hopelessly corrupt and unintelligible. The numerous attempts at explanation that have been made at various times cannot be discussed here; some of them are in the highest degree artificial, as for example that of Riehm (*III B.*, 1578 ff., *Stiftshütte*, p. 1578 ff.). Cf. further, Billiam and Holinger, *ad loc.*; also Riegenbach, 23 ff., Keil, 26. (Starting from Stadel's study of the construction of S. Louis Ivers (1: K. 7: 2 ff.) in *III B.*, 1501, pp. 145 ff. where ⲉⲁⲓⲛⲓ and ⲉⲁⲓⲛⲓ are shown to have had the technical sense of 'rays' and 'cross-rails' respectively, Prof. Kennedy holds that the ⲉⲁⲓⲛⲓ of P—which is found elsewhere only in Ezek. 27:6 in the sense of 'panel'—is 'a frame of wood, such as builders in all countries have employed in the construction of light walls.' He renders *ⲉⲁⲓⲛⲓ* thus, taking the parenthesis last: 'And thou shalt make the frames for the dwelling of acacia wood, standing up, two uprights for each frame, joined to each other by cross-rails; ten cubit the height and a cubit and a half the breadth of the single frame.' The third dimension is not given, because a frame has, strictly speaking, no thickness.)

Further, all the boards are uniformly furnished each with two ⲉⲁⲓⲛⲓ (*EV* 'tenons'), which are connected with one another by a slip of wood (Ex. 26:16 ff.). Josephus understands by the expression 'pivots' (ⲉⲁⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲁⲓⲛⲓ) at the foot of each board, and this is not

¹ [It is assumed throughout this article that the longer cubit of 2.267 in. is meant; see WRIGHTS AND MEASURES, § 1.]

² So also A. R. S. Kennedy, 'Tabernacle,' in Hastings' *DB* 4: 404.

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improbably correct. For according to Ex. 26:15 two bases (ⲉⲁⲓⲛⲓ, *adamim*, *EV* 'sockets,' *basides*) are provided in each case for the two pivots. They are of silver, and each weighs a talent ($\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.); Ex. 38:1. Interpreters differ widely as to the purpose and the form of these sockets. The most natural view seems to be that of Josephus, according to which the tenons of the sockets were placed at the lower edge of the boards in such a way that the function of the tenons was to connect the boards with the sockets. For throughout the whole description no word is said as to the manner in which the boards were set up on or, as it may be, fastened into the ground. As to this, some interpreters think of the sockets as having been wedge-shaped and as being driven into the ground, the boards then being fitted into them by means of the tenons. Against such an explanation, however, must be urged the light weight of the silver; $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of that metal (if the text be correct) are not enough for a wedge large enough to carry a pillar having a cross section of 30 x 20 in. and weighing something like half a ton. Moreover the use of silver for any such purpose at all would be very odd; silver and gold after all are best applied for the decoration of a structure and are not usually buried under ground. Other interpreters accordingly take the meaning to be that the *ⲉⲁⲓⲛⲓ* (tenons), were designed for driving into the ground and that the *adamim* were merely quite shallow projecting bases of the boards through which the pivots passed. But not even this is the object of fixing the boards in position attained, for simple pivots would have been insufficient, and the boards would have had to be driven into the ground (see below). Thus we are shut up to the view that the *adamim* were quite shallow bases of the boards serving more for ornament than for stability. By the pivots in that case these bases were attached to the boards. It will be enough merely to mention here the quite different explanation of Riehm (*III B.*, 1578 ff., 'Stiftshütte,' 1578 ff.) according to which each board consisted of two pieces which were held together by the tenons at the sides and by the foot below.

These boards were attached to one another by cross bars (*EV* 'bars'; ⲉⲁⲓⲛⲓ, *ḥerḥim*). Each board had on its outer side golden 'rings' (*EV*; ⲉⲁⲓⲛⲓ, *ḥerḥim*) through which were passed strong bars of acacia wood. To be precise, there were five such bars on each side (Ex. 26:31 ff.). The middle bar, half-way up the boards, ran all the way along and thus was in the case of the rear wall 12 cubits long, and in the case of each of the other two walls 30 cubits, or, let us say, 31 cubits, since doubtless we may safely assume that the boards of the rear wall which covered the ends of the longer walls, and thus the rear wall as a whole, were connected with the longer walls by these cross-bars. From the statement about the middle bar that it went right along we must conclude that this was not the case with the others. These, accordingly, were shorter and we shall be justified perhaps in supposing that each bar joined together only one half of the total number of boards, and thus that each individual board had only three rings and bars. The position of the bars as given in the *EV* (Riehm *III B.* 1579) is derived from the consideration that the narrator plainly has it in his mind that two bars could be at once distinguished by simple inspection, which would not so readily be the case if the upper and

¹ [This passage, however, belongs to a very late addition to P based on the census in Numbers.]

² It is not indeed expressly said in the text that the bars were upon the outer side; but this is the most natural and likely supposition. Ewald, however, amongst others, thinks of the rings and bars as on the inner side.

³ Riegenbach and others take Ex. 26:28 as meaning that the middle bar went through the interior of the boards the sides and not through rings, but such a construction can hardly be put upon the expression ⲉⲁⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲁⲓⲛⲓ, apart from the improbability of the whole idea.

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lower bars had each run at a uniform level and each contiguous with the other.¹

Finally, the boards and bars are, according to Ex. 26:27, overlaid with gold, that is to say, with thin gold plate so that the inner and outer surface of the structure was golden.²

These walls formed a framework for the coverings—the roof, which, as already observed, was regarded by the narrator as the main thing, the essential part of the structure, as indeed it would be in the case of an actual tent. It has four coverings, laid successively the one upon the other.

(1) The innermost was of costly linen. It is described (Ex. 26:1 ff.) as the work of the cunning workman (*qādash hōshē*), of fine-twined linen (*lin*; see LINES, 7) violet purple and red purple (*akklēth* and *arqaman*; see COLOURS, § 15, PURPLE) and scarlet (*thēkath hani*; see COLOURS, § 14, SCARLET). Cherubim were woven into it. How the colours were applied we are not more precisely informed. We can imagine either a patterned textile in four colours with woven cherubim in a white texture with cherubim inwoven in three colours. The latter appears the more likely supposition. The curtain of the enclosing wall of the court was also white (see below). The whole covering was made up of ten separate 'curtains' (EV; *yē'ethi*); each of these strips was 28 cubits long and 4 cubits broad, and five of them were joined side by side to form one large covering. No particulars are given as to the mode of their attachment. The two large coverings thus composed, 28 cubits long and 20 cubits wide, had each of them along one of the longer sides fifty 'loops' (EV; *lūlā-thi*) of violet purple so placed that each of the loops was opposite a loop on the other curtain. In these loops were inserted fifty golden 'clasps' (RV, AV 'tubs'; *ḥāḥim*), by means of which the two large coverings were held together.³ The whole of the great covering thus made up, 28 cubits by 40, was then laid over the wooden framework. On the outer side of each of the two longer walls it thus hung down to a distance of 8 cubits (the whole breadth of the structure, including the thickness of the walls, being, as we have seen, 12 cubits). To the rear, on the other hand, there were 9 cubits to spare, as of course the covering was not allowed to overhang in front. In this position of the covering, the joining of its two great sections, with its loops and clasps, ran exactly along the top of the hanging curtain which, 20 cubits from the front, separated the holy place from the holy of holies. This arrangement was certainly designed. Nothing is anywhere said as to any special attachment of this great covering to the walls; nor indeed was any such attachment required, its own weight combined with that of the two others superimposed upon it being amply sufficient to keep it in position. This inner covering constitutes the *mishkan* properly so-called, the wooden walls being regarded merely as supports for it; and we find it accordingly in one place (Ex. 26:13) expressly so called.

¹ Korf, Keil, Bahr, and others (including Holzinger), take it that this covering hung down on the inner side of the structure, covering the wall as with a hanging of tapestry. The reason primarily alleged for this opinion—that otherwise the cherubs shown—disappears on the assumption we propose to make that the hair-covering was drawn out (see below). Two other reasons, adduced by Holzinger, carry more weight. (i.) In the

circumstance that the middle bar ran right along and thus must have been 21 cubits in length naturally caused difficulty from very early times, and Josephus accordingly represents the covering as made up of several lengths of 5 cubits apiece, which were sewed together.

² Perhaps we ought with Holzinger to regard *rv. 20* as being in the main a gloss; in Num. 4 careful packing of the gold-plated plates is enjoined, and this would certainly not be easy in the case of the boards of the tabernacle. Yet an oversight such as this, on the part of the narrator, is not difficult to imagine.

³ *RV*'s supposition, that one curtain had loops and clasps, is contrary to the language of the text.

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first place he urges that the fine linen fabric would have taken damage if stretched over the wooden wall in contact with the rough covering of goats' hair, would have been torn by the nails, and so forth. As against this, however, it has to be pointed out that the whole structure is a creation of the imagination, and that in any case the author has not thought out the details with such practicality and minuteness as criticism of this kind would imply. (ii.) Holzinger's other reason is that, in Num. 15, when the tabernacle is being removed it is represented that the bassis covering can be applied as a covering for the ark without more ado; this certainly would be done most easily if it hung wholly within. The fact, however, that in striking an actual tent the first thing to be done is to take down the tent covering, is of course one that does not need to be particularly emphasised; and the implied contrast of the narrator thus becomes intelligible. (3.) On the other side there are preponderating considerations against the theory that the covering hung within. (i.) In the first place, had it done so, this would have rendered necessary special arrangements for the attachment of the covering to the upper edge of the wooden walls, but of any such, no mention is anywhere made. (ii.) Further, in the case supposed, the covering would have hung down 9 cubits on each of the side walls, and as many as 13 on the hinder wall, thus resting on the ground—in its quality, which, in combination with the great protruding corners, would have greatly disfigured the Holy of Holies. (iii.) Finally, in Ex. 26:12, it is expressly said that the tent-covering proper which lay above this covering overlapped it in all directions; but this is meaningless unless the inner covering also hung down the outside of the wooden walls. This last passage, it is true, is regarded by Holzinger as a gloss; it shows, however, in any case at least that from a very early date this linen covering was thought of as an external hanging. Nor is it by any means necessary to treat the verses as a gloss. For on any construction it is impossible to give precision and accuracy to the description (see below). For all which reasons the majority of modern interpreters (Dillmann, Riehm, Nowack, Kennedy, and others) adopt the view that the covering was an external one. On this view, let it be added, the general effect was not impaired by the inequality of the hanging on the side walls (8 cubits), as compared with the hinder wall (6 cubits), nor yet by the corner folds coming down to the ground with 2 cubits to spare.

(2) Above this inner covering came, as a second 'roof,' a real tent covering (Ex. 26:7) like those in ordinary use, made of black or brown goats' hair, a material that quickly felts in rain and allows no moisture to pass through. This covering is also spoken of, absolutely, as 'the tent.' Like the other, it also, naturally, is made up of separate strips; of which there are eleven, each of them 30 cubits by 4. Of these eleven, five and six respectively are fastened together so as to form two larger coverings. Uniformly with the linen covering both parts of the goats' hair covering have each on the longer side fifty loops exactly opposite one another and are fastened together by clasps; only here the clasps are made of copper—a less noble metal. The material and colour of the loops are not specified. It will be observed that if a covering of these dimensions were to be laid over the linen covering, it would overlap it all round by a cubit, and this is expressly stated in Ex. 26:13. On the hinder wall, on the other hand, the overlapping part was 2 cubits longer than the linen covering. For the hair covering was so adjusted that of the eleventh (extra) breadth of 4 cubits only the half hung over the back of the tabernacle (Ex. 26:12), that is to say, overlapped the linen covering.² The extra portion over the entrance in front, 2 cubits in width, was not allowed to overhang but was turned back so that in this way the first strip to the front was folded along the medial line and lay double. According to Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 64) there was thus made a sort of gable and portal. A simpler explanation perhaps will be that of Riehm and others, that the weight of the doubled front strip was intended to prevent the wind

¹ Bahr thinks that this covering was entirely white. The text, however, does not say so, nor is the thing likely in itself. Ordinary tent-coverings are black or dark-brown, often having white stripes also (Gen. 1:3).

² Holzinger (*Ant.* iii. 64) it is true, holds this reckoning which brings out an excess to be a mistake, and considers 26:13 to be a gloss. The mistake arises, according to him, out of a false notion as to the manner in which the linen covering was placed (see above). Kennedy (*op. cit.*) follows Holzinger in regarding *rv. 12* as a mistaken gloss, but holds that the whole of the eleventh curtain hung doubled over the edge of the roof in front, for which he claims the support of a Jewish treatise of the third century.]

from catching it too easily. Behind and at the sides the covering was protected against this by the fastening with tent pins (see below). The effect of the arrangement was that the joinings of the linen and of the goats-hair coverings did not coincide; and this is evidently quite right. In like manner the places at which the separate strips were fastened together by the loops and clasps were not coincident as Bahr, and recently Holzinger and Kennedy, erroneously have held. In point of fact, since in the case of the goats-hair covering the larger portion (of six strips) was put in front, the joining came to be over the holy of holies, 2 cubits farther back than the joining of the linen covering which as we have seen was exactly over the veil between the holy place and the holy of holies.

To this tent covering pertain the 'pins' (EV; *yēhōdōth*) and 'cords' (EV; *mēthārim*) of which recurring mention is made (Ex. 27.19 35.18 38.20 31 39.40). The pins, unlike the ordinary wooden tent peg, are of brass (38.31). From the mention of these pins and cords we must infer, although this is not expressly stated, that the hair-covering did not, like the under-covering, hang down over the outer walls, but, as would be the case with a regular tent, was fastened by means of ropes to the pins driven into the ground and thus spread out slantingly. Hence also it must in all directions have been longer than the linen covering. By this supposition we also get over the other difficulty, otherwise hard to meet, that at the rear this covering hung down 11 cubits (2 cubits more than the linen covering) and thus, since the wall was only 10 cubits high, would have had one whole cubit upon the ground unless thus drawn out.¹

(3) Above this tent covering were placed—obviously for a protection from the weather—two additional coverings; one of rams' skins dyed red (עֹרֹת אֵילִם רְדָמִים, but see BADGERS SKINS). As to the dimensions of these two coverings no details are given (see below, note 1). Riehm (*III B*) and others have supposed that they served the purpose only of a roofing, and were not so large as the coverings properly so-called. This, however, cannot be deduced from the expression 'covering' (כִּסְיוֹת) nor yet from the 'above' (מֵעַל) of Ex. 40.19 Nu. 4.25; and all further conjectures based upon this, such as that the roof ran to a point or to a ridge, and the like, are wholly without solid foundation (see § 10 end).

In front the structure was closed in, as has already been said, not by a wall of wood and a door, but only

5. The curtains. (AV 'hanging,' RV 'screen'; מִסְכָּה, *mīśāk*, Ex. 27.16, etc.), which like the inner covering was a textile fabric woven in four colours: white spun linen, violet purple, red purple, and scarlet. This curtain formed a single piece 10 cubits square, and was held up by five pillars of acacia wood. Whether the pillars were placed between the first boards of the longer walls, or so that the two outermost were attached to the outer corners of these walls is not stated. The pillars have copper bases and according to Ex. 26 are overlaid with gold; according to 36.37, indeed, only the capitals were so. How the curtain was fastened to these pillars is not explained. Besides the golden pegs or 'hooks' (סָבִיב, *śāwīwīm*, Ex. 26.37), rings (EV 'fillets'; חֲסִיָּקִים, Ex. 27.10) are also mentioned. By these some interpreters (Ewald, Dillmann) understand rings which formed a sort of garland under the capitals and thus served for ornament. Others (e.g. Riehm) explain them as rods which connected the hooks and on which the curtain was hung. At all events the *śāwīwīm* are not

¹ Holzinger (*ad loc.*) will have it that the cords and pins belonged to the upper coverings. In that case we should have to think of these as having been very large. The circumstance, however, that the hair-covering is actually called the tent (*šūl*; see above) permits the inference that just as in its material it resembled an ordinary tent, so also in its use it is thought of as such—that is to say, was spread like an ordinary tent. [Kennedy, on the other hand, finds the 'cords' mentioned only in the latest strata of P, and thinks the hair-covering was pinned to the ground all round after the manner of the Ka'ba at Mecca.]

nails with which the curtain was nailed up—had this been so they would have to be pulled out every time the tabernacle was moved—but hooks to which the curtain was fastened somehow, with rings or otherwise.

From this outer curtain the inner, by which the structure is divided into two parts, is distinguished only by its greater elaboration; the materials are the same, but, over and above, it is adorned with cherubim, the work of the skilled workman. The four pillars by which this inner curtain is supported, are of acacia wood completely overlaid with gold, and have silver bases, in this respect differing from the pillars of the outer apartment, which have bases of brass only, and only the capitals overlaid with gold. This inner curtain has its place directly underneath the row of clasps which fasten the two portions of the linen covering together, and thus is 10 cubits distant from the hinder wall. It divides the entire space into two apartments, the outer and larger being 20 cubits long and the inner only half as much, having thus the form of a cube of 10 cubits.

Nothing is said as to how this curtain is hung upon the golden nails. The curtain bears the designation of *parōset* (מַסְכֵּה, Ex. 26.31, AV 'vail,' RV 'veil') or *parōseth hammōśēd* (מַסְכֵּה הַמֹּשֶׁבֶת; Ex. 35.12 39.34 40.21 Nu. 4.5, AV 'the veil of the covering,' RV 'the veil of the screen'). The meaning of the word (cf. *καταπέτασμα*, Vg. *velum*) is uncertain. It is generally explained as 'parting,' 'separation.' More probably it is an original *terminus technicus* used in connection with worship, and denotes the boundary of the cella of a sanctuary (see below, and cp Ges.-Hu. and HDH, s.v. מַסְכֵּה, cf. also Dillmann, *ad loc.*; WRS, *Journ. Phil.* 13.283; Halesy, *IBL* 137).

The outer and larger apartment was 'the Holy' (*hōqēdōš*, Ex. 26.33, EV 'the holy place'), the inner 'the Holy of Holies' (*hōqēdōš hōqēdōšīm*, Ex. 26.33, EV 'the most holy'). The latter could be entered only once in the year on the great day of atonement, and that by the high priest alone (Lev. 16.2 ff.); the former was accessible to the priests only, in the discharge of their sacred duties.

The sanctuary was surrounded by an enclosed court 100 cubits long and 50 broad (Ex. 27.9-19 38.1-20).

6. The court. (EV 'hangings' *šūlīm*) of white spun linen (EV 'fine twined linen,' *šūl mošāwīm*). This curtain-wall which was 5 cubits high was supported by pillars of wood; whether of acacia is not stated, but this is probably meant. The total compass of the enclosing wall was (100 + 100 + 50 + 50 =) 300 cubits. The number of pillars is given as 20 for each of the longer sides and 10 for each of the shorter. The view of the author plainly is that there were sixty pillars in all at a uniform distance from each other of 5 cubits.

The number given for the pillars on each side is obviously inexact if the total number is to be taken as 60. If we take the statement quite literally and reckon all the pillars on each side, then on the given data we get a total of fifty-six pillars only. Of course each corner pillar is counted twice—once as part of the longer side and again as part of the shorter. It is in this way that Lund, Bahr, Winer and others view the matter. It is not very probable, however; for in that case the distances of the pillars from one another on the shorter sides (5 cubits) would not be the same as those on the longer (10 cubits). For this reason other interpreters prefer to think that the describer in giving his figures for each side did not count the last pillar in each row (so Keil, Dillmann, Riehm, Nowack and others). This doubtless would be in itself quite possible if it did not so happen that we are able to reckon exactly with regard to one side—the eastern with the entrance—that it actually had only ten pillars, neither more nor fewer. For this side had in the middle four pillars which carried the curtain of the door, and if we are to assume symmetry at all in the structure, the door must have been in the middle, and thus to right and left there must have been an equal number of pillars—namely three, as is expressly stated in Ex. 27.14 f. Thus we shall doubtless be justified in assuming that the author has allowed himself to be guided simply by his scheme according to which the proportion of 2:1 is applied to the whole structure without caring very minutely about details.

Each pillar has a base of bronze and a capital overlaid with silver. The diminution in the value of the materials in proportion to the distance from the Holy of Holies is noteworthy. The curtains are fastened in their places by means of silver nails which here also,

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doubtless served as hooks for hanging (38 17 27 17). In the same connection mention is made also of silver *hāṣūkim*).

The meaning of the word חֲסֻמִּים is disputed. Many understand it silver bars, or bars of wood overlaid with silver, which reached from one pillar capital to another and rested upon silver nails, and to them the curtains were attached either directly or by means of rings (so Land, Keil, Riehm, Knobel, and others). According to Ex. 38 17 to, however, the *hāṣūkim* seem to have been integral parts of the pillars themselves, and the expression *mishūṣūkim k'ṣeph* (מִשֻּׁסֻּכִּים כְּסֶפֶר; Ex. 27 17 38 17, I.V., 'filleted with silver,' can hardly mean 'fastened with silver cross-bars.' Other interpreters therefore (such as Ewald, Dillmann, Kautsch, Nowack, Kennedy) understand by the expression 'rings' or fillets which surrounded the pillars above, probably at the base of the capitals (ὀφθαλμοὶ, explained by Hesychius as ὀφθαλμοὶ τῶν στύλων; Tg. 39 22, a facing organland).

The E. front differed from the other sides (Ex. 27 14 f.). From each corner only 15 cubits were provided with an enclosing curtain, in each case having three pillars. The middle space of twenty cubits was left open for the entrance and had a special curtain of violet purple and red purple, scarlet and white linen in embroidered work (and thus exactly like the curtain at the entrance of the tabernacle itself) which was attached to four pillars.¹

In connection with this enclosure of the court of the tabernacle, finally, are mentioned also tent-pins of brass and cords (Ex. 27 19 35 13 30 25 31 39 40, etc.). Here also we see accordingly that the bases of the pillars are not designed for fixing them into the ground but that the pillars are kept in position by pegs and ropes which of course are applied on both sides. On another view (Riehm, Nowack, and others), these ropes and pegs held the curtain itself taut and therefore close to the ground.

As for the position of the structure, the *mishkin*, within the court we learn that the orientation of the whole was eastward. As the altar of burnt offering stood to the E. of the tabernacle and thus the most characteristic acts of worship, the sacrifices, were performed here whilst the space behind the tabernacle to the W. was set apart for no special purpose, we must suppose that the structure was not in the middle but stood more to the W. On this point we may take it that Philo (*Vit. Mos.* 37) hit upon the right conjecture when he supposed that the front of the tabernacle was 50 cubits from the enclosing wall facing it, thus giving a free space of 50 cubits square before the tabernacle.

According to P the portable sanctuary possessed already in the times before the settlement in Palestine the following sacred vessels:—

7. The furniture. (1) In the Holy of Holies stood the ark of the covenant (אֲרוֹן הַבְּרִית, *'āron ha' b'rit*) with the mercy seat (כַּפֹּרֶת, *kappōreth*) and the cherubim. See ARK, MERCY SEAT, CHERUB.

(2) 'The Holy place' contained the table of shewbread, the golden candlestick and the altar of incense. The table of shewbread according to Ex. 25 23 stood on the N. side, and to it belonged various golden dishes (E.V. 'chargers,' *k'ṣōreth*, Nu. 7 12 f.) and bowls (E.V. 'spoons,' *k'ṣōreth*, Ex. 25 20 Nu. 7 14 f.), pots or cups (A.V. 'covers,' R.V. 'basins,' *k'ṣōreth*) for the wine, and libation 'bowls' (so E.V.) for the wine offerings (*q'ṣōreth*, Ex. 25 23 ff. 37 19 ff.). For further details as to the table, see ALTAR, § 6, col. 126. Opposite the table, on the S. side of the sanctuary, stood the seven-branched golden candlestick (E.V. 'candlestick of pure gold,' *menōrath ha-zahāv*, Ex. 25 31 2 Ch. 13 11, or *hanūmōnōwāh haṣṣōreth* [E.V.

Here also, as in what is said as to the total number of pillars (see above), one observes that the author has not counted, or let us say drawn his plan, with exactness. He has simply assumed a regular interval of 5 cubits between the pillars, thus giving 20 cubits for 4, 15 cubits for 3. But this does not work out; the end pillar is forgotten. The whole side requires eleven pillars when such an interval is assumed; for the door five ought to have been reckoned or at any rate for each side of it to right and left four pillars. If we are to calculate with precision from the data he supplies, we shall have to reckon the distance from pillar to pillar of the doorway as 5.66 cubits and that between the pillars at each side of the doorway as 5 cubits. [Cp Kennedy, Hastings' *BD* 4657 f.]

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'the pure candlestick'], Ex. 31 8 39 37 Lev. 24 4; see CANDLESTICK. As vessels pertaining to the candlestick are mentioned the snuffers (E.V. 'snuffblows,' *mishk'ayim*) and little pans (E.V. 'censers,' *maṣṣōthayim* which, according to some interpreters (Dillmann, Knobel, and others), by the snuffers; according to others (Nowack, etc.) snuff dishes are meant (cp Ex. 25 31 ff. 37 17 ff.). On the form of the candlestick, see CANDLES-TICK; on the custom of burning a light in the sanctuary, cp LAMP, 30. I see TEMPLE, § 17. Between the shewbread table and the candlestick, facing the entrance and pretty far back, near the curtain shutting off the Holy of Holies stood the altar of incense (Ex. 30 1) [E.V. 'an altar to burn incense upon'], *mizb'ah nakhar k'ṣōreth*, i.e. *hassammim*, Lev. 47 [E.V. 'the altar of sweet incense'], or *mizb'ah ha-zahāv*, Ex. 30 6 [E.V. 'the golden altar'], with regard to which, and its absence from the older strata of P, see ALTAR, § 9.

(3) In the court stood 'the altar' *kaṣ' ḥōḥōḥ* (מִזְבֵּחַ, *hammizb'ah*, Ex. 27 1 30 18 40 7, etc.), 'the altar of burnt offering' (*mizb'ah ha' ḥōḥ*, Ex. 30 28 31 6, etc.) or 'the brazen altar' (*mizb'ah ha' ḥōḥ*, Ex. 38 30 39 36), on which see ALTAR, § 9 a; TEMPLE, § 13; and cp below, § 19. To the altar of burnt offering belonged a multitude of accessories: ash pans (A.V. 'pans,' R.V. 'pots,' *maṣṣōth*), 'sieves' (E.V. 'sifters') for clearing the altar, bowls (E.V. 'basins,' *maṣṣōth*) for sprinkling the blood, forks (E.V. 'fleshhooks,' *mizb'ōreth*) for the sacrifice of flesh, various sorts of 'firepans' (*maṣṣōth*). The vessels, like the altar itself, were all of brass (Ex. 31 4 ff. 38 1 ff.), as also was the other main object in the court, the laver, used by the priests for washing their hands and feet; see SEA, BRAZEN.

As already mentioned above and as set forth fully under TEMPLE § 1 f., the tabernacle, like all the sanctuaries of the Semites, has in the first instance the meaning not of a meeting-place for the community or congregation, but of a dwelling-place of the deity.

It is the place where Yahwe dwells in the midst of his people (Ex. 25 8 29 45 f. Lev. 17 4 Nu. 16 6, etc.). When the tent is finished the cloud of Yahwe overshadows it and the glory (כְּבוֹד, *kibōd*) of Yahwe fills it; by day Yahwe's pillar of cloud and by night his pillar of fire overhangs it (Ex. 40 37 ff.). Thenceforward it is invariably from the holy of holies that Yahwe speaks to Moses. More precisely, the *kappōreth* (see MERCY SEAT) of the ark, beneath the cherubim, is the place where Yahwe establishes his abode. It is from here that Moses hears the voice of Yahwe (Nu. 7 50).

As Yahwe's dwelling-place the tabernacle naturally becomes also the place where he is worshipped, for the deity is worshipped in the place where he is (see TEMPLE; cp Ex. 27 42 Lev. 1 35); and, in point of fact, for P the tabernacle is the only legitimate place of worship. This follows inevitably from his standpoint throughout; for him it is a self-evident proposition that sacrifice can be offered and Yahwe approached only at the place where Yahwe has his abode. So much so that it is not found necessary in P expressly to say so; the centralisation of the worship is for him simply taken for granted.

Nor is the tabernacle in P the centre of the worship merely; it lies also at the foundation of the entire theocracy as the indispensable basis without which all else would simply hang in the air. The instructions regarding it constitute the main contents of the divine revelation at Sinai. Until it has come into existence the whole organisation of the rest of the divine commonwealth must remain in abeyance. In this respect there is an element of truth in the symbolical interpretation of many writers (such as Keil), that the tabernacle symbolises the kingdom of God, is the centre of the theocracy where the calling of Israel to be the people of God is realised. Its importance in this respect—as centre of the entire theocracy—finds its visible expression in the fact that in P the position assigned to it is exactly in the centre of the camp and of the people. The order of encampment detailed in Nu. 2 starts from the tabernacle, immediately around which are placed the Levites as a sort of bodyguard; then to the E. the tribes of Judah, Issachar, Zebulun pitch their camp; to the S. Reuben, Simeon, Gad; to the W. Ephraim, Manasseh, Benjamin; to the N., Dan,

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Asher, Naphtali. This too gives the order on the march. Cp *C. viii*, § 2.

In this attribute as Yahwe's dwelling-place the whole arrangement of the tabernacle finds a ready explanation in so far as this is not to be found simply in its character as a portable sanctuary.

The innermost chamber is the dwelling-place proper of the deity, the holiest part of the entire structure. Next come the holy place and the outer court in descending degrees of holiness, answering to the degrees of holiness attaching to high priest, priests, and laity in Israel, and to their respective rights of access to Yahwe. The holy of holies can be entered by the high priest alone, and that only once a year; the holy place is for the priesthood and the court for the people. This gradation of holiness finds expression also, as already said, in the material equipment: in the holy of holies everything is of gold; nought save the bases of the boards resting on the ground—though here an exception cannot well be justified—and the bases of the pillars which support the dividing veil and which perhaps stand rather in the holy place than in the holy of holies, is of silver. In the holy place only the furniture, and particularly those pieces which stand in the neighbourhood of the holy of holies—table of shewbread, altar of incense, candlestick—are provided with 'fine gold'; elsewhere it is simply ordinary gold that is used. The exterior pillars of the entrance curtain, which doubtless are reckoned as belonging to the court, have but brazen bases. Similarly in the court itself we find brass only, save for the silver used in the nails and capitals of the pillars, and in like manner the clasps of the goat-hair covering are of brass, whilst those of the inner covering are of gold. The interior covering which covers also the holy of holies, and the veil of the holy of holies are the workmanship of cunning workmen out of the four costly materials enumerated, with figured cherubim; the curtain at the door of the holy place is without cherubim and the curtains of the court are simply of white linen.

With these simple ideas, however, which find expression in the equipment of the tabernacle in the manner just indicated, the whole symbolism of the structure is by no means exhausted. A symbolical interpretation of the tabernacle that reaches much further is of ancient date. We find it already in Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 77) and Philo (*De vit.*, *Mos.* 3. 147 ff.), who interpret the tabernacle as an image of the universe; the holy of holies inaccessible to men is for them a figure of heaven, the holy place and the court represent the ocean, the four materials out of which the coverings and curtains were woven denote the four elements, the table of shewbread with its twelve loaves is the year with its twelve months, and so forth. And from their time onwards symbolical interpretation of this kind has persisted from century to century down to our own time. In the Christian church the typological view made its appearance very soon; cp Justin Martyr, *Cohort. ad gent.* 29; Clem. Alex., *Strom.* 562 ff.; Origen, *Hom.* 9 in *Exod.*; Theod. Mops., *ad Heb.* 91; Athanasius, *Orat. in assumpt. Christi*, *op.* 25, col. 1686; Theodoret, *Quaest.* 56 in *Exod.*; Jerome, *ep.* 44. 9. 19 ff. *ad Eubulium*. In modern times Bahr, Friedrich, Hengstenberg, Keil, Kurtz, Riehm have exercised great wisdom upon the symbolical interpretation of the tabernacle and in particular upon the symbolism of the numbers and dimensions (the number 4 signifying the cosmos, its completeness and perfection), as also upon the significance of the colours of the coverings, and so forth. All such interpretations, however, are wanting in any solid basis in the OT; nowhere does the author hint even in the remotest way that behind these externalities he is searching for deeper thoughts. It is hardly worth while therefore to discuss the various attempted interpretations in any detail.

Can we now regard the structure thus described in P as historical? Very great difficulties confront us in the endeavour to do so, quite apart from the fact that the description occurs only in P, the latest source of the Pentateuch. They have long been urged—by Voltaire for example—and may be summed up under the following four heads:—(1) the imaginative character of the account itself; (2) the physical impossibility of such a structure in the wilderness; (3) the inconsistency with the older Pentateuch sources; (4) the want of evidence for any such tabernacle during historical times.

(1) The description itself from the outset presents great difficulties, and raises in the mind of the reader the question whether any such structure can ever have really existed. It has already been pointed out how in stating the number of the pillars of the court the narrator is plainly not describing something of which he has any clear picture in his mind's eye, not calculating and planning with practical preciseness, but only filling in figures according to a scheme of his own. Yet another point has also been noted already—that the

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fabric bears indeed the name of 'tent' and the author takes great trouble to produce in the reader's mind the impression that the sanctuary was such in reality, but in this effort has succeeded (and could have succeeded) but ill. Beams some 21 inches thick and 2 ft. 6 in. wide cannot be fastened together so as to form a massive wall by means of mere tent pins, and they are purposeless if they are intended merely as supports for a light textile fabric. It is perfectly evident that the model for this structure was not supplied by a bedouin tent, a dwelling place made of (goats') hair of which the essential part, the roof, is spread upon three rows of poles, usually three in each row, 5 or 6 ft. long, and closed behind by a similar fabric of hair (see *Exod.* 26). On the contrary, the model was quite clearly a sort of house rendered portable only by the expedient of breaking up the walls into separate beams. In this respect the whole structure becomes a huge anachronism when regarded as the workmanship of nomad herds.

This becomes specially prominent in the description of the altar. In view of the ancient practice of building altars of stone (*Ex.* 20. 24 ff.) one reasonably asks how the narrator could have arrived at an altar of brass, and then one remembers that the temple of Solomon also had such an altar. That this latter was the real model for the altar of the tabernacle becomes still clearer from another point of view. The altar of the tabernacle is of acacia wood plated with brass, a construction which in itself considered must be characterised as utterly senseless if the explanation were not so manifest; the altar of Solomon must remain as it is, a brazen altar; but it must be made portable.

A further detail may be singled out in this connection: the whole fabric is internally pitch dark. The walls have no windows nor openings of any kind; the roof in like manner is unperforated. This may serve well enough in the holy of holies; the Holy of Holies in the temple was also quite dark (see *Exod.* 26. 7); but in the holy place it is impossible; there the priests had their priestly duties to discharge—arrange the shewbread, offer incense, and the like. And it will not do to call attention to the seven-branched golden candlestick (see *Candlestick*, § 1).

Finally, there is the fundamental question: Is a structure of this kind capable of standing at all? Simply as a technical question of architecture (see Schick, as below, § 14) this must be pronounced utterly impossible. Nor is the reason difficult to perceive. The weight of the heavy coverings and above all the pressure brought to bear by the spreading of the tent-covering by means of cords and pegs, must necessarily tend to make the walls lean inwards. No opposing pressure is anywhere present. Even if we suppose that the bars connected the side walls with the rear wall, only the boards of the side walls that were nearest the rear wall were thus supported; but in any case it was impossible that weak bars should support the entire wall, 30 cubits long, formed as it was of heavy beams. For this reason, and in order to relieve the walls of the weight of the coverings, Schick finds it to be absolutely indispensable to provide the tabernacle with a sloping roof. This he obtains by changing the middle bar into a ridge-pole, following the English architectural authority Ferguson, who first propounded this theory in the article 'Temple' in Smith's *DB* (1803). Such a construction, however, flatly contradicts the clear tenor of the text. The text knows nothing of such a sloping or pointed roof—such a furtherance, would be wholly inconsistent with the idea of a bedouin tent.

(2) Over and above the inherent impossibility of any such structure, account must be taken of the incidental impossibility of constructing and transporting such a fabric in the wilderness. The contrast between this stuporous fabric—made of the costliest materials of the best workmanship in wood and in metals which the East could command—and the soil on which it is raised, the bare wilderness; the contrast too between this tabernacle and the people amongst whom it stands—

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primitive uncivilised nomads—is too great not to have excited doubts from a very early date as to the authenticity of the account. They were raised by Averame, and Colenso and Nowack (see below, § 14) have elaborately shown the impossibilities involved. First of all comes the difficulty as to the materials. According to Ex. 38:27 no fewer than 20 talents 730 shekels of gold, 100 talents 1775 shekels of silver and 70 talents 1400 shekels of copper are employed. To see what these figures mean, let the reader turn to the articles WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, SHEKEL. The amounts in themselves are not very great when compared with those which were applied in the great Babylonian sanctuaries; but for wilderness nomads, poor to beggary as regards gold and silver, they are impossible. It is indeed replied to this that the gold is simply the gold which had been obtained from the Egyptians; but such an answer becomes impossible in the case of the timber. Where on Sinai the cypresses grew from which beams over 17 ft. long, 2 ft. 7 in. wide, and 20 in. thick could be obtained no one has yet been able to say.¹ The working of the timber, moreover, presupposes a knowledge of arts which nomads do not possess; that Israel did not in point of fact possess this knowledge is clearly shown by the fact that even a Solomon had to go to Phœnicia for his temple and workmen. A word may be added as to the difficulties of transport. Four waggon with six oxen apiece are assigned to the Merarites for this, while each of the 48 beams weighs more than 10 cwt.

(3) Decisive on the question, finally, ought to be the observation, that the older sources of the Pentateuch, J and E, know nothing of a tabernacle tent in E. mention of the central sanctuary, but E in point of fact has a quite different sacred tent which completely excludes any possibility of the tabernacle of P. The tabernacle of E is a tent which Moses pitched outside the camp (Ex. 33:7 ff.) and where Yahvé was wont to reveal himself to him in the pillar of cloud which descended for the purpose and stood at the door (Nu. 11:25 12:5 14:10); it is on this account called *'ohel mō'ed*, 'the tent of tryst.' No description of it is given, nor is its origin spoken of; but part of the old narrative has obviously been lost before Ex. 33:7, in which what is now lacking was probably explained. It appears, however, that it was very different from the tabernacle described by the priestly narrator. It was not in the centre of the camp but stood some distance outside it, and it was not the seat of an elaborate organisation of priests and guarded by a host of Levites, but had a single minister and custodian—viz., Joshua, who was not a Levite at all but Moses' attendant (Ex. 33:11).

The existence of such a simple tent-sanctuary presents none of the difficulties that beset the priestly narrative. Portable shrines were familiar to Semitic antiquity, and tents as sanctuaries were known to the Israelites in much later times at the high places and in connection with irregular worship² (see TEXT). Such idolatrous tabernacles were probably relics of the usages of the nomadic Semites, and it is only natural that Israel in its wanderings should have had the like. And it is noteworthy that the portable chapels of the heathen Semites were mainly used for divination (cp *Levan. of Phil.*, 13:283 ff.), just as the Mosaic tabernacle is described by the Elohist, not as a place of sacrifice (such as the tabernacle of the Priestly Code is) but as a place of oracle.

The heathen shrines of this sort contained portable idols or

¹ Kennedy's novel theory (see above, § 3), that the so-called 'boards' were in reality light open frames, would, of course, meet this difficulty if it stood alone.]

² Ezek. 16:17, 'thou dost take of thy garments and makest for thyself seven high places'—i.e., shrines of curtains sewn together; cp Hos. 9:6 and Syriac *parakkā*, Assyrian *parakku*, a small chapel or shrine, from the same root as Hebrew *parōketh*, the veil of the Holy of Holies.

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Idetyla (see Sell n. *De Div. Syst.*, 1:3); but what the Mosaic tabernacle contained is not expressly stated. The ordinary and at first sight the easiest, assumption is that the ark stood in it. But neither in Deuteronomy nor before it, are the ark and the tabernacle ever mentioned together, and of the two old narratives it is not clear that the Yahvist ever mentions the tabernacle or the Elohist the ark. The relation between the two calls for further investigation, especially as the ark retains its importance after the occupation of Canaan, whilst the 'tent of tryst' is not mentioned after the time of Moses, who according to the Elohist (Ex. 12), enjoyed at it a privilege of direct access to the Deity not accorded to later prophets (cp also Ark of COVENANT).

(4) Lastly, the whole historical tradition from the period immediately following the settlement down to the date of the building of Solomon's temple has no knowledge of any tabernacle. True, apologetists like Keil have succeeded in writing to their own satisfaction its complete history throughout the period of the judges and the

first kings: at one time it was at Shiloh, at another at Nob, finally at Gibeon, whence it was removed to the temple. The Chronicler has indeed much to tell about it, proceeding as he does on the assumption that in every case where the older books made mention of sacrifice at all this must have been at the tabernacle (1 Ch. 16:39 21:2, 2 Ch. 1:5-8). The older historical books, however (with exceptions to be mentioned immediately), know nothing of it. 1 K. 3:1 ff., in explicit contradiction of 2 Ch. 1:3, states that Solomon sacrificed on the great high place of Gibeon and excuses this proceeding, which from the reader's point of view of course seemed illegal, on the ground that the temple was not yet in existence. But no temple was required for the purpose if the tabernacle was then at Gibeon. The sanctuary at Shiloh, on the other hand, was not a tent at all but a solid house (EV 'temple of the Lord,' *הבית ה'הוא*, *habet ha'elohim*, 1 S. 19:3), with *mizbē'oth* (AV 'door posts,' RV 'side posts') and *dehāthā'oth* (EV 'doors'); cp especially Jer. 7:12 ff. Moreover, the ark is spoken of in 1 S. 1:16 in such a manner as shows that there was no fixed place where it was kept, and thus no Tabernacle. After it has been recovered from the Philistines, for example, it does not come to its proper house but first to Bethshemesh and next to Kirjath-jearim, to the house of a private individual, where it remains for years. Thence it is fetched by David, who, however, after the disaster to Uzzah brings it into the house of one of his generals, and that too a gentile, Obad-edom of Gath (2 S. 7). Not till later does he transfer it to his own city, where he sets up a tent for its reception plainly in remembrance of the fact that the ark had formerly also been so housed. This tent was in time removed by Solomon to the temple (1 K. 8:4), for if these verses are old and belong to the context it is only this tent that can be understood by the *'ohel mō'ed* (more probably, however, the statement is of a later date; see Benzinger *ad loc.*). Thus the only remaining passage will be 1 S. 2:22, a passage which is already open to critical doubt owing to its absence from *CS*. From all that has been urged we may safely conclude that the tabernacle of P is simply the temple of Solomon carried back into the older time by priestly fancy and modified accordingly. It was not the temple that was built on the model of the tabernacle; it was the tabernacle that took its shape, character, and importance for worship and the theocracy from the temple.

Josephus, *Ant.* 3:1-8; Philo, *De vit. Mos.* 3:115 ff. The older literature will be found more or less fully restored in

14. Literature. Of later works we mention the following: Bahr, *Symbolik des Mos. Kultus* 2, 1:67 ff.; Friedrich, *Symbolik der Mos. Stiftshütte* (1841); W. Neumann, *Die Stiftshütte*, 1861; Ch. J. Riggenbach, *Die Mosaik der Stiftshütte* (1887); Popper, *Der bibl. Bericht über die Stiftshütte* (1892); articles by Winer in *RWB* 2:220; Diestel in *BL* 2:405 ff.; Leyrer in *PREB*, 15:62 ff.; Riggenbach in *PREB* 14:712 ff.; Riehm in *HWB*; Fergusson, art. 'Temple' in

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Smith's *DB*; Welte in *Freiburger Kirchenlexikon*; Kurtz in *St. Kr.*, 1844, pp. 315 ff.; Kampmann, *ibid.*, 1848, pp. 97 ff., 1359, pp. 110 ff.; Fries, *ibid.*, 1859, pp. 101 ff.; Kiagenbuch, *ibid.*, 1864, pp. 361 ff.; Engelhardt in *L. L.*, 1868, pp. 409 ff.; also the *Archaeologia* of Jahn (3 226 ff.), De Wette-Rabiger, 266 ff.; Ewald, (1) 163 ff., 367 ff., (2) 387 ff., 420 ff.; Saalschütz, 2 318 ff.; Keil, (1) 82 ff., ET 108 ff.; Scholz, 1 21 ff.; Haneberg, 191 ff.; Schegg, 406 ff.; Benzinger, *II*, 4 398 ff., and Nowack, *II*, 1 253 ff.; Schick, *Stiftshutte u. Tempel*, 1898; A. R. S. Kennedy, art. 'Tabernacle in Hastings' *DB*. On the question of the historicity of the accounts of the tabernacle cp especially De Wette *Beitr.*, 1 258 ff., 2 250 ff.; Vater, *Comm.*, 3058 ff.; Von Bohlen, *Genesis*, 11 1 ff.; George, *Jüdische Feste*, 41 ff.; Vatke, *Bibl. Theol.*, 224 ff.; N. deleke, *Beitr. z. Kritik*, 120 ff.; Urd, *De templo Silonensi*, 1853, and *Die Gesch. B. d. A. T.*, 1866, 75 ff.; Kueneb, *Goldschmied*, 275 ff.; Reuss, *L'histoire sainte et la loi*, 240; Wellhausen, *Probl.*, 40 ff., ET 35 ff.

TABERNACLES, FEAST OF. The Israelitic cycle of festivals came to a close, in autumn, with the feast of Tabernacles. In the old legislation

1. Agricultural character. (Ex. 34:22-23:16) it is called *hag ha'asiph* (חַג הָאֲסִיף), 'the feast of ingathering,' and

is to be celebrated 'at the turn of the year' (חַג הַתְּשׁוּבָה). The very name shows quite clearly that the festival in its essential meaning is agricultural, a harvest feast; it is the autumn thanksgiving which no doubt has reference primarily to the fruit harvest and the vintage, but from the outset was regarded as the great thanksgiving for the whole produce of the year.

Hence the general expressions 'when thou gatherest in the produce of thy field' (Ex. 23:16, חַג הַתְּשׁוּבָה אֶת תְּבֹרֹת הָאָרֶץ), 'when thou gatherest in from thy threshing-floor and from thy press' (Deut. 16:13, חַג הַתְּשׁוּבָה מִתְּבֹרֹת וּמִתְּפֵלֵי).

Like the other harvest feasts, it is intimately connected with the possession of the land of Canaan, and was celebrated for the first time there by the Israelites, who in all probability took it over from the Canaanites. It is with regard to the autumn festival specially that our information as to its having been a Canaanite festival is explicit; of the people of Shechem we are told that they went out into the field, gathered their vineyards, trode the grapes, and held festival and went into the house of their god and did eat and drink (Judg. 9:27). Cp also FEASTS, § 4.

As the closing harvest thanksgiving, and probably the oldest of the three feasts of harvest (see PASS-OVER, § 4; PENTECOST, § 6), the autumn festival

2. The most important of the yearly festivals. excels both the other great annual festivals (*haggim*, חַגִּים) of the Israelites in importance. In the law of JE, it is true, all three are already found on the same plane

as equally necessary and equally important; for all of them attendance at the sanctuary is enjoined (Ex. 34:22-23:16). Yet how great was the special importance assigned in practice to the autumn festival as compared with the others appears at once in its very designation as 'the feast' (חַג, *hag*) or 'the feast of Yahwè' (חַג יְהוָה, *hag Yahwè*) κατ' ἐξοχήν (1 K. 8:2 12:32 Judg. 21:19; and even as late as Lev. 23:39-41 Ezck. 45:25 Neh. 8:14). Even in Zechariah (14:16 ff.) it is to be the feast of tabernacles that the remnant of the heathen go up year by year to Jerusalem to worship the King, Yahwè Sêbâ'ôth. In these circumstances it cannot be regarded as merely accidental that the feast of tabernacles and the feast of tabernacles alone is more than once mentioned in the historical books when dealing with the more ancient period, and its celebration thus attested from the earliest period after the settlement in Canaan. At Shiloh, for example, the maidens celebrate it by going forth to dance in the orchards and vineyards (Judg. 21:16).¹ So also we learn from the story of Samuel that in wide circles it was customary year by year at the 'revolution of the days' (חַגֵּי הַיָּמִים, 1 S.

¹ The narratives in Judg. 19-21 are certainly in their present form late Midrash. Yet there need not be on that account any doubt as to the accuracy of this statement or of many other touches preserved in them. See DANCE, § 6, and cp further, Budde, *ad loc.*

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1:20; cp the same expression in Ex. 34:22) to go in pilgrimage with the whole family to the sanctuary at Shiloh, and there to sacrifice to Yahwè and hold a joyous sacrificial meal (1 S. 1:3 ff.). The high importance attached to the festival is shown also in the fact that Solomon dedicates his temple at the same date (1 K. 8:265, cp 2 Ch. 7:8 ff.; on the passage cp also below, § 3). Answering to the yearly observance of this feast at Jerusalem, Jeroboam, according to a thoroughly trustworthy statement in 1 K. 12:32¹ (cp Benzinger, *ad loc.*) instituted a similar solemnity in the northern kingdom; here the only error of the author is in supposing (from his Deuteronomistic point of view) that before Jeroboam's time such a feast was observed only at the temple of Jerusalem, and not also at the sanctuaries of the northern kingdom. Pilgrimages of the same sort as those to Shiloh were in use also in other parts of the country to the various famous sanctuaries. The passages just cited show also at the same time that this autumn festival from the very beginning was celebrated in common by wide circles of participants. This does not seem to have been the case in the older time with the two other harvest feasts; if observed at all, it was enough that they should be observed in quite small local circles; at least the complete silence of the historical books on the subject would be most easily explained in this way. The special importance of the feast of tabernacles continues to show itself in the Deuteronomic legislation. In contrast to what is required at the two other *haggim*, it is enjoined that all the days of this festival are to be observed at the central sanctuary in Jerusalem (Dt. 16:13; cp 7: 7).

In the older legislation no more precise details than those already indicated are given as to how and where

3. Original manner of celebration. the feast ought to be observed. Elsewhere (FEASTS, § 10) it is shown that the olden time had no thought at all of fixing the three harvest festivals to any definite day.

This lies in the nature of the case. The great autumn thanksgiving was held as soon as the corn-harvest, vintage, and ingathering were finished. This happened, of course, in the various districts, and in different years, at different dates. In the hill-country around Jerusalem the feast was held of old in the eighth month. The completion of the temple was in the month of Bûl, the eighth month, and its dedication was at the time of the autumn festival (1 K. 6:38; cp 8:2). It is evidently in order to bring it into accordance with the Jerusalem date of the feast on the fifteenth of the month that the autumn festival at Bethel was fixed for the same day by Jeroboam (1 K. 12:32).

For the observance of the festival the offering of gifts from the fruits that had been gathered and of animal sacrifices accompanied by a sacrificial meal were matters of course (cp 1 S. 1:3 ff.). In the olden time the gifts and offerings were left to the freewill of the worshipper according as his heart impelled him to show his thanks to Yahwè (cp TAXATION, § 8). So also it is matter of course that the feast was observed as a joyous occasion.

¹ [See also SHECHEM, and cp *Crit. Bib.*]
² In the present text of 1 K. 8:2 it is indeed said that the dedication was 'at the feast in the month Ethânim, which is the seventh month.' To reconcile this date with 1 K. 6:38, according to which the temple was finished in the eighth month, it would be necessary to suppose that after its completion the dedication of the temple was put off till the seventh month of the following year—that is to say, for eleven months. This is in the highest degree unlikely. Since, moreover, we learn from 1 K. 12:32 that at that period the festival was observed at Jerusalem in the eighth month, we must suppose the original text of 1 K. 8:2 to have read merely 'at the feast.' The name of the month Ethânim is a later insertion easily explained by the consideration that, on the one hand, the fixed tradition was that the temple had been dedicated at the feast of tabernacles, and, on the other hand, that this feast, at a later date, but before that of Deuteronomy (§ 4), had been assigned to this month. The explanation of the name of the month—which is the seventh month—is the addition of a still later hand, as is shown by its position; it is also wanting in *BL*. *BA* has a curious reading *ἡβδομηστος ἡβδομος*. Cp further, Benzinger, *ad loc.*

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Compare what we read of the feast of the Shechemites (Judg. 9:27) or of the dances of the maidens (cp DANCK, § 6) at the feast of Shiloh (Judg. 21:19 ff.).

When, then, in Dt. the feast is for the first time designated (in our present texts) as the 'feast of tabernacles' (Dt. 16:13; see below, § 4) and the priestly law (Lev. 23:42) expressly enjoins living in booths as part of the ritual of its celebration, or when the Law of Holiness (Lev. 23:40) orders the participants to take 'the fruit of goodly trees, branches of palm trees,' and the like, we may be perfectly certain that these are not newly invented innovations, but that very ancient custom lay at the foundation of the practices thus prescribed. The living in booths and the name 'feast of tabernacles' or 'booths' are connected with the simple fact that at the time of the olive and grape harvest it was usual to spend days and nights in booths of this kind—a practice which still holds its ground in those parts (see Robinson, *RK* 2:717; cp Is. 1:8).¹ If these booths at a later date found a recognised place in the official ritual of the feast, this shows that, properly speaking, all these days of harvesting during which people lived in the open under booths were regarded as constituting a festal time, which was brought to a close in, let us say, the pilgrimage to the sanctuary. With this also we may connect the precept in Dt. (see below) to observe the feast for seven whole days at the sanctuary. The other injunction, referred to above, to furnish oneself with fruits of goodly trees, branches of palm trees, and so forth (if the reference be not simply to the branches needed for making the booths; see below) we may perhaps connect with what we read of the festal dances in Judg. 21:19 ff. It would be natural for those who took part in these to adorn themselves with sprigs and garlands.

In its festal legislation Dt. (16:13-15), as already remarked, designates the autumn festival by the name

4 In Dt. of *bag har-sukkoth* (בֵּית סֻכּוֹת), 'feast of tabernacles' or 'booths'—a designation which, although not employed either in H or in P (see below, §§ 5, 6), it continued to retain.² As has already been said, it was not to any change in the significance of the festival or to any new ritual that this new designation was due; if Dt. had intended to introduce something that was new when it spoke of the celebration under booths, this piece of ritual would have been expressly prescribed. On the contrary, Dt. simply assumes both name and thing to be already familiar; thus the name also was already in use before the time of Dt. The duration of the feast is fixed at seven days, and in fact all the seven have to be observed at the sanctuary in Jerusalem (see above, § 3). The joyous character of the feast is also thoroughly preserved in Dt., as well as the idea of its being a harvest feast; and, in full agreement with the general spirit of solicitude shown in the Deuteronomic law for the welfare of the poor and the like, it is expressly enjoined that the bondman and the widow are all to take joyful part in the celebration (16:14).

¹ For evidence of the ancient practice of spending the festival under booths we cannot with confidence appeal to Hos. 12:10. The expression there made use of—*nu'ad*, instead of *bag*—is quite unusual. Still less suitable, it is true, is the interpretation which (so Wellhausen) refers it to the passover feast. In no other place do we read anything of a dwelling in tents during that feast. In the prophetic threatening 'I will yet again make thee to dwell in tents, as in the days of the (22) solemn feast' no reference to any joyous festival, merely a reference to the wandering in the wilderness is required by the connection. Hence Kautzsch's rendering 'as in the day of the assembly [at Horeb]' seems the best. If the prophet is really intending the feast of tabernacles in this allusion, we shall then have our first distinct trace of an assumed parallel and connection between this 'dwelling in booths' at the feast of tabernacles and the dwelling in tents in the wilderness at the *sojourns* from Egypt. Cp further, Wellhausen and Nowack, *alt. test.*

² In the NT and in Josephus it is accordingly spoken of as *σκηνοπηγία*, in Θ as *ἐσθρῆ σκηνῶν*, in Vg. as *scenopagia*, and in Philo (1:297) as *σκηναί*.

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It is shown elsewhere (FEASTS, § 10) how the centralisation of the cultus in Dt., even without any express intention on the part of the lawgiver, inevitably altered the character of the feasts. It became necessary that they should be observed at one common definitely fixed date, they lost their intimate connection with the life of the husbandman, and the tendency to change them into historical celebrations was greatly strengthened by this circumstance. No express reference to any historical event in connection with the feast of tabernacles is met with as yet in Dt. The bringing of the first-fruits at all is connected only in a quite general way with the historical fact that it is Yahwé who has delivered his people from the land of Egypt and given them the land of Canaan to possess. As thanks for the gift of the land the Israelite brings the first-fruits of its produce as a gift to Yahwé (Dt. 26:1-11). The bringing of the first-fruits enjoined in Dt. in conjunction with a liturgical formula of thanksgiving is not indeed in the law itself (Dt. 26:1-11) expressly connected with any definite time. It is, however, exceedingly natural to assume that the author of the injunction thought of it as to be carried out on the feast of tabernacles, for it deals with the offering of the first-fruits of the wine and oil-harvest as well as with the first-fruits of corn, and contemplates this as being done at Jerusalem. For this the feast of tabernacles was the convenient opportunity, unless one is to read the precept as implying a special pilgrimage to Jerusalem for the purpose. In this connection a quite general reference to the Exodus is implied for the feast of tabernacles. Lastly, in Dt. it is further laid down that every seventh year, the year of release, 'this law'—i.e., the Deuteronomic law—shall be read before all Israel at the feast of tabernacles (Dt. 31:10 ff.).

Ezekiel is the first to give to this feast—designated 'the feast' or 'the feast of Yahwé'—a definite date; it

5. In Ezek. and H. is to begin on the 15th day of the seventh month, and to last for seven days (Ezek. 45:25). He orders for it the same offerings as for the passover; every day seven bullocks and seven rams as a burnt-offering, a he-goat as a sin-offering, an ephah for every bullock and every ram, with a hin of oil to each ephah as a meal-offering. The Law of Holiness (Lev. 23:39-41) in its present form has no precept as to the offering. The date in 7:39 is hardly original.¹ On the other hand it is here prescribed that the Israelites on the first day of the feast are to take to them the fruit of goodly trees (עֵץ עֵץ עֵץ; cp under APPLE, § 2 [3]), branches of palm trees and boughs of thick trees² and willows of the brook, and rejoice before Yahwé seven days. That the palm branches and the boughs are to be used for making booths is nowhere said. It is equally possible to suppose that they were carried by the participants in their hands (cp above, § 3). Such a custom is attested at any rate for the later post-exilic period (2 Macc. 10:6 ff.; Jos. *Ant.* iii. 104, § 245; xiii. 135, § 372). What could be the application of 'fruit of goodly trees' in the construction of booths is not easy to see, and it is more natural to suppose that the fruit formed part of the thyrsus which each participant carried in his hand (cp below, § 7).

The laws of P concerning the autumn festival are

¹ How much of Lev. 23:39 belongs to the original law of holiness is very questionable. As in what follows this verse mentions is always made of only seven feast days, 7:39b, which speaks of an eighth day, may be presumed to be a later addition (see below, § 6). The same holds good of the time determination in 7:39a. The other festivals also are not yet assigned to a fixed day in H. On this question see further the various introductions, especially the tables in Holzinger.

² עֵץ עֵץ is explained by tradition as meaning 'myrtle.' Occurring as it does between 'palms' and 'willows,' the expression would certainly seem intended to denote some definite kind of tree.

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found in Lev. 23 31-5 42 f. Nu. 29 12-33. The name of

6. In P. the festival is there the same as in Dt.: feast of tabernacles or booths, *hag ha-sukkot* (סוכות 23; Lev. 23 34). The preference of P for this designation is not a mere accident; it is intended to denote, not a part of the ritual merely, but the meaning of the entire festival; it conveys, not only that during the festival it is necessary to live in booths, but also that the festival commemorates the booths in which Israel lived at the exodus from Egypt. It is exactly to this that the peculiar usage of the feast is intended to point (Lev. 23 42 f.). The change of meaning, designed to give the feast a place in the history of redemption, has thus been fully accomplished; there is now no longer present any trace of a reference to husbandry—a reference which, indeed, is absent also from the Law of H. Inness. As with all festivals in P, so also in the case of the feast of tabernacles, the chief emphasis is laid upon the public sacrifices which are offered with lavish abundance, no longer as in Dt. upon the voluntary gifts of individuals and the sacrificial meal arising from these. The public sacrifices consist, over and above the regular daily burnt-offering with the customary meal and drink-offerings, of a sin-offering of a he-goat to be offered on each of the seven days of the feast, with in addition a daily burnt-offering of two rams and fourteen lambs, and on the first day thirteen bullocks besides, on the second day twelve bullocks, and each succeeding day a bullock the less—thus, on the seventh day seven bullocks, two rams, fourteen lambs. In each case there are, of course, the appropriate meal-offerings of fine flour mingled with oil—three-tenths for every bullock and two-tenths for each of the two rams. As compared with the offerings prescribed for the other principal feasts, these here enjoyed are enhanced to an extraordinary degree—in some instances being more than doubled. Thus down even to so late a date as that of P we can clearly trace the continued operation of that pre-eminent importance which attached to this feast above all the rest in the oldest times.

There is yet one other point in which P goes beyond Ezekiel and II; to the traditional seven days of the feast it adds yet an eighth as a closing festival, *'Asreth* (אשרת). As compared with the other seven days, this has an independent character of its own; it does not simply continue the sacrifices of the preceding days, but there are offered a he-goat as sin offering, a bullock, a ram and seven lambs as a burnt-offering—in each case with the appropriate meal and drink-offerings, of course in addition to the regular daily burnt-offering. This day, however, as can readily be understood, is always reckoned as part of the main festival itself, and in later times it was customary to speak of an eight-days' feast (2 Macc. 106; Jos. Ant. iii. 104, § 243). This eighth day, like the first, is celebrated by a great assembly and by abstinence from every kind of work; for the intervening six days this is not demanded.

In post-exilic times, just as in pre-exilic, it is precisely of the feast of tabernacles that we most often hear; it always continued to be one of the most important festivals. Of the exiles after their return we forthwith read that when the seventh month came round they did not neglect the feast of tabernacles. And, as matter of fact, after the introduction of the Law in 444 B.C., the feast was regularly observed in strict conformity with the legal prescriptions. This is expressly emphasised in Neh. 8 14 f. It is, however, very noticeable that here the legal innovation is the revival of a custom which had passed out of use; not, as might be expected, the sacrifices, but the dwelling in booths. From this no other conclusion is possible than that this dwelling in booths was practised in the older time, not as a festival rite, but as a harvest custom. After Dt. had transferred the observance of the feast to Jerusalem, the practice had gone out of date; what had formerly been

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quite natural had now in the capital no meaning. When, however, the custom was brought into connection with history and judged to be a reminiscence of the tents of Israel in the wilderness, it received a new meaning which gave it fresh significance as a part of the ceremonial of the feast and recalled it to new life. From the account in Nehemiah (8 16) we learn further that in Jerusalem the booths were set upon the house roofs, in the house courts, in the courts of the temple (this last, of course, only for priests and Levites) and in the broad places of the city gates. Olive branches, branches of wild olives, myrtle branches, palm branches, and branches of thick trees (סוכות 23; see above, § 5, n. 2) were employed for the purpose. The public reading of the book of the Law, as required by Dt. (see above, § 4), was also a feature of the festival. The Chronicler's account of the feast of tabernacles at the dedication of the temple (2 Ch. 7 3 f.) is evidence of the observance of the festival in accordance with P in the Chronicler's own time in so far as the seven days' feast of 1 K. 8 2, is altered into a feast of eight days. Finally, we meet in the Maccabean period of the celebration of a feast resembling the feast of tabernacles, immediately after the purification of the temple (2 Macc. 106 f.). This feast also lasts eight days; the participants carry in their hands 'wands wreathed with leaves, and for boughs, and palms also.'

The custom here referred to (perhaps already an old one; see above, § 3) continued in use during the later period. The order of the feast is prescribed down to the minutest details in the Talmudic tractate entitled *Sukka* (cp MYRTLE). There the branches, etc., are not only used for making booths, but are also carried in the hands as the celebrants go to join in the worship. The 'fruit of goodly trees' (סוכות 23) was interpreted to mean the *ethrog* (אֶתְרוֹג), apple of paradise, or Adam's apple, the *'ez' avith* (עֵץ אֵבִיחַ) the myrtle. Accordingly, a palm branch still in its 'scythe-like' condition, that is, not yet expanded (the so-called *lilith*, לילית) was fastened up along with a myrtle and willow in such a manner that the myrtle was on the right and the willow on the left of the palm. This festival thyrsus (also called *lilith*) was held in the right hand whilst the left carried an *ethrog*, and thus equipped the celebrants went in procession with hosannas and waving of thyrsi round the altar of burnt-offering, each day once, but on the seventh day seven times to commemorate the seven days' encompassing of the wall of Jericho. Josephus calls the thyrsus (*Ant.* iii. 104, § 243) *εἰρησάμω*—which means properly the harvest wreath of oak or laurel wound round with wool and decorated with fringes which the Athenian singing boys carried about at the autumnal feast of Pyanepsia. Another Greek designation employed is *θύρσος* (thyrsi; 2 Macc. 107; Jos. Ant. iii. 135, § 242), properly the Bacchic wand wreathed in ivy and vine-leaves with a fir-cone at the top which was carried by the worshippers at the feast of Dionysus. It is doubtless this whole custom that Plutarch has in his mind when he represents the Jewish feast of tabernacles as being a Dionysiac festival (*Symph.* 49; τῆς μεσοτέρας καὶ τελευταίας ἑορτῆς παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὁ καιρὸς ἔστι καὶ ὁ τρόπος Διονυσιακῶν προσήκων . . . ἔστι δὲ καὶ κραττοφορία τῆς ἑορτῆς καὶ θυρσοφορία παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἐν ἧ' ἄνθρωποι ἔχοντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν εἰσίσταναι).

Another peculiar custom, with regard to the meaning and origin of which there is still great uncertainty (cp NATURE-WORSHIP, § 4), was in connection with the daily drink-offering which was offered during the seven days of the feast. For this the water was taken from Siloam. A priest drew it in a golden pitcher of a capacity of three logs, and brought it amid trumpet-blasts through the Water Gate into the outer court of the temple. There other priests received it from him with the words (Is. 12 3): 'Ye will draw water with joy from the fountains of salvation,' in which words priests and people alike joined. The water was then mixed with wine, and, while the priests blew on the trumpets and the Levites chanted psalms, was poured into a silver basin standing at the south-western corner of the altar, from which it flowed by a pipe into a subterranean channel and thence to the Kidron. We may, perhaps, bring this practice into connection with the ancient custom of drawing water and pouring it out (cp 1 S. 76) which may possibly have been used and retained precisely at the feast. Tradition has it that

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abundant rain for the new seed-time and a fruitful year are symbolised in the act. In all probability the words of Jn. 7 7 f. are to be read in this connection. Yet one other characteristic of the feast remains to be mentioned: the last day on the night between the first and the second day. In the court of the women four branched golden candlesticks were erected and lighted up. With music, psalms, and trumpets, a torch dance was then performed by the most prominent priests and laymen. The offering of the testal sacrifices was accompanied, as in the case of the other great feasts, by trumpet-blowing by the priests, as also by the singing of the great hallel - i.e., Pss. 113-118 (see HANUKKAH); when the Hosanna was reached in Ps. 118:25 the hills were shaken.

Outside of Palestine the Jews observed the festival in like manner in Babylon. As the determination of the month's commencement and of the whole calendar connected with it depended on actual observation of the new moon, and thus was uncertain (see NEW MOON) it was customary for the Jews outside of Palestine to observe the first and eighth days of the feast twice over on consecutive days, so as to make sure of observing the common national feast quite simultaneously with their brethren in Palestine.

After the destruction of the second temple arose the custom of adding yet a ninth day - the 23rd of Tishri - to the festival, celebrated as the feast of 'the joy of the law' (שמחת תורה). On the Sabbath preceding this day the reading of the law as divided into 54 parashayoth or lessons in the synagogue service came to an end; on the following sabbath the reading was recommenced. Cp. Strongs, De Syn. Vet., 1866, p. 1003.

See the literature cited under FEASTS; also the articles in Rieu, Herzog-Plitt, Smith, etc.

I. II.

See TABITHA (ΤΑΒ[Ε]ΘΑ [Ti. WH]),² Acts 9:36 40 f. See DORCAS; cp. GAZELLE.

TABLE. The words are:—

1. τράπεζα, *trápezā*, *trápēza*, *mensa*. See MEALS, § 3a; ALTAR, § 114; and cp. SACRIFICE, § 34a.
2. ἄκοντες, *ákōntēs*, *aklōntēs* (-*akōis* [C]), *accutius*, is taken by EV in Cant. 1:2 in the sense of 'table'; cp. MEALS, § 3a, and n. 2; also § 34, n. 2; but see also RBD, and Bu. ad *loc.*; Haupt, *JBL*, 21 (1902) pt. 1, p. 54.
3. τρίς, *trís*, *trās*, (3 times) *tríōis* (thrice), *tabula*, *buena*. Chiefly of the 'tables' of the law Ex. 24:12, etc., but also of the tables or tablets on which the prophets wrote their prophecies (Is. 30:1-11; Hab. 2:2), and of tables for writing generally. Cp. WRITING.
4. τράπεζα, Mt. 15:27 1 Cor. 10:21 Heb. 9:2, etc.; see above, 1.
5. πᾶσις, 2 Cor. 3; Heb. 9:4; see above, 3.
6. ἐπιση in Mk. 7:4 [Ti. WH om.] is rendered 'table' in AV; RV om. RVmg. 'many ancient authorities add *and* couches'; see above, 2, and cp. MEALS, § 36 and n. 2.
7. παραδίωρον, Lk. 16:3, AV 'table', RV 'tablet'; dimin. from *tráf*, and so a small tablet (for writing).

TABLE LAND (טַבְּיֹתָי) 2 Ch. 26:10 RVmg., EV 'plains'. See JUDEA, PLAINS.

TABLET. 1. כַּמִּסֵּה, *kamisēs*, Ex. 35:22 Nu. 31:50 f. RV MBLT. See NECKLACE, § 4.

2. קַיִלִּיּוֹן, *qilliyōn*, L. 8:1, RV see DRESS, § 1 [2], ROLL, 2.

3. קַיִלִּיּוֹן, *qilliyōn* (C) *han-nephēs*, Is. 3:20. See PERFUME BOXES.

TABOR (תְּבוֹר) ; Ἰαβωβ [DNARTL], Γαθβωβ [B] Ἰαβωβ [A] Josh. 19:22, TO ΙΑΒΥΡΙΟΝ [B] Hos. 5:1

1. Physical Jer. 46 [G 26] 18; ΔΑΒΥΡΙΟΝ Polygl. v. 706, cp. ἱερὸν ΔΙΟC ΔΑΒΥΡΙΟΥ at Argirentum and in the iste of Rhodas.

18. ix. 277; TO ΙΤΑΒΥΡΙΟΝ οπος Jos.; ΙΤΑΒΥΡΙΟΝ Enseb. OS 26590 and Ἰαβωβ. 18. 261 27; *Taburion*, *Tabhor*, Jerome), the hill now called Jebel

1 The words are spoken on the 'great' day of the feast—*τὸ μέγα ἡμέρα ἢ μεγάλη τῆς ἐορτῆς*. By this probably is meant the seventh day, on which procession was made seven times round the altar, which on this day was decorated with branches of willow. This day is in fact called by the rabbins the 'great' Hosanna day—*הַיּוֹם הַגָּדוֹל*, or also the 'willow' day—*יְמֵי הַבְּרוֹשׁ*. The eighth day, the *day of rest*, is not strictly speaking to be reckoned to the feast of tabernacles; the special sacrifices and festival observances terminate on the seventh day (see above). This day, therefore, cannot be regarded as that intended in Ju.

2 Cp. *Tabatha* (Wald. 2185) and *Tabatha*, cited by Dussaud and Macler, *Trav. Arch.* 1:8 (Paris, 1901).

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et-Tûr. Its dome-like shape as seen from the S. or SW. ('*nara* rotunditate,' Jer. OS 146:1), and its apparent isolation, make it a striking feature in the landscape of St. Galilee. Hence it ranks with Carmel among conspicuous heights; 2,250 m. (7,400 ft.) and the Michassi, *Ze. K.* § 69. Tabor came from Peth-chin and Carmel from Aspanya to attend the law giving at Sinai. A psalmist even implies that what Hermon is on the E. of Jordan Tabor is on the W., Ps. 89:14 (but cp. commentators). It rises from the level of the Great Plain to a height of 1843 ft. (561.2 m.) from the base; the summit is an extensive platform, 3,000 ft. from E. to W., 1,500 ft. at its greatest breadth, a peculiarity which did much to determine the associations which have gathered round the mountain. Though from some aspects Tabor appears to stand alone, in reality it is a spur of the Nazareth group of heights, and is linked to them on its N. side. Its slopes, like the W. slopes of Carmel, are covered with vegetation and stunted trees, oak, ilex, terdanth, beech, carob, olive, etc., which afford cover to an unusual number of animals. From the top opens out a superb panorama, often, however, veiled with mists in the spring-time. The situation of the mountain, its imposing and prominent outline, explain at once the part which it has played in history. In all ages Tabor has been famous either for its sanctuary or for its stronghold. Commanding the NE. quarter of the Great Plain and one of the main outlets down to the Jordan, the W. esh-Sherar, it has considerable strategic value, whilst to the instinct of early religion it would seem to have been designed by nature for a holy place.

The boundaries of Issachar, Zebulun, and Naphtali meet upon Tabor; Josh. 19:22 (Issachar), 12 (Naphtali)

2. Sanctuary and stronghold. TABOR—i.e. 'flanks of Tabor' (Zebulun), 34 AZROCH-TABOR—i.e. 'peaks (*tz*) of Tabor' (Naphtali), 1 Ch. 6:62 [7] (Zebulun); Ἰαβωβ. In the last

and the last of these passages Tabor is the name of a town on or near the mountain. Long before the Israelite occupation Tabor was a holy place; it naturally became the common sanctuary of the three tribes whose portions met there. So we may infer from Dt. 33:19, 'they (i.e., Zebulun and Issachar) call peoples to the mountain.' Though Tabor is not expressly named, as it is the mountain in which both these tribes had an interest the allusion would be clear to early readers. The passage seems to refer to some kind of religious fair or gathering at the sanctuary of Tabor to which the neighbourhood was invited for worship and harter (Stade, *GII* 1:71; Driver, *Deut.* 409; see also Herder, *Geist d. Hebr. Poësie*, 150 ff. ed. Suphan). In the days of Deborah and Barak these tribes had suffered most from the hostility of the Canaanites; accordingly upon Tabor, as the common rallying-point, Barak gathered his men for a descent upon the enemy in the plain below (Judg. 4:12-14). Perhaps there was another reason for the muster on Tabor besides the obvious advantages of the position; the holy war, as von Gall suggests, would probably begin with a sacrifice at the tribal sanctuary (*Altis*, *Kultstaten*, 124 f.; cp. 1 S. 13:6 11; Mi. 3:5, etc.). From one account it appears that the battle was fought at the foot of the mountain (Judg. 4:14 f.); the Song, however, does not mention Tabor, and places the battle farther off, by Taanach, along the left bank of the Kishon (5:18-25). By this victory Tabor was secured to Israel; and, as a stronghold commanding one of the main caravan routes across the plain, it must have proved an invaluable possession during the times of conflict and slow consolidation which followed (Judg. 7:12 1 S. 28:4 ff. 29:1 31:1). Of its fortunes in the days when

1 In Talm. B. the extent of Tabor is given as 4 paras, *Bib. Rother* 716 (*Zebulun* 1136 reads 40 paras); the figures of Jos., *Riv.* 1 (height 30 stadia, the *pedion* on the summit 26 stadia), are of course absurd.

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Assyrian and Egyptian armies passed within sight of it we know nothing [Is. 8:21-9:1] 2 K. 23:30, Zech. 12:71]. The sanctuary continued to serve the district. By Hosea's time it had become associated with the idolatrous form of Yahwe-worship which was characteristic of the N. kingdom; hence it featured the prophet's denunciation; its priesthood, like that of Mizpah, the other type; 'high place,' is 'a net spread out' to catch delin. l worshippers (Hos. 5:1). Nevertheless the sacred character of the mountain was not forfeited; in the course of time no doubt it influenced the Christian tradition [§ 5]; it never quite lost its hold upon Jewish memory. In a late Midrash we find the opinion that 'the Temple itself might well have been built in the portion of Issachar,' had it not been otherwise ordered (Yalkut on Dt. 33:19 יִשָּׁשָׁר כְּשֶׁל יִשָּׁשָׁר בְּהֵיכָל כִּנְעַן וְיִבְנֶה בְּהֵיכָל מְיַסַּר [1 S. 10:3]).

The Tabor of Judg. 8:18 can hardly be the mountain; it is too far from the seats of Gideon's clan; the scene

of the murder was the neighbourhood of Shechem rather than the Plain of Jezreel and 1 S. 10:3 (but cp GIDEON, § 2). It is simplest to suppose that there was another Tabor near Ophrah (Badde, *Rt. Sz.* 114; but see also Moore, *Judges*, 228). The 'terehinth [RV 'oak'] of Tabor' (1 S. 10:3) ὄρος τῆς ὄρου τῆς ἄνεως is probably to be placed, as the context seems to require, in Benjamin, between Rachel's Grave, on the N. border of Benjamin, and Gibeon (von Gall, *l.c.* 88 f.). Ewald's emendation תְּרֵינְיָה (= תְּרֵינְיָה Gen. 35:8) is scarcely necessary; there must have been more than one such sacred tree in later Jewish history. See, further, RAHEL'S SEPULCHRE.

In later Jewish history Tabor was the scene of three memorable engagements.

The first occurred in the struggle between Antiochus III, the Great (223-187 B.C.) and Ptolemy IV, Philopator (222-205 B.C.) for the possession of Palestine (Polyb. v. 79). After the surrender of Philoteria (S. of Lake of Galilee)

4. Jewish history. and Scythopolis, about 218 B.C., Antiochus marched into the hill-country and appeared before Anabryrium, 'which is situated up on a rounded hill (ἐπὶ λόφου μαστοιδοῦς), more than 15 stadia in ascent, and captured the place by a stratagem. Polybius calls Anabryrium a polis standing on the top of the hill, and the account of its capture agrees with such a position.

In B.C. 53 the praefectus A. Gabinius, general of Pompey, fought Alexander, son of Aristobolus, at the foot of the mountain (περὶ τοῦ Ἵταβουρίου ὄρους), and 10,000 Jews fell in battle (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 93).

The third episode is recorded in fuller detail. As governor of Galilee Josephus fortified Tabor against Vespasian in 67 A.D. Under pressure he built a wall round the summit for forty days, and supplied the fort with water from below, for the inhabitants (Ἰουδαῖοι) had been dependent upon rain. Vespasian sent Placidus with 6,000 horsemen to attack the Jews by encircling them down to the plain; they were unwise enough to leave their strong position in the hope of overwhelming the cavalry; it became impossible to retreat, and they were completely defeated. Want of water compelled those who were left in the fort (οἱ ἐπιχώριοι) to surrender the mountain to Placidus (Jos. *J.W.* iv. 14 ff. 205, *Vita* 37). Remains of Josephus' wall were discovered in 1892.

Since the third century Tabor has been revered by Christian tradition as the scene of the Transfiguration.

5. The Transfiguration. The Gospels themselves do not give a name to the 'high mountain' (ὄρος ὑψηλόν); but it was more likely Hermon than Tabor (see HERMON, § 1, MOUNTAIN). The Transfiguration is dated six (Lk.), eight days after the confession of Peter at Caesarea Philippi = Baniās at the foot of Hermon. Nothing is said of a journey in the interval; the return to Galilee is placed after the Transfiguration (Mk. 9:30). Moreover, in Jesus' time, Tabor was hardly a place to which he could lead the three apostles 'apart by themselves' (κατ' ἴδιαν μόνους: Mk. 9:2)—κατ' ἴδιαν obviously refers to the apostles, not to the isolation of Tabor. The passages from Polybius and Josephus quoted above imply that the summit was inhabited and partially fortified.

Here Barnabé, who has written lately in support of the tradition, argues that there never was, and never could have been, a town upon the summit because of the absence of water and cultivable land sufficient to support a population (*Le Mont*

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Tabor, Paris, 1898). But the difficulty was overcome by situations of a similar character; many remains of cisterns have been discovered on the summit; and monasteries have succeeded in live there. The passage in the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* quoted by Origen (c. *Comment.* in Joan. t. 2, 3; *Migne*, PG 14 col. 132), where Jesus is made to say, 'Even now, Holy Mother, the Holy Spirit, seized me by one of my hairs, and borne me to the great mountain Tabor,' can hardly be said to support the Christian tradition; but it may have helped to popularise it. The context of the quotation is lost, so that we cannot tell what event is alluded to; not improbably it was the temptation. Cp TAMRIVATHOS, § 14, and see Moulton, *Biblical Sem. Studies*, Yale Univ., 1904, p. 191, with the references. At any rate Origen himself accepted the tradition (c. *Comment.* in Ps. 88:13 [89:12]; PG 12:1344). Tabor is the mountain of Galilee where Christ was transfigured. In the fourth century it is described by Eusebius, who speaks of Hermon along with Tabor as 'mountains upon which the wonderful transfiguration and frequent sojourns of our Saviour took place' (*Comment.* in Ps. 88:13 [89:12]; PG 21:1092); by Cyril of Jerusalem, 'Moses, Aaron and Elias . . . were present with him when he was transfigured on Mt. Tabor' (*Catech.* 12:10; PG 33:744); by Jerome, 'Tabor in qua et tabernacula saluatoris . . . locum Thabor in quo transfigurationem est Dominus' (*Ep.* 40 and 108; PL 22:491, 517, 518). Before the end of the fourth century, the tradition was widely current in the E., and pilgrims, such as Paula (Jerome, *Life* 49) and Sylva of Aquitaine, began to venerate the spot. It is generally believed that the Empress Helena founded a church on Tabor about 326 A.D.; whether any remains of it can still be traced may be doubted. The church with three apses, erected in recent years (plan given by Barnabé, *l.c.* 119), is considered to show characteristics of fourth- or fifth-century work (de Vaux, *Felices de T. Sainte*, 1890, 352 ff.); in 570 the three apses were seen by Antoninus of Plaisance, and in 674 by Amulf, but up of Eichstadt, the earliest travellers who refer to them; their narratives are published by the *Société de l'Orient latin* (4, 14 and 185). The only dissentient voice in the early period is that of the Bordeaux Pilgrim (113 A.D.), who places the Transfiguration on the Mt. of Olives (*Itinerarium* 19th cent. I, Serie I, *Or. lat.* 179); otherwise, down to the time of the Crusades, the Christian tradition is unanimous and constantly repeated. It finds a place in the services of the Greek Church for August 26, i.e., 'Ἐπέστην ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς εἰσοῦς εὐφροσύνης ἀπέσταλτο ἡσυχία ὡς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Ἰταβου ὀλοσσοῦς ὁ ὁσθῆτος αὐτοῦ ἀπαρτίστη τὴν ἀραιότητα (Ἀρσολογίαι τὸ μέγα, Venice, 1876, 348); but in the Western service-books it does not seem to occur.

In the history of the Frank kingdom Tabor maintained its associations with religious devotion and hard fighting.

6. The Crusades. In 1099 Tamerc occupied the mountain with European troops, and when he withdrew he endowed the church, and entrusted it to the care of Benedictine monks who restored the ancient basilica and built a monastery. Not long after, in 1113, the Turks under Malikh fought a battle with Baldwin I. on the plain below; the Crusaders were severely beaten, and the monks massacred. Bitter fresh monks soon took their place; the abbey received new donations; the dignity of archbishop was conferred upon its Abbot Pons and his successors by a bull of Eugenius III. (1145). Then came the advance of Saladin in 1183; his troops ravaged the Greek convent; and in 1187, after the disaster at the Horns of Hattin, the holy place of Tabor was reduced to ruins and abandoned by its Benedictines.

Early in the thirteenth century, Melik el-Aid, in order to attack the headquarters of the Franks at Acre, fortified Tabor, using part of the ruined church for his towers. The fortifications were completed in 1213 by his son, Melik el-Misrî; several inscriptions commemorating the work have been found recently among the debris (Barnabé, *l.c.* 15, 100). It was this fortification of Tabor that occasioned the Fifth Crusade. In 1217 Andrew II., king of Hungary, and other Princes advanced against Tabor with a great host, and besieged the fort seventeen days; the first assault was boldly delivered and as boldly repulsed; delays and divisions in the Christian camp helped to make the second attack fruitless, and the Crusaders were forced to retreat. See the vivid narrative of Vincentius Bellivianus, *Soc. de l'Or. lat. série hist.*, 308; Kugler, *Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge*, 312 f.; Michaud, *Hist. of Crusades*, 222 ff. The fort was afterwards dismantled by Melik el-Aid in the course of restoring peace; and, in the years which followed, the church

¹ In the fourteenth century the dogma of the Uncreated Light of Mt. Tabor was promoted by Gregory Palamas, Archbishop of Thessalonica (about 1310). He asserted that the light of Tabor was visible and comprehensible, the other probable and incomprehensible; see Migne, PG 150:720 ff. Gregory became a patron of the curious sect of the ὑψιβαθείου, drawn from the monks of Mt. Athos, who devoted themselves to the contemplation of the uncreated light of Tabor; *Montes*, vol. 830 f. Nilles, *Kalendrium manuale*, Innsbruck, 1871, 176, Aug. 6.

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was rebuilt and served by monks from Hungary (1226); for a short time it passed into the possession of the Hospitallers of St. John. But Tabor was not left in peace for long. In 1263, Balban, the Mamalike Sultan of Egypt, in the course of his campaign against Damascus, finally burnt and devastated the church, and the holy-place of Tabor was left a heap of ruins for many years. Franciscans from Nazareth conducted pilgrims to the summit from time to time, and celebrated, as well as they could, the Feast of the Transfiguration on 6th Aug. and the 1st Sunday in June. Not until 1830 did the Franciscans begin to undertake the care and excavation of the ruins. Greek monks followed soon after, and in 1871 was built the modest Latin convent which, with the Greek monastery close by, guards the ancient sanctuary. Napoleon's Syrian campaign brings Tabor into general history for the first time; in 1799 the French troops under Kleber, afterwards reinforced by Napoleon himself, encountered the vast army of Jezzar, and the battle of Mt. Tabor ended in the complete discomfiture of the Turks; see *Lafrey, Hist. de Napoleon* 10, 1397.

The derivation of the name Tabor is unknown. In spite of its trilateral form, Winckler considers that the name has survived, like 'Jordan,' from pre-Canaanite times, and therefore is not Semitic in origin. For a Semitic derivation he suggests the Eth. *tabe* 'mountain,' with *d* for *t* under influence of the liquid (*LOE* I 121). This interchange of dentals is perhaps to be found in the name of the village at the NW. foot of Tabor, *Deburayeh* = DAHERAIEH (*q. v.*), possibly a formation from תבור; the Aral. form has preserved the long vowel in the second syllable. One is tempted to conjecture that the primitive form of תבור was תבור (עפ רבית Josh. 11:21 13:26 Judg. 1:11).

Older etymologies have a certain interest; e.g. Syr.-Hex. mg. ad *מגדלת* Josh. 19:22 gives *מגדלת*, and explains *מגדלת* 'house of light'; Jerome *ON* 31:2 49:6 'ventis lumen, veniat lux' (עפ רבית).

Among the Arals Tabor has long been known as *Jebel et-Tir* i.e. 'the mountain' — a name given also to Gerizim, Olivet, and Sinai. Sometimes the Arabs call it *Jebel Nur*, 'of the light,' in allusion to the Transfiguration, for the Christian tradition is accepted by Moslems; Guérin, *Gallile*, 1143 ff. We should expect Tabor to be mentioned in Egyptian documents; but this is probably not the case. The '*Dapur*' in the country of 'Amurru,' so called to distinguish it from another *Dapura*, among the towns conquered by Ramesses II. temple of Karnak, is to be looked for on the Orontes in N. Syria; the *Dapura* mentioned next to Qadesh in the papyrus Anastasi I. (224, Chabas, *Exp. d'un Egyptien en Syrie*, pp. 197, 313), if not the same place, belongs to the same region. The situation of *Dapura* in the Bulak Papyrus is not specified. The equivalent of these names would probably be תבור, 'hill,' rather than תבור. See WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 220 ff. The name of the mountain has not been found in Assyrian records.

In addition to the authorities referred to above may be mentioned the following: *Survey of H. Pal.* 1398 ff.; Robinson, *BR* 2, 235 ff.; GASSEN, *HG* 394 ff.; Lihl, *Pal.* § 62. Père Berraud gives a full and valuable collection of material (the point of view is uncritical, and the references are not always to be trusted). For a recent Roman Catholic work which rejects the traditional site of the Transfiguration, see *Misc. le Canus, Voyage en Syrie*, (Paris, 1895), 182 ff. G. A. C.

TABOR, PLAIN OF, or rather (so RV), OAK OF TABOR (אלון תבור), τὰς ἀρχαίας ὄρειας [BA], τ. ἁ. Τῆς Ἐκλεκτικῆς [L; see below]; *quercum Thabor*, ἁ. ἁ. 'locality between the city where Samuel and Saul met and 'Gibeath of God' (see GIBEAH, § 2 [3]), 1 S. 10:3. It has been supposed by Ewald (*Hist.* 321) and Thénis (without ancient authority) to be identical with the 'palm tree of Deborah between Ramah and Bethel in mount Ephraim' (Judg. 4:5). This is certainly plausible, on the other hand the descriptions of the sites of the two trees cannot be said to agree. The city referred to in 1 S. 9:6 ff. is not said to be Ramah, and 'Bethel in mount of Ephraim' and 'Gibeath of God' cannot be identified. It is much more likely that the 'oak' (or rather, 'sacred tree') referred to in 1 S. 10:3 was unconnected with any Biblical story except that of Saul, and

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that Tabor is a corruption of some other name, possibly Bahurim (בְּחֻרִים) עַם אֲשֶׁר שָׁכְנוּ בְּאַנְחֻרִים, which presupposes תבור. See RACHLES SEPTUAGINT.

TABRET תַּבְרֵט 1 S. 10:3; AV has a slight preference for 'tabret'; RV has 'tabret' in Gen. 31:27, 31:32 31:34 1 K. 1:26, but 'tabret' in Ex. 1:20 Judg. 11:17 1 S. 10:3 18:28 2 S. 1:11 Ch. 15: Job 21:12 Ps. 81:4 [100] 150:4. See Muhl., p. 1.

2. פַּעַל, *aph. th.* Job 17:6. See I AM 111.

TABRIMON. RV *Tab rimmon* (טַבְרִימוֹן) § 44, as if 'Rimmon is good,' or 'wise'; but see RIMMON n. § 2, father of BEN-HADAD II K. 17:6. ἄβερμα [B], ἄβερμα [A], ἄβερμα [L]. Up TABRETT.

TACHE (טַכְּחִים) Ex. 25:6, etc. RV 'clasp.' See TABERNACLE, § 4 (11).

TACHMONITE (תַּחֲמֹנִי) 2 S. 23:3; RV TACHMONITE.

TADMOR (תַּדְמוֹר) ἠεδμορ [A], ἠεδμορ [B], ἠεδμορ [C], ἠεδμορ [D], ἠεδμορ [E], ἠεδμορ [F], ἠεδμορ [G], ἠεδμορ [H], ἠεδμορ [I], ἠεδμορ [J], ἠεδμορ [K], ἠεδμορ [L], ἠεδμορ [M], ἠεδμορ [N], ἠεδμορ [O], ἠεδμορ [P], ἠεδμορ [Q], ἠεδμορ [R], ἠεδμορ [S], ἠεδμορ [T], ἠεδμορ [U], ἠεδμορ [V], ἠεδμορ [W], ἠεδμορ [X], ἠεδμορ [Y], ἠεδμορ [Z]. A name given (2 Ch. 8:4) to a city built by Solomon by the Chomel. This late historian doubtless had in view the great city in the Syrian desert between Damascus and the Euphrates, תַּדְמוֹר of the Nabataean inscr., known to the Greeks and Romans as Palmyra (see WRS, s.v. 'Palmyra' *EB* 93), the mod. *Tadmur*, vulgarly *Tadmir*.² This appears from his bringing it into connection with Hamath and the N. He is, however, simply misquoting 1 K. 9:13, where the RV is certainly right in following the Kt. (תַּדְמוֹר, i.e., Tamar, not as some have supposed Tammor) in preference to the harmonistic Kfr 'Tadmor' (תַּדְמוֹר) adopted by AV following the versions. For the context here clearly shows that not Palmyra, but some place in the S. of Judah is meant (see TAMAR), and we have no reason to think that the boundaries of Israel ever extended so far N. The name Tadmor occurs nowhere else in the OT, nor even in the cuneiform inscriptions, nor can Palmyra be traced in history till just before the Christian era, 42-41 B.C. (Mppian, *Be* 50). At that date, however, Palmyra was a place of some importance (cp ARABIA, § 3), and it may very well have come into existence some centuries earlier—long enough for the real story of its founding to be quite unknown in Israel in the time of the Chronicler.

TAHAN. TAHANITES (תַּחְנִי, תַּחְנִי) Nu. 20:35. See below, TAHATH.

TAHAPANES (תַּחֲפַנְתַּים) Jer. 2:6, RV TAHAPANES.

TAHASH (תַּחֲשִׁי) Gen. 22:24, AV TAHASH.

TAHATH (תַּחַת), an Ephraimite name originating in the Negeb, see SUCHELIAM (1 Ch. 7:20) ἠεδμορ [B] only on c), ἠεδμορ [A], ἠεδμορ [L, twice]). The name occurs again in 7:25 under the form TAHAN (ἠεδμορ [B], ἠεδμορ [L], ἠεδμορ [A], ἠεδμορ [C], ἠεδμορ [D]), and similarly in Nu. 20:35 [P] (EXX 7: 3) ἠεδμορ [C], cp the family of the Tahanites (ἠεδμορ [B], ἠεδμορ [C], ἠεδμορ [D], ἠεδμορ [E], ἠεδμορ [F]). In the priestly genealogies in 1 Ch. 6 which are intended to supply the great singers with a Levitical ancestry, Tahath is twice mentioned among the ancestors of Samuel and Hemai (1 Ch. 24:16) 17 [22], ἠεδμορ [B], ἠεδμορ [C], ἠεδμορ [D], and it is only reasonably to identify Tahath or Tahan (= Nahath?) with Tare (17:7), which is also an Ephraimite name (cp EPHRAIM, § 12).

TAHATH (תַּחַת), note the 'priestly' name TAUATH above, a stage in the wandering in the wilderness; Nu. 33:25 ff. ἠεδμορ [BA], ἠεδμορ [E]. The

¹ For the earliest exact modern account of Palmyra (by Halifaz, 1901), see *PEPQ* O. 1, 15-20, pp. 271 ff. See also Post, 'Second Journey to Palmyra,' *PEPQ*, 1892-3:1; Bernoulli, *Die Jours en Palmyrène* (1863).

² On the connection between the names *tadmur* and *πάχυρα* see Lutz (*Zeits.* 125, note), who approves the conjecture of Schultens (*Über Salamina*; see the Geog. Index under 'Tadmora,' where the form *tadmora* is cited), that the original was *tadmora*, with the meaning 'abounding in palms.'

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name stands between Makheloth and Terah, both of which are possibly corruptions of 'Jerahmeel' (the). See WANDERINGS, WILDERNESS OF.

TAHCHEMONITE, AV Tachmonite (תַּחְמוֹנִי) (1) YANANAITIC [AV] יָחִיב תַּחְמוֹנִי [L.], 28, 23. Probably miswritten, owing to the repetition of ת from the preceding word, for תַּחְמוֹנִי (note אַחַר in AV) יָחִיב תַּחְמוֹנִי, (the ... the' (so Matt.). This is in accordance with the other descriptions of David's other heroes. But תַּחְמוֹנִי can hardly be correct. Besides, תַּחְמוֹנִי is preceded (according to the emendation suggested under JASHOBEAM) by בָּנִי; תַּחְמוֹנִי is analogous to בְּתוּרְמוֹנִי and שׁ being sometimes confounded, it is plausible to correct into בְּתוּרְמוֹנִי—i.e., a man of Beth-turem (see BETH-TUREM); שׁ and ת were transposed. Cp Cirin, the name of a son of Zabai, Josh. 7, and note that in 1 Ch. 27, 2 Jashobeam is called a son of Zabaiel; also that in 1 Ch. 11, Perez and Cirin are brothers, and that in 1 Ch. 27, 3 Jashobeam is said to have belonged to the line Perez. J. K. C.

TAHPANHES (תַּחְפַּנְחֵס) Jer. 47, etc.) or **Tehaphnehes** (תַּחְפַּנְחֵס) Ezek. 30, etc.; Jer. 26 Kethib תַּחְפַּנְחֵס (AV Tahapanes), Judith 19 AV TAPHNES, RV TAP-PANHES, a city of north-east in Egypt. Ezek. 30 closes the long enumeration of Egyptian cities threatened by destruction, with Aven-Heliopolis and Pihbeseth-Bubastus, 1, 15, and Tahpanhes, 1, 19, all three belonging to the Eastern Delta. The long verse, devoted to Tahpanhes, where 'the yokes (better, as G, 'sceptres'; see Cornill) of Egypt' shall be broken, and 'the pride of her power shall cease in her' shows the wealth and importance of the place, as does the allusion to 'her daughters'—i.e., surrounding towns (Jer. 47, 3), Jeremiah, with many fugitives, fleeing from Palestine to Egypt, comes to Tahpanhes and settles there. This points again to the place being near the entrance from Palestine into Egypt, i.e., in the NE. In 2, 9 the words 'the entry of Pharaoh's house in Tahpanhes' seem to indicate that the place had a royal palace which, even if used only on occasional visits of the king, would indicate an important city. In 11, 16, 17 Tahpanhes (which, however, is wanting in the good MSS of G in 16, 17), Memphis and Noph are the three most important settlements of Jewish fugitives in N. Egypt, as distinguished from those in the S. In Jer. 26, the Egyptians are called 'children of Noph (Memphis) and Tahpanhes.' Judith 19, enumerating Taphnas and Ramesse and the whole land of Goshen (as usual, as far as Tams and Memphis, etc., seems to be following those Jewish settlements.

G transcribes the name as Ταφνας (indeclinable) in Jer. and Judith; in Ezek. G has Ταφνας; Vg. not Taphnas, as is usually quoted, but Taphnis (indeclinable); the same form occurs as accusative in Jer. 47, 3. It has always been concluded from these transcriptions that the reference is to a place which Herodotus, assimilating its name to the Greek word for 'tunnels,' calls Δαφνας. According to him (2, 30) Psammetich I. established a great camp of soldiers 'in Daphne near Pelusium'—i.e. Δαφνησὶ τῆσι Πελουσιῶσι, which the Persians still maintained. In 2, 151, he reports that Sesostris, returning from his conquests, rested there. The *H. Anton.* places *Dafno* 16 R. m. inland from Pelusium; Steph. Byz. also mentions Δαφνη. Already Wilkinson (*Modern Egypt and Thebes*, 147) identified this place with the modern Tell Dehneh (about 25 English miles in a straight line SW. of the ruins of Pelusium), which was excavated by Flinders Petrie in 1880 (see Petrie, *Tomb. 2*). Petrie found traces of earlier buildings of the Ramesside period, a great camp, fortified, according to the foundation records, by Psammetichus I., maintained under Necho and Amasis, and evidently

¹ The form Ταφνας in the Coptic version, of course, proves nothing, being taken mechanically from the Septuagint.

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abandoned afterwards, the palace or citadel having been destroyed by the. Many finds of arms, pottery, etc. showed that the garrison had consisted chiefly of Greek mercenaries. The position of this fortress, on the right bank of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile close to the caravan-road to Syria, explains its great importance. It agrees excellently with that of the biblical Tahpanhes, key to Egypt (cp Jer. 47, 3); the expression in Jer. 2 would be explained by the strong garrison. Such a place would also be best adapted for a Jewish colony which evidently subsisted chiefly on trading. Wilkinson's identification may, therefore, be considered as very probable. The Egyptian name of the city has, however, not yet been found, which is not surprising. We consider that the city received its importance only under Psammetichus I. Such Egyptian etymologies as have been attempted so far are too improbable to be discussed here.

On the theory that the reference in all the passages is to an actual Tahpanhes' in N. Arabia (cp Petrie, *ibid.*, 2, 147), Tahpanhes, like the other traditional names, disappears from the text. For the underlying words see *Ort. Bib.* on Jer. 2, Ezek. 30, 17, 19. W. M. M.

TAHPENES (תַּחְפַּנֵּס) in 1 K. 11, 28 defective טַחַכְ [for טַחַכְ] [B.M.]; Vg. *Taphnes*; 1 K. 11, 28 [twice], the wife of Pharaoh, whose sister was given to Hadad, the Edomite, to wife. The name has a very Egyptian appearance, although no certain etymology could be given, except that the initial *T* would be an Egyptian article. The present vowel-points seem to follow the analogy of the city TAP-PANHES (1, 19). See, however, HAVANU, according to which article we should not expect an Egyptian name for a queen of Egypt. N. Arabia which seems to be meant here is not in Egypt. The possibility remains open, at any rate, that at a later time, when the king of Musri in question had become a Pharaoh in the text, and the whole narrative was referred to Egypt, an Egyptian name was worked into the story. It would be futile to try to reconstruct the various short Egyptian words which could be found in the name, especially as G differs somewhat from the Hebrew. [On the Heb. text cp *Ort. Bib.* on Jer. 46, 15.] W. M. M.

TAHREA (תַּחְרֵא; טַחַרַא [M.]; טַחַרַא [H.]) descendant of Menibbal; 1 Ch. 9, 41.

TAHTIM-HODSHI, LAND OF (אֶרֶץ תַּחְתִּים הֹדְשִׁי)

תַּחְתִּים הֹדְשִׁי [B.], חַח חֹדְשִׁי [M.], חַח חֹדְשִׁי [A.], חַח חֹדְשִׁי [A.]. **1. State of the problem.** Pesh. (on, vers.; *terram* [on] *the problem*. *Hodshi* [Vg.], a district mentioned between Gilead and Dan-jaan in the account of the movements of Joab in taking the census of the people of Israel 'from Dan even to Beersheba' 2 S. 24, 6. That 'Tahim-hodshi' is corrupt, is too obvious to be questioned. Several remedies have been offered, but not quite satisfactorily, owing to the want of a thorough textual criticism of the whole narrative of the census (2 S. 24) in the light of parallel passages of geographical description.

1. Ewald (*Hist.* 3, 162, n. 3) thought that for 'Hodshi' (?) we should read 'Hermon' (הַרְמוֹן) which changed, in addition, 'Tahim (?)' into 'tahata' (תַּחַת) cp Josh. 11, 3, where Wellhausen, *Unb.*, Bennett (1870)

1. No significance, however, should be attached to the fact that the Arabs called a part of the ruins 'the castle of Pharaoh's daughter' (*Qasr بنت el-Fahira*), which has no name. Petrie even to find the alleged 'בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ' of Jer. 47, 30. BIRCKBECK'S. It may be mentioned here that Lina G. F. review, *Biblische Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1880, 1, 1, has warned us against laying stress on the similarity of the names Dehneh (?) and Daphne. The best Arabic name is *Dehneh* or *Dehneh* (both give the plural *Dehne* 'treasure-hill', evidently from finds made here by A. G. 1880) from an old name of the locality.

2. E.g., Lagarde once tried to find in Tahpenes the goddess Schemet, worshipped especially at Memphis. A *Dehneh* 'the one belonging to S.' would, however, require quite a number of violent emendations.

TAMAR

identified with that of Ezekiel, requires separate treatment. It is credible that Solomon's fortress was for the protection of the commercial road from Ezion-geber to Jerusalem; but it is not less possible that it was to guard the Negeb towards the land of Musri (see SOLOMON, § 7). 'Tamar,' both here and elsewhere, is therefore probably miswritten for רמת (Ramath), which is a corruption of 'Jerahmeel' (see TAMAR II.). 'In the wilderness, in the land' (בבארני בארץ) should probably be 'in Arabia, in Misur' (בארץ מצר) (Che.; see *Crit. Bib.*).

TAMAR (תמר), as if 'date palm,' § 69; טמאר [BKADEL,]. The name, in the sense of 'date palm,' is of course suitable enough for a woman (cp Cant. 77, [3f.]). But it also occurs as a place-name, and we have to find an explanation which will fit both the personal name and the place name. Winckler (*Gl 203f.*, 104f. 227) offers such an explanation. Tamar, he thinks, is the Canaanite Istar; the myth of Tammuz and Istar was doubtless transplanted into Canaan (cp Stucken, *Astral-mythol.*, 14-16). BAAL-TAMAR was the place where the men of Benjamin had their tribal sanctuary, and dedicated to the [female] goddess Istar. Cp KIRJATH-JEARIM, SAUL. 'Baalath and Tamar,' 1 K. 913, should rather be Baalath-tamar (a less original form of Baal-tamar). All this is set forth with great force and learning; but there is a doubt whether the relics of mythology can be so easily traced, and whether textual criticism, methodically applied, does not here, as often elsewhere, suggest a better explanation.

Proper names in the OT are even more frequently corrupt than has been supposed, and need very careful emendation, and it so happens that תמר, both as an appellative and as a proper name, is specially liable to corruption. The passage 1 K. 913 is treated separately (see TAMAR I.); we are here only considering the passages in which 'Tamar' occurs as the name of a woman. A careful study of this group of passages suggests that 'Tamar' has here most probably arisen out of one of the popular distortions of 'Jerahme'elith'; another such corruption is MAACAH, and a third is MAHMAH. We may add that אהרן, IHAMAR (the name of a son of Aaron) very possibly came from יהרמיה, Jerahme'el (cp Jer. 17); cp JEREMIAH.

1. The wife of Judah's son Er, who subsequently, through her father-in-law, became the mother of PERTZ and ZERAU [77, 78] (Gen. 38o ff. [1]). 1 Ch. 24 Mt. 13 [AV here TITAMAR]. The story is referred to in Ruth (412) as furnishing a parallel to Ruth's marriage with Boaz. According to Winckler it is a Canaanitish development of the myth of Istar (see above). For another and a preferable view of the significance of the story, see JUDAH, col. 2617f.

2. Sister of Absalom (2 S. 13o ff. 1 Ch. 39 [B always θημαρ and so A in 1 Ch.]), and probably daughter of the same mother (cp Jos. Ant. vii. 81); see MAACAH, 2. According to Winckler (*Gl 227f.*), not only has this Tamar's name mythological affinities, but the whole story of her being outraged by her half-brother Amnon is mythological. An old myth respecting Tamar, the Canaanitish Istar, and her relation to her brother (to whom TAMMUZ corresponds) has been transformed by the people into a quasi-historical narrative. Note especially Tamar's cake, which reminds Winckler of the cakes of Ashtoreth (Jer. 1410). See, however, above and cp AUSAOM, DAVID, col. 1033.

3. (θημαρ [B], Thamar, but μααχα [L]), a daughter of Absalom, 2 S. 1427f (177, 25-27 late; see Bu. SBOT, 'Sam.'). Elsewhere we hear of a daughter of Absalom and wife of king Rehoboam called Maacah, and 2 S. 1427 identifies Absalom's daughter Tamar with the wife of king Rehoboam; 2 S., indeed, goes further and reads, not Tamar, but Maacah. If the addition in 2 S. 1427, relative to the marriage of Absalom's daughter with Rehoboam is correct, one would be inclined to follow 2 S.'s reading 'Maacah.' But perhaps the difficulty is not really existent. 'Tamar' and 'Maacah' may both be corruptions of Jerahme'elith ('a Jerahmeelite'). For the rest see MAACAH, 3. Thus

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two of the cases of the recurrence of a name in the same family would disappear (see also ΜΕΡΥΠΟΡΙΗ III, and cp Gray, *III/V 6f.*).

TAMARISK TREE is the rendering in RV of תמר, for which AV has in Gen. 2131 'grove,' מג 'tree'; in 1 S. 226 'tree,' מג 'grove'; and in 1 S. 3113 'tree.' The variety of rendering suggests that the Heb. word has an interesting history, and though it has become traditional to render 'tamarisk,' the critical tradition needs periodical revision at the hands of critics.

1. Apart from 2 S., whose rendering ἀρογχα Wellhausen (*Sam.* 124) pronounces unintelligible, the ancients took the word in a general sense, translating sometimes 'grove' or 'plantation' (Aq. δένδρῶν and δένδρῶμα² (?); Sym. φτερία, Vg. nemus, פריים Tg. Jer. 1 and 2, and *Jer. rab.* 54, end), sometimes 'tree' (Sym. φυτόν; so Dnk. Pesh.) or 'oak tree' (Theod. [τάς] δρύς; 1 Ch. 1012 תמר, instead of the תמר of 1 S. 3113). Such a view of the meaning is supported by the Rabbis, and even by Celsus (1535 ff.); but the rendering 'tree' would be excusable only as a protest against the cultus of some special sacred tree (cp OAK)—philologically it is of course untenable.

2. The tendency to explain obscure Heb. words from the Arabic has led to the identification of תמר, with the Arab. *tahl*, which corresponds phonetically, and means 'tamarisk.' Of this tree perhaps as many as half a dozen species are found in Pal. (Tristram, *FLP.* 250); our common tamarisk is not one of them. The common riverside species is *T. Pallasi*, Desr. The tamarisk 'is a very graceful tree, with long feathery branches and tufts, closely clad with the minutest of leaves, and surmounted in spring with spikes of beautiful pink blossoms.' 'Though it is often a mere bush, some of the Palestinian tamarisks stretch such a size as to afford dense shade. . . . Beersheba is well suited for the growth of the tamarisk; and we observed large numbers of the Eastern tamarisk on the banks below the site of Jabesh Gilead' (Tristram, *l.c.*). It is also common in Egypt, where it was anciently consecrated to Osiris, and bore the (Semitic?) name of *asari*.³

3. It may be doubted, however, whether this is really the correct explanation. It will be noticed that Tristram says nothing about tamarisks at Gibeon or Saul. The tree referred to in 1 S. 226 was no doubt a sacred tree (see HIGH PLACE, § 3 and n. 6). In 1 S. 112 we read apparently of a pomegranate tree under which Saul sat (see MIGNON). There is no probability in the view that the tree on the high place at Gibeon was a tamarisk. But if we give up *asari* in 1 S. 226, we can hardly defend it in Gen. 2133 and 1 S. 3113; the presumption is that the same word is meant in all these passages, and that in all three it is corrupt. Now let us turn to 2 S.'s ἀρογχα (thrice). At first sight this looks like an orthodox substitute for a word liable to be misused (cp the Vss. on Gen. 126, and see OAK). But how can 2 S. possibly have understood the phrase φτερία ἀρογχα, if ἀρογχα means 'tilled land'? Clearly ἀρογχα must cover some tree-name, and it has been suggested that ἀρογχα may come from תמר or תמר, which 2 S., like Tg. and Vg., understood to mean 'tamarisk.' Thus the harder part of 2 S.'s riddle is explained. It remains to account for 2 S.'s reading תמר or תמר in lieu of תמר—it is no mere interpretation but a genuine reading that 2 S. gives us. There is only one hypothesis which will do this; תמר, תמר is a corruption of תמר, *ashêrîth* (Che.). This, then, is the true reading in all three places:—*Abraham built an ashêrîth at*

¹ H. P. Smith sounds a note of warning. 'Though he renders תמר "tamarisk," he remarks, "As the word only occurs three times, the species is uncertain."'

² δένδρῶμα seems to be an error for δένδρῶνα (see Schlegel, *l.c.* in *VT*, 57).

³ Pierret, *Dict. d'archéol. égypt.* 534; Maspero, *Paen. d. C.*, 25, n. 3.

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Beersheba; Saul sat under the asherah at Gibeon; the bones of Saul and his sons were buried under the asherah at Jabesh.

תַּמְמוּז was corrupted in one important MS. into תַּמְמוּז or תַּמְמוּז; in another into תַּמְמוּז. The idea of the later hypothesis was suggested by Klo, who supposes תַּמְמוּז to be a deliberate distortion of תַּמְמוּז, in order to discourage Asherah-worship. Klo's *ἀπολογία*, acc. to him, is תַּמְמוּז, 'the cursed (tree)—again a protest against tree-worship.

2. *תַּמְמוּז*, Jer. 17 6 186f RV^{mg}, EV HEATH.

TAMMUZ (תַּמְמוּז), whose worship is supposed, on doubtful grounds, to be alluded to in Ezek. 8 14 (תַּמְמוּז),

1. Personality מוֹיֵז [BA]. Ἀδωνί [G^{mg}]. *Adonis* [Vg.] derives his name from the Bib. *Dumuzi*³ (1 R. 28, 50.1) i.e.,

'son of life,' which, according to G. A. Barton, refers to Tammuz as the child of the goddess of fertility, or perhaps 'a true divine child' (= Ass. *aplu kinu*; so Frd. Del.). He is variously described as the youthful husband of the goddess Istar, as her son, and as the first in the series of her rejected husbands. Every year, in the fourth month (*Dūnu*, see below) i.e., July—he descended to Hades, and remained there till the next spring. His disappearance gave occasion to drink offerings and a great *bikitu* or 'weeping.' The 'motives' of his legend and the meaning of his cultus can be found in the Babylonian myth of the Descent of Istar. There is also an illustrative passage in the Gilgamesh-epic, Tab. 6, where, among other lovers of the goddess who have encountered a sad fate, Tammuz (*Dumuzi*) is mentioned. 'Tammuz, the spouse of thy youth, thou compellest to weep year after year.'⁵ The discovery of Friedrich Delitzsch and Jensen (*Kosmol.* 197) that 4 R. 30, no. 2 contains a song of lamentation for Tammuz is not less suggestive. This is how the song runs, as translated by A. Jeremias,⁶

'He went down (?) to meet the nether world, he has sated himself, the sun-god caused him to perish (passing) to the land of the dead, with mourning was he filled on the day when he fell into great sorrow.'

The word rendered 'sorrow' (*idirtum*) occurs again in 5 R. 18, col. 14, where, on the name of the month Tammuz, stands the note—*idirtum*, 'sorrow.' The Tammuz festival was in fact the idealisation of human sorrow—a kind of 'All Souls' Day.' Hence partly the strong hold which it obtained upon the masses. 'Dirges were sung by the wailing women to the accompaniment of musical instruments; offerings were made to the dead, and it is plausible to assume that visits were paid to the graves.' It is probable that, to gratify the general sentiment, specially important national mournings were placed in the month Tammuz (see below). 'The calendar of the Jewish Church still marks the 17th day of Tammuz as a fast, and Houtsma has shown that the association of the day with the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans represents merely the attempt to give an ancient festival a worthier interpretation. The day was originally connected with the Tammuz cult.'⁷

The month devoted to Tammuz in the later Jewish Calendar (*M. c. Tammuz*, 450) was the Babylonian month *Dumuzi* or *Tammuz*. It is assumed here that the Asherah was originally a sacred tree. But cp ASHERAH.

² Siegf. Steg. agree, so far as Gen. 16 is concerned.

³ The form *Tamuzi* has also been found in the personal name *Uru*(hu) *Tamuzi* (Jensen, in Kraetzsch's note on Ezek. 8 14). See further Delitzsch, *Heb. and Assyrian*, 16, and in Bar's *Ezekiel*, pref. xvii f.; Zimmern, *Keilschriftl. u. bibl. Forsch.* 117-24 215 f. 2 270 f.; Leonard, 'Sur le nom de Tammuz,' in *Proc. of Paris Congress of Orientalists*, 2 149-153; Bandelin, *Stud.* 2, *ser. Rel.-gesch.*, 135 200 ff.; G. A. Barton, *Semitic Origins* (1902), 1, 86; Zimmern, *KA¹*, 397 ff.

⁴ For parallels to this view of Istar in mythology and folklore (including that in Tobit 3) see Sin-ken, *Astralmythen*, 16.

⁵ Jeremias, *Isdubar-Nimrod*, 24; cp Maspero, *Dizion* of *Ch.* 530, 672; Jastrow, *Rel. Bab.* 185, 482.

⁶ *Op. cit.* 50; but cp on one part of the song Jensen, *Kosmol.* 226.

⁷ Jastrow, *Rel. Bab.* 185, 602.

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Dūnu, which was assigned to Nīnib, the god of the hot mid-day sun, as regent. See MISHN. § 2.

Originally and properly *Dūnu* or *Dumuzi*, is the spirit or god of the spring vegetation;¹ also, by a natural sequence, he is the lord, and his sister *Billi* (see BELLIAL, § 2) is the lady, of the underworld, the region of growth, though also the place of the dead.² But it was not possible to keep this conception in its purity; it was natural to identify the vegetation spirit with the sun, and to treat *Dūnu* as a manifestation of the solar deity (*Nīnib*). For the drama of the sun is similar to that of plant-life; after the summer solstice the sun seems gradually to lose its strength, and at length to die, till at the winter solstice it is born again. Originally too, the *Dūnu* story was distinct from the *Adonis* and the *Osiris* stories; but at an early date the distinction was forgotten (*Adonis*, § 2). The identity of Tammuz and *Adonis* is asserted by Jerome³ and other fathers (see ASHURITH, § 2, with n. 3).

According to Robertson Smith the wailing for Tammuz was not originally connected with the death of vegetation, but was a ceremony of mourning for some sacrificial victim, such as is performed among the Todas of S. India to this day. Later, a different explanation was sought for the wailing—one more in harmony with advancing civilisation—and the rite was projected into the myth of the death of Tammuz. Robertson Smith also thinks that the yearly mourning for Tammuz-*Adonis* is the closest parallel in form to the humiliation of the Hebrew Day of Atonement (*Rel. Sem.* 25, 411, cp 414).

To this view G. A. Barton (*Sem. Or.* 114) assents. The story of *Adapa*, however (*KB¹*, p. 67; cp Jastrow, *Rel. Bab.* 185, 549), discloses an earlier form of the Tammuz-myth according to which Tammuz did not go into the death-world on leaving the earth, but ascended to the gate of Ann, where he was stationed (as door-keeper) with another solar god or vegetation god called *Gisrida*. According to Jensen (*U.Z.* 120, col. 70) another ancient belief made Tammuz, the god of vernal vegetation, the son of *abzu* (the primordial ocean). Certainly Golea (about 300 B.C.) mentions Tammuz (*zūba*) i.e., Tammuz of the ocean, beside *Ningisida* (identical with *Isis*, mentioned above); compare, however, Jastrow (*Rel. Bab.* 185), who deprecates fusing the two Tammuz deities, and Barton (*Sem. Or.* 211 f.), who makes this deity a goddess.

We now turn to the single express reference to Tammuz in the MT. It occurs in the description of

2. OT traces. heathen rites practised in the temple, which Ezekiel in his captivity professes to have seen when in the ecstatic state. First among these rites—according to Toy's explanation of chap. 8—comes (perhaps) an Asherah-usage (7: 5). Next, the secret worship of reptiles and beasts, probably forms of old-Israeltish worship (7: 10). Next, the women weeping for Tammuz (7: 14). Next, twenty-five men worshipping the sun in the east (7: 16). The last form of heathenism (as most explain 7: 17) is not recognised as such by Toy, but we here mention it here for completeness; it is 'stretching out the branch to the nose.'⁴ According to Toy, the sun-worship of the

¹ See Jensen, *Kosmol.* 107, 227, but especially Frazer, *GB²* 2 115 ff. Barton thinks that the goddess Istar was originally connected with some never-falling spring, and that some sacred tree near it represented her son (*Sem. Or.* 16).

² Jensen, *Kosmol.* 225; cp Jastrow, *KB¹* 575. *Billi* is the world-principle of generation and growth.

³ There is a remarkable statement of Jerome (ed. Vallarsi, 1 121), 'Bethlehem nunc nostrum . . . lucis innumbratam Thame, et est Adonis.' Just before, he tells us that this cult of *Adonis* has lasted about 150 years, from the times of Hadrian to the empire of Constantine. Evidently he regarded the *Adonis* cult practised in the reputed grove of the Nativitas as a deliberate profanation. It is not probable, however, that any such profanation would have been committed in the time of Hadrian; it was the Jews, not the Christians, who were at that time the objects of heathen persecution. And we may assume that the predominant element in the cultus in the cave at Bethlehem was not connected with Tammuz-*Adonis*, but rather with *Isis* and *Sarapis*, just as at Byblos the legend of *Asarte* and *Adonis* became fused with that of *Isis* and *Osiris* (cp Conradi, *Kritisch-geschichtl. Jesu*, 3 15 f.; Usener, *Rel.-gesch. Untersuch.* 1 202).

⁴ Toy takes *נִסְתַּח* (7: 17) in the sense of 'stretch,' and renders, 'they are sending a stretch to my nostrils' (*נִסְתַּח*). Kraetz-

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Jews was probably borrowed from Assyria, so that Tammuz-worship and sun-worship would naturally be mentioned together.

Possible as this is, a critical scepticism appears justifiable. It is strange that תַּמְמוֹז should occur nowhere else in the OT. In Ezek. 8:5 תַּמְמוֹז is certainly corrupt; this may reasonably make us suspect תַּמְמוֹז. First of all, however, the whole context should be critically examined. The most obvious corrections (if we presuppose some very constant types of corruption) are those in v. 19, on which see SITUATION. From the probably true text of this verse we may divine that the whole description of which it forms part relates to heathen rites of Jerahmeelite or N. Arabian origin. Elsewhere (see *Crit. Bib.*) the text of v. 14 is corrected, and a reference to the cult of the N. Arabian goddess is supposed. See, however, also HADAD-RIMMON, where a reference to Tammuz-worship is suspected to exist both here and in *Zech.* 12:11. For a generally supposed reference to the parallel cult of Adonis, see GARDEN, § 3; and cp NAAMAN. According to Ewald, the 'desire of women' mentioned in Dan. 11:17 is Tammuz-Adonis.

It is maintained by Stucken and Winckler that features of the Tammuz, Adonis, and Osiris myths have attached themselves to certain legendary Israelitish heroes. Thus Abram and Sarai, brother and sister, as well as his husband and wife, also Annon and Tamar, suggest comparison with Tammuz and Istar¹ (see Stucken, *Astralmythos*, 11; *Wl. Gl 2*, 21, 227 f. ep 105 f., and TAMAR, 2). The story of Joseph devoured by a wild beast, also the detail about Moses in the ark of bulrushes (see, however, MOSES, § 3), suggest respectively the Adonis and the Osiris myth. David, the beautiful young shepherd, also reminds one of Tammuz or Adonis. Many critics may be inclined to admit that the details here mentioned (Winckler has much more to mention besides) are of mythic origin; but to connect them directly with the Babylonian myth of Dûzu seems to be at present a somewhat bold hypothesis. That the mourning for Jephthah's daughter is analogous to the Tammuz wailing is, however, beyond the possibility of doubt (see col. 2302).

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TANACH (תַּנְכָּךְ), Josh. 21:25 AV, RV TANACH.

TANHUMETH (תַּנְחֻמֶת), cp the Talm. pr. name Tanhum), father of SERAIAH (q.v.) (2 K. 25:23; ΘΑΝΕΜΑΘ [B], ΜΑΝ [A], ΘΑΝΕΜΜΑΘ [L]; Jer. 40:3; ΘΑΝΑΕΜΑΙΘ [B], ΘΑΝΑΕΜΗΘ [A], ΝΑΘ [N]).

The name, though possibly (cp Nabum in OB) early explained as 'comfort' (cp § 62; pointed so as to exclude a woman's name), may, according to analogies (e.g. Reham, connected with Jerahmeel), come from an ethnic of the Negeb (cp NABUMANDI. In 2 K. Seraiah b. Tanhumeth is called a Neophathite; but the present writer takes Neophathite to be meant (cp NEPTOAH)—i.e. he belonged, like (probably) his companions, to the Negeb. In Jer. the designation is apparently given to certain 'sons of ENAIM' (q.v.). But תַּנְחֻמֶת (as K1) is a corrupt duplication of תַּנְחֻמֶת. Cp *Crit. Bib.* on Jer. 40:15, where it is argued that Gedaliah's Mizpah may have been Zarephath in the Negeb.

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TANIS (ΤΑΝΙΣ [BA]) Judth 10. See ZOAN.

TANNER, TANNING. See LEATHER.

TAPESTRY (תַּרְבִּיטִים, *marbaddim*), RV 'Carpets,' AV 'coverings,' RV¹⁹⁰⁸ 'cushions,' of tapestry are mentioned in Pr. 7:16 31:24f. See EMBROIDERY, WEAVING.

TAPHATH (תַּפַּחַת, § 78), 'daughter of Solomon,' wife of one of the king's prefects (see BEN-AMINADAB), 1 K. 1:11 (ΤΑΒΛΗΘΕΙ [B], ΘΛΕΙ [B⁹⁶, vbl.], ΤΑΒΛΑΘ [L], ΤΑΦΑΤΑ [A]). Probably, however, it was a Sidonian (i.e., Arabian) woman who is meant; point תַּפַּחַת. So in v. 15. Her name was perhaps Naphtuhith (cp § 78); and her husband's prefecture may have

schmar agrees with this, and finds in v. 17 a contemptuous reference to the sacrifices of the 'high places,' which gave forth to Yehwe no 'sweet savour'. Most see a reference to the *barsoma*, or bundle of branches of flowering trees, held by worshippers of the solar fire in the Parsee religion (see *Ventilation* B. 4, Spiegel, *Iran. Alterth.* 357f.). Cp a Cyprian parallel in Oppenheim-Richter, *Kypros*, 137 ff. Clermont-Ganneau (*Études d'archéol. orientale*, 23 (1880)) supposes some rite in the mysteries of Adonis. This would require us to transfer the last clause of v. 17 to the end of v. 14.

¹ Though strictly the sister of Tammuz was Ishtar.

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comprised all נַפְתּוֹחַ נַפְתּוֹחַ, Naphtoah-arab. See *Crit. Bib.*; also SALMAIL.

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TAPHON [AV] or ΤΕΦΘΟΝ [RV] ΤΕΦΘΩΝ [AN], ΤΕΦΩ [V], ΤΟΥΘΑΘ [Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 13, § 15], *Cephō* [Vet. Lat.], Syr. ܦܫܘܢܐ. One of the 'strong cities' in Judah fortified by Baechides; 1 Mace. 9:50. The name is a corruption either of Tappuah (cp Josh. 16:5^b), in which case BETH-TAPPUAH (q.v.) may be meant, or of NETOPHAH (q.v.). The latter view (*Gr. Gesch.* iii. 13, n. 5) is geographically possible, but is phonetically perhaps rather less natural.

TAPPUAH (תַּפּוּחַ), § 103, cp APPLE and FRUIT, § 12).

1. A place grouped with Zanoah, En-gannim, and Enam among the towns of the lowland of Judah (Josh. 15:34), and connected apparently with Hebron (1 Ch. 2:43). (In Josh. אֵנוּחַ¹ [B?], ἀδίατσει¹ [A], θαφφοα [L]; in 1 Ch. θαποις [B], θαφφου [A], φετροθ [L]). Perhaps, however, 'Tappuah and Enam' should rather be 'and Tappuah [of] Enam,' and the same place may be referred to in Gen. 38:14 (read 'at Tap'ah of Enaim') and in Josh. 15:9 18:15 (read for 'unto the fountain of the waters of NEPTOAH,' 'unto Nephtoah, or Tappuah, [of] Enam'). In all these passages there is most probably a geographical confusion due to the redactors—i.e. the place originally intended was in the Negeb (cp SOCOH, ZANOAH, ZORAH). Very possibly, too, Tappiah is a popular distortion of Nephtoah or Naphtoah, the name the present writer supposes to underlie the difficult 'Naphthuhim' in Gen. 10:13. See MIZRAIM, § 2b, where Gen. 10:13f. is explained in the light of the theory that נַפְתּוֹחַ is very often not Misraim, 'Egypt,' but Mişrim, the Muşri on the N. Arabian border of Palestine.

2. A place which appears once (see below) at a critical point of the history of Israel, situated on the border between Ephraim and Manasseh (see KANAH, Josh. 16:178). In 17:7 it is called EN-TAPPUAH, and in the next verse we are told that the land or district of Tappuah belonged to Manasseh, but Tappuah itself to the line Ephraim. This is inserted to account for the expression in v. 7: 'and (then) the border goes along southward to the inhabitants (= the district) of En-tappuah.' Conder (*Hibb.* 263) identifies En-Tappuah or Tappuah with a spring near Yisuf, at the head of a branch of the *Wady Kinnah*, S. of Shechem and of Michmethath. Robinson, however, and formerly Conder (*PEFO*, 1877, p. 48), connected it with *Kh. Atul*, and Guérin (*Sam.* 1259) with *Ain el-Fair*, both N.E. of Nāblus. In each case the identification depends on the situation assigned to the torrent KANAH. Probably enough there was a northern Tappuah; but the name (a distortion of Naphtoah) comes from the Negeb. It is historically unsafe to suppose that the northern Tappuah was the city so cruelly treated by Menahem in his hour of victory, 2 K. 15:16 (see TIPHSAH).

(Σ ταφου, πηγη θαφθοα [tafeth, a, h, m, z.], θαφθ [B]; εδωου, πηγη θαφθοα, θαφθοα [A]; θαφθοε, πηγη θαφθοα, [θαφθοα] H. J. Dillmann holds that the Ephraimite Tappuah was the royal city of Josh. 12:17 (αταθοου [B], θαφθοα [A], θαφθοα [L]). With the preceding name Bethel, the list of cities passes into central Palestine. The present writer thinks, however, that Josh. 12:7 has been recast by the redactor, and that the real cities are really in the Jerahmeelite Negeb (cp SHUMRON, § 108, TIZABH).

T. K. C.

TARAH, RV Terah (תַּרְחָה); ΤΑΡΑΘ [BL], Θ [A] ΕΚΑΡΑΘ, ΕΚΘ. [F, the preposition ΕΚ ditographed], a stage in the wandering in the wilderness; Nu. 33:7. See WANDERING, WILDERNESS OF. Probably a mutilation of Jerahmeel (cp TERAH) [Che.]. Cp MAKHELOTH, TAHATH, MOSERAH.

TARALAH (תַּרְאֵלָה); ΘΑΡΕΛΛΑ [B], ΘΑΡΑΛΑ [A], ΘΕ. [L]; *th'rela, th'rama* [OS¹⁹ 31 2 156 31; cp 261 27].

¹ See ADITHAIM.

TAREA

apparently a Benjamite place-name (Josh. 18:27), but really, like *hat-elaph* in v. 28, a corruption of ירמאל, IRPEEL (q.v.), or of ירמאל, of which ירמאל may be a corruption (Che.). See ELEPH.

TAREA (תָּרֵא [Ba.], תָּרֵא [Gi.]) in 1 Ch. 8:35; but תָּרֵא [Ba.], תָּרֵא [Gi.], EN TAREIA in 9:41; ΘΕΡΕΕ, ΘΑΡΑΧ [B and S in 9:41], ΘΑΡΕΕ, ΘΑΡΑ [A], ΘΑΡΑΔ [L.], a descendant of Saul mentioned in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (q.v.), § 9, ii. β, 1 Ch. 8:35 = 9:41.

TARES (ΖΙΖΑΝΙΑ, Mt. 13:25 ff.). The Greek word, which does not occur in G, is plainly of Semitic origin. Its Syriac form *zizani* is (as Lagarde says, *Sem. 13*) equivalent to זִיזָאן, and so derived from זָן, which in Ar. means 'to be dry.' A kindred word is Ar. (and Pers.) *zizwin*, which denotes the seed of *datura*—i.e., dandel. *zizwin* is, according to Suidas, ἡ ἐν τῷ σίτῳ ἀρα; the medicinal effects of ἀρα are described in Diosc. 2:122.

From the statements in Mishna and Talmud (see Low, 133 f.) we learn that זָן, the post-biblical Hebrew equivalent of ζῖζάνια, denoted plants closely resembling wheat, alongside of which they grew, and were indeed sometimes regarded as a degenerate form of wheat produced under unfavourable conditions from the same seeds. In view of these and other statements, it is generally agreed that the plant intended is *Lolium temulentum*, or darnel (Tristram, *NHB* 487, where there is a good account of the plant).

It is not improbable that 'darnel' has been associated with 'white crops,' especially wheat, in the earliest times. With imperfect methods of cleaning the seed, grain, the seed would be sown with that of the wheat. It grows to about the same height, and would naturally be regarded as a degenerate form. Darnel was long regarded as poisonous (cp. Hooker, *Student's Flora*, 41); this, however, is now attributed to the ergot with which it is peculiarly prone to be affected. Its rarity in England, where it is only a 'weed of cultivation,' is due to greater care in the sowing. A native of Europe and N. Asia, it occurs throughout the Mediterranean basin. N. M.—W. T. T. D.

TARGET. (1) תָּרֵץ, *ginnah*, 1 K. 10:16; see SHIELD.

(2) תָּרֵץ, *hitha*, 1 S. 17:6. See JAVELIN, 1, 5; SWORD.

TARGUMS. See ARAMAIC LANGUAGE, § 6; TEXT AND VERSIONS, § 65.

TARPELITES (תַּרְפֵּלִי, Ezra 4:9 f.; ΤΑΡΑΦΑΛΛΑΙΟΙ [B], ταραφ. [A]; [אֲרָפֵלִי]), according to most recent writers not an ethnic name, but mis-written for קַרְפֵּלִי, 'tablet-writers' (from *Ass. dip. sarru*); cp. Schr. *COT* on Jer. 51:27, but see SCRIBES. Cp. also APHAKITES.

TARSHISH (תַּרְשִׁישִׁי; ΘΑΡΚ[Ε]ΙC [BNA, etc.])—everywhere except Is. 2:16 [see below] and 23:6:104 [καρχηδών (BNGT)], χαρκ. (B* once, N* twice) where Q¹ twice has ΘΑΡΚΕΙC as the reading of Ag. Symm. Theod., and Ezek. 27:12:25 [καρχηδονιοι or χαρκ. (B V)]—A 7: 25 adding ΘΑΡΚΟC] 38:13 [καρχηδονιοι (B); χαλκιδονος (A), ΘΑΡΚΕΙC (Q¹ms vid.)]; thrice spelled *Tarshish* in AV [1 K. 10:22 bis, 22:43]. A son of Javan, Gen. 10:4 1 Ch. 1:7 (where mis-written תַּרְשִׁישִׁי under the influence of תַּרְשִׁישִׁי).

1. Biblical references. In a relatively early passage (Is. 2:16) we find the phrase 'Tarshish ships' as a synonym for large, sea-going vessels. We also find the phrase in 1 K. 10:22² (twice; G *vau* ἐκ θ. the second time), 22:43³ Is. 60:9 Ps. 48:7 [S], and Ezek. 27:25. The information given us respecting Tarshish may be very briefly summed up. According to Jer. 10:9 (later than Jeremiah), silver was brought from it, and elsewhere, besides silver,

¹ G, however, does not support the rendering 'Tarshish ships'; θαλασσης in πᾶν πλοῖον θαλασσης [BNA, etc.] is an erroneous transliteration; for another case of this see Dan. 10:3 (θαλασσης [S]) θαρσος [Theod.]; cp. Vg. *s. maris* in Ezek. 1:16. In Talm. *Jer. Mev. 74a*, שָׂרְשָׁרִי תַּרְשִׁישִׁי תַּרְשִׁישִׁי תַּרְשִׁישִׁי. ² Regarded as a redactional insertion (see Kittel, Benzinger). The Hebrew has תַּרְשִׁישִׁי (collective). ³ Stade, Kittel, and Benzinger agree that (following G) we should read here תַּרְשִׁישִׁי (singular). Note תַּרְשִׁישִׁי (Kt.), 'was broken.' G omits שָׂרְשָׁרִי whilst G and S have respectively in their insertion after 1 K. 10:22 *vau* ἐκ θ. and *vau* . . .

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iron, tin, and lead are specified among its riches (Ezek. 27:12; cp. 38:13). It is mentioned with the *tyren* (תַּרְשִׁישִׁי) or 'coast-lands' (Is. 23:6:10 [with other countries]), Ps. 72:10). Jotham, when fleeing from the presence of Yahweh, set sail for Tarshish from Joppa (Jon. 1:3:4; cp. 2 Ch. 9:21 bis [πλοῖα ἐκ θ. once, 20:30 f.—where Tarshish ships have become, through the author's misunderstanding, 'ships that go to Tarshish']).

The identification of the locality is difficult. Most scholars since Bochart have thought of Tartessus (2. Where? (Ταρτησσός; but Polyb. iii. 212, Ταρσησσός) in S. Spain. This was the ancient and, Tartessus? as far as known to the OT writers, the remotest goal of Phœnician commerce (see GLOSSARY, § 126).

Herodotus (4:152) indeed places Tartessus beyond the Pillars of Hercules; cp. Strabo 3:131; Polyb. iii. 32. Elsewhere (2:112) Strabo, with whom Pausanias (iv. 19:3) agrees, makes Tartessus the name of the River Bætis (Guadalquivir), and also of a city in the delta of this river, the surrounding territory being called Tartessus. Diodorus (5:35 ff.) as well as Strabo speaks of the silver, iron, tin, and lead of Tartessus. The exact site seems not determinable, nor is it clear that the Hebrews knew it. Cp. SILVER.

The name Tartessus was extended to the whole of S. Spain. As far as the *terminus* Tartessus is found in Avienus (4^o), and in the second treaty between Carthage and Rome we read that the Romans are forbidden *Maiores Tartessus non adirent* (Polyb. iii. 24:3)—i.e., they are not to go beyond the city of Mastia in the land called Tarseion—Tarshish. (See E. Meyer, *GA* 2:27 (8:425).)

What is likely is, that Tarshish is a Semitised form of the native name.

G in Ezek. and Is. 23 renders 'Tarshish' by 'Carthage.' In its ordinary sense this name is of course unsuitable. But when the Carthaginians brought the Phœnician settlement of Mastia (see § 1, end) in the land of Tarseion (Tarshish) under their rule, they made it a Kart-hadist (= Carthage), so that G's rendering in a new sense appears to be defensible (Wi. *AOZ* 1:445 f.).

Tarsus in Cilicia is the identification adopted by Josephus and Jerome, and in modern times by Bunsen, Sayce,¹ and— for Gen. 10:4—by A. H. Keane (who takes 'a son of Javan' to mean 'an Asiatic Greek'; cp. *The Gold of Ophir* 92 ff.). The objections to this are (1) that the recorded foundation of TARSUS (q.v.) does not go back far enough, and (2) that its name, as given on coins and in Assyrian inscriptions, has *z* instead of *s*.

Le Page Renouf (*PSB*, 1:161:100 138-141) advocates the claims of the Phœnician coast, so that the phrase 'Tarshish ships' would be equivalent to 'Phœnician ships.' This is in accordance with W. M. Müller's explanation of the Egyptian phrase 'Kefto ships' as 'ships built in the Kefto style,' *As. u. Eur.* 349, n. 2 (cp. CAPTOR).

But plausible as this interpretation of 'ships of Tarshish' may be, the sense 'Phœnicia' for 'Tarshish' has not been made out. It would appear as if this learned Egyptologist had read the text of Is. 23:10 too unsuspiciously. Of course, too, the sense 'Phœnicia' for 'Tarshish' cannot easily be made to agree with the biblical references (apart from the phrase mentioned) to the city or district of Tarshish.

Knobel (*Gen.*²) and Franz Delitzsch (*Gen.*³) separate the Tarshish of Gen. 10:4 from that of other passages, and suppose it to mean the Tyrseni—i.e., the Etruscans. This we may at once venture to reject; if Tyrseni are meant, it must be those of the Ægean (cp. TIRAS). These famous searovers appear in the Egyptian inscriptions as Tur(u)ša,⁴

5. Phœnicia? 'Tarshish ships' would be equivalent to 'Phœnician ships.' This is in accordance with W. M. Müller's explanation of the Egyptian phrase 'Kefto ships' as 'ships built in the Kefto style,' *As. u. Eur.* 349, n. 2 (cp. CAPTOR). But plausible as this interpretation of 'ships of Tarshish' may be, the sense 'Phœnicia' for 'Tarshish' has not been made out. It would appear as if this learned Egyptologist had read the text of Is. 23:10 too unsuspiciously. Of course, too, the sense 'Phœnicia' for 'Tarshish' cannot easily be made to agree with the biblical references (apart from the phrase mentioned) to the city or district of Tarshish.

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1 In *Egypt*, 1902, p. 179. ² It is safe to recognise in the Tyrseni expressly mentioned by Ramses III. as a maritime people, Tyrseni pirates who appear in the old Greek tradition—by no means the Etruscans' (E. Meyer, *GA* 1:131, § 260).

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and if they are referred to at all in Gen. 10, it would be best to read there, not 'Tarshish,' but 'Tirus' or 'Turuš.' If we take this step, it becomes possible that the phrase 'ships of Tarshish' may have been originally 'ships of Tirus' (תִּירֻשׁ?). In this case the expression would be very old, and be a monument of the times when 'ships of the Tirus' were no unfrequent sights. Later, Tirus might very possibly be confounded with the Tars implied in the Greek form Ταρσηνιον = Tartessus see § 2).

It has hitherto been assumed in this article that the Hebrew text of the passages referred to is on the whole correct, though the doubtfulness of Gen.

7. The N. Arabian Asshur? 104 and Is. 23¹⁰ has been alluded to. Now, however, we must proceed further, and take into account the fact that there is much corruption in the Hebrew text of the OT, and specially in the readings of the proper names. As a preliminary, we must separate the inquiry as to the signification of תַּרְשִׁישׁ (אִנְיֹת תַּרְשִׁישׁ EV 'ships of Tarshish') from that as to the meaning of תַּרְשִׁישׁ, where it stands alone, partly because most critics (e.g., Stade, *GLI* 533, note) agree that 'Tarshish-ships' means 'ships of the largest dimensions,'¹ and partly because a close examination of the passages where the phrase תַּרְשִׁישׁ אִנְיֹת occurs appears to show that the text is corrupt, 'ships' being, according to the text here adopted, nowhere referred to except in 1 K. 10²² 22⁴³ and 2 Ch. 9²¹. Confining our attention in the first instance to these three passages, and more especially to those in Kings as primary, we are struck by the improbability of the language employed (as the text represents). In 1 K. 10²² we have 'a navy of Tarshish with the navy of Hiram'; in 22⁴³, 'ships of T. to go to Ophir for gold.' If we knew nothing about a place supposed to have been called Tarshish, should we not suppose that תַּרְשִׁישׁ represented something connected with naval architecture or management? Should this consideration seem to warrant emendation, no better one presents itself, perhaps, than תַּרְשִׁישׁ (Ezek. 27²⁰)—i.e., the phrase 'ships of Tarshish' means, not our 'East-Indiamen,' but 'galleys with oars.' In Is. 33²¹ we actually find almost the very phrase here taken as the original of תַּרְשִׁישׁ אִנְיֹת (EV 'galley with oars').

Turning to the remaining passages in which the phrase 'ships of T.' is supposed to occur, we are struck by finding that here too there is frequently the appearance of corruption. In the passage which, if correctly read, is the earliest authority for this phrase (Is. 2¹⁶), we cannot possibly avoid reading, at the end of the list of objects 'high and lifted up,' in lieu of 'ships of T.,' 'palaces of Asshur' (i.e., 'dwelling of Jerahmeel'?) cp Am. 3⁹, where, as Winckler has already seen,² 'Ashdol' should be 'Asshur.' Similarly in Ezek. 27²⁵ Is. 60⁹ and Ps. 48⁸, 'ships of Tarshish' should probably be 'tribes (בְּרִיּוֹת) of Asshur.' In all the other passages where this word occurs (the harmonising must be due to an early editor), תַּרְשִׁישׁ (Tarshish) should probably be emended into אַשּׁוּר (Ashhur) or אַשּׁוּרִי (Asshur); an interesting proof of this is suggested by Ezek. 38¹³. By 'Asshur' is meant, of course, not the famous rival of Babylon, but a N. Arabian district of somewhat uncertain extent, also known perhaps as Geshur (see GESNER, 2). That the Chronicler in the third century B.C. read תַּרְשִׁישׁ, and supposed it to be a comparatively distant maritime region, is no obstacle to the theory here maintained, whilst an objection drawn from Gen. 10 (Tarshish, a son of Javan) would imply that we possessed the Table of Nations in its original form (see TRASS, § 2). See *Crit. Bib.*

F. B., § 1 f.; T. K. C., §§ 3-7.

¹ See, however, Benzinger's note on 1 K. 10²².
² The Jerahmeelites also appear to be referred to in Is. 2²⁰ (see MOHL).

³ *Monat. Unt.* 135, where, however, Winckler supposes a reference to ASSYRIA.
⁴ We there find תַּרְשִׁישׁ אִנְיֹת (תַּרְשִׁישׁ אִנְיֹת), where תַּרְשִׁישׁ almost certainly represents אַשּׁוּרִי, and at once suggests that the following word תַּרְשִׁישׁ (which has no ת) is a corrupt ditto-graph of the same N. Arabian name. Certainly 'Tartessus' does not suit at all.

TARSHISH, STONE OF

TARSHISH (תַּרְשִׁישׁ). 1. One of the 'seven' princes' at the court of Ahasuerus (Esth. 1:4 MT). On the *σαρδαβαιος* (*sarpedaios*) of ΣΗΘΙΑΒ, see SIETHIAR. It the underlying story of the Jewish deliverance is N. Arabian (see I'URIM, 3), 'Tarshish' probably comes from 'Asshur' or Ashhur. See TARSHISH (above), and cp SIETHIAR-BOZNAI.

2. D. Bilhan, of BENJAMIN (§ 9, ii. [a]), 1 Ch. 7:1 (*ραμεσαι* [B], *θαρσαι* [AL]). Here, at any rate, 'Asshur' or Ashhur is the underlying original.

'JEDIAEL,' the branch of Benjamin to which 'Bilhan' belongs, certainly comes from 'Jerahmeel'; so also probably does 'Bilhan' itself. Of Bilhan's sons, Je'ushi (son of Abolihamah = Jerahmeel, Gen. 36:5) comes from 'Ishmael,' 'Benjamin' from 'Ben-jerahmeel,' E'UD (probably) from עֲבֹדָה (Ebahurim) = עֲבֹדָה, 'Chena'anah' from 'Chenigh' (cp Coniah) = עֲבֹדָה ('Kenite'), 'Zethan' from Sarephath and 'Abi-shahar' from 'Ashhur' (see SIETHIAR). It will be understood that the ethnics may early have become corrupted, and that the corruptions may soon have attained an independent existence, and have become further corrupted. T. K. 1.

TARSHISH, STONE OF (אֶבֶן תַּרְשִׁישׁ), Ezek. 10⁹, RV^{ms}. The text of EV has here 'the appearance of the wheels was as the colour of a

1. Occurrences. beryl stone'; the mg. gives a needless warning (cp TOPAZ) against trusting this too implicitly. More commonly, however, 'stone' (*lithon*) is omitted, and the stone referred to is simply called in MT 'tarshish,' in EV 'beryl.' Thus in Ezek. 1:6 (nearly = 10⁹) EV has 'like unto the colour of a beryl' (אֶבֶן תַּרְשִׁישׁ), and in Cant. 5:14, 'set with beryl' (אֶבֶן תַּרְשִׁישׁ). 'Beryl,' however, lacks justification (see BERYL), and in Cant. *l.c.* RV^{ms} suggests 'topaz' (see TOPAZ, end), whilst in Ezek. 28:13 AV^{ms} offers us 'chrysolite,' thus, as it were, connecting the Old and the New Testaments (see Rev. 21:20).

'Chrysolite' rests on the authority of B, which, supported by Jos. (*Ant.* iii. 7:5 B/v. 57), Aq. Ezek. 1:6 10⁹ Dan. 10⁶, and Vg. (except Ezek. 1:6 Cant. 5:14), thrice (Ex. 28:20 39:13 [36:20] 1:6, 28:13) renders תַּרְשִׁישׁ by χρυσόλιθος (v). It should be added, however, that in Ezek. 10⁹ B gives λίθος ἀρπαξος (lithon arpakos), and that in Ezek. 1:6 Cant. 5:14 it is content to transliterate θαρσαι (cp Symm., Theod. Dan. 10⁶ and Theod. Ezek. 10⁹); also that Symm. in Ex. 28:20 Ezek. 1:6 10⁹ Cant. 5:14 gives θάραξος (cp Vg. Cant. 5:14, and see JACINTH); and that B in Dan. 10⁶ gives θάλασσα (cp Vg. Ezek. 1:15, and see TARSHISH).

The modern chrysolite is, of course, excluded. There remain the 'hyacinthus'—i.e., the sapphire of the moderns (see JACINTH)—and the topaz,

2. Identifications. which Pliny's description of the chrysolite as 'aureo fulgore iralicensis' (*HN* 37:42 f.) has led some (*HWB*², 334b, Del., Kraetschmar) to identify with the chrysolite of the ancients (see, however, CHRYSOLITE). For the hyacinthus no plausible case can be made out. The chrysolite or topaz (?) has found some favour because Pliny speaks of a large chrysolite from Spain, and Tarshish is generally placed in southern Spain. But Pliny also states that chrysolites were found in Arabia, and it seems likely (1) that the Hebrews would have obtained precious stones chiefly from Arabia, and consequently (2) that if the name of the stone under consideration were derived from a country, the country would be some part of Arabia. Luther's identification of 'tarshish' with the turquoise would therefore be plausible if the name 'tarshish' could be traced to some ancient name of the Wady Maghara in the Sinaitic Peninsula, where the turquoise-mines were worked. But the mere similarity of names is of course valueless, and the Sinaitic turquoise so quickly lose their colour² that they can hardly have been much in requisition. We must, therefore, look elsewhere for a clue to the meaning of 'tarshish.'

Let us then, as we have already in the case of the

¹ Cp 1 S. 6:19, where the original of B's text (note [a]) *lithon* 'Ieyoviov' must have run, אֶבֶן תַּרְשִׁישׁ בֵּית בְּשֵׁם, 'and the Kenites were angry with the men of Beth-cusham. Cp SIETHIAR.

² Ebers, *Durch Gosen*, 137.

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תַּרְסָס. *pardāh* (see TOPAZ), turn to the Assyrian lexicon.

3. The Assyrian precious stone *par excellence* was that called *šmēšu* (etymologically identical with Heb. *šalmēšu?* *hallāmīš*; see FLINT), which is hardly the diamond (Del. *Prof.* 85; *Ass. HWB* s.v.), but may perhaps be the white sapphire.

Here are two Assyrian passages given by Helitzsch in which the name occurs: 'Like a ring of šmēšu may I be precious in thine eyes,' and 'a carriage whose wheels were of gold and šmēšu' (cp Ezek. 116). It is, at any rate, possible that the 'tarshish-stone' should rather be the 'halmis-stone,' and that the inferred Hebrew form תַּרְשִׁישׁ (Ass. *šmēšu*) is equivalent to the attested form *halmal* in Ezek. 142782 (cp AMBER, § 1).

Probably enough the halmis-stone is referred to again in Job 28 18a, where *rimōth wē-gibīš* (רִמּוֹת וְגִבִּישׁ) should perhaps be [רִמּוֹת וְתַרְשִׁישׁ],² and in v. 19, where רִמּוֹת should be read for תַּרְשִׁישׁ (see TOPAZ).

There is also, however, the possibility that תַּרְשִׁישׁ [אֲבָן] or 'Tarshish [stone],' is a corruption of אֲבָן אֲשֵׁרֶת 'Asshurite stone' or אֲבָן אֲשֵׁרֶת 'stone of Ashur' (cp TARSISH, § 7).

TARSUS (ΤΑΡΣΟΣ, Acts 930 1125 223; Ethnic, ΤΑΡΣΕΥΣ, 2 Maec. 430 Acts 911 21 39).

Ταρσός = 'wing,' or 'feather.' The town was said to have derived its name from a feather which fell from the wing of Pegasus (cp *Juv. Sat.* 3118); but that was a legend based upon an etymological fancy. It is the *trā* of late coins (with Aramaic inscriptions), and is mentioned under the name *Tarā* by Shalmaneser (Black Obelisk Inscr. 1138; Scheil, *RP* 2, 447; *Wi. G.B.I.*, 196, 256) in the ninth century. For stories of its origin, see Ammianus, xiv. 83, and Strabo, 673, and on the name cp Jensen, *Hittiter u. Armenier* 1898, pp. 62 f., 160 ff. (The Heracles of Tarsus was the Cilician god Sandan. Dio Chrys. calls him the ἀργυρός of the Tarsians (223), and he may be identified with the Baal of Tarsus named on coins. He was worshipped by the periodical erection of 'a very fair pyre' (*ibid.*), a rite presumably analogous to that described in the *De Dea Syria*, ch. 49—WRS. See *A.S.P.*, 377, where 1s. 30 33 is compared. On Sandan, WRS refers to K. O. Müller in *Rhein. Mus.* 1820, and E. Meyer in *ZDMG*, 1877, pp. 736 f. On the identification, sometimes proposed, of Tarsus with Tarshish, see TARSISH.)

Tarsus the chief town of CILICIA [γ. r.] was situated on the right bank of the ancient Cydnus in the wide and fertile plain between Mt. Taurus and the sea, thus commanding the passes leading from Cilicia into Lycaonia or Cappadocia. Almost necessarily also the route through Mt. Amanus into Syria involved passage by Tarsus. The city thus at an early date attained importance. Xenophon (who uses the plural form, *Ταρσοί*)³ speaks of it, in 401 B.C., as a great and prosperous city (πολιὲν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα), the residence of Syennesis the king of Cilicia (*Anab.* 12 23). In the time of Alexander the Great it was the residence of a Persian satrap, who fled on his approach, so that the city surrendered without resistance. Alexander nearly died here from a fever aggravated by bathing in the icy waters of the Cydnus (Arrian, *Anab.* 24; cp Paus. viii. 283). After Alexander's death Tarsus usually belonged to the Syrian empire, and under the Seleucid kings Antiochus VII. to Antiochus IX. was one of the royal mints. For a short time under Antiochus IV. (175-164 B.C.) it bore the name 'Antioch on the Cydnus' (Ἀντιόχεια πρὸς τῷ Κύνδῳ; *Antiochia ad Cydnium*) as we find from the coins (see Head, *Hist. Numm.* 612 f.). For a time it was in the possession of the Ptolemies.

Coming down to Roman times, we find that in the Civil War Tarsus took the side of Cæsar, though it was to Pompeius that she owed her liberation from the sway of eastern rulers. Cæsar in consequence honoured the city with a visit, and its name was changed to Tarsus.

1 *L. e.*, ת and ת, ל and ה, ט and ש (cp old Hebrew script) have been confounded.
2 So, at least, if ת in תַּרְשִׁישׁ represents ל in תַּרְשִׁישׁ. Otherwise תַּרְשִׁישׁ may spring from תַּרְשִׁישׁ, which became first תַּרְשִׁישׁ and then תַּרְשִׁישׁ (with stroke of abbreviation). There is no inderment to תַּרְשִׁישׁ come from תַּרְשִׁישׁ (the 'Ra'amathite stone').
3 Pausanias calls it *Ταρσοίς*. Other forms are *Ταρσός*, or *Θαρσός*.

TARSUS

Juliopolis (Cæs. *Hell. Alex.* 69, cp Dio Cass. 47 26). For this attachment Cassius ordered it to be plundered; but, on the other hand, Antonius rewarded it with municipal freedom and exemption from taxes (*i. e.*, it became a *civitas libera et immunis*). But none the less it was the seat of a *comentus*—*i. e.*, periodical assizes (cp Acts 19 35) were held within it by the Roman governor (Cic. *Ep. ad Att.* v. 164, etc.), though in strict theory a 'free city' was outside the province and the governor's jurisdiction (see further, with reference to Tarsus, Philostr. *l. Apoll.* 112, ἐν Ταρσοῖς δὲ ἄρα ἀγορὰν ἤγειν; and Momms.-Martq. *Rom. Staatsrecht.* 180 n. 3).¹ Like Thessalonica, the legal position of which was similar, Tarsus was the headquarters of the Roman governor.

The freedom (*libertas, αυτονομία*) or self-government which Tarsus enjoyed is expressly attributed to Antonius (App. *Bell. Civ.* 57). It was at Tarsus that Antonius received Cleopatra in 33 B.C. when she sailed up the Cydnus in the character of Aphrodite (Plut. *Ant.* 25 f.). But others attribute the status to the bounty of Augustus (Lucian, *Macrob.* 214, cp Dio Chrysos. 236 R, *καίτοις* [*i. e.*, Augustus] ἔμην παρὰ τὰς χώρας νόμους τιμῆν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς καθ' αὐτοῦς, thus summing up municipal independence, freedom from taxation and control of internal sources of revenue). Probably Augustus confirmed in this respect the action of his rival. Note that it by no means followed that Paul's possession of *Roman* citizenship (Acts 22 28) was a consequence of the autonomy enjoyed by Tarsus. The citizenship of Tarsus possessed by all Tarsians who came within the prescribed conditions, could never carry with it *Roman* citizenship (cp Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 30 f.).

It is not easy to estimate the influence exerted upon the intellectual life of Paul by the peculiar surroundings

2. NT and circumstances in which he was placed at Tarsus. Tarsus was indeed renowned as a place of education under the early Empire. Strabo (673) even ranks Tarsus above the other two great 'University cities' of his time for love of learning. It was the home of eminent Stoics, like Athenodorus the tutor of Augustus, and Nestor, who taught Tiberius (Strabo, 674). A remarkable feature was that this zeal for learning was not an extraneous characteristic, but was due to natives of the city itself (Strabo, *l. c.*), so that Tarsus rather sent teachers to the rest of the world, than received students therefrom. It would doubtless be very satisfactory to have been able to trace in Paul's writings (as, *e. g.*, in the case of the writer of 1k. and Acts) some tinge of Hellenic culture, some echo from the lecture-rooms of Tarsus; but the attempt must be abandoned. The three references to Hellenic literature (Acts 17 28 1 Cor. 15 32 Tit. 112) by no means bear out this imagination, but are merely floating sentiments of a popular character. Passages like 1 Cor. 1 20 or Col. 2 8 would hardly favour the probability of finding a tinge of classical culture or philosophy in Paul. Even the speech in Athens, if its historicity is to be accepted as beyond dispute, cannot on an unbiased view be made to support the somewhat extravagant claims made on Paul's behalf by some modern commentators. Seeing that Paul's teacher Gamaliel was inclined to encourage Greek studies, the fact that so little trace of such can be found in Paul is itself an argument against attaching undue weight to the Hellenic influences which surrounded his early life² (see ATHENS).

This verdict, on the other hand, by no means implies the denial of the formative influences of Tarsian life upon Paul. In a city which was in contact, both in the philosophic schools and in its harbour, with both the eastern and the western world; which entered intimately into the general life of the Roman provincial organisation to which it belonged, but also retained the vestiges of that vigorous municipal life which was so characteristically Greek—in such a town Paul could not fail to gain that

1 On the constitution of Tarsus under the Romans, see the details given in Dio Chrysos. 243 R.
2 [WRS, *l. c.*, 23 76, presumes that Paul formed no higher opinion of the culture of Tarsus than did his contemporary Apollonius of Tyana, whose testimony as to the character of the citizens (*l. c.* 17) is confirmed by Dio Chrysostom.] He thinks that 'sensual Eastern religion had more attraction for the inhabitants than the grave philosophy of the Porch.'

TARTAK

familiarity with cosmogonic ideas, that knowledge of the working of complex organisations, and that grasp of Roman ideas and methods, which runs through his life and work. In short, it is the Roman, rather than the Greek, that we find in Paul.

After his conversion, Tarsus became once more Paul's home when he was obliged to quit Jerusalem (Acts 9.30). Here he remained until brought by Barnabas to Antioch (Acts 11.25). This period of residence and preaching in Tarsus and other Cilician towns (cp Gal. 1.21) extended over several years. Doubtless Tarsus was again visited on the second missionary tour (Acts 15.41); for the Roman road ran from Tarsus through the 'Cilician Gates,' in Mt. Taurus, giving access to Lycania (cp Acts 16.7). Similarly, on the third missionary tour, Acts 18.21 conceals a visit to Tarsus, on which occasion, so far as the record goes, Paul looked for the last time upon the busy quays and market-squares of his native town.

Tarsus is now *Tarsus*. The ruins of the old town are concealed 15 or 20 feet deep in the silt of the river and no systematic excavation has yet been made. See Murray's *Hist. to J.M.* 1.47. The chief coin-type resembles that of Antioch, being the Tyche of Tarsus seated, with the river Cydnus swimming at her feet. The imperial coinage shows great variety of subject. Among the titles are *Μητροπολις*, *Ελευθερα*, *Νεωκορος*, and *Πρωτη μεγαστη καλλιστη γραμματι βουλη*. W. J. W.

TARTAK (תַּרְתַּק; תַּרְתַּק [BAL]), the god of the people of Avvah (imported into *F. maria*), 2 K. 17.11. Perhaps Tartaku, the 'lance-star' of the Babylonians (cp תַּרְתַּק, 'lance,' Job 12.12; מַרְתַּק [BAL], identified by Jensen¹ with Antares, and by Hommel² with Procyon, and regarded by the Babylonians as the star of the god Nimib. By a textual error³ תַּרְתַּק became תַּרְתַּק, or (perhaps better, see NUBHAZ) תַּרְתַּק, and by another error, similar to that which has duplicated the deity of Sepharvaim, made its way into the text, and was even in one form of the text (see *ES*)⁴ assigned to the people of the imaginary city of HENA [7.75] in order to leave Nibhaz for the Avvites.

If, however (cp SUCCOTH-BENOTH), the colonists of תַּרְתַּק, Shimon, came from the non-Israelitic Negeb, both Nibhaz (Nihaz?) may be a corruption of Jerahmeel and Tartak of Terah (a distorted form of Jerah = Jerahmeel (see *Crit. Bib.*)). T. K. C.

TARTAN (תַּרְתַּן; in 2 K. ΘΑΝΘΑΝ [B], ΘΑΡΘ. [A], ΤΑΝΘ. [L]; in Is. ΤΑΝΘΑΝ [BNC. a, a, a] (Q*), ΝΑΘΑΝ R² A). ΘΑΡΘΑ [Q^{ms}]; *Tarthan*) is an exact reading of the familiar Assyrian title, *tartānu*, *turtānu*, *tartānu*, which occurs in 2 K. 18.17, and Is. 20.1.

In Assyrian historical times, the Tartan was the commander-in-chief of the army, and ranked next to the king. The office seems to have been duplicated, and there was a *tartānu imni* or 'tartan of the right,' as well as a *tartānu sumli* or 'tartan of the left.' In later times the title became territorial; we read of a tartan of Kummuh, or Commagene. The title is also applied to the commanders of foreign armies; thus Sargon speaks of the Tartan Musurai, or Egyptian Tartan. The Tartan of 720 B.C. was probably called *Aur-iska-damin*; in 694 B.C., *Abia*, and in 686 B.C., *Bē-ēmūrdāni*, held the title. It does not seem to have been in use among the Babylonians. C. H. W. J.

TARTARUS, a term for 'hell' (so EV text) in RV^{ms} of 2 Pet. 2.4. The Greek, however, has *ταρταρώσας* = *εἰς Τάρταρον βέψας*. Sextus Empiricus (about 200 A.D.), speaking of the expulsion of Kronos by Zeus, has *κατεταρτάρωσε*.

Tartarus occurs twice in John, viz. (α) in 40.15 [20], where, however, *ταρταρωσῆν ἐν τῷ ταρτάρῳ* must be an error for *την ἐν τῷ ἄρχῳ* (so Grabe, ap. Schleusner), the initial *ταρ* being dittographic, and γ (Γ) miswritten for γ (Γ), and (β) in 41.23 [24], where *τῶν ἐν τῷ ταρτάρῳ τῆς ἀβύσσου* may represent *τῶν ἐν τῷ βύσσῳ τῆς ἀβύσσου* (see OISEMENT, 3, with n. 1).

¹ *Kronos*, 40 ff.; cp 150.53.

² *Exp. T* 9311; *GBA* 666.

³ The error may have been partly due to a reminiscence of *Nabal* (נָבָל); תַּרְתַּק springs out of תַּרְתַּק.

⁴ καὶ ἄλλοις ἀνωγειμῶν ἐποίησαν τὴν θάρθακ καὶ οἱ εὐαίοι ἐποίησαν τὴν εὐλαίεζερ.

TATNAI

Upon Job 41.23 [24], among other passages, is based the theory that BEHEMOTH AND LEVIATHAN [7.75] belong primarily to mythological zoology. Leviathan is in fact a reflection of Tiāmat, the chaos-dragon (cp DRAGON, § 7), and, according to one form of the creation-myth, was cast into the abyss under water. But Tartaros was not properly a watery abyss; it had, according to the Greek myth, 'a gate of brass and a threshold of bronze.' The essential parts of the conception are depth of situation and (of course) darkness. Tartaros was 'as far beneath Hades as heaven is high above the earth' (*Il.* 8.12 ff.; cp Hes. *Theog.* 807), and the Titans are even described as 'below Tartaros' (τῶν ὑποταρταρίων), *Il.* 14.279. Analogous to the fate of Kronos and the Titans was the fate of the fallen angels, who, according to 2 Pet. 2.4, were 'committed to pits of darkness' (σφοδρῶς ἕρποντες), having been 'hurled into Tartaros.' The allusion may be to the passage on the punishment of AZAZEL [7.75] in Enoch 10, where the vigorous Greek version (Synecellus) gives, *ἐτάθη αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ σκότος*. . . καὶ ἐταράχθη αὐτῷ σκότος. For a more remote parallel see Rev. 20.2. See AYYASS; ESCHATOLOGY, § 89. T. K. C., § 5.

TASK, TASKMASTER, TASKWORK. See TAXATION, § 5.

TASSELS (תַּצֵּץ), Nu. 15.38 RV^{ms}, EV FRINGES.

TATAM (טַטַּמ [BL], -מי [A]), Josh. 15.59, *ES* Between KULON and SORES.

TATNAI, or rather (RV) **TATTENAI** (תַּתְנַי; τῶν ΘΑΝΑΙΩΝ [L]; Ezra 5.3 ΘΑΝΑΝΑΙ [B], ΘΑΘΘ. [A], ΘΑΘΘΑΝΑC [B], ΘΑΘΘΑΝΑC [A], 66 ΔΩCETE [BA], 7.15, ΤΑΝΘΑΝΑΙ [B], ΘΑΘΘΑΝΑΙ [A]), the 'governors of the region beyond the river' (see GOVERNMENT, § 25, Ezra 5.3 66), called in 1 Esd. SISIMNES [7.75]. We shall assume here that the present form of the text is original (see, however, *Crit. Bib.*, where this and other names are disputed). According to Meissner (*Z. I. Z.*, 1897, p. 191 f.), this Persian official is mentioned in neo-Babylonian contracts. Here, in texts of the first and third years of the reign of Darius, is mentioned a certain UŠ-ta-an-m or UŠ-ta-nu, satrap of Babylonia and Syria. The dates agree, and also the title (פַּתַּח עִיר נָרַי, *phat chir nari*). The name corresponds to old Pers. Vištana, and appears in a Greek form as Βισθάνης (Arr. iii. 19.4), *Vištānēs* (Arr. vii. 6.4), and *Tostānēs* (Herod. 7.77). On the other hand, it is a much easier transition to תַּתְנַי from old Pers. Thithina (a form assumed by Marq. *Fund.* 52, and E. Meyer, *Entst. des Jud.* 32) than from old Pers. Vištana, for we have, on Meissner's hypothesis, to suppose that תַּתְנַי was corrupted from פַּתַּח. According to Arrian, however (vii. 6.4), there were two contemporary persons named respectively Sisines and Histanes. May not the document from which the name of the Syrian satrap in Ezra and Nehemiah is derived have co-founded the two names? As to the historicity of what is told us of Tattenai and Shefardbozenai, we must draw a distinction between the narrative and the inserted documents on which the narrative is supposed to be based. According to Wellhausen (*GGA* 1897, no. 2), the official correspondence is but an invention for dramatic effect. Sisines (Tattenai, for instance, attempted to get the building of the temple interrupted, and failed. But the Jewish writers had no access to official archives. The same view is taken by Koster (*Herst.*, 29). Marquart, however (*Fund.* 49), thinks that the 'kernel' of the decree of Darius may be genuine, whilst Meyer (*Entst. des Jud.* 41-53) maintains that the documents are almost entirely genuine, and the narrative therefore in the highest

¹ Cp Jude 6, *ἐν τῷ ἄρχῳ*, 'under darkness' (cp Enoch 10, above). The reading *εἰσπαῖς* ('chains') is not accepted by editors (see *Var. Bible*), though both Jude 6 and the foundation passage in Enoch speak of bonds.

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degree trustworthy. The only passage in the documents to which this scholar takes exception is Ezra 6:12, which is certainly not the language appropriate to an imperial decree. This criticism seems hardly keen enough. Even the name Sisines, on which Meyer relies so much, is very doubtful, and Koster's and Wellhausen's criticisms are not altogether baseless. Cp. EZRA-NEHEMIAH, § 9.

T. K. C.

TAXATION AND TRIBUTE

The modern sheikh (§ 1).
Religious dues (§ 2).
Monarchical idea (§ 3).
Political taxation (§§ 4-7).
Sanctuary dues (§ 8).

Tithe (§ 9).
Firstlings (§§ 11-13).
Levitical dues (§ 14).
Expenses of worship (§ 15).
Priests' revenue (§§ 17-18).

The nomads of the Arabian desert know nothing of tax or tribute, either to their sheikhs or to Allah; so far indeed from finding a source of revenue in their people, the sheikhs are under obligation to spend their own private fortune for the public good. It is expected of a sheikh that he entertain strangers and visitors better and more sumptuously than an ordinary member of the tribe possibly can; his duty is to support the poor and to share what he has with his friends (Burckhardt, *Arabia on the Bedouins*, 1830). Often enough it happens that, even with a rich sheikh, this ends in poverty; but a reckless hospitality always brings high repute. The means for such hospitality have to be found in war and pillage. The Syrian towns and villages on the borders of the settled land have to pay their regular 'brotherhood' (*ḥiḥāwā*) to the Bedouins. By ancient custom a special share of the booty taken in war falls to the commander; he has the first choice, and in old Arabia was entitled to a fourth of the whole. In ancient Israel the practice was similar. The only due, if we may so call it, falling to the chief is a larger share of the spoil; Gideon, for example, receives the golden 'crests' of the Midianites (Judg. 8:24; cp. 5:30). David sends his share in the spoil (*šālāl*, שָׁלַל, τὰν σελάλων²) from the Amalekite raid in presents to his friends in Judah (1 S. 30:36 f.).

The offerings also which were presented to the god did not originally come under the category of dues which were demanded and had to be paid. When a beast from the flock or herd was slaughtered, there was no question of a definite tax or tribute; it was a case of voluntary giving. Indeed in the most ancient Semitic ritual the notion of giving to a deity at all has no place, or at best only a very subordinate one; the root-idea being that the blood poured out and the sacrificial meal are fitted to renew and strengthen sacramentally the mystic bond in which the deity and his worshippers are united (on this subject cp. SACRIFICIAL).

A solitary exception would seem to be found in the paschal offering. Following Wellhausen (*Proleg.*¹) and Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*², 493 f.), most recent scholars explain it as an offering of the firstborn of the flock. If this be right, its character as a due payable to the deity can hardly be denied; and it is certain that the paschal offering was, in the later period at least, so regarded. Robertson Smith, indeed (*loc. cit.*), seeks the original explanation of this sacrifice of firstlings in another region of thought; the exact parallel to the sacrifice of

¹ The verb *šālak* (שָׁלַח) is rendered 'tax' in 2 K. 23:35 EV; in Lev. 27:12 'value,' and 27:14 'estimate.' The subst. *šālāl* (שָׁלַל) is 'taxation' in 2 K. 23:35; it occurs frequently in P (Lev. 27:3 Nu. 18:18, etc.), where RV regularly has 'estimation.' For the 'raiser of taxes,' Dan. 11:20, *šālak* (שָׁלַח), cp. EVACTOR.

² On the 'taxing,' RV 'enrolment' (*ἀπογραφὴ*), of 1 K. 22: Acts 5:37, cp. QUERINUS, JUDAS, 70. The verb *ἀπογραφέσθαι* occurs in 1 K. 21:35 Heli. 12:22; *ἀπογράφειν* in 1 Esd. 5:30 (89), in *שָׁלַח* *אֶתְּוֹתָם*, see Swete.

³ *šālāl* is also *παρονομή*, e.g., in Nu. 31:12, and *ἀπαργή* [BRA] in 1 S. 10:2. For other terms used see Swete.

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the firstlings of cattle he finds, not in the yearly offering of the first-fruits of the field generally, but in the law of Lev. 19:24 ff., according to which the fruits of a newly planted field for the first three years may not be eaten. The characteristic feature of this ordinance, from which its original meaning must be deduced, is the taboo on the produce of the first three years, not the offering at the temple paid in the fourth year. This same conception of a taboo is that he finds underlying the sacrifice of the firstlings of the flock. That which is taboo has supernatural attributes which forbid its being appropriated to common uses. This character of taboo attached, he thinks, in the oldest times, in a certain measure to all domestic animals, and naturally therefore in an intensified degree to the firstborn. It is, however, hardly necessary to have recourse to this line of explanation. Certainly no other instance of an offering of firstlings besides the pass-over can be adduced for the earliest Hebrew period before the settlement in Canaan. And the pass-over itself, as is shown in more detail elsewhere (EVASTS, § 2. PASS-OVER, §§ 6-11) was not originally, or before the settlement, a sacrifice of the firstborn. The pass-over ritual points clearly to the contrary, and shows that under this sacrifice lay the same fundamental ideas as under all the other sacrifices, namely, that the blood of the victim was to renew the communion with the deity, and thereby, in this particular instance, be a powerful protective against pestilence and the like. It was only in the course of the subsequent development that the pass-over was brought into connection with the sacrifice of the firstborn, or sought to be explained as such.

As already said, the sacrifice of the firstborn cannot be proved, in the Hebrew domain, for the oldest period; all the probabilities point rather to the other conclusion—that it was a secondary development; out of the custom of offering the first-fruits of the field arose the other of offering those of the flock and of the herd, and here accordingly we have only the extension to animals and men of the deity's original claim to be presented annually with the first-fruits of the field.

The entire conception of sacrifice as being a tribute due to God is in Hebrew religion subsequent to the settlement in Palestine, and on internal evidence must be regarded as impossible in the earlier time, for it had its origin in the complete revolution in the idea of God which followed upon the settlement. The tribal and national god became thereby a territorial god, and thus came into the position which the Canaanites had assigned to their Baal; he himself became the 'baal,' that is, 'lord' of the land, in the sense, especially, that he was lord of the soil, and that the produce of the soil was regarded as his gift (see BAAL). This whole view of the deity as the bestower of all the gifts of nature is, it is obvious, possible only for an agricultural people. As soon as this view had become the prevailing one, however, the next step was exceedingly simple, nay, it was inevitable; thanks were offered to the deity for the gifts of the soil, and he was acknowledged as the giver by having the firstlings and the best of the fruits of the earth returned to him in sacrifice. The Canaanites had already come to this view of their offerings, and the Israelites took it over from them, as we see very specially in their adoption of the originally Canaanite yearly festivals. All these festivals are agricultural in character; they are intimately associated with harvest, and the idea they express is that the harvest is sanctified by the festal offering.

In the further development in Israel a new thought came to be added. Once the monarchy had become

established, the monarchical idea was applied to Yahwe also, and he was thought of as the supreme king of his people (cp. MESSIAH, MOLECH). But among the rights of kings one of the first was that of levying tax and tribute; and, as we shall see later, it was exercised very

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early (David, Solomon); cp GOVERNMENT, § 19. A main duty of subjects was and is the payment of the king's dues; this principle was applied to the deity and to his worship in sacrifice, as soon as he came to be regarded as the king of his people. How nearly related are the two things—secular taxation and sacred tribute—is instructively shown by the instance quoted by Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*², 246); at Tyre tithes were paid to Meltharh as 'king of the city.' The same thing is seen in the motives assigned for sacrifice by the later Hebrews. The offerings brought voluntarily to the altar are regarded as a tribute to the deity on quite the same footing as the presents voluntarily brought to an earthly king. To the sacrifices offered during the Hebrew monarchy equally apply the words of Homer:

δῶρα θεοῖς πέθει, δῶρ' αἰδοῖον βασιλῆας.

One does not come into the king's presence empty-handed (Judg. 3:17 f. 1 S. 10:27), but, if one has aught to ask, brings a gift of homage; so, in like manner, when one 'seeks the face' of God (Mal. 1:8). Precisely similar is the ancient Greek conception of sacrifice as being the tribute and homage due to the divinity on whom a man is dependent (Nagelsbach, *Homeric Theologie*, 186). In the last resort, the offering comes to be expressly called 'a gift' to the deity; *minhah* (Gen. 4:3 f. 1 S. 2:17, and often) or *korban*.

Such in general is the course of the development. As to the development in detail of taxation and tribute

as political institutions the deficiency of our sources leaves us very much in the dark. Under Saul we hear nothing of special dues levied by him; he had no

capital and no special court, but lived on his ancestral holding at Gilbeah. Nor had he any state officials to govern the land under his orders and receive their pay from him. We may take it for granted as self-evident that, in accordance with ancient custom, he claimed and received his special share of the spoils of war, as we are expressly told that David at a later time did (2 S. 8:11 12:30). We hear of gifts of homage, as, for example, when he was elected to be king (1 S. 10:27), or when his favour was specially sought (1 S. 16:20). It is easily conceivable that this source of income, added to the revenue derived from his property at Gilbeah, may have been amply sufficient for the modest requirements of his throne. At any rate, it is not safe to draw from what is said in 1 S. 17:25 strict inferences as to the existence of certain specified exactions in Saul's day. The passage promises freedom from taxation to the slayer of the giant and to his house, thus presupposing the existence of fixed taxes. But this is evidence only for the much later period of the author, or editor, to whom it appeared self-evident that such must have arisen as soon as a monarchy had come into being. The same observation applies to the so-called 'manner' or constitution of the monarchy as set forth to the people by Samuel (1 S. 8:10 ff., esp. v. 15), where also taxes, and, in particular, tithes of the field and the vineyard are mentioned.

Under David, and still more under Solomon, we see the system growing. Under David, in addition to the king's share of booty (2 S. 1:10 12:30),

5. David, Solomon. prominence is given to the tribute received from subjugated peoples (1 K. 5:1 [4:21] 2 K. 3:4), and the voluntary gifts of subjects still continued to come in (1 K. 10:25). We may, nevertheless, conjecture with some degree of probability that David's numbering of the people (2 S. 24:1 f.) was connected with the levying of taxes, and was intended to be used in regulating their incidence and the exaction of military service. The duties of the 'governors' (נְסִיבִים, *nesibim*, EV 'garrisons,' 2 S. 8:14) also, whom he set over conquered territory, must essentially have consisted in the collection of tribute. We are expressly told, at like events, that this was the object of Solomon's division of the kingdom

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into districts. If the text (1 K. 4:7-19) is correct, it would seem that the king's own tribe (Judah) was exempt from dues and imposts (but see GOVERNMENT, § 19). However this may be, the purpose of the division is given with substantial correctness in the text as it stands (see special articles on the names of the 'officers'). The statement that each 'officer' (i.e. 'prefect') had to provide victuals for the king and his household for a month in the year may owe its form to a desire to show the glory of Solomon's court; but in substance the narrative is undoubtedly correct; the chief object of the division into districts had reference to taxation, and in connection with this to the 'task work' or personal service which was exacted (1 K. 5:20). We also hear that Solomon levied toll on the caravans travelling by the trade-routes through the kingdom (1 K. 10:15). The complaint made by the people after his death leaves the impression that his system of taxes, besides being grievous in itself, was objected to as something new and unaccustomed.

We find hardly any other references to regular taxes in pre-exilic times; but the 'king's mowings' are mentioned in Am. 7:1 (see GOVERNMENT, § 19);

6. Later kings. Mowings; and, on the text, LOCUSTS. From the fact that in post-exilic times the appears from the first as an established institution, we may perhaps infer that it was of pre-exilic origin. The narrator of 1 S. 8:14 f. regards it as an ancient institution. With this would harmonise the fact that Ant. 4:4 knows of a time paid to the sanctuary. For the rest, in the ideal state as constructed by Ezekiel we find no such thing as taxes; the prince maintains his court and officers out of the revenue of the princely domains. He gives the princely domain to his officers in fee. This also is an arrangement which we may unhesitatingly presume to have existed in the earlier times (1 S. 8:12). A property-tax was imposed only for extraordinary emergencies, not regularly (2 K. 23:23). See GOVERNMENT, § 20.

In post-exilic times a heavy tribute was exacted, of course, by all the overlords of the country. Unfortunately we are without information as to the nature of the taxes or how they were levied. On the latter point, however, it is practically self-evident that the Persian rulers, like the Syrian and Roman after them, availed themselves of the local Jewish administrations for assessment and collection.

7. Post-exilic. The land as such paid, doubtless, a definite composition as tribute. Moreover, when it had a governor of its own, the community had also to pay for his support, as well as make a contribution towards that of the resident Persian official in Samaria under whom it was placed. That these burdens were not trifling can be seen from such a passage as Neh. 5:14: the governor drew 20 shekels a day besides what the 'rulers' and their subordinates extorted from the people. If we find a Nehemiah in public discourse to the people characterising this as severely oppressive and taking merit and credit to himself for having drawn nothing from the people, but on the contrary, having met all charges out of his own private means, we may safely conclude that the pressure of these dues was not regarded as light.

Besides these direct taxes were the indirect ones levied by the Persian court: rents, customs, toll, etc. (Ezra 4:13 20 7:24); unfortunately, we are very insufficiently informed as to the meaning of the various technical expressions here.¹

Over and above these were the requirements of the internal administration, and even if these may in the

¹ [Of the three terms in Ezra 4:13 20 7:24 (Bibl. Aram.), *mindāh* (מַדְּיָה), AV 'toll,' RV 'tribute' is quite general, a tax for every one (Ass. *mandattu*), *šib* (שֵׁב), AV 'tribute,' RV 'custom', lit. what is brought (Ass. *šiltu* = שֵׁלְתָּ), and *šibbē* (שִׁבְבָּה), AV 'custom', a 'toll' (so RV) exacted of travellers. From the Ass., also, comes Aram. *māksa*, 'toll,' and *māksā*, 'toll-gatherer' (publican).]

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whole have been relatively light, nevertheless the maintenance of the temple, of the sacrificial system, and of the priests and Levites, must have cost considerable sums. The voluntary gifts of worshippers were not enough, and soon (under Ezra; cp Neh. 10.31f.) a fixed poll-tax, besides other payments in kind, had to be established (see below, § 15). On other accounts, also, heavy demands were from time to time made on the community, as, for example, for temple restoration and wall-building; in the latter connection also in the form of *corvée*, even if in both cases, as it would seem, the voluntary character of the service was formally retained.

The priests and Levites, and the whole personnel of the temple, were declared wholly exempt from taxation by decree of the king of Persia to Ezra (Ezra 7.24). On the rest of the people the burden of taxation pressed all the more heavily as the community, broadly speaking, was a poor one. Thus, in Nehemiah's time, the complaint was raised by many that in order to pay their taxes they had been compelled to borrow money and mortgage their property, thus coming into great straits (Neh. 5.4f.).

Nor did matters improve after Alexander, in the days of the Seleucids and Ptolemies. The principal burden was the poll tax (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4.1) of which we learn more particularly from (P's.) Aristotle (*Oeconom.* ii. 14) that in the Syrian kingdom, as distinguished from the Egyptian-Roman, it was, strictly speaking, a kind of trade-tax, a percentage that varied according to the nature of the work and the means of the individual, not a personal tax, uniform and unchanging.¹

In addition to this there were now also other taxes, presumably indirect, which Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 3.3) refers to but does not name. A characteristic example of the manner in which new dues arose out of voluntary gifts is seen in the crown tax which grew out of the voluntary gift to the sovereign of a golden crown of honour. The priesthood of Jerusalem were exempted from all such dues and tribute from the time of Antiochus the Great (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3.3).

The method of collecting was by farming to the highest bidder (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4.1 ff. 5; 1 Macc. 11.28-13.15) and, indeed, according to the same authority (*loc. cit.*), the taxes of each individual city were let from year to year. Elsewhere it appears that there were also farmers-general of taxes for the whole land (see below). This system was widely spread throughout the whole of antiquity, and was adopted also under the Roman Empire. Even at present it is in the Turkish Empire the usual method of raising certain dues. The advantages and disadvantages of the system can easily be seen in actual operation there. That it is the least favourable of all for the taxed needs no showing; at all times the farmers have known how to enrich themselves at the expense of the taxed, since any surplus naturally falls to them.

A classical instance, in fact, is one that comes to us from Judaea. A certain Joseph b. Tobia, who, it ought to be mentioned, had the reputation of being very lenient with his own countrymen, had acquired the taxing rights under Euergetes and Philometor by bidding twice as much as any other competitor, and paid the (for those times) enormous yearly sum of 150,000 talents, nevertheless accumulating vast wealth during his twenty-two years' tenure.

The question of immunity from taxes played a great part, naturally, from the Maccabean period onwards, in all the dealings between the Jewish leaders and their Syrian overlords; it was more or less identical with the entire question of dependence or independence. Jonathan was able to secure immunity from Demetrius II. (1 Macc. 11.34-37; see ISRAEL, § 26), but this privilege does not seem to have been long maintained, for at a later date Simon had to demand it anew for all time to come (cp ISRAEL, § 78). We are unable to

¹ It has been recently maintained by Willrich (*Judaica*, 1900, pp. 57-58) that under the Seleucids the poll-tax was still a thing unknown, that it was not introduced until the time of Augustus. Against this, see the evidence marshalled in Schürer, *GJI* 1², 1272.

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say, it must be added, how great a relief, if any, this meant for the subjects concerned. Fundamentally, it meant nothing more than a change in the taxing authority; the continued wars in any case were enormously costly.

When the country became tributary to the Romans (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4.4 ff. 1.76) they at once took in hand the system of taxation. Gabinus divided the country into five districts—probably taxation areas after their usual practice in subject provinces (Schürer, *GJI* 1², 144); cp ISRAEL, § 85)—in which the local authorities were at the same time the leviers of taxes. Here also Caesar showed his friendly disposition towards the Jews by respecting the sabbatical year as regarded taxation. The Roman census and the Roman system of taxation as a whole do not seem, however, to have been introduced for some considerable time, the raising of the taxes being left in the hands of the native authorities. Herod the Great, at least, paid sometimes (whether always is doubtful) a definite tribute to the Romans, but as regarded the raising of this sum he could exercise independent authority as *rex socius*. Thus, he could remit taxes wholly or in part (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 10.4 xvi. 2.5 xvii. 2.1). We nowhere hear of a Roman tax during his reign (cp ISRAEL, § 87, end). The situation changed when, after the time of Herod and Archelaus, the land was administered by procurators; the Roman taxes, including the personal tax of the census, were now introduced. The new division of the land into eleven toparchies, like that formerly made by Gabinus (see above) doubtless had reference primarily to taxation. The procurators levied these taxes through native commissions. The indirect taxes were now also farmed to the publicans (see PUBLICANS). From the NT (Lk. 19.1 and elsewhere; cp Jos. *HJ* ii. 14.4) we learn that these were mostly Jews, intelligibly enough, they were not popular; in the NT 'publican' and 'sinner' are virtually synonyms (cp ISRAEL, § 90).

On the whole subject of Roman taxation see Schürer, *GJI* 1², 1508 ff. and the copious literature there referred to; cp QUIRINIUS, § 2 f.

Sanctuary dues fall under two categories: (1) the regular offerings at the sanctuary prescribed by custom or by law; (2) the occasional gifts which the priests received for their services on each sacrificial occasion.

8. Sanctuary dues.

As for the first of these two classes, it has been already observed that in the old times no other dues were known beyond the offerings themselves, as also that it was only in a secondary way that the offerings assumed the character of dues. To this class of dues, in the strict sense of the word—that is to say, regular offerings definitely fixed by custom or law, as distinguished from free gifts presented on all or any of the various occasions of public or private life—belong the offerings of the first-fruits of the ground and of the firstlings of cattle. To both these Yihwé from an early date set up, so to say, a legal claim.

Even in the oldest decalogue (Ex. 31.26 J) it is made a legal injunction that the Israelites are to bring to Yihwé 'the best, the first-fruits of thy ground' (בְּרִייתֵי אֲדָמָתְךָ בְּרִייתֵי אֲרָצְךָ, *πρωτογενηματα*).¹ The Book of the Covenant (Ex. 22.29 [28]) has the ordinance: 'thou shalt not delay (to offer) thine abundance and the best of thy winepress'; the exact meaning of the expression is doubtful,² but the idea of first-fruits is not directly con-

¹ *Bikkûrim* being always a relative idea, it makes little material difference whether we translate 'the best, that is to say, the first fruits of the ground,' or 'the best of the first-fruits of the ground.' Still, as in Ex. 22 (cp 23.1) the harvest festival is designated as the feast of first-fruits, the expression *bikkûrim* ought, doubtless, to be taken as referring to the first-fruits that are offered and not to the first-fruits generally, and thus equivalent to *shewé*.

² On the meaning of בְּרִייתֵי אֲדָמָתְךָ see the commentaries. It has ἀπαρχάς ἀλωνος καὶ ἀγροῦ, thus taking it to mean the first-fruits. Doubtless it was led to this rendering by the parallel clause: 'thy firstborn son shalt thou give unto me,' etc.

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tained in the words themselves at any rate, and neither is the injunction in substance quite the same as that of the old decalogue. There only the first-fruits of the field are spoken of, whilst here, in all probability, oil and wine also are intended; there an offering to God at the harvest festival is intended, here no such fixed date is given. Most probably the two laws were intended to run concurrently; alongside of the precept to offer the first-fruits of the harvest at the harvest festival stood the other injunction not to be niggardly towards Yahwé with the richness wherewith he had blessed floor and press.

Nothing is said as to the amounts of such offerings. Apart from the offerings definitely provided for in the mind of the old laws, it is clear that the amount of first-fruits to be offered was left to the free will of the individual offerer. In particular, E has no hint that at that early date it was already the custom to give to God the tenth part of the produce. Not until D is this expressly laid down by law. As the taxes and tributes payable to the king were, throughout, of older date than those payable to the temple, so also the tithe was first of all exacted by the state, and not till afterwards took its place among the dues of the sanctuary.

Indeed, in the time of the old decalogue and of the book of the covenant there is as yet no word of dues at all in the strictest sense of the word, but only of definite offerings fixed by custom. Men offered the first-fruits to Yahwé in sacrifice, and in the sacrificial meal became Yahwé's guests. This custom is presupposed in D as still maintaining its ancient standing (see below). Accordingly we have not in D, as in later times, to do with a tax designed to fill the temple treasury, to defray the cost of the temple worship, and the like. The maintenance of the temple in Jerusalem, and of the regular worship there, was the king's affair; the priests derived their income from the offerings that were brought (see below, § 10), and thus there was no occasion for levying on behalf of the temple any regular dues over and above such voluntary offerings as might be made at the sanctuary (cp. 2 K. 12.5 ff.). Further, in bringing his first-fruits the idea in the mind of the pious Israelite in early times was not at all that Yahwé had a claim to the fruits as being the giver of them; his action was dictated by the consideration that his whole harvest, and all the bread which he enjoyed from year to year, was pure and hallowed only if some part of it had been received by Yahwé. It is one of the heavy punishments with which the nation is threatened by Hosea, that in its exile Israel shall have only 'bread of mourners' to eat, bread that is unclean, inasmuch as no portion of it can be brought into the house of Yahwé (Hos. 9.4).

The sanctuary tithe is first met with in Am. 4.4, which passage shows that in the northern kingdom it was customary, in the yearly pilgrimages to the sanctuary, in addition to the daily offering to bring tithes on the third day. The narrative of E, dating from somewhere about the same period, tells of Jacob's vow to pay the tithe at the sanctuary at Bethel (Gen. 28.22).

D makes it quite evident that the tithe intended simply means the first-fruits, of which the proportion, roughly speaking, of a tenth had been gradually fixed by custom. For in Deuteronomy (14.22 ff.) it is enjoined that the produce of the field (corn, wine, oil) is to be tithed; but, exactly as in the earlier time (see above, § 81), in such a manner that this tithe is not to be paid, so to say, into the sanctuary, but simply to be laid out in a sacrificial meal at the sanctuary. Should the distance from Jerusalem, however, be so great as to make it impossible to carry thither the tithe in kind, then (v. 25 ff.) 'thou shalt turn the tithe into money and carry the money with thee and go to the place which Yahwé will choose, and there thou shalt bestow the money for whatever thou desirest, oxen or sheep, or wine or strong drink, or whatsoever thy soul asketh of thee, and

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thou shalt eat it there before Yahwé thy God, and rejoice, thou and thy household and the Levite that is within thy gates.' Now, this tenth is actually called the first-fruit (*rephah*, ראשית) in Dt. 26.2, and is accompanied by a further regulation as regard ritual, which in any very well have been in accordance with ancient custom, although the text itself appears to be a later addition (see Steuernagel, *ad loc.*): the regulation, namely, that the Israelite who makes the offering is to put a portion of the tithe into a basket, and set it down before the altar of Yahwé, and in doing so to make use of a prescribed form of prayer.

Along with these general regulations regarding the tithe D gives also a special one for the tithe of every third year (14.22 f.), every third year the entire tithe is to be expended at home on the poor and indigent, a

which category the Levite also is included in D, no part of it being applied to a sacrificial meal in the sanctuary. In devoting the tithe to this purpose, also, a special prayer is to be used, which is given in Dt. 26.12 ff. This tithe constitutes one of the main sources of income of the rural priesthood (see below, § 17). This shows that by 'the third year' we are to understand not a fixed date holding good for the whole country, but a rotating one, falling differently in different places or with different families, yet always in such a way that every year some portion of the Israelite nation was paying its 'tithe of the third year' for the poor and similar objects. It is a debatable question whether by this tenth of the third year we are to understand a second tithe every third year over and above the yearly tithe that has already been spoken of. The precept was interpreted in this sense by S, which gives 'the second tithe' (*τὸ δευτέρου ἐπιθέκατον*) for שנת התעשר, 'in the year of tithing,' in Dt. 26.12, and the same view is taken by some modern scholars (e.g., Steuernagel). For various reasons, however, it seems highly improbable. In the first place, we should have expected in the text of the law some kind of explicit indication that quite another tithe than the preceding—a second tithe, in fact—was being spoken of; but of this there is no hint. Moreover, the imposition of a due of two-tenths of the whole produce of the field over and above the various payments exigible by the state would be something quite unusual and unheard of, and not at all in harmony with the general spirit of Deuteronomy. It is not permissible to evade this argument by answering that the yearly tithe paid in Jerusalem was not a tenth reckoned with any precision. The exact opposite would seem to be the fact, if it is remembered that the 'renewal' in D, as contrasted with the old law, consisted precisely in this, that for a sacrificial offering to be made at discretion was substituted an offering of which the amount was precisely determined by law, and that amount fixed at one-tenth of the total produce.

A later decision in Dt. 18.4 further enacts that the priest has a claim to the best of the corn, the wine, and the oil, as well as of the sheep-shearing; over and above the tithe the *rephah* also. This again is not in the spirit of D, which regards the *rephah* and the tithe as identical (see above, § 8). We have here again an expression of the growing claims of the priests, who in other directions also were dissatisfied with the revenues assigned to them by D (see below, § 13).

The course of the development of the offering of the firstlings ran parallel with that of the offering of first-fruits. For its origin, see above, § 2.

11. Firstlings. The law of the older decalogue in Ex. 34.19 ff. runs, 'every firstborn is mine, and all the cattle that is male, the firstlings of ox and sheep. But the firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a sheep, or, if thou wilt not redeem it, then thou shalt break its neck. All the firstborn of thy sons thou shalt redeem.' The expression *péter rehem* (פטר רחם) means the first off-spring

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of the mother, not the earliest of the animals born year after year (cp WRS *Kel. Sem.* 462 f.). Here, accordingly, even at this early date the demand is extended to human beings and to animals that cannot be offered in sacrifice. This is, in point of fact, however, quite secondary; the original precept had reference only to sacrificial animals. For it may be taken as certain that genuine Yahwism was always opposed to human sacrifices, and therefore that in the law of the redemption of the human firstborn we are to see not a toning down of an ancient custom which had demanded human sacrifice, but only an expedient for extending the precept relating to firstlings so as to include men and non-sacrificial animals. We should also take note of the parallelism with the first-fruits of the ground, and consider how opposed to such sacrifices is the entire character of the sacrificial system in ancient Israel so far as we know it. Literary analysis also shows that the words in question are secondary. In the original ten short words (see DECALOGUE, col. 1050) the precept probably ran, 'every first birth is mine'—a law which, as matter of course, applied only to animals capable of being offered. See further, FIRSTBORN; SACRIFICE, § 3; also ISAAC, § 4.

In the Book of the Covenant also, Ex. 22:29 [28], the claim to the human firstborn is made; but here, too, the originality of the clause is highly questionable. To begin with, the position of the firstborn of men—between the fruits of the field and offerings from the herd—is remarkable. Moreover, it would be unnatural to understand the requirement literally; it must be supplemented by the precept of redemption; but this highly important point is not mentioned, although in view of the inclination occasionally shown by the people to offer human sacrifices, it could hardly be omitted as too self-evident. With reference to offerings of the firstborn there is added the further detail that the animals are to be sacrificed on the eighth day after birth.

We know not at what date was that the law relating to human firstborn first became general. The deuteronomic passage in Ex. 13:11 f. presupposes it as a settled custom. D itself (Dt. 14:23

150) has nothing to say on the subject; D plainly has no intention of laying down a complete law about offerings of firstborn, but only of settling points where traditional custom had necessarily to be departed from in consequence of the centralisation of worship. The chief stress accordingly is laid upon the injunction that this offering is to be made year by year at the place which Yahwé will choose. This, but still more the further command not to do any work with the firstling of cattle or to shear the firstling of the flock (Dt. 15:20 [19]), shows that, according to the intention of D, the animal was not to be offered exactly on the eighth day after birth. That the offering of the firstborn was to be made precisely at the Passover feast is nowhere expressly laid down; but the connection into which the two are brought in the narrative of the exodus (Ex. 13:11 f.) shows that their union had already been accomplished at the time when that account was written (cp PASSOVER). Since blemished animals could not be offered in sacrifice it is enjoined that they are to be consumed as ordinary food under the same conditions as those applied to ordinary slaughtering in D (Dt. 15:21 f.). Substitution, or redemption of such animals, is not required; but this does not exclude the possibility that the custom nevertheless existed, since D, as already remarked, does not start with the intention of giving a complete law on this subject. From all these considerations it is plain that here also there is no question of a 'due' in the strict sense of that word, but only of an offering. Like the first-fruits so also ought the firstlings to be set apart for a sacrificial meal in which of course the priest has his usual share (see below, § 16).

It is on this last point that P makes a characteristic change affecting principle; all offerings of firstlings are

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now, for the first time, converted into simple dues payable to the priests, the fixed offerings becoming

13. In P. Even Ezekiel (41:10) had demanded for the priests the first of all firstlings of every thing (עֲשֵׂה לָהֶם מִכֹּל בְּרִיּוֹת הַבְּהֵמָה וְהַבְּרִיּוֹת הַבְּרִיּוֹת). But the Priestly Code claims not merely a portion but the whole of the firstlings for the priests; all the first fruits of corn, wine, and oil are handed over by Yahwé to the priests (Nu. 18:12 ff.). The entire tithing belongs to the Levites, who, in turn, have to make over their tenth part of this to the priests (Nu. 18:21 f.). The firstlings of clean beasts are offered in kind; after them, blood has been sprinkled on the altar and the fat burnt, the flesh falls to the priests. The firstborn of unclean beasts, and of man, must be redeemed. The redemption money belongs to the priest (Nu. 18:15 f., cp Neh. 10:37). The amount of the redemption money is in the case of human firstborn fixed at five shekels (Nu. 18:16); cp Dillmann, *loc. cit.* In the case of unclean beasts the estimated value is to be paid with addition of a fifth (Lev. 27:26 f.; certainly secondary).

Apart from this change in the scope of the law, P shows a quite extraordinary advance in the amount of such payments. The firstborn is given to the priests; but the Passover remains unaffected by this. In the case of fruits of the earth the payment of the *terumah* is retained as well as that of the tithes already enjoined in D (see above, § 9; Nu. 18:12 ff.), and, besides the *first* of the winepress and the threshing floor, there is demanded payment of the first-fruits (*bikkurim*, עֲרִיסָה) of all that grows in the field. What we are to understand by this expression is not quite certain. The most probable interpretation still is that which takes it as referring to the fruits that have come earliest to maturity (Nu. 18:13, EV 'first-ripe'; cp the commentaries). Over and above all this we find in Nu. 15:17 ff. the further demand that the first of the *ariyah* ('dough' [AN] 'course meal' [RV¹⁹])? 'kneading trough'? see FOOT, § 12), a cake, must also be given. In accordance with this the post-exilic community drew a distinction between *re'ith* and *bikkurim*, and paid on both. In Neh. 10:36-38 the entire community comes under a solemn obligation to bring the *bikkurim* of all fruits of the tilled land and of all trees to the temple, and moreover to pay to the priests the *re'ith* of the wine and oil and tree fruits, and also of the *ariyah*—all this to be, along with the tithe, the portion of the Levites (cp Neh. 12:44-47 13:5-12). Finally, Lev. 19:23 enjoins that the fruit of newly-planted trees must not be eaten within the first three years, and that in the fourth year the entire yield must be given to Yahwé—that is, to the priests.

Nor is even this enough; the decision preserved in Lev. 27:32 f. includes cattle also in the tithing; the offerer in rendering this tithe must not select the animals; each tenth head at the counting belongs to Yahwé. If, however, it should so chance that one animal has been changed for another, both shall belong to the sanctuary. Even in Neh. 10:37-39 (cp 12:44-47 13:5-12) there is no allusion to any such law. It must, therefore, have come into existence at a later date.

In real life such a tithing of cattle is impracticable. But the legal theorist did not concern himself about any such consideration as that; he was able, therefore, to put the copstone on his system by that extraordinary enactment

14. Levitical cities. which assigns to the tribe of Levi forty-eight cities, each having a territory of 2000 cubits square (cp LEVITES, § 6). The impossibility of carrying out such a theory is demonstrated by any map of Palestine. But nothing can better reveal the spirit underlying such legislation than the fact that the lawgiver in the same breath in which he assigns these forty-eight cities to the Levites alleges, as a reason for the dues he is imposing, that the Levites had received no inheritance in land like the other tribes. Another point deserves notice: in Ezekiel the priest

already pay their dues as a tax to the prince, who, how-

ever, has laid upon him in return the responsibility for the expenses of the public worship (Lev. 15:1 f.). In P it is the priests who receive these taxes; but they keep them to themselves—the support of the regular cultus is not their concern. On the contrary, a further tax has to be levied for that purpose; a poll tax of half a shekel has to be exacted (Ex. 30:11 f.). With the spread of the Persian monetary system the third of a shekel found its way into Palestine, and accordingly in Neh. 10:32 [33] we find the temple tax fixed at that amount. The coinage of the Maccabees reverted to the older type, and thus in the time of Jesus we find the temple tax again fixed at half a shekel (Mt. 17:24-27; cp. Benzinger, *H.A.* 193).

As to the manner in which priestly service was paid in the early period we know very little. At first the priest was not so much a sacrificer as a guardian of the image and giver of oracles whose business it was to impart Yahwe's *Orakel* or oracle to those who consulted him (see *Prüfungs*). It may with safety be assumed that the priest received payment for communicating the oracle, precisely as did seers such as Samuel, Ahijah, and the like (1 S. 9:7 f.; 1 K. 11:2 f.). When a sacrificer came to the sanctuary and arranged a sacrificial meal, he naturally invited the priest to it, or gave him some portion of the flesh for such service as he had rendered. But these gifts were voluntary, and regulated not by law but by custom.¹ The priests' right to a definite share is not recognised; this is proved by the story of the sons of Eli (1 S. 2:13 f.), who demand a tribute of flesh, and even take it by force instead of accepting what is voluntarily given, but in doing so show themselves to be 'sons of Bebal,' heedless of law and priestly duty, thus bringing the offering of Yahwe into contempt.

It is clear that at the greater sanctuaries, and particularly at Jerusalem, a fixed practice gradually established itself in regard to this, with the result that a definite share of the offering and certain other perquisites fell to the lot of the priests. As early as in David's time, we learn that the shewbread loaves in the sanctuary were the priests' perquisite, although they could also be eaten by ceremonially pure laymen (1 S. 21:3 f.). With regard to a considerably later period we find that the fines paid to the sanctuary for various (presumably ceremonial) offences also fell to the priests (2 K. 12:16 [17]). On the other hand, the income from voluntary gifts and votive offerings was to be applied to the maintenance of the temple; the control of this money was taken from the priests because they applied the whole of it to their own uses (2 K. 12:4 [5] f.). This was by royal ordinance; possibly tradition had previously sanctioned such an application of the revenues. Finally, we gather from 2 K. 23:9 that the unleavened bread, or meal offering, with which no sacrificial meal was associated, fell to the priests.

The priestly revenues are legally regulated for the first time in D. It is not impossible that the practice in Jerusalem lies at the basis of its provisions.

17. In D. In any case the legislation had a very special motive for thus disposing of the questions involved. For by the centralisation of the worship the priests of the high places and rural altars were made penniless. To remedy this, D gives the Levites the right to discharge priestly functions in the sanctuary at Jerusalem, and to share in the temple revenues (Dt. 18:6 f.). But if all priests were thus relegated to the sanctuary at Jerusalem it is easy to see that the dues for offerings there required to be strictly regulated and perhaps also raised. The right of the priests as towards the people who sacrificed in the temple now became definite (Dt. 18:3); the shoulder,

¹ 1 S. 2:22, where 'all the offerings of the children of Israel made by fire' are assigned to the priests, is of post-deuteronomian origin; cp. Dt. 18:1.

the two cheeks, and the maw of every animal sacrificed belonged to the priests. That such a provision was wholly inadequate in view of the increased number of clergy and the diminished number of offerings in consequence of the centralisation, was seen by the Deuteronomist himself. The rural priests, accordingly, are bidden to look specially to the sacrificial meals set on foot by the officers, but at the same time details as to this are left to the charitable disposition of the worshippers (Dt. 12:12-13 f.). For the title of the third year (Dt. 11:23 f.; 26:12 f.) and for the *eribhah* assigned in a subsequent decision to the priests (Dt. 18:4), see above, § 12 f.

These dues to the priests increased in amount also, like the other dues, in process of time. In Ezekiel (44:28 f.), besides the *muhah*, the sin offering, the guilt-offering, and 'every devoted thing' are handed over to the priesthood. According to P the priests receive, in addition to the dues mentioned above (first fruits, etc.), 'the most holy things'—*i.e.*, the *muhah*, the sin-offering, and the guilt-offering in so far as these are not burnt; they may be eaten only by males of the family of Aaron, and that only 'in the holy place'; what is left over must be burnt (Nu. 18:7 f.; Lev. 10:12 f., cp. Ex. 29:32 f.). So also with the shewbread (Lev. 24:9). Of the burnt-offering, the skin of the animal sacrificed belongs to the priest (Lev. 7:8; this may perhaps have been an ancient custom), of the peace-offerings the right thigh and the breast (Lev. 7:34 f.; 29:27 f.), and, besides, one cake of each meal-offering of whatever kind, offered along with these (Lev. 7:13). With the breast of the peace-offering which belongs to the priest is performed the peculiar ceremony of waving; that is to say, the priest swings it upon his hands towards the altar and back again, a symbolical representation of the idea that this portion is presented to Yahwe as a gift, but by him delivered over to his servant (Lev. 7:30-34; 9:21; 10:14; Nu. 6:20).

The thigh pertaining to the priests is always designated as 'the heave thigh' (Lev. 7:34). This expression presumably does not refer to any special ceremony analogous to that of waving, but is intended to denote that the part in question is 'lifted up' from the offering as the priests' perquisite (cp. SACRIFICE, §§ 14, 21 a, 29 a). The last-named portions of the burnt-offerings and peace-offerings may be consumed by the male and female members of the priests' families alike, and in any clean place—and thus, without the sanctuary (Lev. 10:14; Nu. 18:9). The slaves also of the priest may eat of it; but not (for example) daughters married to 'strangers'—*i.e.*, to men who are not priests. And if a 'stranger'—say, for example, a hired servant of the priest—'unwittingly' eat of it, he shall pay to the priest the value of the holy thing with an added fifth (Lev. 22:15 f.).

With further detail as regards the rights of priests it is laid down that the guilt-offering and the sin-offering, as well as the skin of the burnt-offering, shall belong to the officiating priest (Lev. 5:7 f.); of the meal-offering he is entitled to all that is 'baked in the oven or dressed in the frying-pan and in the baking-pan'; the rest shall belong to the priesthood as a whole (Lev. 7:9 f.); of peace-offerings the wave breast seems to have pertained to the priesthood in general, whilst the acting priest received the shoulder and the cakes (Lev. 7:31; cp. 7:33-34).

The more detailed regulations of post-biblical times will be found collected in a series of treatises in the *Mishna*: *Fal'ahoth*, *Ma'aseroth*, *Ma'aseroth sheni*, *Challi*, *Orlah*, *Bikkurim*, *Shel'ahon*, *Bekuroth*. See, further, Wellh., *Prod.* 3, 149 ff. and *passim*; the archaeological text-books of De Witte, Ewald, Keil, Schwegl, Benzinger, Nowack, and the articles 'Erstgeburt' and 'Erstlingsopfer' in *P.R.E.*, Winer, Schenkel, and Riellm.

TEACHER.¹ In the earliest stage of the Christian Church the two most striking figures are those of the apostle and the prophet. In several important passages a third figure is found in their company, that of the teacher (*διδάσκαλος*).

¹ In the OT Hab. 2:18, etc., the word is *ḥōmē*; for later terms see EDUCATION, §§ 15-17.

TEBAH

This in 1 Cor. 12:28, Paul declares that 'God hath set in the Church first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, ... In his enumeration of gifts in Rom. 12:6-8 we have the order 'prophecy,' 'ministry (diakonia), 'he that teacheth,' 'he that exhorteth, and so forth. And in Eph. 4:11, 'apostles,' 'prophets,' 'evangelists,' 'pastors (poimenes) and teachers' are among the gifts of Christ to his Church. In Acts 13:6 we read of 'prophets and teachers' as belonging to the church in Antioch.

These notices taken together suggest a class of men endowed with a spiritual gift for the instruction of the church, and taking rank next after the apostles and the prophets. Their function probably consisted in a Christian exposition of the OT scriptures and an application of the Gospel to the needs of common life, and stood in contrast with the enthusiastic utterances of the prophets. The vagueness of the term 'teachers' might suggest that it included any who gave instruction, and that the word denoted a function rather than a permanent office. It is quite likely that this was so at first. The use of the word as a title, however, is assured by the evidence of the Didache, where, although teachers are far less prominent than prophets, they are joined with them in a cognate class, and honour is claimed for 'the bishops and deacons' on the ground that 'they too minister the ministry of the prophets and teachers.'

In the African church the title remains to the beginning of the third century, and is found in conjunction with that of 'presbyter.' Thus we have in the *Discourse of St. Peter* (Ch. 13) a mention of 'Apostles, the presbyter-doctor' (cp. Cyr. 28, 30). About the same time Origen as a layman at the head of the Christian school in Alexandria affords the most illustrious example of the exercise of the gift of teaching apart from the regular orders of the ministry.

Of these three grades of what was pre-eminently 'the ministry of the word,' in contradistinction to official administration, each in its turn ceased to exist as a separate order. The apostles are the first to disappear. The Twelve and Paul passed away by death, and in the next generation the title was already becoming sacred to them; the apostles of the *Didache* are a survival, destined immediately to disappear. The prophets on the contrary are still in full power, at any rate in certain localities. Yet even they show premonitory symptoms of decay; and the failure of the Montanistic movement to re-establish them as a permanent order in the Church led to the final disappearance of prophecy as an institution. The teachers fulfilled a ministry which would naturally grow in importance as the authoritative voices of apostles and prophets were ceasing to be heard, and as the inroad of heresy increased the demand for the grace of true teaching. That they too ceased to be a distinct class in the Church was due to the fact that their duties were taken over more and more by the administrative order, which gathered round its chief representatives many of the functions and much of the prestige of apostles, prophets and teachers alike. Cp. MINISTRY, § 39.

J. A. R.

TEBAH (טֶבַח; טַבְעַח [AD], -ח [L]), a son of NATHOR by Remmah (a corruption of Jerahmeel), Gen. 22:24. The names in the Naborite genealogy (27: 20-24) make a southern (i.e., N. Arabian) connection very plausible. Against this we must not quote 'Aram,' for 'Aram' (i.e., Jerahmeel) is *primarily* a N. Arabian name. The brethren of 'Tebah' are Gaham (father, Naham, 1 and 2 being confounded), Tahash (i.e., Hushah=Cushah?), and Maacah. Nor can we safely urge that BEBAH in 2 S. 8:8 (which, if B may be trusted, is miswritten for Tebah) or Tibhah in 1 Ch. 18:8 (for which Pesh. has טַבְבַּח) was a city of Hadad-ezer, king of Zobah; for it is maintained elsewhere (ZORAH) that the wars of David referred to were in the S., not in the N., and that for 'Hadad-ezer, ben Rehob, king of Zobah,' the original narrative had 'Hadad, ben Rehob[oth], king of Misgur.' We can now for the first time, as it seems, give an altogether satisfactory explanation of 2 S. 8:8 and the 1 Ch. 18:

TEHINNAM

as well as of 1 Ch. 18:11 (in Ch.). Tebah turns out to be nearer the truth than Tebah. The Sam. passage should run thus, 'And from Rehoboth, the city of Hadad, king David took brass in great abundance, while in the latter the name of the city should be 'Rehoboth-jerahmeel.' It would seem that there was more than one Jerahmeelite city called 'Jerahmeel,' at least if we are right in supposing that the city, whose capture by David is described in 2 S. 12:26 ff., was not 'Rabbath' but 'Rehoboth (of the Jerahmeelites).'

Had the redactor who is responsible for the present form of the narrative in 2 S. 8:11 a conception such as its geographically possible of the geography of David's 'Aramaean' campaign? In order to answer in the affirmative we should have to amend 'from Tebah and from Berobath' (מִטֶּבַח וּמִבְּרֹבַת) into 'from Tebah and from [father] (מִטֶּבַח וּמִבְּרֹבַת אָבִי). Tebah might be the Tula of the Am. Tablets (127, 3, 14, etc.), the Tibhu of the List of Thothmes III (KZ², 511; Sayce, *Leb.*, Feb. 21, 1891; WAM, *As. u. Eur.*, 173, 396). In the 'Travels of an Egyptian' (KZ², 109, 111; Hengsch, *Gesch. d. Eg.*, 340) Kadesh on the Orontes, Tibhi, Tihis (see TITHIASIS), and Dapurri appear as neighbouring places.

We now turn to 1 K. 7:46-47, the difficulties of which neither Henzinger nor Kittel appear to have altogether removed; the help which the former scholar derives from B is illusory. It should be noticed that the current rendering, 'of furnished brass' for מְבַרֵּשׁ בְּרֹזֶה, puts an undue strain on the root-meaning of מְבַרֵּשׁ. We cannot pause to investigate 1 S. 17:27 Ezek. 21:11 (1:11), but may suggest that even the RV must not be followed blindly. The key to 1 K. 7:46 and the 2 Ch. 1:17:2 is furnished by 1 Ch. 18:8, which shows that the original narrative of Hiram the artificer stated that the brass came from a city of Hadad, king of Misgur. In short, the מְבַרֵּשׁ of K, and the מְבַרֵּשׁ of Ch. come respectively from מְבַרֵּשׁ and מְבַרֵּשׁ, and the second of these readings is the better. מְבַרֵּשׁ and מְבַרֵּשׁ which follow are corrupt forms of a dittographed מְבַרֵּשׁ (see J. A. R., § 2:12).

The result is that 1 K. 7:46 2 Ch. 1:17 should run thus, 'Of brass from Rehoboth-jerahmeel did Jerahmeel [i.e., 'Hiram'; see HAMMATHU] cast them, in Maacath-aram, between Maacath and Zarephath' (cp. ST. CROIX, ZAREPHATH). An imaginary place 'Tebah' has in fact usurped a part of the honour which rightly belongs to REHOBOTH [2:7]. Cp. the commentaries.

T. K. C.

TEBALIAH (טֶבַלְיָהּ), perhaps for Tobliyah, 'Yahweh is gracious to me,' § 38; ΤΑΒΛΑΙ [B], ΤΑΒΕΛΙΑC [A], ΤΑΒΕΛΙΑ [L], a Merarite doorkeeper (1 Ch. 26:11). But (in spite of B) the name should possibly be read טֶבַלְיָהּ (perhaps from מְבַרֵּשׁ instead מְבַרֵּשׁ); cp. TOUJAU, 1, also TABELL.²

S. A. C.

TEBETH (טֶבֶת), Esth. 2:16. See MONTH, § 2.

TEHAPHNEHES (תֶּחַפְנֵהֶס), Ezek. 30:18. See TAHPANHES.

TEHINNAM (תִּינָמָה), as if 'supplication,' § 74; cp. OS 1666 ΘΑΝΑ ΧΑΡΙC), father of IR-SARASH, 1 Ch. 4:12 (ΘΑΙΜΑΝ [B], ΘΑΝΑ [A], ΘΕΙΝΝΑ [L]).

If RECAH (2:7) is rightly corrected to Reah, Telimnah should almost certainly be קֶנֶה, KISAH² (Josh. 15:22), i.e., a settlement of the Kenites. See IR-SARASH.

¹ In 2 S. 12:26 מְבַרֵּשׁ and מְבַרֵּשׁ are both fragmentary representations of מְבַרֵּשׁ (Rehoboth), and in 1 Ch. 18:8 מְבַרֵּשׁ represents מְבַרֵּשׁ (Rehoboth-jerahmeel). For the latter emendation, cp. probably מְבַרֵּשׁ miswritten in Judg. 10:5 for מְבַרֵּשׁ. Note, however, that מְבַרֵּשׁ's εδωκεν implies מְבַרֵּשׁ, which is virtually a correction of מְבַרֵּשׁ; מְבַרֵּשׁ is not represented. Cp. MEROM.

² According to Cheyne, the name is probably either from מְבַרֵּשׁ, 'a man of Tyru' (2:7), or, if מְבַרֵּשׁ is correct, from מְבַרֵּשׁ, Tubal-jerahmeel (cp. מְבַרֵּשׁ טֶבַח, 'Tubal-kain'). Cp. ZEDEKIAH, § 1.

³ When ט had become ט, it was natural for a pious scribe to prefix ט, and so get the meaning 'supplication.'

TEIL TREE

Pesh. has, 'he begat Ja'azer,' for which reading there is no obvious reason.

TEIL TREE (תֵּיל תֵּרֵם), Is. 613 AV, RV TELERINTH (7:7).

TEKOA or TEKOAH (תְּקוֹא, תְּקוֹאָה) hardly = 'settlement,' from תְּקַע, to strike [tent-pegs into the ground]; ΘΕΚΩΕ³, gentile Tekoite (תְּקוֹיִים, תְּקוֹיִת), ΘΕΚΩΙΤΗ⁴, 'woman of Tekoa' (תְּקוֹיִתָּה, ΘΕΚΩ-ΕΙΤΗ [BA] -κοιτ. [L.]), a city S. of Bethlehem, on the borders of the wilderness to which it gave name (תְּקוֹא, 2 Ch. 20²⁰, THN ΕΡΗΜΟΝ Θ. 1 Mace. 9³³). Assuming that the same place is always meant, we find it mentioned as the residence of a 'wise woman' who interceded for Absalom; as one of the towns fortified by Rehoboam; and as the birthplace of the prophet Amos (2 S. 142 1 Ch. 224 2 Ch. 20²⁰ Jer. 61 Am. 11). It is also mentioned in Josh. 1539 Θ¹⁸ (θεκω) where it heads the list of eleven towns waiting in MT (Tekoa, Ephraim which is Bethshean, Peor [see under ETAM, 1, Eron, Kulon [7.7], Tatum, Sores [see STR, 2], Kairo [7.7], Galem [7.7], Bethel [7.7] and Mamosho [see MANASSAH, 3]). It comes also into an obscure genealogy in 1 Ch. 15-8 where Tekoa (cp 1 Ch. 224) figures as son of Assur and (if for GIZ we ought to read Tekoa) as father of Anub and Zolobah and the families of Alharhel⁴ (ἀδελφοὶ Παχαθ) son of Harum (i.e., Ierim; see Θ¹⁸). Still assuming that there is only one Tekoa, we may identify it with the modern Tekoa, which lies six miles S. of Bethshean, on an elevated hill, not steep, but broad at the top, and covered with ruins to the extent of four or five acres. These consist chiefly of the foundations of houses built of squared stones, some of which are levelled. The middle of the space is occupied by the ruins of a Greek church. The site commands extensive prospects (cp AMOS, § 3), and towards the E. is bounded only by the level mountains of Moab. Before and during the Crusades Tekoa was well inhabited by Christians; but in 1138 A.D. it was sacked by a party of Turks from beyond the Jordan, and nothing further is known of it till the seventeenth century, when it lay desolate, as it has ever since done.

It is, however, by no means certain that all the references to Tekoa mean the same place. In Jer. 61, for instance, a more southerly place is meant (see TELERINTH). It is contem- plated elsewhere (see PRONUN, § 27, 28; ZAMON) that it is a Jerah- medite invasion that is most probably apprehended; the places mentioned should be sought in the Negeb. Amos too was hardly a native of the Tekoa, S. of Bethlehem (see PRONUN, §§ 10, 23). And in 1 Ch. 11 f., just as 'Bethlehem' is not the place in Judah so called but Beth-jerahmeel in the Negeb, so 'Tekoa' is more southerly than the best known place of that name.

TEL-ABIB (תֵּל אֲבִיב) μεταωρος, see below; [ad] acryum novarum (rugum), the seat of a colony of Jewish exiles (Ezek. 314f). To a Hebrew ear the name meant 'Mound (hill) of ears of corn' (cp ANUB). As, however, Friedrich Delitzsch has pointed out,¹ it

¹ The ending is hardly locative; תְּקוֹאָה in 2 S. 142 is probably a corruption of בֵּית תְּקוֹאָה 'Beth-maashah' (=Beth-jerahmeel, see SAYI, § 4), a 'wise woman' of which place is mentioned in connection with Job in 2 S. 201 f. Very possibly too, we may explain תְּקוֹאָה itself as a primitive popular corruption of בֵּית תְּקוֹאָה.
² The variants are: 2 S. 142 θεκω [L.], 1 Ch. 224 θεκω [L], 45 θεκω [L], Jer. 61 Am. 11 θεκω.
³ The variants are: 2 S. 232 θεκει [L.], 1 Ch. 1128 ἰδεκω [H], ἰ θεκω [L], 270 θεκωρετρε [L], Neh. 3527 θεκωρημ [HAL], etc [L] and 2 in 27, θεκωται [L, 2].
⁴ Surely מַחֲרַל is one of the numerous distortions of מִחְרָל. Grünleisen's pointing מִחְרָל (Uhnur ultra, 227), leads to no satisfactory explanation. Cp Θ¹, τῆς τῶν ἀνοικῶν ἀδελφοῦ ἰσραῦθ.
⁵ 'Tel' (Ass. TELLU), is ancient, as in modern times, formed the first part of the name of many Babylonian places situated near a mound of ruins of a previous settlement (cp TEL, III, 1317 [16] Josh. 82). Cp TEL-HARSHA, TEL-MELAH, and TELASSAR (Tel-Assur).
⁶ Cutler Rib-Lexikon², 9-1 a.

TELISSAR

is a Babylonian place-name, the right form ought to be Tel-abub (Tel-abubi). Abubu ('flood-storm' or 'storm-flood') is the proper Assyrian word for the Deluge (see DELUGE, § 13, u. 1); Tel-abubi, as a Babylonian name, might mean either a mound of ruins so named (cp תְּקוֹאָה) that it was called a Deluge-mound, or one that had been produced by the rushing in (possibly at any time) of a cyclone from the Persian Gulf. This is a common phrase in the Assyrian inscriptions, and made (or, destroyed) the city like a Tel-abubi.¹

If, however, the view advocated in PRONUN, § 27, is correct, and Ezekiel together with Jehoiachin and his fellow-exiles resided in N. Arabia, we must look out for another explanation. And it so happens that this view (the 'Jerahmeelite theory') supplies the only key to the manifold corruptions of the story-passage in which Tel-abub occurs (see CRIT. BIB.). The next Ezek. 314 f., which results from the application of this key to the text:²

(14) And (the) Spirit lifted me up and took me to Manarah of Jerahmeel, and the hand of Yahweh upon me was strong. And I came to the company of exiles, to Tel-arab [Ishmael] by the river of Jerahmeel, and to Tel-asshur [Jerahmeel, Ishmael] and there for seven days I dwelt among them astonished. The text which underlies Θ is only slightly different; μεταωρος = ἰσραῦθ; ἰσραῦθ; καὶ περὶ ἄβου ἰσραῦθ. Probably we may restore it thus in 75:

And I come to the company of exiles, to Tel-jerahmeel and Tel-asshur [Ishmael, by the river of Jerahmeel, Ishmael]. Thus, combining MT and Θ, we are led to suspect that Tel-arab and Tel-jerahmeel were two names for the same place. We know of a 'valley (of) Jerahmeel' (see SMITH, AV 170, 18) and also, probably, of a 'wady' (of) Arab.³ We also find a Tel-arab or Tel-jerahmeel in Ezra-Neh. (see TELERINTH), and, as a probable equivalent of Tel-asshur, Tel-harsha or Tel-asshur (see TEL-HARSHA). Very possibly, however, a further result awaits us. Tel, wherever it occurs in compound names, is simply a short way of writing תְּלָב, TELAL (75). (see CRIT. BIB.).

TELAH (תֵּלָה, θαλαεε [H], θαλε [L], θαλα [H]), mentioned in the list of the B'ne Ephraim (1 Ch. 72).

There are, however, several corrupt repetitions in this section (1 Ch. 720 f.), and it is probable that תֵּלָה is a corruption of תְּלָב; cp Wellhausen, *Israel*, 214. See EPHRAIM, § 12, SUETHELAU.

TELAIM (טֵלַיִם), 1 S. 154, and Telam (תֵּלַם, תֵּלַם), 1 S. 278 RV³. See TELEM.

TELISSAR (תֵּלִישָׁר; θαεεεε [H], θαλαεεε [L]) in Ki, ἐν ὄρεσ, θεμα [L] (sup ras e 2' but obl. ὄρε, θεμα [L], θισμα [L], θασμα [L], θα [L] [O], θισμα [L], θασμα [L]). Teliassar is named in 2 K. 1912 (18. 3712) as the location of the 'children of Eden'. The places Gozan, Haran, and Rezepth named before Teliassar follow an order from E. to W. This suggests that 'the children of Eden' once dwelt nearer to Palestine (Madai?) than Rezepth, which was W. of the Euphrates. The conquest of these cities is ascribed to the kings, 'my fathers' who had preceded Sennacherib.

The identification of 'the children of Eden' with the Bit Adini of the Assyrian Inscriptions already made by Schrader (*KAT*, 327) has more or less ultimately (cp BERTHELOT) according to the situation in which this widely scattered Aramaic folk are supposed to be located. The Bit Adini of the earlier times formed a powerful race inhabiting the district S. of Edessa over Haran between the Bahk (on the E. of which is Gozan) and the Euphrates. But it also included a wide strip on the W. bank of the Euphrates, in which lay many large cities. This country made strong resistance to Assur-nāsir-pal (*KB* I 64, 102, 103, 112) but was finally conquered by Salmanser II. (883). Salmanser changed many of the city names, and others giving to Nappigi (Mabbûg, Baniyken the name of Tita-Assur (*KB* I 132 150 162). There was a

¹ Del. *Ass. HHR*, 27, 'abubu'; S. hr. *KAT* 284. (cp CRIT. BIB.).
² It will be understood that the words in Italics presume the glosses. Arabia, Ishmael, Jerahmeel, and Asshur were, as is, in the present writer's view, the phenomena of the Plains abundantly show, practically synonymous to the later words.
³ In Am. 614 תֵּלָה is probably a corruption of Manarah (Jerahmeelite name) and תְּלָב of ἰσραῦθ (cp read) in Is. 157. See CRIT. BIB.

TELEM

a branch of the Aramaic Bit Dakkūri who lay E. of the Tigris in Babylonia. A third settlement of the Bit Adini is associated by Tiglath-pileser III with Haman, 'Azaz, and Arlamu, in Syria, which may possibly be the 'house of Eden' referred to in Amos 1:5 (Winkler, *JOT* 1:149). Whether the children of Eden had their home in Telassar and were now deported elsewhere, or whether they had been deported to Telassar will depend on the identifications adopted.

It is tempting to recognize in Telassar the *Til-Assuri* of Tiglath-pileser III. (Hele, *B. 16* 2:11); and of Esarhaddon (*K 12* 1:141). But these passages show that there were two different places of that name. The first was certainly in Babylonia; but there is no indication that the Bit Adini were settled there. The second was inhabited by an Aramaic people, the Bit Parnaki, and Esarhaddon says that the place had native names Mihūnu and Pātūnu. Mihūnu suggests *Tel-Mahineh*, which would place it NE. of the Tigris (?). But unless the Bit Parnaki were a branch of the Bit Adini, there is nothing to connect this *Til-Assuri* with 'the children of Eden.'

On the one hand, *Til-Assuri* may have been one of the names conferred by Salmeser on one of the conquered cities of Bit Adini, or *Til-Assur* may be a corruption of Iatu-Sur, or of *Til-laserē* a city in Salmeser's Bit Adini; or, on the other hand, the name *Telassar* may be derived from a totally different name, not yet recognized.

The closing sentence of the preceding article opens the door for a renewed examination of the question from the point of view of *SENNACHERIB*, § 5. 'Rezepp' and 'the blue Eden in Telassar' are easily explicable if it is a king of the N. Arabian Ashūr whose victories are referred to in 2 *Ki.* 19:12 (*Is.* 37:36). 'Eden' was (district) of the Jerahmeelite Negeḥ (see *PARADISE*, § 7); and *Telassar* is a very probable name, if we should not rather read *Tel-shashūr*. See *TELEBASIS*=1, K. 1:1.

C. H. W. J.

TELEM (טֵלֵם), a city in the Negeb, mentioned between *ZUPH* and *BEALOTH* (*Josh.* 15:24; *TELEM* [M.], *WAINAM* [B]). This may be the *TELAM* (טֵלָם), or perhaps rather *TELAMU* (Telam), where Saul mustered his warriors before fighting with the Amalekites. (*1 S.* 13:16 [MT assumes the article, טֵלָם; cp *Vg. quia agnos*). Apparently there was an ancient clan called *Telem*, with which name the real or assumed personal names *TELEM* (טֵלֵם), *TALMON* (טַלְמוֹן), and even *TALMAI* (טַלְמַי) should undoubtedly be grouped, and the importance of which may be estimated from the fact that 'Talmai' stands beside 'Sheshai' and 'Ahiiman' (corruptions probably of 'Cushi' and 'Jerahmeel') as representing the primitive population of Kuzath-arba (rather K-atāb), otherwise called Hebron (rather Rehoboth). Observe too that 'Talmun' occurs in *1 Ch.* 9:17 beside 'Ahiiman' (Jerahmeel) as the name of a family of *berdum* (EV 'porters'), or rather *'ahimim'* (Ashurites), and that *טֵלֵם* (*Bealoth*), beside which *טֵלֵם* (*Telem*) occurs in *Josh.* 15:21 is probably miswritten for the ancient clan-name *Telal* (see *TI BALEM*).

The place called *Telem* must have been situated not very far from the *Sam* or wady which separated the Judahite from the Amalekite territory. For the first movement of Saul was towards the cities (רַבְצִים, *ḳṣṣ* טֵלֵם טַלְמוֹן *pōlamon*) of Amalek on the other side (read *טַלְמוֹן* of the wady (17, 5). Possibly there was near it a place called Gilgal (a popular corruption of Jerahmeel), for *ḳṣṣ* m *1 S.* 15:1 gives 'in Gilgal' (*בְּבָרְזִלָּא*) instead of 'in *Telem*'.¹ We can hardly venture to go further, and suppose that *Telem* was regarded as itself the boundary between Judahite and Amalekite land. This supposition has indeed actually been made, and the text of *1 S.* 15:7 (MT *בָּרְזִלָּא*) and 27:8 (MT *בְּרָזִלָּא*) been

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emended accordingly.² This, however, implies inadequate realism of the proper name טֵלְמֵלַח (*Havilah*), and the same objection may be made to Winkler, when he emends *טֵלְמֵלַח* in *1 S.* 17:23 into *טֵלְמֵלַח*, in accordance with 27:8.³

A place called *Telem* is highly problematical, and a letter was sent to me, which ought to be found. As is stated, it is supposed to be טֵלְמֵלַח, like *טֵלְמֵלַח* in *1 S.* 23:13, in connection with *1 Ch.* 2:55.

In *S. 27*, *טֵלְמֵלַח* (*Telem*) of BA has been thought to represent *Telem*, which had number of cursive letters. But it is better to suppose that Klosternmann ingeniously extracts *טֵלְמֵלַח* from the story of Absor (*Jos.* 1:17; *J. 10* 1:11), (T. K. 1).

TELEM (טֵלֵם; *TELIMAW* [B]; *TEALIMAW* [NAL]), a door keeper, *Ezra* 10:24. In *1 S.* 13:16, *TELEBASIS* (*TELBASIS* [BA]). See *TELEM*, 1, and cp *TELEBASIS*.

TEL-HARSHA, *NV* for *Tel haresha* [Neh.], and *Tel-harsa* [Ezra] (טֵלְהַרְשָׁא; *Ezra* *תְּלַרְשֵׁא* [B]; *תְּלַרְשָׁא*, *1 M.*, *תְּלַרְשֵׁא* [L]; *Neh.* *תְּלַרְשֵׁא* [B]; *תְּלַרְשָׁא* [M]; *תְּלַרְשֵׁא* [L]; *1 S.* 17:23, *TELBASIS* [EV]; *תְּלַרְשָׁא* [B]; *תְּלַרְשָׁא* [A]; *תְּלַרְשָׁא* [*תְּלַרְשָׁא*] [L]).

A place from which, according to the great post-exilic list, came certain families of doubtful origin (*Ezra* 2:50 = *Neh.* 7:61 = *1 Esd.* 5:64). The name in Hebrew might mean 'mountain of the forest'; but *harsha* (or *harsa*) in Assyrian means 'mountain-range', whence Friedrich Delitzsch⁴ proposes to explain as if *tel harsh*, 'hill in the mountains.'

If, however, we adopt the theory (cp *PROEM* 1, § 27) that the Israelites who returned from exile came chiefly from the Jerahmeelite region in N. Arabia (including the *Negeb*) we shall have to seek for some other explanation. In this case, *טֵלְמֵלַח* will almost certainly be miswritten for *טֵלְמֵלַח* (*Telem*). In *1 Ch.* 2:54 Ashhur is called the father of *Telem*, where 'Telem' is probably not the modern *Tekoa*, 2 *M.* 8, of Benjamin, but some place farther south; cp *Jer.* 6:1, where 'Tekoa' is mentioned with 'Beth-hacerem, or rather 'Beth-jerahmeel', and both places are near the land of *Zaphon* (*צַפְוֹן*), which apparently included *Kadesh* and the sacred mountain of *Yahwe* (see *ZAPHON*). On the possible identity of *Tel-shashūr* with the so-called *Telessa*, see *TI-SHAIAN*. (T. K. 1).

TEL-MELAH (טֵלְמֵלַח; *ΘΕΡΜΕΛΕΘ* [B]; *ΘΕΛΜΕΛΕΧ* [L]; *MELEXA* [M]), a place from which, according to the great post-exilic list, came certain families which could not prove their Israelitish origin, *Ezra* 2:51 = *Neh.* 7:62 (*ΘΕΡΜΕΛΕΘ* [B]); *ΘΕΛΜ* [B]; *ΘΕΛΜΕΛΕΧ* [M]; = *1 Esd.* 5:30 (*THERMELETH* [EV]; *ΘΕΡΜΕΛΕΘ* [M]; *ΘΕΛΜΕΛΕΤ* [L]). The name is generally supposed to be Babylonian, and since, in this case, the explanation 'hill of salt' is impossible, Friedrich Delitzsch (*Calver Bib.-Lex.* 2: 504) would give the name as *Tel-malah*, 'sailors' hill', on the analogy of *TEL-ARHU* (*ἄρῳ*).

If, however, we follow the analogy of the names *טֵלְמֵלַח* or *טֵלְמֵלַח* (*Telem*), and *טֵלְמֵלַח* (*Telem*) (see *SALE, VALLEY OF*, and *SALE, CITY OF*), *Telemelah* will mean 'hill of Jerahmeel', and will become part of the evidence for the theory (cp *PROEM* 1, § 27) that the Israelitish exiles who returned came mainly from the region called Jerahmeelite in N. Arabia (including the *Negeb*). The names with which *Telemelah* is grouped are *Tel-harsa* and *Chelebaddan-immer* or 'Cheleb, Addon (*Ezra*) or Addon (*Neh.*), and Immer' (*ḳṣṣ*, *Neh.*). Two of these, viz., *Cheleb* and *Immer*, at once become intelligible, if we may venture to set aside the prejudice of a Babylonian connection; both are of the same type as numerous corruptions of 'Jerahmeel', *Adlan* or *Aldon*, too, is very possibly N. Arabian, and in spite of the initial *g* in *Ezra*-*Neh.*, may be another form of *ḳṣṣ* (*Telem*), the N. Arabian 'Eden', which is very possibly referred to (1) in the story of *Paradise* (see *PARADISE*, § 7), and (2) in the otherwise enigmatical phrases 'Beth-el' (*Amos* 1:1) and 'the blue Eden who were in Telassar' (2 *Ki.* 19:12; *Is.* 37:36). Probably we should read, for 'Cheleb-addon-immer', 'Eden of Jerahmeel' (*ḳṣṣ* *ḳṣṣ* (*Telem*), 'cherub' and 'immer' being variants for the fuller and truer form *Jerahmeel*; *TEL-HARSHA* (*ḳṣṣ*) probably

¹ H. P. Smith accepts *טֵלֵם* in 27:8, but not in 15:7; Thayer holds himself in suspense. We, Bn., and *Ki.* read *בְּרָזִלָּא* or *בְּרָזִלָּא*, in both places. *Lohr* resists the temptation to change; *Klost.* retains *MT* in 15:7, but strikes out a new path in 27:8.

² *Amos*, 2 (*UTG*, 1908, 4), 6.
³ Winkler needlessly emends *טֵלְמֵלַח* in *1 S.* into *טֵלְמֵלַח*.
⁴ *Heb. Lang.*, 10:5; *Calver Bib.-Lex.* 2: 504 ('Waldhügel' can hardly be right); cp *Isa.*, *III* B 293 b).

¹ See *Amer. Jour. of Theol.*, July 1907, p. 439.

² It is also possible, however, that *Telemelah* is a very early alteration of *Telegā*, the better known place being substituted for the more obscure.

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=Telashshur, and notice again the significant phrase 'the b'ns Eden who were in Telassar', where Telassar, the meaning of which is otherwise scarcely a soluble problem, is probably a corruption of Tel- or Tubal-shshur. See TELASSAR (end).

T. K. C.

TEMA (תֵּמָא), and once תֵּמָא [Job 6:19]; תַּיְמָאן [BNAQTL], son of Ishmael (Gen. 25:15 TH. [DE]; 1 Ch. 1:30). The name appears as early as Jeremiah (25:23; 26:10). [S¹] תַּיְמָאן [S²], also in a prophetic fragment on Arabia ('land of Tema', Is. 21:14). In both these passages it is associated with DEDAN (y.z.).¹ In Job 6:19 the 'caravans of Tema' (תַּיְמָאן) are parallel to the 'companies of Shelu.' For its geographical position see ISHMAEL, § 4 [6]. In the cuneiform inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III. its people are spoken of as (alu) *Ti-mai*—i.e., belonging to the city Tēma'u (cp Schrader, *KGP* 261 ff.; *Del. Par.* 301 ff.). Its modern name is *Taimi*. The explorations of Euting have brought to light some important Aramaic inscriptions, dating from before the Persian period, which testify to the existence of a highly developed culture among the ancient Arabs of Tema (see ARAMAIC LANGUAGE, § 21).

Special mention is made in one of them of the אֲרָמֵי תַיְמָא, 'the gods of Tema,' one of the most important of whom bore the name צִלְשָׁ (C/S, 2:113 114), cp צִלְשָׁ שִׁבּוּ the name of one of his priests ('צִלְשָׁ saves,' a name perhaps to the biblical צִלְשָׁאָל [צִלְשָׁאָל]; see Baeth. *Beitr.* 80 f., and cp ZALMUNNA).

TEMAH (תֵּמָה), the family name of a company of (post-exilic) Nehemiah: Ezra 2:53 (תֵּמָה [A]), AV TEHAMAH = Neh. 7:55 (תֵּמָה [B]), תֵּמָה [A], תֵּמָה [I], AV TEHAMAH = 1 Esd. 5:32 תֵּמָה, RV TEHOMI (תֵּמָה [B]), תֵּמָה [A], תֵּמָה [I]).

TEMAN (תֵּמָן), תֵּמָן, 'what is on the right hand?' i.e., 'south'; תַּיְמָאן [BAIOL], occasionally תַּיְמָא in RADEQ; Vg. *Thoman*, except Ezek. 25:13 Hab. 3:3, *Auster* and Ob. 9 *Merides*; gentilic תַּיְמָנִי, RV TEMANITE, in Job 22:1, תַּיְמָנִי; תַּיְמָנִי (עֲרָבִים, or תַּיְמָנִי; occasionally תַּיְמָנִי, תַּיְמָנִי, תַּיְמָנִי; BA 1:5 15); cp 42:17 f.; *Themanites*.

Teman was originally the name of a clan and district (cp NAMES, § 55) of Edom, no doubt one of the oldest and most important, and is genealogically described as the eldest son of Esau's first-born son Eliphaz (Gen. 36:11 15 [תַּיְמָאן E.] 1 Ch. 1:36). In Gen. 36:42 (1 Ch. 1:53) Teman is counted among the 'dukes' ('*allāph*'), or clans ('*leph*'), of Edom (y.z. § 4), not, however, heading the

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list. In the list of ancient Edomite kings we find a king called 'Husham, of the land of the Temanites (Gen. 36:34).' In Ezek. 25:13 the prophet threatens destruction to Edom 'from Teman even to Dedan.' Later writers use 'Teman' as a poetical synonym for 'Edom' (Amos 1:12 [on date, see AMOS, § 9], Ob. 9 [cp. Jer. 49:22], Jer. 49:23 Hab. 3: Bar. 3:2 f.); but in Jer. 49:7 we seem to find Teman recognised as the name of a district. 'Is wisdom any more in Teman?' must be taken in connection with the description of the oldest of Job's friends as 'the Temanite' (Job 2:11 etc.). 'Eliphaz the Edomite' would have been an insufficient description; 'Temanite' must refer to the district best known for proverbial wisdom. As to the locality intended by 'Teman,' Ezek. 25:13 (already quoted) entitles us to assume that Teman was in the N. (NE.), for the land of Dedan was certainly to the S. (SE.) of the land of Edom. (This suggests a comparison of the name with Jamit = Jerahmeel.) See Amos 1:12, where Bozrah is mentioned as the capital of Teman. Bozrah being situated in the district of Gebal (Ps. 83:8), northward from Petra, we may perhaps venture to regard the district of Teman as having much the same limits as the later district of Gebal¹ in spite of the fact that Teman and Bozrah in Amos 1:12 are the names, not merely of a district and its chief town, but of the land of Edom and its capital.

Cp Kautsch, in Richm. *HWZ*, 1643; Buhl, *Edomiter*, 30 f.; Lamy, *Edomiter*, 20. Trumbull (*Nadesh-barnea*, 117 ff.) takes a different view: Teman was probably the portion of Edom which lay directly S. of Teman-ward, of Gamaa. Trumbull even finds a trace of the old name in the Nakh (pass) *el-teman*, which goes northward from Wady Fikreh¹ over against another 'Teman'; and in Josh. 15:1 he would render the closing words תַּיְמָן תַּיְמָן (RV 'at the uttermost part of the south') 'from the extremity of Teman' (so, too, the pioneer British critic Goleb). Greene too (*Heb. Migration*, 145) regards Teman as the southern part of Edom, now known as *el-tema*, as distinguished from the northern (Gedene), and including the Idumean range as far N. as Mt. Hor. According to Eas. and Jer. (*OS* 200 f.; 155 32), Thaiman was the name of a village distant 15 (Jer. says 5) R. m. from Petra, and the seat of a garrison. T. K. C.

TEMENI (תֵּימָנִי [Baer], תֵּימָנִי [Gi.], and תֵּימָנִי; cp TEMAN), son of ASUBUR, of the tribe of Judah; 1 Ch. 4: (תַּיְמָאן [BA], תַּיְמָאן [I]). Probably miswritten for תַּיְמָנִי, Timni, the gentilic of Timnah. See TIMNAH. T. K. C.

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I. THE TEMPLE

For the ancient Israelites, as for the ancient Semites in general, a 'temple' was the abode of a deity—a

1. Meaning. *kēth-'ēl* (כֶּתֶה'ֵל)—in the strictest meaning of the word, and not solely in the sense in which we also speak of Christian places of worship as houses of God. A temple in antiquity was not, in the first instance, a place of meeting for the worshippers of the deity; many ancient temples were accessible to none but the priests, and the altar—the place of worship in the fullest sense of the expression—was usually

¹ Cp Gen. 25:3 (תַּיְמָאן [AD], תַּיְמָא [E]; om. L), brother of Dedan.

situated, not within, but without the building known as the temple. The temple, rightly considered, is the dwelling-house of the deity to whom it is consecrated, and whose presence is denoted by a statue, it may be, or some other sacred symbol. The erection of temples, accordingly, can always be regarded as already indicating advanced development of the religion concerned. For the temple is never the original dwelling-place of the deity. In the most primitive phase of religion, and particularly in the case of the oldest forms of Semitic religion, the deity was found, in the first instance, in certain natural objects and features which impressed

¹ GEBAL (y.z.) is a late name of Arabic origin

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the primitive worshipper (see NATURE-WORSHIP) high mountains, rocks of peculiar formation, wide-spreading trees, shady groves, springs of water and the like were regarded as seats of deity and places where his servants could meet with him, and bring him their gifts, though temple building of any sort there was none. Such natural objects, where human intervention and labour were unnecessary, are everywhere older than images and suchlike accessories. In the primitive Hebrew worship, in particular, temples played but a subordinate part. Ordinarily they were wholly superfluous. Sacrifice was offered under the open sky. The natural objects which were regarded as seats of deity required no protecting covering.¹ Often they had no need of an altar even; the sacred rock was itself an altar; cp Gen. 28, where Jacob anoints—that is, presents his offering of oil upon—the stone which sheltered the deity. At the sacred springs, wells, and caves the gifts of the worshippers are simply dropped in, as, e.g., the well of Zemzem at Mecca (cp ALTAR, NATURE-WORSHIP).

The situation changed as soon as men began to make images of the deity. Wherever such an image had

2. Oldest Israelite temples.

come into existence, there naturally arose also the need for a house to shelter it. In the case of a costly image, too, theft had to be guarded against (cp Judg. 17 f.); someone was required to watch and tend it; but here again we observe that, in principle and to begin with, nothing more is required than some simple housing, such as the worshipper is ordinarily in the way of constructing for himself. A modest apartment in the family dwelling-house sufficed, as the story of Micah's graven image shows (Judg. 17). Here again it is not a place of worship—a meeting-house for worshippers—that has to be provided, but simply a dwelling-place for the image, or, if you will, for the deity. Still less was any spacious apartment or stately palace required, because according to the ancient Hebrew conception the deity chose rather to have his dwelling in [thick] darkness. Even in Solomon's temple the apartment occupied by the deity, the so-called Holy of Holies, was quite small, plain and dark (see below, § 7 end).

In accordance with this is the fact that in the OT we read of temples only where there is an ephod. Micah had a house for his ephod (Judg. 17 5); at Dan this same ephod afterwards had a temple, as doubtless also had Gideon's ephod at Ophrah (Judg. 18 24 ff.). Similarly, at Nob there was a great temple with a numerous priesthood in connection with the famous oracular image there (1 S. 21). The sacred ark, the most sacred object in Israel, stands in this respect in the same category with the image as representing the deity. It, too, naturally requires to be housed; it cannot be left simply in the open. The house assigned to it was the same in kind as those its worshippers lived in. As long as these lived in tents, the ark also remained in a tent. After the settlement in Canaan, it received a house of stone at Shiloh. But even then it was not absolutely necessary that it should leave a house of its own, entirely to itself. After the temple at Shiloh had been destroyed, no one for a long time thought of getting a new house built for the ark. After it had been brought back from Philistia it wandered about from place to place, finding a temporary resting-place now in the house of a prominent citizen, now in that of a royal official, until at last within the precincts of David's palace it found shelter merely in a simple tent (see ARK OF THE COVENANT).

We know nothing in detail as to the arrangement of the oldest Israelite temples. We can only conjecture that they were built on the same model as those of the Canaanites, for here also the conquered were doubtless the teachers of the conquerors. The Canaanites at that period already had large temples of their own. The temple of El-Berith at Shechem was, we know, the place of refuge of the Shechemites in times of danger, and must therefore have been large and strongly built (Judg. 9 46 f.). At Gaza there was a great temple with a hall, the roof of which was

¹ The *ka'ba* of Mecca, even, is no *beth-el* (house of God), 'household god,' no covering for the black stone worshipped there. The stone in question is, in fact, visible from without, let into the wall, and the entire *ka'ba* is merely an expansion of the stone; cp Wellh. *Heid.* (1) 3, 69, (2) 73.

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supported by two pillars (Judg. 16 29). Here, too, it need hardly be pointed out, the fundamental idea was the same; the principal thing was the sanctuary, the apartment for the image or other sacred object; in connection with this there ultimately arose also another apartment or hall to which the worshippers of the god had access, and in which they had audience of him.

In what sense Solomon's temple can be spoken of as something new, may easily be judged from what has

3. Solomon's temple; David's preparations.

already been said. In their general arrangement and details temple and palace were alike wonders to Solomon's subjects, such as had never been seen before; but the conception of a temple of Yahwé was not in itself any novelty. Tradition assigns the original idea to David; according to our present books of Samuel, it was David who first thought of building a temple for the ark, inasmuch as it seemed unfitting that he himself should be dwelling in a palace whilst the ark of Yahwé remained in a mere tent. Yahwé, however, the narrative goes on to say, would not suffer this. Not David was to build a house for Yahwé, but Yahwé was to build a house for David, by assuring the permanence of David's dynasty (2 S. 7). The Chronicler develops the idea further; David himself indeed cannot build the temple, but he can make everything ready for it; and this he does in such a manner that little is left for Solomon to do. The latter receives from David plans and models for this temple and all its furniture; the stone and timber are all hewn and prepared, the workmen engaged and trained, the gold and silver collected, the whole temple service organised (1 Ch. 22 ff.). All this, however, belongs to the latest strata of the narrative. There is no historical probability that David had thoughts of building a temple. Had it been otherwise, it is not easy to see what should have prevented him from carrying out the idea. But the conditions under which such a purpose might be formed were absent. When David was building his palace he had no need for a splendid sanctuary also in his citadel. The ark, of course, he wanted to have there; but the genuine old Israelite idea was that in view of its origin and significance the appropriate lodging for the ark was in a tent. This comes out quite clearly still in the words of Nathan when he asks (2 S. 7 5 f.; cp 1 Ch. 17 6):

Has Yahwé ever spoken a word to any of the judges of Israel saying, 'Why have ye not built me a house of cedar? I have not dwelt in a house since the day that I brought up the children of Israel out of Egypt, even to this day.'

Such was the normal order of things. It is easy to understand, however, how after the temple of Jerusalem had acquired its importance, the people of a later time found it difficult to understand wherefore the pious David had not built the temple. The cause cannot have lain, for him, in religious indifference; and it was necessary to find another explanation. Hence the whole theory now before us.

In Solomon's case again we need not seek too exclusively for purely religious motives. It was by no means his intention, as tradition represents it to have been, to provide the Israelites with one solitary sanctuary, legitimate and central, and so to bring to an end the worship of the high places, and suchlike practices. His motives were more political than religious. He was a splendour-loving prince to whom the old palace of David no longer seemed good enough, and who wished to have a new and magnificent residence similar to those of neighbouring sovereigns. In his complex and sacred ark was also included, since a simple tent seemed no longer to suffice for a royal sanctuary. It was a citadel-sanctuary for himself, not a temple for Israel that he built.

Only thus can we understand the mistrust and even

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antipathy with which large masses of the people regarded the work of Solomon. The citizens of the northern kingdom still adhered to the ancient sanctuaries and went on making pilgrimages to Beersheba and Gulgai, to Dan and Bethel, the places where their fathers of old had paid their devotions. In the southern kingdom, too, the 'innovation' was far from finding unanimous approval. Ultimately, indeed (in Deuteronomy), the prophets came to recognise the temple as the lesser evil when compared with the worship of the high places. Yet, at the bottom of their hearts they put it on a level with the other sanctuaries of Samaria or Shiloh (Jer. 7 12 Mic. 1 5). In fact, in religious circles the luxury of the temple of Solomon came under very severe censure as out of keeping with the true Israelite character (cp the law concerning the altar in the Book of the Covenant). To lift a tool upon an altar stone is to pollute it; so also to go up to it by steps is a desecration (Ex. 20 24 f.). A more pointed condemnation of the altar of Solomon, which was raised high after the fashion of heathen altars and covered with brass, can hardly be conceived (cp 2 K. 16 17 f.).

On the site of Solomon's temple cp PALACE, JERUSALEM, § 10. We may regard it as settled that

5. Site of the temple. it stood on the eastern hill. The architectural history of the place shows that a sanctuary always stood there, within the limits of the present Haram. The temple of Jupiter built there by Hadrian stood, as we have reason to believe, upon the site of the temple of Herod, which in its turn was only a reconstruction of the second (post-exilic) temple, and this again, of course, can only have been raised on the site of that of Solomon. It is only as regards the particular spot within the Haram area that any dispute is at all possible. For example, Fergusson, Trupp, Lewin, W. R. Smith and others, have placed it in the south-western angle of the modern Haram. This is, however, in view of the lie of the ground, quite impossible. The south-western angle of the Haram, when strictly considered, lies not upon the eastern but upon the edge of the western hill. The temple, in that case, must be held to have stood on the steep slope of the hill towards the Tyropon valley, entirely on artificial substrations. In fact, the southern half of the place cannot be thought of in this connection at all, for the site did not receive its great extension southwards until the time of Herod (see below, § 30).

W. R. Smith (*EB*⁹, s. v. 'Temple') also starts from the assumption that the whole Herodian temple-complex lay in the SW. of the present Haram. Now it is indisputable that the S. wall and the southern portion of the western wall of the Haram are precisely those parts of the wall the external features of which betray a Herodian origin. Smith's contention, further, that the dimensions of the Herodian temple as given by Josephus, entirely exclude the sacred rock from the temple limits can hardly be maintained, as will presently be shown. Moreover, apart from any other consideration, his argument fails in view of the lie of the ground, as can very well be seen from his own map: between the SW. corner and the NW. corner of his temple area there is a difference of level of 50 ft.; between the SW. and NE. corner of his temple court, a similar difference of 60 ft. In other words: his temple stands entirely on the steep south-western slope of the hill, and numerous substrations would have been necessary in order to secure even the small area that was necessary; no less improbable is it that the temple should have stood on a level so considerably below the summit of the hill with the sacred rock where there was a fine level plateau.

On the other hand, considerations suggested by the history of religion speak very strongly in favour of the site of the present dome of the rock. In the East, from the remotest antiquity down even to the present day, sacred sites have always maintained themselves with unyielding tenacity through all religious changes. Thus there is a high degree of probability that what is to-day regarded as the centre of the whole, the sacred rock in the mosque of 'Omar, the second holiest site in all Islam, should from the first have been a particularly sacred point. The rock is doubtless to be regarded

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as the scene of the angelic appearance in 2 S. 24, which marked the place as a site of a sanctuary of Yahwe (cp Judg. 6 11 f. 13 19). The statement of the Chronicler that Solomon built his temple here at the threshing-floor of Ornan, has every probability in its favour. That the sanctity of the place goes back to a still earlier time is not unlikely.

In this case there arises only the question as to the place more precisely where the temple stood with reference to the sacred rock. Several scholars (Kosen, Schick, and others) have supposed that the rock was in the Holy of Holies and that the ark stood upon it. This is also an old Christian and Mohammedan tradition; that such a tradition was current among the Jews in NT times is evident from the Talmudic legend that in the Holy of Holies the place of the lost ark was taken by a stone called the 'foundation stone' (2 R. 19 15, *Talm. Bab.* 52). Further, this stone was identified with Jacob's stone at Bethel (cp Rashi on Gen. 28 and Breithaupt's notes). Both Mohammedans and Christians transferred these legends to the Sabra, which the former accordingly venerated as 'a gate of heaven' (Im 'Ald Kabbih, *Zak.* 3 36). Mohammedan sources enable us to trace back this identification to the Moslem Jew Wahib ibn Monabbih, who enriched Islam with many Jewish fables and died a century after Jerusalem was taken by the Arabs (Elard 1 251 f.; Im 'al-Fakh 2 24). Kutyshin, on the other hand, who is the first Christian writer to apply the Jewish legend to the Moslem Sabra, avers that the tradition was communicated to 'Omar by the Christian pastor St Sophronius on the taking of Jerusalem, and guided the caliph in the choice of a site for his mosque. This identification, however, is impossible, were it only by reason of the dimensions of the rock which is about 50 ft. [17.7 metres] long, 51 ft. [15.5 metres] broad, with a height above ground of 4 ft. 11 in. [1.53 metres]. The Holy of Holies, which was a cube of 20 cubits¹ was too small to contain it.² In other respects also the suggestion is attended with great difficulties on account of the conditions of space; the altar of burnt-offering would have to be moved considerably to the E. of the rock, thus leaving very little room for the court which was to accommodate the worshippers—unless great substrations on the E. be assumed, which is inadmissible (see PALACE, § 4).

In a word, there is everything in favour of, and nothing against, the theory that this rock was the site of Solomon's altar of burnt-offering (§ 18). This would fit in with the view that it was here the angel stood at the theophany. Further, on the rock there has been discovered a channel which may perhaps have served to carry off the blood (cp also Ebers and Gubler, *Palästina*, 166). This channel was connected with a hollow under the stone. Further examination has not been hitherto permitted; but it is extremely probable that this hollow is really a cistern connected with the general system of conduits (cp CONDUIITS, § 3). If in accordance with what has been said we may regard this rock as being the site of Solomon's altar of burnt-offering, then the temple, properly so called, lay to the westward of this, and its site is determined with tolerable accuracy.

On the text of the description of Solomon's temple, cp what is said elsewhere with reference to the description of his PALACE, § 2.

6. The main buildings. In the present case, also, after the many later additions have been separated out, we arrive at no clear account. Much that would be of importance is wanting; perhaps its disappearance is in some measure due to the frequent reductions. How manifold these were can be seen in the Commentaries (e.g., Benzinger, *Könige*, 16 f.). For a reconstruction of the buildings some help can be obtained from the description of Ezekiel's temple (40 f.). True, his temple is primarily a work of the imagination; but, on the other hand, his description, broadly speaking, agrees with 1 K. 6. That, as a former priest, he was familiar with the first temple may be taken for granted; there is also an *a priori* probability that in his description he would follow the lines of the old temple. Such changes as he does introduce are on the one hand occasioned by his desire for a scrupulous symmetry in the plan of his temple, and partly by his determination to remove the dwelling

¹ [It is assumed throughout this article that the longer cubit of 20.67 in. is meant; see WERBLUS AND MEASURES, § 1.]

² The threshing-floor of Ornan cannot have been on the rock, which has an irregular, not level, surface.

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of the prince from the temple hill. The features that may be traced to the working of his free fantasy are in particular the specifications regarding the courts and the buildings contained in them. In matters where these points do not come into question we shall for the most part be safe in transferring his data without hesitation to the earlier temple.

The temple-complex fell into two divisions—the main building, the 'house of God' properly so called, and the subsidiary buildings by which it was surrounded.

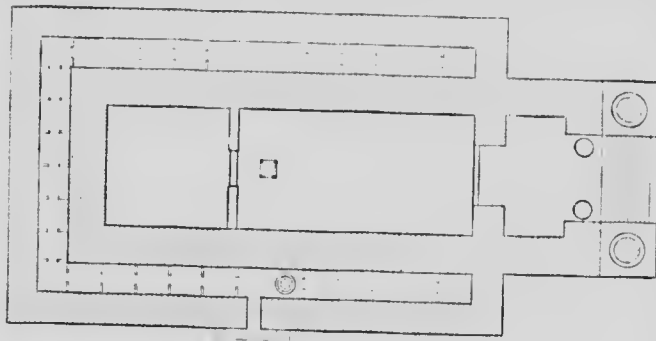


FIG. 1.—Ground-plan of the Temple.

The main building was a rectangular structure 60 cubits in length, 20 cubits in breadth, and 30 cubits in height, corresponding, on the basis of the cubit of 20.7 inches, in round numbers to 124, 35, and 52 feet respectively. It lay E. and W., with entrance from the E. The measurements given above are, as appears from the description of the *debir* (1 K. 6:16a, cp 2:20), and as is confirmed by Ezekiel's account, the internal dimensions.

On this assumption, indeed, we must suppose that either the total length (20 cubits) or one or other of the detailed figures for the Holy Place and the Holy of Holies is incorrectly given, as the dividing wall between the two most of course have taken up some space. The thickness of the walls is given by Ezekiel (41:15) as 6 cubits, a measure that may also be taken as applying to the old walls. At all events the walls, to begin with, were of considerable thickness as appears from the circumstance that for the second and third stories successively they were made thinner by rebatement of half a cubit, or it may be of a whole cubit (but see below, § 11).

Before the *hekhal* (הֶכְלָל), the Holy Place, eastward, stood a porch. Its length was the same as the breadth

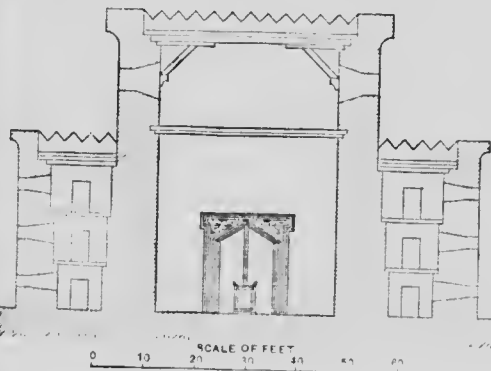


FIG. 2.—Section of the Temple.

of the house (20 cubits) and it was 10 cubits in depth; but its height is nowhere given either in Kings or in Ezekiel. The parallel place in Chronicles (2 Ch. 3:4)

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mentions 120 cubits, which is a sheer impossibility. The text is hopelessly corrupt; the 20 cubits of *CV*, Pesh., and Arab. are incorrect as appears from the data as to the height of the pillars (see below, § 12); these can hardly have been taller than the porch. Our most natural course will be to suppose for the porch a height equal to that of the temple itself, viz. 30 cubits. Perrot and Chipiez, and others with them, have sought to justify the 120 cubits in Chronicles by suggesting that the porch was similar to the pylons of the Egyptian temples; but

neither the word *udjat* (עֲזָזָה) nor yet the other measurements would be appropriate to a gateway of this sort. In Ezekiel's temple one ascended to the porch by ten steps. This, we may take it, will have been in agreement with the actual facts.

The internal space was divided, as already said, into two apartments, the larger in front and the smaller behind.

7. Internal arrangements.

The wall which separated them has, in Ezekiel's temple, a thickness of two cubits. From the description of the door it is clear that in Solomon's temple also the partition consisted of a solid wall, not of a curtain merely.¹ The door was made of olive wood and was pentagonal—*i.e.*, the

lintel was not horizontal but formed an angle as Theinus rightly explains, 1 K. 6:31 (cp St. ZITF 3:14).² In Ezekiel's temple a breadth of 6 cubits is given to this door (Ezek. 41:2); whether this figure is applicable to Solomon's temple also we have no materials for determining. All that we learn further about it from our present texts is that it was a folding door, was decorated with carvings of cherubim, palm trees, and open flowers, and overlaid with gold. This notice, however (1 K. 6:31), does not belong to the old architectural description. If the walls of the *hekhal* and of the *debir* were unprovided with carvings, we can hardly suppose that the doors were otherwise treated; and as for the overlaying, we learn from 2 K. 18:16 that it was Hezekiah who first overlaid the temple doors with gold.

The inner apartment (*debir*) was lower than the main building—being only 20 cubits in height. It thus formed a perfect cube, 20 cubits in the side. As we can hardly picture to ourselves the Holy of Holies as being merely a sort of low annex to the temple, we must suppose that above it there was an upper chamber of 10 cubits in height, and that thus the temple roof had a uniform height of 30 cubits from the ground. From 1 K. 8:12 *f.* (see Benz. *loc. cit.*) we may venture to infer that the inner room was perfectly dark. This adytum, called after the Holy of Holies, was the most essential part of the temple. It was the dwelling-place proper of the

¹ According to 2 Ch. 3:14 there was a curtain before the entrance to the *debir*. This would not be improbable in itself; but there is no mention of it in the old description of the temple in Kings. Theinus, Riehm, and others indeed have found a curtain in 1 K. 6:21: 'he drew [the curtain] across with chains of gold, etc.'; but if these words belong to the original text they must relate to the altar; cp Benz. *ad loc.*

² The other interpretation (Ges., Eühr, Kell, and others) explains the *מִצְחָה* of 1 K. 6:31 as meaning that the area of the door was a fifth of the entire superficial area of the wall. So also Klostermann with emendation: the lintel was a fifth—*i.e.*, of the transverse wall, which is equivalent to saying that the breadth of the doorway was a fifth of that of the house,—in other words 4 cubits. Both explanations are very forced. *מִצְחָה* stands in contrast with *מִצְחָה*, 'square,' in 1 K. 6:23:75.

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deity, whose presence here was represented by the sacred ark.

The walls of the *debir* were panelled with cedar; the floor was of cypress wood. According to the present text the walls were also overlaid with gold (1 K. 6:20); this, however, is a later addition to the text (see below).

The anterior apartment, the *hékil*, afterwards known as the Holy Place, was, as already mentioned, 40 cubits

long, 20 broad, and 30 high. It also was floored with cypress and panelled with cedar, so that of the mason work nothing

was visible. Here again the statements as to the walls having been overlaid with gold (1 K. 6:21, 22 a 30) are quite late additions to the text (see below, § 9). This apartment also was not particularly well lighted. Since the building that surrounded the house was 15 cubits in height and the *debir* had probably no window at all, we must suppose that such windows as the apartment had were situated above the 20 cubit level of the *debir*. We must further take into account the thickness of the walls which was such that even if the windows were made so as to widen inwards after the manner of embrasures (cp 1 K. 6:4 RV⁹⁸), they could not have admitted much light. Add to this that they were provided with wooden lattices like the windows of dwelling-houses generally; so at least we are to interpret the expression *'démim* (דַּמִּים; cp Benz. on 1 K. 6:4). We learn further that the windows were casement windows—furnished, that is to say, with wooden frames and not mere openings in the stone wall, a refinement which was unknown in ordinary dwelling-houses. Also the doorway leading to the anterior room was provided with posts of olive-wood, and, in contrast to that leading to the Holy of Holies (see above), was rectangular in shape. The door was of cypress and either half consisted of two folding leaves which were so connected in some way with each other, by means of double hinges or charnières, that in entering one did not require to open the whole door, but only the two inner leaves.¹ The width of the doorway is not stated; in Ezekiel's temple it was 10 cubits (Ezek. 41:2). Here also are repeated the statements as to overlaying with gold (1 K. 6:35). More particularly it is here stated that the covering of gold was fitted exactly on to the engraved design (שְׂרָפְתֵי בַּיָּדָיִם). Thus the decorative work in question did not consist of figures carved in relief (Reliefschnitt; erzeien), but of figures outlined on the flat (Konturenzeichnungen).

Stade (*ZATW* 3:142 ff.) has shown that the various statements as to the overlaying of the walls of the *debir* (1 K. 6:20), of the walls of the *hékil* (7:21, 22 a 30), of the doors (7:23, 32, 35), of the cherubim (7:23), and of the altar in the *hékil* (7:22b) with gold are all very late additions to the text. From the point of view of literary criticism they can be shown to be such by the circumstance that they come in at the wrong place and moreover that, in part at least, they are absent from **C**. Besides, their incorrectness in point of fact appears from certain other data of the OT.

On the occasions when the temple is despoiled, the foreign foes and King Ahab when in financial straits take everything of value, but the covering of gold is not mentioned, though this certainly would not have been left untouched had it existed (1 K. 14:26, 2 K. 14:14, 18:17). On the other hand we are told of Hezekiah that he overlaid the doors and doorposts of the *hékil*; but it was not with gold (2 K. 18:17). Moreover, strictly speaking a covering of gold must be regarded as incompatible with the carving on the walls. The whole is taken from the description of the Tabernacle with its wealth of gold and transferred to the temple of the wealthy king, which, it was thought, was certainly not less costly (see Benz. on 1 K. 6:20).

That the temple walls were adorned with carvings is more credible. In Ezekiel's temple (41:17 ff.) we read that the whole wall was in like manner decorated with carved cherubim and palms, a palm between two

¹ Ewald, Keil, and others think of the doors as horizontally divided each into an upper and a lower half, of which only the lower had to be opened on entering. Against this cp Thenius on 1 K. 6:34.

9. Ornamentation and decoration.

10. Roof.

11. Side-buildings.

12. Stairs.

13. Windows.

14. Posts.

15. Posts.

16. Posts.

17. Posts.

18. Posts.

19. Posts.

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cherubs. Here, however, great suspicion cannot but be aroused by the fact that the relative notice (1 K. 6:1) is wanting in **C**, that the verse disturbs the connection in the most violent way, and that with its statement that 'all was of cedar' it is inconsistent with what has been said in 1 K. 6:15. Nevertheless, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that the temple walls were at a later date decorated with carvings (as we are led to infer from Ezekiel). Elsewhere, also, we read of later adornments of the temple (2 K. 12:3 ff. 20, 16:10 ff. 23, 4:11 ff.). Thus we may safely regard the carvings as having been the work of a later king.

We are not told anything as to the construction of the roof of the building. Many scholars, such as Lund

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the several chambers of a story communicated with each other by means of doors may be taken for granted.

In front of the porch of the temple stood at the entrance two bronze pillars cast by Hiram-Abi, a

12. The pillars of bronze.

Tyrian artificer (see HIRAM 2), for further details see below, also JACHIN AND BOAZ. We are told that Jachin was the one on the right—i.e. S.—Bo'az that to the left or N.; but what the names mean we do not know. Their precise position is a much disputed point. Many scholars, including Nowack (*HA* 2 (3 f.)), hold that they were engaged in the portal of the porch itself and that the lintel rested upon them. For this view reliance is placed mainly on Ezek. 40.46, where two columns to right and left of the entrance are mentioned over and above the pillars of the porch. This evidence, however, is not conclusive. To begin with, the very circumstance that Ezekiel does not give the columns the names handed down by tradition is in itself noticeable. It is very questionable, too, whether Ezekiel has these columns in his mind at all, and whether he has not rather dropped them altogether as he has done in the case of the brazen sea and the lavers. In **Q** (1 K. 7.45) is preserved the information that there were yet other pillars in the temple; these cannot well have stood anywhere else than in the porch where those of Ezekiel also are found; or, if we are to identify the latter with Jachin and Boaz, it still remains very possible that he deliberately not only suppresses their names but also assigns to them a quite different place which deprives them of all special significance. Some special significance they must certainly have had originally; the mere fact of their having special names would be enough to prove this; there would be no point in it if they were architectural ornaments merely. Nor is it possible to assign to them a structural value or supporting the roof, for it is certain that they did not stand in the inside. There is to be considered also the further circumstance that there were quite analogous pillars in other Semitic temples as well. In temples of Baal they are quite used; the sanctuary of Melkarth at Tyre for example had two costly pillars in which Melkarth was worshipped (Herod. 2.44). The annexed figure, representing the temple at Paphos on a coin, exhibits the two pillars standing wholly detached to the right and left of the entrance. In front of the temple at Hierapolis, also, were similar pillars (WRS, *Rel. Sem.*² 208, 488). Since the temple of Solomon was assumedly affected by Syro-Phoenician influences it is natural to conjecture that in it Jachin and Boaz had a significance analogous to that of the other pillars just alluded to; namely, that they were symbols of the deity. In that case their origin will have to be sought in the ancient *masseboth* which used to be customary objects in all Semitic sanctuaries, including those of ancient Israel (see MASSÉBETH; also Benz. *HA* 379 f.; WRS, *Rel. Sem.*² 191, n. 1).



FIG. 3.—Coin representing temple at Paphos.

(Aρχὴ ἀναβαρίσ). This, however, is not a translation of ἀρχὴ but proceeds upon another reading (Benz. *ad loc.*). In buildings of the ancient E. no trace of winding staircases has anywhere been found, and it is therefore very improbable that they are mentioned here. Levy (*XIII*) points out that the openings in the roofs of the Holy of Holies by which the workmen were let down (see below, § 33) are called פְּתָחִים (*ep. Middoth*, 45). Thus, as Stadel has rendered probable, we shall most likely have to think of openings provided with trap-doors and reached by ladders or trap-stairs.

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This is not equivalent to saying that as late as Solomon's time these pillars were still regarded as symbols of Yahwé; we can equally well suppose that they were set up in accordance with an ancient custom no longer understood, or simply in imitation of Phœnician models. If the view just taken be correct, it becomes easy to understand why Ezekiel should have ignored them, or have sought to disguise their original meaning by reducing them to mere supports of the roof. And if so it also becomes highly probable that the Chronicler is right in assigning them a position in front of the temple (1 K. 7.15-22). It would not be easy to guess how he could have come to place them so unless he had some old source to go upon, for the meaning of the pillars offered above was certainly unknown to him.



FIG. 4.—Glass bowl with representation of Temple.

The view that they occupied detached positions in front of the temple is confirmed by the interesting representation of the Jewish temple found upon a glass bowl of the third or fourth century A. D. which shows two

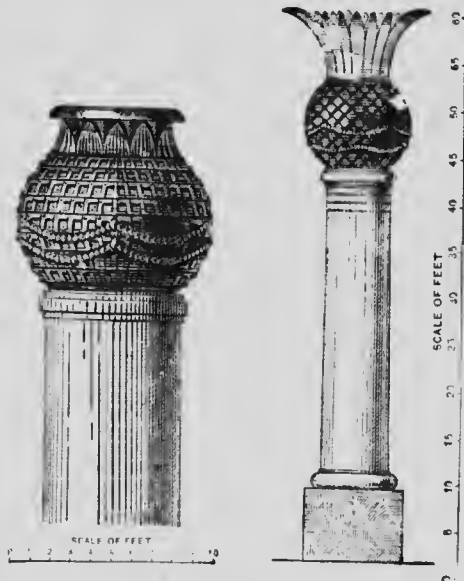


FIG. 5.—Brazen pillars.

quite detached pillars near the entrance. The detailed description of the pillars has been preserved in a three-fold form (1 K. 7.15-22 41 f. 2 Ch. 3.15-17 Jer. 52.21-23

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2 K. 2517), in accordance with which Thenius was able to restore the text of the account with considerable accuracy. Each of the pillars was 18 cubits (about 30 ft.) in height, and 12 cubits (wrongly 14 cubits) in circumference. They were hollow, the brass being 4 finger-breadths in thickness. Each was surmounted by a molten chapter, or capital, 5 cubits in height. The capitals were covered with bronze net-work which was surrounded by two rows of pomegranates. The one questionable datum is that of 1 K. 710 where the meaning can be either that the capitals were curved outwards at the top after the fashion of lilies (as is said, for example, of the brazen sea), or that above the capitals there were lily-shaped additions (cp Benz, on 1 K. 715).

The temple was surrounded by a court, called the 'inner' court, as distinguished from the great court enclosing the entire citadel. This inner court was surrounded by a wall of three courses of hewn stone surmounted by a course of cedar beams (1 K. 636). As to the dimensions of the court, its entrances, or any other architectural details the description in 1 K. says nothing.

The measurements in Ezekiel (100 x 100 cubits) are not to be transferred to the old temple, since with that prophet the court had quite a different function. He makes it accessible to the priests alone; whence the Chronicler actually describes it simply as the 'Court of the Priests' (עֲדָת־הַכֹּהֲנָיִם; 2 Ch. 10). In ancient times

and down to Ezekiel's day everyone had free access to it; it was a place of public assembly as we can see from such passages as Jer. 351 ff. 3610 2 K. 1212. For the position it occupied in the complex of buildings, see PALACE, § 3.

In Jer. 3610 it is quite rightly designated as the 'upper forecourt' as it was higher up than the great palace court. By the 'new gate' one went down from it to the king's house (Jer. 2610 3610). This designation 'new gate' tells us that it must have been restored by some later king; for of course there can be no question of an entirely new gate, such as had never stood there before; there must always have been some way by which the king could pass northwards from his palace to the sanctuary. The same will hold good also of the 'upper' gate which according to 2 K. 1535 was built by Jotham; here also we have to do merely with a restoration of an ancient gate. We may with considerable confidence seek for this gate on the upper, that is on the northern, side of the court, and thus identify it with Ezekiel's 'north gate' (§ 3 92) and with Jeremiah's 'upper gate of Benjamin' (202), since the road to Benjamin lay northward. If this N. gate is called the gate of the altar in Ezek. 815 we shall best explain the designation as referring to the fact that it was the people's usual way of access to the altar. Other expositors (such as Graf) think of 2 K. 1614 where we are told that Ahaz set up the old altar on the N. side of the forecourt. This N. gate appears also in Ezekiel's temple as the chief entrance (469 4038 ff.). Whether Solomon's temple had a third gate—to the E.—is not certain; but it is probable. Ezekiel's temple has one such gate which is opened only on Sabbath and feast days and reserved for the prince (Ezek. 46 ff.).

But in the old temple, where the royal palace stood immediately to the S. of the court, the king of course approached the sanctuary direct from his house. If, accordingly, the Chronicler (1 Ch. 913) speaks of a 'king's gate,' there are only two possibilities; either he means the S. gate and is to this extent aware of what the ancient conditions were, or he means the E. gate, in which case he is simply transferring without criticism to the older period the circumstances which existed in his own time. On the other hand, in Jer. 3814 we read of a third entrance, and such a third gate can best be looked for on the E. side. The mention also of three 'keepers of the threshold' (2 K. 2513 Jer. 5224) points to the existence of three gates. We further learn of the temple court that it was already paved in the pre-

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exile time (2 K. 1617). So also that in the same period there were 'chambers' in it. Jer. 354 mentions a 'chamber of the princes' (*chamber of Maaseiah*, עֲדָת־הַמְּלָכִים) which was above a 'chamber of Maaseiah, the keeper of the threshold,' and adjoined that of the 'sons of Hanan.' According to Jer. 3610 Baruch read the book of the words of Jeremiah in the chamber of Gemariah which was situated at the entry of the New Gate. Here we are doubtless to understand partly chambers which served as lodging for various officials, partly storerooms for temple equipments. In the temple of Ezekiel a series of cells are provided for the priests on the N. and S. side of the court (Ezek. 1044 ff. 421 ff.). The sacred object *par excellence* in this royal seat of worship was the ark of Yahwe (see ARK) which had its

14. Equipment. place in the Adytum (עֲדָת־הַכֹּהֲנָיִם) the dark inner chamber, and in the ancient view represented the presence

of the deity. It is remarkable to find in the temple of Solomon this special significance of the ark weakened by the addition to it of two cherubim. These stand 10 cubits high, their wings each measure 5 cubits; the wings stretching inwards touch one another in the middle of the house, those stretching outwards touch respectively the N. and S. walls of the *debir*. Their faces are turned towards the E. Beneath the wings that touched one another was the Ark. On the form, origin, and meaning of these figures see CHERUB (cp also Benz, on 1 K. 630). What is of special interest to note here is that the cherubs are the bearers of Yahwe, the signs and witnesses of his presence (Ezek. 1810 191); it is on this account that we read of Yahwe as throned above the cherubim (Ps. 1810 [11]), and the name Yahwe, the Lord of hosts, now receives the addition 'who sitteth upon the cherubim' (1 S. 44 2 S. 612). In accordance with this the *debir* is regarded as an extension of the ark just as the *Ar'ba* at Mecca is an extension of the sacred stone (see above, § 1 end, n.).

Another quite peculiar symbol of deity which had not its like at the other sanctuaries was the brazen

15. The brazen serpent. serpent, Nehuſtan. It stood in the temple—whether in the Holy of Holies or in the outer chamber we are not

told. Down to Hezekiah's reformation incense was offered to it. On its origin and meaning, cp NEHUŠTAN. The absence from the accounts of the temple which have reached us of any reference to this, which a later age had learned to regard as an idolatrous object, is easily intelligible; and, besides, it is not to be assumed off-hand that this serpent had its place in the temple from the first.

In the outer chamber of the *hēkīl* stood, in front of the entrance to the *debir*, the table of shewbread (1 K.

16. Table of shewbread. 620). This was an altar of cedar wood which is not further described in the account of the temple in 1 K., but

Ezekiel's description of the corresponding object will doubtless apply here.

According to this, it was 2 cubits in length and breadth and 3 in height; doubtless, therefore, there were steps up to it. Further, it had, as was usual with altars, 'horns'—i.e., corner-pieces resembling horns (Ezek. 4121). According to 1 K. 620 ff. it was overlaid with gold; but to this statement will apply what has already been said of the corresponding statements elsewhere (§ 6); it is a later addition. The table of Ezekiel is plain cedar. The use of the table for offering the so-called shewbread (see SACRIFICE, §§ 11 34 a). In order to be able to make out from Solomon's temple the existence of an altar of incense not otherwise mentioned, Keil and others will have it that this is the altar in question. A table of cedar, however, even if thinly plated with gold, would be useless for the purpose of burning incense. Moreover, the offering of shewbread indeed is attested from an early date (cp 1 S. 21), but there is no evidence of any regular offering

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of incense such as would have demanded a special altar. In 1 K 7:43 an altar of incense is mentioned along with the table for the shewbread; but both this verse and that immediately following it are later additions to the account of the temple (see Benz. *ad loc.*). In ch. 4 there is nothing of any such altar, which indeed makes its appearance only in later strata of P.

Similarly, it is only in a late appendix (1 K 7:49) that the golden candlesticks said to have been made by Solomon are mentioned. When this is said it is not of course meant that

17. The candlesticks. there were no candlesticks at all in the temple. It is an ancient custom to keep a light or lamp constantly burning in dwellings; if at the present day in conversing with fellahin or beduin of Palestine one says 'He sleeps in the dark,' what is meant is that he is so poor that he cannot buy himself a drop of oil. The Hebrew expression that speaks of a man's lamp as having gone out, meaning that he and his family have disappeared, is analogous (cp Jer. 25:10); see LAMP. This custom makes it probable that a light was also burnt in the sanctuary, the dwelling-place of Yahwe; according to 1 S. 3; this was the case during the night at all events. From what has been said above (§ 7 f.) as to the lighting of the *hekhal* it will also be apparent that the use of artificial light in the temple cannot have been out of place; we shall not err therefore if we suppose that Solomon caused lampstands to be made by Hiram-Abi—of bronze, however, not of gold. The number 10, too, can hardly be right; as the tabernacle had only one candlestick it would probably be nearer the truth to assume but one for the temple also. That there is no mention of the candlesticks in 2 K. 25:14 f. may be due to accident merely (cp Jer. 52:19, which verse, however, is regarded by Stade, in view of Ex. 25:29, as an interpolation; see ZITW 3 [1883] 173 f.). Cp CANDLSTICK.

In 2 Ch. 4:8 mention is also made of ten tables, five on the S. and five on the N. side of the sanctuary. These are often explained (as for example by Keil) as having been intended for the shewbread, but certainly not correctly (see above, cp 2 Ch. 4:11, 29 f.); they are rather to be placed in the same category as the ten candlesticks (see Berthele on 2 Ch. 4:10).

To the temple service also pertained of course a variety of minor furnishings, such as knives, forks, dishes, and the like. In 1 K. 7:28 f. these are introduced by a later hand and represented as having been of gold. In the original description they were either passed over without mention, or they have been removed from it to make room for this later notice.

In the forecourt, due E. from the temple entrance, stood the great altar of burnt offering. In our present text this is left wholly undescribed.

18. The bronze altar. But that a description of it once stood in this place, and that Solomon caused an altar of bronze to be made by the same Tyrian artificer who cast the other pieces, are facts attested by 1 K. 8:64, cp 2 K. 16:10 f. A later redactor stumbled at this, for in his view there already existed in connection with the tabernacle an altar which was now transferred to the temple. Here also we may, generally speaking, suppose Phœnician influences to have been at work. The mere fact that the altar was of bronze shows this, for in old Israelite practice altars were made of earth or unhewn stone; cp the law of the altar as laid down in Ex. 20:24 f. In 2 Ch. 4:1 some additional data are given as to the size of this altar; it is represented as having been 10 cubits in height and 20 in length and breadth. These are the measurements of Ezekiel's altar, and may safely be presumed to have been taken from the ancient altar, which in other respects also must have been the prototype of that of Ezekiel. The dimensions given (20 x 20 cubits) will therefore apply to the area of the base, from which the altar rose in three successive stages each diminishing by 2 cubits; the lowest was 2 cubits and each of the other two was 4 in height. The actual hearth was 12 cubits square, and it was reached by means of steps. Cp further ALTAR.

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To the service of the altar belonged a variety of utensils which were also cast by Hiram-Abi. See Benzinger on 1 K. 7:49-51; *Alt. 188, f.*

Between the altar and the porch, to the SE of the temple building, stood the great brazen sea (1 K. 7:23-26), as to probable shape and

19. The brazen sea and lavers. significance of which see SEA [BRAZEN].

To this brazen sea belong the ten wagons (AV bases, *guzer, met q' th*) with lavers, which were arranged, five on the S. side and five on the N. of the temple (1 K. 7:27-28).

The text of the description of these lavers is extraordinarily corrupt, and inasmuch as the parallel description of the Ch. dial. is no longer extant, whilst the LXX offers but few data on which a restoration could proceed, it is by no means easy to amend it satisfactorily, and many details in the description, after every effort, still remain obscure. The following description rests on the reconstruction of the text upon which Stade has since (1904) preferred a different interpretation. The various particulars cannot be discussed here.

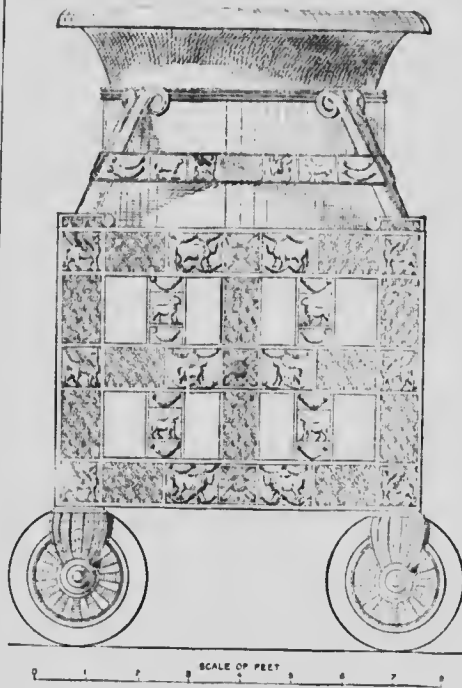


FIG. 6.—The brazen laver.

The wagons which support the lavers are 4 cubits in length and breadth and 3 in height. Their sides are not of massive plates but consist of a brazen framework ornamented with ties or cross-pieces of brass (*mis, v'eth, EY 'benders*). The ties were subsequently removed by Ahaz for the sake of the metal, so that the frames alone were left (2 K. 16:17). Frames and ties were decorated with lions, oxen, and chebanim. The whole structure was carried on brazen axes and wheels. Upon each stand rested a brazen laver, of 40 bath capacity (see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, § 13), having a diameter of 4 cubits (equal to the length and breadth of the stand). The statement as to the cubic capacity accords with the diameter given (see SEA [BRAZEN]), but the lavers were certainly shallower, and we must also allow for the thickness of the metal. As for the manner in which the lavers were mounted in the stands

1 Cp Ewald, *Gött. Gel. Nachr.*, 1820, pp. 1-3 f., *Jahrb. f. bibl. Wissensch.*, 10:273, and *GTW* 3:433 f.; Stade, *ZITW*, 1883, and 1901, 145 f.; Benz. in *KHC (Kon.)*; Kunt in *HK (Kon.)*, and art. LAVER.

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the most probable conjecture seems to be that a sort of hollow cylinder rested upon the stand and was firmly fixed to it by means of ties and struts; the upper end of this cylinder supported the laver. At a later date these lavers proved stumbling blocks as well as the brazen sea. They are absent alike from the temple of Ezekiel and from the tabernacle of P. In lavers and sea alike we may therefore safely conjecture the original meaning to have been a symbolical one. The cherubim and animals with which they were adorned had at first assuredly a mythological significance. Nowack and others with some probability bring the lavers into connection with the chariot of the cherubim in Ezek. 1; there the cherubs are the bearers of the cloud-throne, here of the collected waters. Koster (Ph. P., 1879, p. 455) explained them as symbolising the clouds. This is possible (see SEA, BRAZEN), but cannot be made out with certainty. The Chronicler disposes of any difficulty of this kind connected with these vessels by assigning to lavers and sea alike a highly prosaic function, that of supplying the water required in connection with the sacrifices. It can hardly be said that they were conspicuously well adapted for any such purpose.

If we proceed next to a consideration of the meaning and origin of the whole temple plan, it is plain at the very outset that it reproduces the fundamental type of the Semitic sanctuary, viewed as the abode of the deity in the sense already set forth (see § 1). The essential feature is the little cella, the *thibir*, where the deity himself is conceived of as present in mysterious gloom. In front of this is a greater hall, comparable to the audience-chamber of human kings, where the deity receives the adoration of his worshippers. Finally, in front of the building is an open space with its altar, where the people can gather together around the sacrifice in reverential stillness.

This ground plan—the tripartite—is common to the temples of various peoples. It is seen particularly clearly in Egyptian temples, which has led many scholars (Benz. II. 1, 385) to think of a preponderant Egyptian influence here. There are other considerations, however, which serve to render this less probable. In the case of the other Solomonic buildings Syro-Phœnician influence is quite unmistakable (cp PAT. A. I.). Phœnician architects built temple as well as palace, and can hardly fail to have embodied their ideas in both. In point of fact all the noteworthy features of a distinctive kind in the temple buildings of Solomon have been discovered also in the temples of the northern Semites. Puchstein (*Jahrb. d. Kaiserl.-deutschen archæol. Inst.* 7. 13), on the basis of a comparative survey of the extant architectural remains, thus characterises the Syrian temple: 'To judge by the (as yet not very numerous) certain examples of Syrian temple-architecture, a complete old Syrian temple consisted of portico, cella, Holy of Holies, and side-buildings. Portico and side-buildings are to be regarded as capable of being dispensed with according to circumstances. The Holy of Holies can be open or closed, on a level with the cella or above it, semi-circular or angular, and the side-buildings can be either divided or undivided.' Robertson Smith (art. 'Temple' in *Ency. Brit.*^{6th}) points especially to the temple at Hierapolis (*Mabug*), which, as described by Lucian, offers an exact parallel. It faced the E. and had two cella and a *pronaos*. In front of the door stood a brazen altar in a walled court. This walled court is also one of the characteristic peculiarities of the Syrian temple (cp T. L. Donaldson, *Architectura Numismatica*, London, 1859; Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*; Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Jud.*). On details of decoration, cp CHERUB. The palm tree, likewise so prominent a motif in the temple, is also one of the commonest symbols in Phœnician art.

When Solomon built his temple, it was as a royal

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private chapel, one sanctuary among many, and not even the most famous of these; the ancient sanctuaries of Bethel, Beersheba, Dan, etc., long continued to rank far above it in the popular estimation. The development of the temple and its importance in the history of Israel need not be dwelt on here (see DEF. TERONOMY, § 13; ISRAEL, § 33 f.; LAW LITERATURE, § 131); but it falls within the scope of the present sketch to trace the external history of the temple building itself. Unfortunately here also our sources are far from copious, and sometimes what has reached us is far from clear. Of Jehoshaphat the Chronicler relates (2 Ch. 20. 5) that he built an outer court. The form of the notice, that it is with an 'outer' court that we are now concerned (see above § 13)—is due to the Chronicler; but the fact itself need not on that account be questioned. Under Joram, Ahaziah, and Athaliah the sanctuary must have been greatly neglected and allowed to fall into disrepair, under Joash at least extensive repairs had become necessary (2 K. 12. 4 ff.). Joash built a new gate—the 'upper gate' of the minor forecourt (2 K. 15. 35) already referred to. The 'godless' Ahaz also beautified the sanctuary, although, indeed, this is set down by the narrator to his discredit; he caused a new and more magnificent altar after the pattern he had seen at Damascus to be set up in place of the old. After it is indeed he found himself in such monetary straits that to meet the demand of the king of Assyria he found himself compelled to strip off the ties (E.V. 'loadings', *mitgebröh*) of the lavers, and to melt the oxen of brass which supported the brazen sea (2 K. 16. 17 ff.)—an incidental illustration of the freedom with which the kings acted within their own private sanctuary. In the rebuilding of the temple it was no other than the pious Hezekiah who followed the example Ahaz had set; after having in prosperous days overlaid the door posts and doors of the temple with gold, he found it necessary to strip them again to meet the demand of the Assyrian king (2 K. 18. 16). The structural changes made in the temple by Manasseh were connected with his introduction of foreign eastern cults; on the temple roof and in the court he set up altars to the 'host of heaven' (2 K. 23. 12); the horses for the hiroduh and the accommodation for the horses of the sun (2 K. 23. 11) are doubtless also to be assigned to Manasseh's reign. Josiah removed all this, and took in hand extensive restorations of the temple fabric (2 K. 23. 5 ff.).

According to our present accounts the temple was plundered by foreign foes four times before its final destruction by the Babylonians. First by Shishak in Rehoboam's time (1 K. 14. 20); again, under Joram's reign, by the Philistines in conjunction with Arab tribes (Joel 3, cp 2 Ch. 21. 16 ff. 22. 1); a third time under Amaziah by Joash, king of Israel (2 K. 14. 14); and a fourth time under Jehoiachin by Nebuchadrezzar (2 K. 24. 13). These all contented themselves with robbing the temple of its treasures, without carrying the work of destruction farther so far as we know. It was not till eleven years after the first appearance of Nebuchadrezzar that the building itself was burnt to the ground, after it had been stripped of everything valuable,—whether of gold, silver, or bronze,—the pillars also being broken up and carried away (2 K. 25. 2 ff. Jer. 52. 12 ff. 2 Ch. 36. 18). This was according to the MT of 2 K. on the seventh of the fifth month, according to 2 K. on the tenth day of the fifth month, and according to 2 K. 25. 8 on the ninth day of the month. The Talmud harmonises:—on the seventh day the Chaldeans forced the temple, on the evening of the ninth they set fire to it, and on the tenth it was destroyed. Ezekiel's temple (Ezek. 40-43)¹ never got beyond the

¹ The text of Ezekiel's description of his temple is very corrupt. It is impossible therefore to reconstruct it with exactitude. Consult especially Cornill's edition of the text; as also the commentaries of Smend and Hertholet, and the *Archæologies* of Benzinger and Nowack. On Ezekiel's altar cp ZHWL, 1883, pp. 67 ff. 458 ff., 1884, pp. 496 ff.

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theoretical stage, and remained always an imaginative construction merely. It demands some notice here, however, as giving expression to a new conception of the sanctuary and its significance—new or at least differing from that which finds expression in the temple of Solomon. On the other hand, as already remarked, the later representation is, as has been pointed out above, in many respects fitted to be of use to us in our reconstruction of the earlier temple. The fundamental conception of the entire structure is the strict separation of sacred from profane. The whole temple area is sacrosanct, and no secular building of any description, whether royal or official, is allowed a place within its precincts. The whole eastern hill is set apart for its exclusive occupancy. A protective area, the land of the Zadokites, encloses it and shuts out the rest of Jerusalem. At no point are the city walls allowed to be in immediate contact with this land of priests. A similar determination to separate sacred from profane dominates the internal arrangements. It is with this purpose in view that the temple has two courts (whereas the pre-exilic temple had but one); the inner court is accessible only to the officiating priests and their servants the Levites. The laity are restricted to the outer court.

Another characteristic feature of the whole arrangement is the strict symmetry observed throughout. The fundamental unit of measurement is the length of 50 cubits; the buildings exhibit by preference the proportion of 1:2; the gateways are 25 cubits in width and 50 in length, the temple proper 50 cubits (from end to end), the open space surrounding the altar is 100 cubits square, and so forth. The entire temple area is 500 cubits square, enclosed by a wall 6 cubits in height and thickness. Outside this wall a further strip, 50 cubits in breadth, is still reckoned to the holy territory, and must not be cultivated even by the priests. The northern, eastern, and southern sides are pierced at the middle by great gateways (25 × 50 cubits), each with siderooms and a gateway. These lead into the outer court which surrounds the inner to a breadth of 150 cubits on the northern, eastern, and southern sides. On each of these three sides are 10 cells—making a total of 30—intended to be used by the people for miscellaneous purposes such as refreshment and the like (cp Ezra 106 Neh. 134f.). In the four corners are lesser courts separated off by partitions; here are the kitchens where the Levites cook the offering of the people. Gateways corresponding exactly to the three gates just mentioned lead on the three sides from the outer to the inner court. Within and in close proximity to the eastern gate stand the tables for slaughtering the sin- and trespass-offerings (or burnt offerings and peace-offerings). At the N. and S. gates are chambers for the officiating priests. Exactly in the middle of the square in front of the temple stands the altar of burnt offering. The temple building itself, which stood on a higher level reached by ten steps, consisted of a porch (20 cubits in width and 12 in depth), the Holy Place (40 × 20 cubits, inside measurement), the Holy of Holies (20 × 20 cubits) and the three-storied side-building. The thickness of the walls was, in the main building, 6 cubits, and in the side building 5; the width of the chambers was 4 cubits, the total breadth thus amounting to 50 cubits. The total length, including the porch, was 100 cubits, outside measurement.

As the Chronicler relates, the first care of the exiles on their return was the restoration of divine worship.

23. Zerubabel's temple. In the first instance, however, they contented themselves with setting up a new altar of burnt offering on the site of the old (Ezra 3; cp Hag. 2:14). So much indeed was evidently indispensable; without an altar there could be no sacrifice, without sacrifice no worship,

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without worship no Jewish community. A considerable time elapsed before the returned exiles proceeded to the building of a temple proper. In our present book of Ezra indeed it is made out as if the work was begun with great zeal immediately after the return. It has long been recognized, however, that the representation in Ezra in its essential features is unhistorical (see EZRA-NEHUMAH, § 6 f., 10, 16 [1], 17; HAGGAI, § 3 (b); ISRAEL, § 53 f.).

As regards the building itself the OT supplies us with only a few fragmentary notes, which are but sparingly supplemented by Josephus and Pseudo-Hecataeus (cp. Jos.). The dimensions of the whole temple area are given by

24. Measurements, etc. Hecataeus (cp. Jos.). The dimensions

of the whole temple area are given by Hecataeus (cp. Jos., c. 1A, 122), in so far as he tells us that the court was 5 plethra (i. e., 500 Gk. ft. = 485½ Eng. ft.) in length, and 100 Gk. cubits (= 143½ ft.) in breadth. The gates had double doors. Within the court stood the altar which now was in exact accordance with the precepts of the law, being constructed of unhewn stones (1 Macc. 4:4). Doubtless also it was reached by a sloping ascent instead of steps. According to Hecataeus it was as large as that of Solomon. In like manner, in accordance with the description of the tabernacle arrangements, there was but one laver in the court (Midd. 3b; Ecclus. 50:1; the latter passage is certainly very corrupt). Of the gates mention is made in Neh. 3:1 of the Miphkad Gate, and in Neh. 12:39 of the Prison Gate, which last doubtless was on the southern side. Whether the cells and storerooms (*likoth*; *κατοφύρα*) of which we incidentally hear, were in the court or in the side-building of the temple itself we do not know.¹ Over the Tyropereon valley was a bridge from the temple area which was broken down by the Jews during the siege of Jerusalem by Pompey; its position is indicated by the so-called Wilson-arch. When it was erected we do not know (Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 12; *BJ* i. 72 ii. 163 vi. 63). Like Ezekiel's temple this also had two courts (*αιβά*, 1 Macc. 1:34); only—the point of chief importance—the laity had in this case access to the inner as well as the outer court and to the altar. When on one occasion Alexander Jannæus did something that was contrary to the sacrificial ritual, the multitude pelted him with palm branches and citrons. It was only in consequence of this incident that he afterwards caused a wooden enclosure to be set up round the altar, the space within which was thenceforth accessible to the priests alone (Jos., *Ant.* xiii. 135). The whole account of Josephus presupposes that until that time the laity had unhindered access to the inner court and altar. In this most essential matter of the strict exclusion of the laity from the sanctuary proper, accordingly, we see that the demands of Ezekiel and I were not carried out immediately but only gradually made way.

The temple building itself, according to Ezra 6:3, had a breadth and height of 60 cubits. But this statement has no satisfactory sense. It is all the less credible because we are expressly informed that this second temple came so far short of that of Solomon that in the eyes of those who had seen the first it appeared as nothing (Hag. 2:3). Certainly, therefore, it cannot have been so very considerably larger than the other. The text of the passage is hopelessly corrupt (cp. also Ryssel and Bartholet *in loc.*).

As regards the internal arrangements, we know that the Holy of Holies was empty; the ark no longer existed. A stone three fingers in

25. Internal arrangements. height was laid in the place of the ark, so that the high priest on the Day of Atonement could set down his censor upon it. It was the foundation stone (*eben sethivvith*) already referred to in § 5; cp Jos., *BJ* 5:5, *Yer.* 5:2). The Holy of Holies were separated from the Holy Place by a curtain (1 Macc. 1:22 4:51).

The Holy Place, in like manner, was closed by a curtain (1 Macc. 4:51); within it stood, as in the former

¹ Cp 1 Macc. 4:38; Jos., *Ant.* xi. 47 xiv. 162; Ezra 8:2, *ibid.* Neh. 3:30 10:57 *ET*, 12:44 *ET*, 13:5 *ET*.

temple, a table of shewbread. The plate of the ten candlesticks (see § 17) was taken by one with seven branches which was removed by Antiochus (1 Macc. 1:21). It was restored by Judas the Maccabean. The Holy Place also contained the golden altar of incense. As already mentioned, this was a spire recent arrangement, resulting from a duplication of the golden table. It is interesting to notice that the accounts continue to vacillate down to a quite late date: Herodians and the author of 2 Macc. 2:5, each naming two pieces of furniture in the sanctuary; the former (Jos. c. 17:122) the *shewbread* and the candlestick, the latter the incense altar and the candlestick. On the Arch of Titus, also, only two pieces are shown.

The last temple resembled other temples of antiquity in being built to contain a visible symbol of the presence of the deity, namely, the ark, which stood in the inner chamber. In the second temple the adytum was empty; but the idea that the Godhead was locally present in it, still found expression in the continuance of the altar service, in the table of shewbread (a sort of continual *testamentum*) that stood in the outer chamber, and above all in the annual ritual of the Day of Atonement, when the high priest entered the Holy of Holies to sprinkle the blood of the expiatory sacrifice on behalf of the people.

Not only in this point but in all others the ritual of the second temple was dominated by the idea of priestly mediation, and the stated sacrifices of the priests on behalf of the people, which took the place of the old stated oblations of the kings, became the main feature of the altar service. The first temple was primarily the royal chapel, and the kings did as they pleased in it; the second temple was the sanctuary of the priests, whose chief now became the temporal as well as the spiritual head of the people. In the time of Ezekiel, not only laymen but uncircumcised foreigners entered the sanctuary and acted as servants in the sacred offices (Ezek. 44:7); in the second temple the lay were anxiously kept at a distance from the holy things, and even part of the court around the altar was fenced off, as we have just seen, by a barrier, which only the priests were allowed to cross (Jos. *Ant.* viii, 135).

As regards the later history of Zerubbabel's temple, the subsequent works upon it and the strengthening of the wall surrounding the outer court are associated with the name of the high priest Sison II. (Eccles. 50:1). Antiochus Epiphanes not only plundered it, but desecrated it by setting up on the altar of burnt offering a small altar to Jupiter Olympus (1 Macc. 1:22 ff. 44 ff. 53 ff. 2 Macc. 6:2 ff.). Three years later, after the reconquest of the city, Judas the Maccabean restored the temple, set up a new altar with new furniture, and consecrated the building anew (1 Macc. 1:23 ff. 44 ff. 52 ff. 2 Macc. 10:5 Jos. *Ant.* xii, 761). At the same time he fortified the temple with high towers and walls (1 Macc. 16:5-7), so that the temple thenceforward could be regarded as the citadel proper of Jerusalem. These fortifications were demolished by Antiochus II. Epiphanes (1 Macc. 6:22); but they were again restored by Jonathan (1 Macc. 12:36 Jos. *Ant.* xiii, 553), and at a later period further strengthened by Simon (1 Macc. 13:52). At the time of Pompey's siege (63 B.C.) the temple was an exceptionally strong fortress, defended on the northern and more accessible side by towers and deep ditches (*Ant.* xiv, 42). Pompey took it by storm, but left the sacred vessels untouched (*Ant.* xiv, 47). Crassus, on the other hand, plundered it without mercy (*Ant.* xiv, 71, *RV.* 83). The temple was again besieged and stormed by Herod; like Pompey he concentrated his attack on the north side. In this siege some of the temple cloisters were burnt and some persons killed; but the desecration stopped at this (*Ant.* xiv, 162 f.).

In the twentieth year of his reign (20-19 B.C.) Herod the Great began to build the temple anew.

28. The temple of Herod. Besides the descriptions in Josephus, we have for Herod's temple a mass of details and measurements in the Mishnic treatise *Middoth*. Josephus was himself a priest, whilst

the Mishnah was not written till a century after the destruction of the temple, though it uses traditions that go back to Levites who had served in the temple. The two sources differ in many measurements, and *Middoth* appears to be possessed of detailed traditions only for the inner temple. The state of the evidence is not such as to allow a plan of the temple to be formed with architectural precision. The following account rests almost entirely on Josephus, who, apart from certain exaggerations in detail, gives a satisfactory general account, such as could be written from memory without notes and drawings (for later date, see § 40).

Herod's motives in this undertaking were not so much religious as political. On the one hand it afforded him an opportunity of giving some satisfaction to the religious feelings of his Jewish subjects, which he had so often outraged, and of gaining some favour in pious circles throughout the country. On the other hand, he had his full share of the passion for building, which characterised that age. After raising so many splendid temples in the various Greek cities of his kingdom, it seemed hardly fitting that the temple of his capital should fall behind the others in magnificence. His preparations for the work, we are told, were made on a very comprehensive and elaborate scale, so as to give the Jews any apprehension lest in the event of his death the scheme should remain uncompleted. In other directions, also, he showed all possible respect for the religious susceptibilities of his compatriots. As it was not lawful for any laymen to enter the inner precincts of the temple, he found it necessary to have a thousand priests trained as masons and carpenters, so that the building might be duly completed.

The rebuilding went, in the first place, a considerable enlargement of the temple area. According to Josephus' account (*Ant.* xv, 114, *R.* 131) the former area was exactly doubled, and the perimeter raised from four stadia (*Ant.* xv, 114) to six (*RV.* 52). In other words, the breadth (from E. to W.) remained as before, a stadium (*Ant.* xv, 114) but the length (N. to S.) was increased from one stadium to two. The average level ground on the temple hill was insufficient for a plan so extended, and vast substructions on the southern side became necessary. The whole S. wall was new from the foundation. Even today the southern portion of the temple area is seen to rest on immense arches, known in Arab tradition as Solomon's stables, but really dating from the time of Herod.

The whole area was surrounded by a battlemented wall (*RV.* 912). On the N. was the gate *Lahot* of the Mishnah, which Josephus mentions only incidentally. This, like the gate *Shushan* on the E., which he does not mention at all, must have been of minor importance; the chief accesses were necessarily from the lower city to the S., and the upper city to the W. beyond the Tyropæon valley. The S. wall, says Josephus, had gates in the middle (*Ant.* xv, 114). The Mishnah names them the two gates of *Huldah*. There is a double gate in the substructure of the S. wall, 350 ft. from the SW. angle, and from it a double tunnel leads up to the platform. This double gate exactly fits Josephus's description. There is also a triple gate, 600 ft. from the SW. angle, which is probably to be regarded as the second *Huldah* gate. In the W. side the Mishnah places one gate (*Kiponise*), which Josephus recognises four. The most southern was necessarily the one which opened on a flight of steps descending, and then reascending across the Tyropæon to the upper city opposite. Now, at the SW. corner of the platform, there are still remains of the great arch (Robinson's arch), which must have belonged to a bridge connecting the upper city with the S. part of the temple. Many scholars (as, for example, W. K. Smith, in *Encyc. Brit.*⁹, s.v. 'Temple') look for this

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southern gate here. It is more probable, however, that it lay somewhat rather to the N., at the point where, probably low down in the temple wall, the colossal lintel of a gate was found, consisting of a single stone. The steps of which Josephus speaks, must, in that case, have been inside the gate, as the gate itself was not far above the level of the bottom of the valley. Comparing *Jos. Ant. vi. 12*, we see that the embankment also carried the city wall (the so-called first wall). Of this approach there are remains at Wilson's arch, 600 ft. N. of Robinson's arch. Here also, in the case of Robinson's arch, under the so-called Wilson's arch, have been found remains of the arch of an older bridge in the Roman style, which presumably dates from the Herodian period (as to this see *JERUSALEM*, § 8). Round the entire temple area on all four sides ran porticoes built against the enclosing wall. The first was that on the S. side—the *Stoa Basilica*—which was formed by four rows of Corinthian columns of dazzling white marble (102 columns in all). Of the three aisles that in the middle was twice as high (some 28 metres) as those flanking it, and broader by one half (some 12 metres). On the three other sides of the area were double porticoes, some 15 metres in breadth with monolith pillars of some 12 metres in height. All these buildings were roofed with cedar beams, richly carved (*Jos. Ant. vi. 115*, *BJ v. 52*). The eastern portico was known as Solomon's porch (*Jn 10:23*, *Acts 3:11*, *5:12*); there must therefore have previously stood on this side a structure which was considered as resting on Solomon's foundations. The court itself immediately within these buildings was paved in mosaic fashion with stone.

Connected with the temple was the citadel of Antonia (see *Jos. Ant. vi. 12*). It lay on the NW, and dominated the temple area (*Jos. Ant. vi. 114*). Stairs descended from it to the NW, outer of the area, to the northern and western porticoes.

In the temple of Herod the separation of sacred from profane was rigorous. The Antonia, the porches, and the space immediately within these were not holy ground, in the strict sense of the word. They were accessible to Gentiles even, on which account the 'outer' court is actually often called the 'court of the Gentiles.'

31. The courts and gates.

Although this description is nowhere met with, either in Josephus or in the Mishna. In the centre of this enclosed space rose a platform at a height of 15 cubits above the court of the Gentiles—the inner court with the sanctuary proper. This platform itself was in turn surrounded by a narrow terrace, 10 cubits in breadth (*Midd. 2:3*; *Midd. 2:3*). From the court of the Gentiles fourteen steps led up to this terrace, and from this again five steps to the gate of the inner court (see *Jos. Ant. vi. 12*; *Midd. 2:3*); *Midd. 2:3* gives the number of the steps differently. There was no entrance upon the W. side. A breastwork (בָּרֵקָה, *baraq*) of stone ran round the whole of the inner court beneath the level of the steps. On it were placed at intervals inscribed tablets forbidding every one who was not a Jew from crossing the limit or treading the holy place, on pain of death. At the top of the steps was the inner court properly so called, surrounded by a wall rising 25 cubits above the level of the outer court. The inner court was divided into two unequal portions by a cross wall running N and S. The eastern and smaller space, which lay at a somewhat lower level, formed the so-called court of the women (*Asarath nistim*, אֶשְׂרֵת נִסְתִּים, *Midd. 2:5*); and was accessible to Jewish women. The western space, containing the temple buildings properly so called, was for men only. The wall enclosing the inner court was pierced by nine gates; the N. and S. sides had each four gates, the easternmost of which in each case led directly into the court of the women, whilst

¹ One such inscription (Greek and Latin) is still extant (*PLP* *VI*, 1371, p. 132; *Benz. HA* 404; *Nowack, HA* 2--).

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the others opened into that of the men. The gates had double doors which were covered with silver and gold, the gift of the Jewish monarch Alexander of Alexandria. To the W. there was no gate and the E. side had but one, which, however, was specially magnificent and costly. Its doors were of Corinthian brass. It led, according to what has just been said, directly into the court of the women. In a straight line with it, finally, in the wall between the courts of the men and women, the most magnificent of all the gates closed the eastern approach to the temple (*Jos. Ant. vi. 50*). It was the 'Great gate' 40 cubits broad and 50 cubits high, 15 semicircular steps here ascended from the court of the women to that of the men. Which of these two doors on the E. is intended by the 'Beautiful gate of Acts 3', it is impossible to determine. According to the Mishna (*Midd. 1:5*), the last named inner gate between the court of the men and that of the women corresponded to the gate of Nicomer, according to the description of these gates by Josephus, however, there would seem to be some mistake in this. The gates were probably all of them porch-like in plan, with side recesses (exedra) which made the connection with the chambers skirting the length of the walls. In like manner there was an upper chamber above the gateway properly so called (cp. *Midd. 1:5*, *Tamid, 1c*, where mention is made of an upper chamber of the gate of Sparks [פְּרָקִים] on the N. side). This gave the gates the tower-like appearance of which Josephus speaks.

Along the enclosing wall ran a series of chambers (*Chalkoth*) which served for storage of the various utensils, skins of sacrificial animals, sacrificial salt, wood, vestments, and the like, or for various operations, such as the preparation of the meal-offering, and so forth.

The supreme council also held its sittings in one of these chambers. Their precise number is unknown. *Midd. 1:7* mentions three on the N. and three on the S.; elsewhere yet others are alluded to. According to *Midd. 2:5* there were four chambers in the women's court also—a piece of information, however, the accuracy of which is with reason called in question (Scholer in *Richm. III B*, conjectures that the statement is an inference from *Ezek. 46:21*). Some of these chambers (whether all of them is uncertain) had upper stories (*Jos. Ant. 1:5*, and *Midd. 1:1*); allusion is made to an upper chamber of the *Hier. Abinisk*. In front of the chambers were, as in the first inner court, porticoes, though much smaller in size. Finally, we hear of thirteen offering chests for free-will offerings of all sorts.

From this court of the Israelites the portion immediately surrounding the sanctuary was separated by a breastwork of stone—on all sides, according to the express statement of Josephus (*Ant. vi. 13*); but the Mishna (*Midd. 2:6*) speaks only of a wall running from N. to S. The area thus shut off was the court of the priests. Laymen had access to this court only when the ritual connected with certain offerings demanded the presence of the persons presenting them.

Within the court of the priests stood on a still higher level the temple building proper. The ascent to it was

33. The temple building.

by twelve steps (*Midd. 3:6*). The ground plan and dimensions of the building were the same as in the temple of Solomon—viz., 60 cubits in length, 20 in breadth and 40 in height. Two costly curtains shut off the Holy of

¹ According to *Midd. 2:6* (cp. *M. Seder 'Abot, 6:2*) the gates on the S. side were these: (1) אֶשְׂרֵת נִסְתִּים (wanting in *Midd. 1:4f*); (2) אֶשְׂרֵת אֵלִים; (3) אֶשְׂרֵת אֵלִים; (4) אֶשְׂרֵת אֵלִים; and those on the N. side were: (1) אֶשְׂרֵת אֵלִים; (2) אֶשְׂרֵת אֵלִים; (3) אֶשְׂרֵת אֵלִים; (4) אֶשְׂרֵת אֵלִים. *Midd. 1:4f* gives three quite different names; these at the eastern end leading into the court of the women are not taken account of at all.

² *Jos. Ant. vi. 52* seems to presuppose this for all the gates. Elsewhere in Josephus mention is made of the northern or western exedra, so that it might seem as if not all the gates were so constructed. The last seems to be the view of the Mishna also. Moreover, a hall or exedra of the same kind existed also upon the W. side, where there was no gate.

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Hohes (20 x 20 cubits), which was quite empty. The outer curtain was folded back upon the S. side, whilst the inner was similarly folded back on the N. side, so that in this way the high priest entered the intermediate space from the S. and passing along it entered the Holy of Hohes on the N. side.

The anterior apartment of the sanctuary (הקדש הקדוש *Midd.* 47) was 40 cubits in length. It was entered from the E. through the porch by a great double door (שַׁעַר שְׁנַיִם *Midd.* 14, cp *Tamid* 3:7) of 40 cubits in height and 16 cubits in width (so *Jos. BJ.* 5:4; according to *Midd.* 41 only 20 cubits high and 10 broad). Like the gates of the court it was richly covered with gold. In front of the great door hung a magnificent curtain of Babylonian workmanship; its colour according to Josephus symbolised the universe: byssus the earth, purple the sea, scarlet the element of fire, and hyacinth the air (*BJ.* 5:4). Above the gate were golden vines and grape clusters as big as a man (*BJ.* 5:4; *Ant.* xv. 113 cp *Tacit. Hist.* 5:5). The sanctuary was accessible only to the officiating priests. The altar of incense stood near the entrance to the Holy of Hohes, the table of shewbread to the N., the seven-branched candelstick to the S. (cp the figures on the arch of Titus; also *CAVOLESTOCK*).

Eastward from the temple was, as in the temple of Solomon, a porch (*Colonnade*) 100 cubits in breadth, 100 cubits in height and 20 cubits deep (according to *Midd.* 17 only 11 cubits). Its gateway, which had no doors, was 70 cubits high and 20 cubits broad (*Jos. BJ.* 5:4; according to *Midd.* 37 it was only 40 cubits high and 20 cubits broad). Above this gate Herod caused the name of Agrippa his patron (*BJ.* 21:3) and a golden eagle to be placed. The eagle was, as may well be believed, an abomination in the eyes of pious Jews; and Josephus tells how, shortly before the death of Herod, two zealous rabbins incited some youths to tear it down (*Ant.* xvii. 62:4).

The temple building had an upper story of the same dimensions with the lower (*BJ.* v. 5:5). The Holy of Hohes could be entered directly from above by means of a trap-door; by this means workmen could be let down in boxes whenever repairs were needed. The access to the upper room was from the S. from the roof of the side-building. As in Solomon's temple, the side-building surrounded the house on the S., W., and N. It was three-storied and 40 cubits in height. The individual chambers were not only connected with those on the same floor by means of doors, but there was communication between those above and those below by means of trap-doors. The principal entrance was on the NE. where it was possible to pass from the portico direct into these chambers. The whole breadth of the temple buildings inclusive of the side-building was 70 cubits (*Midd.* 47, where the separate figures are given from which this total results). Thus the porch on each side exceeded by 15 cubits the breadth of the temple building.

Eastwards of the temple at a distance of 22 cubits from the porch, in the court of the priests, stood the great altar of burnt offering of unhewn stones (see *ALFAR*). At the SW. corner was a channel which drained into the Kidron valley. Twenty-four rings fixed in the ground to the N. of the altar served for tying up the sacrificial animals, there were eight pillars connected by cedar beams for hanging up the carcasses, and eight marble tables on which to prepare the sacrificial flesh (*Midd.* 3:5; *Tamid* 3:5; *Shékilim* 6:4). On the S. side was the bronze laver at which the priests washed hands and feet before entering the sanctuary (*Midd.* 3:6; cp *Tamid* 3:10); also a silver table for the vessels and a marble table for the sacrificial flesh (*Shékilim* 6:4; *Tamid* 1:1). Herod's gigantic and costly structures were still in building forty-six years after their commencement, when Jesus began his ministry (*Jn.* 2:20), and the works were not completed till the

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procuratorship of Albinus (62-64 A.D.). In 66 the great revolt against Rome broke out, and in August 70 Jerusalem was taken by Titus and the temple perished in a great conflagration.

II. THE TEMPLE-SERVICE.

The system of worship of which the Jerusalem sanctuary was the centre assumed its most elaborate and highly developed form in the temple of Herod.

The immense and manifold religious activities that concentrated themselves in the temple worship, can only be adequately realised when it is remembered how unique was the position occupied by Judaism's central shrine. It was absolutely the one and only sanctuary where the highest expressions of the religious life of a whole people could be offered. Judaism possessed but one sanctuary, and that was in Jerusalem.

At the time when the Christian movement was born, Palestine—though its population was by no means exclusively or (except in such districts as Judaea and possibly Galilee) even predominantly Jewish—had once again become the centre of Jewish national life. And it was in the Holy City, and pre-eminently in the temple worship, that this life found its most intense and Jewish expression. Jerusalem was constantly thronged with pilgrims from the Jewish communities scattered over the E. and W. worlds (see *DISTRIBUZIONI*); laden with gifts for the temple. And here, in the elaborate sacrificial worship, they rendered the highest tribute of homage within their power to the God of their fathers. How immense the influence of the temple worship was is evidenced by the large space devoted to its details—the minutiae of its ritual and organisation—in the later Jewish literature (the Mishna and Gemara), which was compiled long after the destruction of the sanctuary. Such pious ejaculations as, for instance, the following constantly recur. Towards the end of the Mishna tractate *Tamid*, which sets forth in detail the course of the daily offering, we read: 'Such is the order of the daily offering for the service of the house of our God. May it be his will to build it speedily in our days. Amen' (73). The same sentiment finds frequent expression in the liturgy of the synagogue, which also reflects the influence of the sacrificial worship in its essential structure. (Cp *SYNAGOGUE*).

Of the more important features of this worship so far as known, a brief sketch may here be appended. As a preliminary to this it will be necessary to give some account of the officers by whom it was carried on.

(a) *The Priests.*—According to Josephus (*J.* 18:2) the priesthood in his day numbered no less than 7,000 men. It was only on rare occasions

35. Officers, etc.—at certain of the high festivals—that the whole, or anything like the whole, of this number officiated at one time within the temple precincts. For the purposes of regular worship this body was, as is well known, divided into twenty-four 'courses' (*מִשְׁמֵרֹת*, *מִשְׁמֵרֹת*, 'watch'—*παρτία* or *ἐφημερία*, cp *1 K.* 1:37, or *ἐφημερίαι*); and the 'courses' again into subdivisions or 'families' (*מִשְׁפָּחֹת* = *φίλη*).

It is interesting to note that Josephus (*J.* 11) claims to trace by birth to the first of the twenty-four 'courses'—that of Ithamar—from which also the Hasmonæans sprang (*J. Macc.* 2:1). For the main and the sub-divisions were presided over by 'heads' (*רָאשֵׁי*), each of whom was termed respectively 'head of the course' (*רָאשֵׁי הַמִּשְׁמֵרֹת*) or 'head of the family' (*רָאשֵׁי הַמִּשְׁפָּחֹת*).

Each 'course' in succession was responsible for the regular temple services for the week (from sabbath to sabbath), and divided up the week's services among its 'families' according to their number (which varied).

At the head of the whole priesthood stood the high priest (*הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל*, *ἀρχιερεύς*), at the time the greatest native personage, both in church and

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state, to whom was reserved the performance of the highest religious acts, such as the supreme sacrificial act enacted on the Day of Atonement. On ordinary occasions, however, it was rare for him to participate officially in the temple worship, and as a rule he did so, according to Josephus, only on sabbaths, new moons, and the great annual festivals (*Ant.* 3. 57). During the time of the Roman profligance the office was held almost exclusively by members of two or three families (those of Phabi, Boethus, Ananis, and Kamith) who formed the priestly aristocracy, and were divided by a deep social gulf from the great mass of the priesthood.

(b) *Levites*.—Another class of temple officials, occupying a position subordinate to that of the priests, was the Levites, who, however, like the priests, formed at this time a strictly exclusive and hereditary order, though, strange to say, they had now absorbed the musicians and door-keepers, who (even in the post-exilic period) had formerly been carefully distinguished from the Levites proper. Later still (just before the destruction of the temple) the musicians advanced a step further in securing from King Agrippa II, with the assent of the Sanhedrin, the privilege of wearing the white linen garments of the regular priesthood (*Ant.* 18. 26).

The Levites, like the priests, were divided into twenty-four courses, and each performed duty in a corresponding manner. Similarly these were also presided over by 'heads' (אֲדָמָי).

(c) *The official 'Israelites'*.—Corresponding to the divisions of the priests and the Levites there was also a division of the people into twenty-four courses of service (מִשְׁמָרוֹת) 'each of which had to take its turn in coming before God, every day for a whole week, by way of representing the whole body of people while the daily sacrifice was being offered to Yahwe' (Schürer). The division on duty for the time being was technically termed 'a station' (*am'amad*, אָמָאָד). It seems, however, that not the whole division, but only a deputation of it, was actually required to be present at the offering of the sacrifice in the temple. At the time when this was being performed the absent members of the 'station' met together in the local synagogues for prayer and the reading of certain passages of Scripture. The leading passage on the subject in the Mishna (*Id'uth* 4. 2) runs as follows:—

'The earliest prophets established twenty-four courses of service (מִשְׁמָרוֹת). To each belonged a staff (אֲדָמָי) in Jerusalem, composed of priests, Levites, and Israelites. As soon as its turn to serve came round to a course, the priests and the Levites belonging to it proceeded to Jerusalem, but the Israelites assembled in the synagogues of their different towns and there read the account of the creation.' (It should be noted that the *rosh* of the course, of priests and Levites, when its turn came, had to be present in Jerusalem.)

The part taken by the high priest in the temple worship has already been referred to, and need not here be further enlarged on. It may

36. Functions of priests and Levites.

be pointed out, however, that the daily meal-offering of the high priest, which was offered in conjunction with the daily burnt-offering of the people (*Lev.* 6. 12-16), was (in practice) not so much offered by him as *on his behalf* and *at his expense*. According to Schürer (*Hist.* ii. 1. 28 n. 243) it is this offering which is referred to in the doubtful passage *Heb.* 7. 27, though it was in no sense a sin offering.

The functions of the ordinary priests, when they were engaged in the service, mainly consisted in ministrations at the altar. These will be described in greater detail below (§ 38). To the priests the Levites were in all respects subordinate—the strictly priestly function of officiating at the altar was forbidden to the Levites, nor were they permitted to enter the inner sanctuary; their duties mainly consisted in such offices as the guarding of the temple fabric, and acting as choristers and door-keepers (see further below, *b*). There were, however, other high officials of whom mention must be

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made. The most important of these was the *shagan* (Aram. שָׂגָן, the vocalisation of the Heb. form שָׂגָן is uncertain), who ranked next to the high priest. The widely-held view that the *shagan* was the high priest's deputy or substitute has been controverted on cogent grounds by Schürer (*Hist.* ii. 1. 27 f.) who points out that a substitute for the high priest was appointed annually, seven days before the Day of Atonement, to act in case of necessity (*Yoma* 11. 1) a superfluous provision if an official substitute already existed. Schürer gives good reasons for identifying this official with the captain of the temple (ἀρχιπατριάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ) frequently mentioned in both Josephus and the NT, who controlled all arrangements for maintaining order within the temple area. Subordinate to him, but exercising functions essentially similar, were a number of other *shaganim* or captains of the temple police, who are probably to be identified with the 'captains' (ἀρχιπατριάρχου) of *Lk.* 22. 45.

Next in dignity to the high priest and the *shagan* ranked the heads of the twenty-four courses (אֲדָמָי) and (below them) those of the constituent 'families' (אֲסִיבֵי אֲדָמָי). Besides the above there were various other functionaries connected with the temple among the priests and Levites. These (following Schürer) we may group into three divisions:

(a) Those entrusted with the administration of the temple stores, furniture, and treasures. The officials who controlled this vast department—which included not merely the custody of the sacrificial plate and vestments, and supplies of corn, wine, and oil for ritual purposes, but also the care of vast sums of money belonging to the temple, as well as of large amounts deposited there by private individuals for safety—were known as 'treasurers' (*gizbarim*, מְצִיבָרִים; γαιοφύλακτες). They also gathered in the half-shekel tax (*Shék.* 2. 1). The full complement of officials in this department must have been very large, and may have included Levites; but, in any case, the more important offices connected with it were filled by priests.

Not improbably the 'treasurer' mentioned by Josephus in conjunction with the high priest (*Ant.* 11. 8. 13) was the head of the order. To the order of treasurers, forming probably one of its subdivisions, belonged the *amarkelin* (אֲמָרְקִילִין), a word of Persian origin meaning 'accountants'. The Jerusalem Talmud also mentions another class that falls within this category; viz., the *קְטִיבֵי הַמִּשְׁכָּן* (*katobikim*), about whom, however, the Mishna is silent.

(b) Officials connected with the police department. Here Levites were mostly employed. According to the Mishna (*Amid* 1. 1), of twenty-four points at which guards were stationed at night no less than twenty-one were occupied by Levites, whilst the other three were watched by priests. In point of fact the whole space within the low barrier beyond which Gentiles were forbidden to pass on pain of death (§ 31) i. e., the inner court, or court proper, was guarded by priests. Outside of this inner court, at the gates and the corners, the Levite posts were stationed, and also that on the inside at the gates and the corners of the outer court (i. e., the 'court of the gentiles'; § 31). All these gates were also occupied during the day time, and, amongst other things, it was the duty of the Levitical guards to see that the prohibition of Gentiles from entering the sacred enclosure was strictly carried out. Patrols also moved round by night and day. At night it was usual for a captain of the temple, known as אֲדָמָי מְצִיבָרִים, to make a round of inspection to see that the guards were not sleeping at their posts (*Hik'oth* 1. 2).

Another officer (ἀρχιπατριάρχου) is also mentioned under the title of *ish hab-bayit* (אִישׁ הַבַּיִת) i. e., 'man of the cradle'—the cradle in this case doubtless being the temple proper, and the officer in question the head of the priestly guard of the inner court. All the gates of the courts were shut at night by the guards, and a special officer was appointed to superintend the operation (*Shék.* 3. 1). The keys of the gates of the inner court were kept by the elders of the particular division of priests on duty for the watch, and, when the divisions were changed, were handed over to the elders of the incoming division. As the morning sacrifice was offered at daybreak it was necessary that

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the gates should be opened somewhat earlier. At the great festivals (when large preparations for additional sacrifices, etc., had to be made) the gates were opened much earlier—as early as midnight during Passover (*Jnt.* xviii. 22).

(c) Special functionaries connected with public worship. Whilst the general conduct of the sacrificial worship was exercised by the priesthood as a whole (in their courses), certain special duties were performed by permanent officials, who, in many cases, belonged to families which had acquired a hereditary right to fulfil a particular office. A number of these (who were in office during the closing years of the temple) are enumerated in the Mishna (*Sh'kilim* 51). From this passage we learn that there was an officer 'over the lots' (i.e., the lots cast daily for the allocation of particular offices to the officiating priests), another 'over the seals' (tokens issued to the people, which corresponded to the various kinds of drink-offerings). These 'seals' were handed by the purchasers to another official who was 'over the drink-offerings' and who 'in return would give to the person tendering one the amount of drink-offering requisite for the particular occasion for which it was wanted' (Schürer).

The hereditary offices, confined to certain families, were connected with matters involving special technical skill and knowledge, such as the preparation of the shewbread (family of Garmim), and of the frankincense (family of Abtina). Other officials mentioned are: a master of the psalms, a cymbal-player (who gave the signal for the Levites to begin the music), a temple-physician, a master of the wells, a herald, a keeper of the veils, and a keeper of the priests' garments.

A comparatively large class of officials was the guild of sacred musicians (*mōšārīm*, משרים, ψαλμοδοί, ἱεροψάλται, ἱμνωδοί, κθαρισται τε καὶ ἱμνωδοί), who formed a hereditary and exclusive order (now Levitical). They were divided into three families (those of Heman, Asaph, and Ethan or Jeduthun; cp *e.g.*, 1 Ch. 25), and these again into twenty-four courses of service. Greatest importance was attached to the singing, to which the musical accompaniment was regarded as subordinate. For the instruments employed see *MUSIC*.

It may be noted that reed-pipes (*hālīlīm*) were introduced into the choir at the high-festivals (Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles), and that the only instruments not assigned to the Levites were the metal trumpets (*hāšōpōrōt*), which were regularly blown by priests (esp. to accompany the offering of the daily sacrifice). The place of the Nēthim in Herod's temple seems to have been taken by the *hazzānīm* (חזנים, 'servants,' 'sextons'; see *e.g.*, *Tamid* 53). Menial offices were also performed by boys of the priestly families (שׂוֹמְרֵי תְּבִיאָה, 'scions of the priesthood,' *Tamid* 11, etc.).

We may pass over the details connected with such subjects as admission to the ranks of the officiating priesthood (Schürer, *Hist.* ii. 120 ff.), the residence of the priests and Levites (*ib.* 220), and the sources of the temple revenue (*ib.* 230 ff.), the consideration of which hardly falls within the scope of this sketch; but some description must be given of the public worship of the sanctuary, in, at least, its typical features.

The regular worship of the temple centred in the daily public offering (קֹרְבַן הַתְּמִיד or simply תְּמִיד) of the prescribed sacrifices, morning and evening. On sabbaths and festivals the number of the sacrifices was increased, and (in particular cases) other ritualistic elements were added; but essentially the course and sequence of the worship was the same. There were also, of course, multitudes of private sacrifices offered. But here we are mainly concerned with the public worship, which embodies the typical features of the rest. Fortunately a detailed account of the course of the daily offering has been preserved in the Mishna, which devotes a whole tractate to the subject (*Tamid*), based evidently on sound tradition. The substance of this may here be given.

The service naturally divides itself into three moments: (1) the preliminaries, mainly affecting the priests, and including the slaughter and preparation of the sacrifice (§ 33 f.); (2) the offering of incense and of

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the sacrifice, accompanied by prayer (§ 40); and (3) the service of praise and thanksgiving (§ 41).

1. The priests on duty slept within a chamber of the inner court. Very early those who were desirous of

38. The preliminaries. taking part in the sacrificial worship arose and took the baptismal bath—as to be ready for the official summons, which might come at any moment. When the summons came the priests who were ready followed the superintendent through a wicket into the court. They then divided themselves into two parties, one going eastward and the other westward, with lighted torches in their hands (except on sabbaths when the temple was lit up) and met in 'the place of the pancake makers' (i.e., the apartment where the high-priest's daily meal-offering was prepared), and greeted each other with the words 'It is well; all is well!' They then passed to the Hall *Gazit* (הַיָּתָּה הַבְּרִיטָה, lit. 'hall of polished stones,' where the Sanhedrin also met) and proceeded to cast lots. Altogether four lots—not immediately, but at intervals—were cast during the service, the first to determine who was to cleanse the altar and prepare it.

The mode of casting the lots is thus described by Edersheim (*Temple*, 122): 'The priests stood in a circle around the president, who for a moment removed the head-gear of one of their number, to show that he would begin counting at him. Then all held up one, two, or more fingers—since it was not lawful in Israel to count persons—when the president named some number, say seventy, and began counting the fingers till he reached the number named, which marked that the lot had fallen on that priest' (so Lightfoot, *Temple Service*, chap. 90, following Maimonides).

The person selected first of all bathed his hands and feet at the brazen laver, which stood between the temple and the great altar, and mounting the altar carried away the ashes in a silver pan. While he descended, the other priests washed their hands and feet at the brazen laver, removed the *mibranit* sacrifices and debris from the altar, laid on fresh wood, and replaced the unconsumed pieces of the sacrifice. They then all adjourned to the 'Hall of Polished Stones,' where the second lot was cast.

During the proceedings above described, which took place in darkness, the only light being the glow of the altar fire, those priests to whom the duty had been assigned, were preparing the baked meal-offering of the high priest in the 'place of the pancake-makers.'

The second lot designated the priest on whom it fell, together with twelve others standing next him, to discharge the following duties:—(1) the slaughter of the victim; (2) the sprinkling of the blood upon the altar; (3) the removing of the ashes from the altar of incense; (4) the trimming of the lamps on the candlestick; further, the lot determined who were to carry the various portions of the victim to the foot of the ascent of the altar, viz.: who was to carry (5) the head and one of the hind legs; (6) the two forelegs; (7) the tail and the other hind leg; (8) the breast and the neck; (9) the two sides; (10) the entrails; (11) the offering of fine flour; (12) the baked meal-offering (of the high priest); and (13) the wine for the drink-offering.

Immediately after this the president directed inmates to be made as to whether the time for slaughter had arrived (determined by the approach of dawn when it was visible in the sky up to Hebron). On the signal being given the lamb was brought from the lamb-chamber (וַיִּשְׁחַת הַלְּבָנִים), given some water to drink from a golden bowl, and led to the place of slaughter on the N. side of the altar. At the same time the ninety-three sacred vessels were brought from the utensil-chamber. Meanwhile the two priests to whom the duty had been assigned of cleansing the altar of incense, and trimming the lamps on the candlestick (3 and 4 above) proceeded to the sanctuary, the one with a golden pail (כַּזָּיִת), the other with a golden bottle (בִּכְיֹרֶת). At this point orders were given (by the elders who had charge of the keys) to open the temple gates, the noise of which (according to the Mishna) was heard at Jericho. The accomplishment of this was heralded

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by three blasts on the silver trumpets, which gave the signal for the Levites and 'men of the station' (representative Israelites) to assemble, and also announced to the city that the morning sacrifice was about to be offered (for these details see the *Gemara* on *Tamid*). At this point also, the great gates leading into the holy place were opened to admit the priests whose duty it was to cleanse the incense-altar and trim the candlesticks, into the sanctuary (see above). The opening of the sanctuary gates was the signal for the actual slaughter of the sacrifice. See Edersheim, *Temple*, 133. SACRIFICE, § 32.

Meanwhile the two priests above referred to had entered the holy place. While the slaughter of the lamb was taking place the first of the priests cleansed the golden altar of incense, putting the burnt coals and ashes into the golden pan (222), and then withdrew, leaving the utensil behind. The second priest, while the blood of the lamb was being sprinkled, proceeded to trim and re-light the lamps of the candlestick.

The procedure was as follows:—Only five of the seven lamps were at this time trimmed—the other two being reserved for a later period of the service. If the two farthest E. were still burning they were left undisturbed, and the trimming and re-lighting of the five others was proceeded with. But the central lamp, called the 'western' (because it inclined westward to the most holy place), could only be relighted by fire brought from the altar. If it happened that the two farthest E. were out, they were first of all trimmed and relighted, before the others were attended to. The candlestick was approached by three stone steps, and on the second of these the priest, when this part of his duty was done, deposited the golden bottle (122) and withdrew.

Meanwhile the slaughtering of the sacrifice and the sprinkling of the blood upon the altar had been followed by the flaying of the victim, which was cut up into pieces, and the entrails washed upon the marble tables. The pieces were carried by the six allotted priests (each taking one piece) to the altar, while a seventh carried the offering of flour, an eighth the baked meal-offering (of the high priest), and a ninth the wine of the drink-offering. These were all laid at the foot of the altar-ascending, and salted; and then all the priests assembled once more in the Hall of Polished Stones.

Here a service of prayer was celebrated, the details of which are, however, not free from ambiguity. The

39. The prayers and blessings.

Mishna passage (*Tamid* 51), bearing on the matter, runs as follows:—The president said: 'Give one blessing'; and the priests blessed and read the ten commandments (and), the Shema' (in its three sections). They blessed the people with the three blessings—viz. (the blessing) 'True and firm' (220) (the blessing) 'Service' (222), and (the blessing) 'of the priests' (222). And on the sabbath they added one blessing for the outgoing temple course.

The points undetermined here are the following:—(a) how far we are to understand that these prayers were said in the hall by the priests alone, and how far in the temple itself by priests and people; and (b) what is meant by 'one blessing' and by 'three blessings'?

Regarding (a) it has been usual to suppose that the Shema' (i.e., the three sections of the Law, Dt. 6:4-9 11:1-21; and Nu. 15:37-41 which had to be repeated by each Israelite every day, morning and evening), preceded by a benediction and the ten commandments, was repeated by the priests in the hall, whilst the other prayers mentioned form part of the *public* service, and come later (so Edersheim, and apparently Schurer). The difficulty about this view is that the benediction 'true and firm' belongs to the Shema', which it ought immediately to follow. In any case, if the benediction was said by priests and people publicly, must we not suppose that the Shema' itself was recited *publicly* as well? It is not, perhaps, altogether impossible to regard the priest's service in the hall—i.e., the recitation of the Shema' preceded and followed by the benedictions mentioned, including 'service' and 'the priestly blessing'—as a sort of rehearsal, *before* the solemn

¹ (See L. Blau, 'Origine et Histoire de la lecture du Shema', *REJ* 21 [1895] pp. 179-201.)

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part of the sacrificial worship, of what was publicly recited later when the incense ascended from the altar. We may suppose also that the people, during the interval of silent prayer, mentally repeated the same prayers.

The analogous case of the Shémônch 'Esrah' ('The Fifteen Benedictions') in the modern synagogue may be cited. This is first of all said by the congregation *unanimously*, and then repeated aloud by the reader.

The recital of the ten commandments, which is elsewhere attested as a daily practice, was afterwards discontinued, probably for anti-Mosaic reasons (cp C. Taylor, *Sayings of J. Eschra*,² EXCURS. 410d). (b) As to what benediction was recited *before* the Shema', the Mishna gives no indication, and it was early a matter of dispute (*R. Ber.* 11c) whether it was that over the creation of light (28 2c); the modern form can be seen in Singer's Ed. of *Jich-Fing. Prayer Book*, 37 ff. 1, or that in praise of God's love, known as *Middah Rabbah* (= 'with abounding love'). According to the generally received opinion, it was the latter that was recited in the temple. In its early form this ran somewhat as follows:—

With abounding (or, according to another version, everlasting) love hast thou loved us, O Lord our God (Jer. 31 c). With great and exceeding compassion hast thou taken compassion on us (cp Is. 63 g). Our Father, our King, for the sake of our fathers who trusted in thee and whom thou taughtest the statutes of life, be gracious unto us, and be thou also our teacher. Enlighten our eyes in thy law, and make our hearts leave to thy commandments; render our hearts one that we may love and fear thy name, and not be ashamed. For in thy holy name we trust; we rejoice and exult in thy salvation. For thou art the God who works salvation, and thou hast chosen us from all peoples and tongues, and brought us nigh unto thy great name (Selah) in truth, that we give praise unto thee and proclaim thy unity in love. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hast chosen thy people Israel in love. (Cp *Jewish Encycl.* 1281, and *refl.*)

The benediction that followed the Shema', beginning with the words 'true and firm' (220) (220), is a thanksgiving to God for various acts of redemption (hence its technical name *g'ullah*), and has been much amplified in the later Jewish liturgy. In its earliest form it may not have contained more than the following:—

True and firm (established) it is that thou art Yahweh our God, and the God of our fathers; our King and the King of our fathers; our Saviour and the Saviour of our fathers; our Maker and the Rock of our Salvation; our Help and our Deliverer. Thy name is from everlasting, and there is no God besides thee. A new song did they that were delivered sing to thy name by the sea-shore; together did all praise and own thee as King, and say, Yahweh shall reign who has redeemed Israel. (See further Zuntz, *Cottled. Vortr. d. Juuans*,¹ 379, 125-126.)

Of the other two 'blessings', the first, that known as 'service' (222), was doubtless a thanksgiving for the splendid temple worship, which may have been an earlier form of the present *Moda* prayer (= the 17th of the Shémônch 'Esrah'; cp Singer, 50 f.), and in its earlier form may have run thus:—

Accept, O Lord our God, thy people Israel and their prayer; receive in love and favour both the offerings of Israel and their prayer; and may the service of thy people Israel be ever acceptable unto thee. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who receivest the service of thy people Israel with favour (for the last clause, see Rashi on *B. Sukk.* 11 f.).

The 'blessing of the priests' was, doubtless, some form (*not*, however, the precatory form now used in the synagogue = the last of the Shémônch 'Esrah) of the well-known priestly blessing (Nu. 6:24-26, in using which within the Temple the priests pronounced the ineffable name (222) as written. After the priests had recited the Shema' and the accompanying prayers in the Hall, the third and the fourth lot were taken—the third to determine who should offer the incense in the sanctuary, and the fourth to determine who should lay the various parts of the victim upon the altar. The most important duty of the service that could fall to a priest was that of offering the incense, and only those who had not performed the office before were eligible (except in the rare case when all present had so officiated). Those on whom no lot had fallen were now free to go away, after divesting themselves of the priestly dress.

2. The offering of incense and of the sacrifice accom-

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panied by prayer.—The incensing priest now took a

golden saucer (כַּזָּיִת) covered with a lid, containing a smaller saucer (כַּזָּיִת) with the incense. An assistant priest then

brought some live coal from the great altar in a silver pan (כַּזָּיִת) which he emptied into a golden pan. This done, both proceeded with another assistant, and with the two who had already dressed the altar and candlestick, into the sanctuary, striking as they passed the instrument called *magrēphāh* (see col. 322), at the sound of which priests hastened to the worship, the Levites to occupy their places in the choir, while the delegates ('stationary men') ranged at the eastern gate of the Temple (=the gate of Nicanor) such of the people as were to be purified that day ('the defiled men').

The two priests who had dressed the altar and the candlestick entered first, the former merely to bring away his utensil, which, after prostrating himself, he did; while the latter completed the trimming of the lamps, and then, prostrating himself, withdrew with his utensil.

The assistant priest who had the pan of coals offered them on to the altar of incense, prostrated himself, and withdrew. The other assistant then arranged the incense, and withdrew in like manner. The chief officiating priest was now left alone within the sanctuary, awaiting the signal of the president before burning the incense. When this was given (with the words 'offer the incense'), he emptied out the saucer on to the coals, and the incense ascended in clouds of smoke. At this solemn moment, the people withdrew from the inner court and prostrated themselves, spreading out their hands in silent prayer (cp Rev. 8:1 ff. quoted by Edersheim). The incensing priest, also, after prostrating himself for worship, withdrew from the sanctuary. The period of silent prayer was followed (if the conjecture given above is correct) by the recitation of the *Shēma'*, with the ten commandments and benedictions set forth above. Others think that only the three 'blessings' (mentioned in *Talmud* 51) were here recited. In any case, the priestly blessing was given in the following manner. The five priests who had been engaged within the Holy Place now proceeded to the steps in front of the Temple, and with uplifted hands, pronounced the priestly benediction. This was pronounced by the leader (probably the incensing priest), the others following audibly after him. As already mentioned, the divine name was on these occasions pronounced. The people also responded: 'Blessed be the Lord God, the God of Israel, from everlasting to everlasting.' The offering of the burnt offering was now preceded with. The chosen priests brought up the various pieces of the victim from the foot of the ascent, and, after placing their hands upon them, threw them on to the altar-fire. When the high priest officiated, he received the pieces from the priests, placed his hands upon them, and threw them on to the altar. The appropriate meal offerings (that of the people, and that of the high priest) were now brought, oiled, salted, and laid on the fire; and the drink offering was poured out at the foot of the altar.

3. *The Service of praise and thanksgiving.*—Hereupon the music of the temple began. The choir of Levites, to the accompaniment of instrumental music, sang the psalm of the day,

41. Musical service.

which was divided into three sections. At the close of each section, a body of priests blew three blasts on the silver trumpets, and the people prostrated themselves in worship. The singing of the psalm closed the morning service, and the private sacrifices were proceeded with.

The evening sacrifice (which, according to the law, was to be offered 'between the two evenings —i.e., in the evening twilight) was at this period offered early in the afternoon, about 3 o'clock. It was in all respects exactly similar to that of the morning, save that incense

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was offered after the burnt offering instead of before it, and the lamps in the sanctuary were not trimmed, but simply lighted. The priests on whom the lots had fallen again officiated in the evening, except the incensing priests. For this office another lot was taken.

The daily psalms were the following: first day, 24; second, 48; third, 82; fourth, 94; fifth, 81; sixth, 93; on the sabbath, 92.

On the sabbath and festivals the same daily sacrifices were offered, only increased. Thus on the sabbath the sacrifice was doubled, and so on.

42. The sabbath and festivals. The essential features, however, were much the same. [For details, see FEASTS, SABBATH, and the works cited below.]

G. H. B.

The literature of the subject is immense. The older books are given in Bähr (*Der Salomonische Tempel*) and other writers; only the more important modern works.

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(e) *Ezekiel's Temple*: Cornill's edition of text; the commentaries of Smend, Cornill, Bertholet; also Toy in *SBOT*; Hitzher, *Proben Altlicher Schriftklärung* (1833), id., *Neue Abhandl.*; Bahner-Rimek, *Des Propheten Eschiel Ansicht vom Tempel*, 1858; Küllin in *St. Kr.*, 1882; H. Sulley, *The Temple of Ezekiel's Prophecy*, 1890; Stade, *GT* 247 ff.

(f) *Zerubbabel's Temple*: De Moor and Imbert, in *Le Monist.*, 7 and 8; the commentaries of Rysseel and Bertholet on Ezra and Nehemiah.

(g) *Herod's Temple*: A tolerably complete catalogue of the older literature on Herod's temple will be found in Hanelberg, *Die religiöse Altertümer der Bibel*, 263 ff.; for the modern literature see Schürer *GH* (3) 123 ff. We mention here: Alshet's treatise *Middoth*, with the commentary of Obadiah Bartora in Surenhusius, 5; ET in Barclay, *The Talmud*, 255 ff.; Moses Mainonides in 777 ff. (discussion of the Talmudic details as to the temple and its furniture, in Ugoletti's *Phiz.*, 8); J. Lichtow, *Descriptio templi Hierosolymitani* (also in Ugoletti, *Phiz.*, 9); Hirt, 'Ueber die Bauten Herodes des Grossen' in *Abh. Phil. Akad.*; *philol.-hist. classe*, 1870-71, pp. 124; Hanelberg, *Altertümer*, 260-370; Spiess, *Das Jerusalem des Josephus*, 1, p. 11, pp. 49 ff.; id., *Der Tempel des Jerusalem während des 1. und 2. Jahrhunderts seines Bestandes nach Josephus*, 1877; S. Riehm, *UWB*, 1893, ff.; Block, *Entwurf eines Grundrisses vom Hierosolymischen Tempel nach Talmudischen Quellen bearbeitet*; Hildesheimer, 'B. Beschreibung d. Herod. Tempels im Tractate Middoth u. b. Fl. Josephus' in *Jahresber. d. Rab. Seminars f. d. orthodoxe Judentum*, 1876-7; Lewin, *The Siege of Jerusalem by Titus*, 1867.

(h) *Temple worship*. In addition to the works cited above, see esp. Schürer, *GH* (3), § 24 (bibliography); SYNONYMS, 1, 8 ff.

I. B. (§§ 1-33, 43); G. H. B. (§§ 34-42)

TEMPLE-KEEPER

TEMPLE-KEEPER (ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΝ), Acts 19 35 AV^{ms}. RV. See NEOCOROS.

TEMPTATION. The word **ἰσχυρ**, *massah* (επειρασμοῦ always), occurs in the OT not only as a place-name (see MASSAH, in Ex. 17 7 etc. Ps. 95 8 (AV 'temptation,' RV 'Massah,' RV^{ms} 'temptation'), but also as a common noun in Dt. 34 7 19 29 2 [5] where EV has 'temptations' and RV^{ms} 'trials' or 'evidences,' in Job 9 23 see [5] where EV has 'trial' and RV^{ms} 'calamity.' The verb is **ἰσχυ**. AV renders inconsistently: in Ex. 17 7 Dt. 6 16 etc., it gives up the best rendering—i. e., 'to prove'—and substitutes what to modern readers is certainly misleading—'to tempt.' As Driver (on Dt. 6 16) well observes, 'ἰσχυ is a neutral word, and means to *test* or *prove* a person, to see whether he will act in a particular way (Ex. 16 4 Judg. 2 22 3 4), or whether the character he has is well established (1 K. 16 1). God thus *proves* a person, or *puts* him to the *test*, to see if his fidelity or affection is sincere, Gen. 22 1 Ex. 20 20 Dt. 8 2 [7. 7] 13 4 [3]; ep Ps. 26 2; and men *test*, or *prove* Jehovah when they act as if doubting whether his promise be true, or whether he is faithful to his revealed character, Ex. 17 2 Nu. 14 22 Ps. 78 18 (see 7 19) 41 56 95 9 106 14; ep Is. 7 12. So *massah* Dt. 34 7 19 29 2 [5], are not 'temptations,' but *trials, provings* (see note on 4 34). With regard to the NT, it is satisfactory that **πειρασ** is rendered 'try' in Heb. 11 7 seev. 2 2 10, and **πειρα** 'trial' in Heb. 11 36. On the use of **πειρασμοῦ** ('temptation,' but RV^{ms} sometimes 'trial'),¹ Holtzmann (*H'* 145 f.) remarks that this is one of the expressions to which the NT has given a pregnant and almost new meaning, indicating the external conflicts and distresses which become the means of inward temptation; see Lk. 22 28 Acts 20 19 Jas. 1 2 1 Pet. 1 6. Such a conflict, such a distress is reported to have been the lot of Jesus, at the beginning of his ministry. See below.

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Three stories (§§ 1-4). Discussion (§§ 9-11). Contents of the tradition (§ 5 f.). Possible light from myths (§ 12). Nucleus (§ 7). Specially parallel stories (§ 13). Possible light from Persia (§ 8). Mythic elements, etc. (§ 14). Bibliography (§ 15).

There are three chief modes of procedure in dealing with the traditional story of the Temptations, or rather Trials, of Jesus. (1) The narrative may be regarded as having arisen in consequence of a kind of natural law or tendency which, in the case of one who has won the crown of moral perfection for himself and for his disciples, places a symbolic event summing up the trials and achievement of his life at the very outset of his career, just as the final victory of good over evil needs, through the operation of the same law, to be effectually guaranteed by a reported initial victory of the light-god over the Dragon of Chaos. This may lead us to begin our consideration of the story of the Trials of Jesus by putting the story side by side with similar stories of other spiritual heroes known to tradition, and to put our literary criticism of the narratives under the control of results already obtained by such a comparison. Thus the literary criticism of the narrative will become subordinate to the historical (*religions-geschichtlich*) criticism of the narrative. The neglect of this procedure has, according to Gunkel and others, led to much misunderstanding of some of the narratives in the OT— notably those of Paradise, of the Deluge, and of Jonah, and it would perhaps be too much to suppose that no loss would be sustained by the neglect of it in the study of the NT. (2) It is also possible to begin our consideration of the narratives of the Trials by applying a purely literary criticism—i. e., by determining, so far as may be possible, from what literary sources they proceed, and explaining their details by reference to the OT or to passages in the traditional life of Jesus. We may

¹ In Acts 20 19 Rev. 3 10, etc., RV gives 'trial' in the text.

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then consider whether, endeavoring to realise in some slight degree the mental state of Jesus, and applying the ordinary canons of probability, we can venture to point out a historical nucleus of the traditional story of the Trials, and we may then compare, or contrast, the Christian tradition with apparent parallels elsewhere. (3) We may, without disparaging either of the preceding methods, consider whether light cannot be thrown on the Christian tradition by inquiring whether the peculiarities of the narrative may not be accounted for by the discovery of some custom or observance the details of which are similar in essentials to those of the story of the Trials, and yet are beyond the suspicion of having been derived from it. The difference between the first and the second of these methods and between both and the third is striking. It may, however, be minimised, when the student of literary criticism is not opposed to the comparative study of myths, and when the student of strange customs does not at all deny the importance of illustrating, and to some extent at least explaining, the narrative from biblical and extrabiblical literary sources. The essential truth of the significant and instructive narrative of the Temptation is of course not a matter of controversy. (Cp Cheyne, *Hallowing of Criticism*.)

It is usual to explain the origin of the three synoptic reports of the temptation by one or other of two critical hypotheses: (a) that Mk.'s represents a bare and brief allusion to the larger story, substantially reproduced in Mt. and Lk., which was already current when he wrote (ep 4 3, allusion to parables omitted), or (b) that Mt. and Lk. represent a common and somewhat mythical expansion (in Q, the Logia-source) of the original nucleus preserved by Mk. Neither of these hypotheses is without its difficulties, however, and it seems preferable upon the whole to conjecture that Mk.'s report constitutes an allied though independent² account of the incident (in the Ur-Marcus or Petrine narrative), which has been depicted with fuller ethical detail and for other ends in Q and thence transferred with editorial modifications to Mt. and Lk. The standpoint for criticising the contents of both stories is furnished by the principle that in its higher forms temptation becomes more than ever a mystery—hard to understand as an experience and harder to communicate, especially to less sensitive souls with a tendency to materialise the subtler elements of moral conflict.

Upon this view Mk. 1 12 f. portrays the inauguration of Jesus as Messiah by a contest with demonic powers whom he encountered in a bestial form. The allusion to 'wild beasts' is not a realistic touch (see §§ 9 f.) or a reference to the loneliness and danger of the experience, much less a subtle parallel to the first Adam (Gen. 1 28 2 19), but symbolic—and symbolic not of passions and hostile power;³ but of devils who appeared in such guise to

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¹ The author of the Fourth Gospel, with his higher Christology, naturally omits the temptation as one of several features (e. g., the agony in Gethsemane) in the human experience of Jesus which would not have lain in line with his specific conception of Christ's person. He prefers to dwell on the resultant sinlessness (7 18 8 4), and the incidental allusions to a strife (12 27-32 14 30) breathe security of triumph rather than intensity of struggle.

² Mk. 1 1-13, though not an excerpt from earlier and fuller writings, is a *résumé* of facts already familiar in the evangelic tradition (cp. 'the gospel,' 7 1). That does not imply, however, that 7 12 f. is the conscious abbreviation of a tale corresponding to that preserved in Mt. and Lk., even although the Logia underlying those gospels was composed of didactic pieces which circulated earlier than the Ur-Marcus. See Soltan's *Unser Evangelium*, 35-50 and A. Menzies' *Earliest Gospel*, 62-73.

³ As Réville (*Jésus de Nazareth*, 2 14) suggests—'les bêtes sauvages sont les passions dévorantes que déshament les révolutions violentes; les anges conseillent et donnent les armes pures de la persuasion et de l'appel aux consciences.' This is too modern an idea. In Jewish apocalyptic angels are often violent and punitive, by no means to be identified with gracious and gentle influences. The wilderness might also be symbolic (*Herm. Lit.* 1 13), or part of the scenic accompaniment of a

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the vision of devotees in the desert. To the fervour and imagination of Jesus the divine spirit is like a fluttering dove (1: 10), the satanic spirits like wild beasts. Here, as afterwards in human form (1: 23, etc.), especially 1: 22-27 with the different application in Mt. 7: 29), the satanic spirits comprise for Mk. a prominent sphere in which Jesus lived and worked as Messiah, the *locus* of demons. This interpretation of Mk.'s language,¹ therefore, is not simply in line with the naive psychology of the age,² which peopled the desert with haunting deities, visible especially to rapt devotees, but entirely consonant with the leading idea of Jesus' career developed in Mk.'s gospel (cp the mutual recognition of Jesus and demons in 1: 24 f. 14-31 *f. 50 f.*, 9: 25; and Wrede's *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*, 23 f.).

Common to all three gospels is the symbolic term of 'forty days' (cp the forty years of Israel in the wilderness, Dt. 8: 2, and the forty days' fast in the experience of Moses [Ex. 34: 28] and Elijah [1 K. 19: 8], and see NUMBER, § 8) to delineate, as in Acts 13, a considerable period of time. In Mk., at any rate, whatever be thought of Mt. 4: 11 (cp S: 25 25: 44 27: 55), the angelic³ service has no reference to food (Ps. 78: 25 Wisd. 16: 25). It is simply the counterpart of satanic opposition,⁴ and represents an experience of continuous aid during the vigil, not (as in Mt.) a reward and refreshment vouchsafed after the strain. All three accounts, however, imply that Jesus passed through the prolonged crisis without fall or wound. Whatever he thought or sought in the desert, his character suffered no deflection or compromise, much less defeat. This is developed in Mt. and Lk., who draw independently upon a dialectic passage in the Logia which evidently contained a naive, pictorial description of what Jesus experienced in a far less matter-of-fact and obvious fashion at this period. The form of it is vivid and severely simple upon the whole, but dramatic rather than mysterious, and naturally less impressive, because less inward and direct, than the later record of Jesus' strenuous temptation in Gethsemane or even of his sharp encounter with an insidious enticement near Caesarea Philippi (Mk. 8: 21-33). It now remains for us to consider the temptation-vision in this semi-parabolic presentment which Mt. and Lk. have realistically preserved. (Cp *HC* [1901] I: 1, 45-43.)

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3. Common matter. fast in the experience of Moses [Ex. 34: 28] and Elijah [1 K. 19: 8], and see NUMBER, § 8) to delineate, as in Acts 13, a considerable period of time. In Mk., at any rate, whatever be thought of Mt. 4: 11 (cp S: 25 25: 44 27: 55), the angelic³ service has no reference to food (Ps. 78: 25 Wisd. 16: 25). It is simply the counterpart of satanic opposition,⁴ and represents an experience of continuous aid during the vigil, not (as in Mt.) a reward and refreshment vouchsafed after the strain. All three accounts, however, imply that Jesus passed through the prolonged crisis without fall or wound. Whatever he thought or sought in the desert, his character suffered no deflection or compromise, much less defeat. This is developed in Mt. and Lk., who draw independently upon a dialectic passage in the Logia which evidently contained a naive, pictorial description of what Jesus experienced in a far less matter-of-fact and obvious fashion at this period. The form of it is vivid and severely simple upon the whole, but dramatic rather than mysterious, and naturally less impressive, because less inward and direct, than the later record of Jesus' strenuous temptation in Gethsemane or even of his sharp encounter with an insidious enticement near Caesarea Philippi (Mk. 8: 21-33). It now remains for us to consider the temptation-vision in this semi-parabolic presentment which Mt. and Lk. have realistically preserved. (Cp *HC* [1901] I: 1, 45-43.)

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4. Mt. and Lk. unimportant.

Favourite or characteristic Matthean terms in 4: 1-11 are: 'then' (*τότε, τότε*), 'coming forward' (*προσέλθω*), 'the

vision' (Rev. 17: 3) translated into circumstantial prose. But the literal sense is quite suitable and natural.

¹ It is one bit of evidence in favour of the verdict that while Mk.'s gospel rests upon facts, not upon ideas, at a relatively small number of points 'legendary features have come to attach themselves to the facts' (O. Holtzmann in *Z. VII*, 19, 1 p. 270).
² For demons in bestial shape, see, e.g., Mk. 7: 21 Rev. 12: 13 14 16: 13 *f.*, and - for the current belief in their connection with waste and lonely places - Mt. 12: 43 (DEYSS, § 2, M. 504, § 2, 19, 1, and Cheyne on Is. 13: 1), with Charles' note on Apoc. Bar. 19: 1. These and other traces of Semitic folklore (see Daugherty, *The Des.*, 2: 1, 4) form the atmosphere for much in the synoptic tales of evil spirits and their malign influence upon men (cp also 2 Cor. 11: 3; Everling, *Die Feind.*, *Ancelologie*, etc., 51-57). In the Arabic 'gospel of the infancy' demons emerge from a lady's mouth in the shape of crows and serpents (*Prolegomena Arabica*, ed. B. H. Cowper, 172).

³ Evidently part of the primitive tradition, for Mk. never mentions angels elsewhere in narrative. A Bohemian equivalent in Jn. 1: 13.
⁴ Just as the 'rulers of this world' (*δαίμονες τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*, 1 Cor. 2: 8) are evil spirits who attempt to thwart the Lord of glory, so here the Messiah encounters supernatural foes, after Ps. 2: 2, where the rulers (*οἱ ἀρχαῖοι*) gather against the Lord and his anointed (*κατὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ αἰῶνος*), the latter being God's son (*ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*) (cp Mk. 1: 11 Lk. 3: 22 [1: 35]). (Cp *Clem. Hom.*, 5: 22 of Satan setting himself to catch him (*ἠρπάζει αὐτὸν ἐπιχρῆσθαι*) at this period. In Herm. *Vis.* ix. 24 Satan is the angel with authority over beasts such as are seen in the vision. The conception of Messiah as inevitably assailed by demons is preserved in Rev. 12: 4 *f.* (cp Mk. 3: 27 and specially Mt. 8: 29).

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tempter' (*ἀπειράζων*), 'and' (*καὶ*), 'the holy city' (*τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως*), 'lakes' (*παράλαμβανεν, ἕως*), the asyndeton in 7: 'again' (*παλιν, ἕως*), 'the world' (*τοῦ κόσμου, ἕως*), and 'depart' (*καὶ ἔδωκεν*) besides the additions of 4: 3 (high hill), and 'depart, Satan' (*ὑπάγε σατανα, ἰδοὺ*). Lucan peculiarities in 4: 1-11 are: 'full of holy Spirit' (*πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου*, § 16), 'in those days' (*ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις*), 'and he said' (*εἰπὼν δέ*: GOSWELLS, § 25, in 20, 'answer' (*ἀποκριθεὶς πρὸς*), 'lead' (*ἄγω, ἕως*), 'departed' (*ὑπέστρεψεν, ἕως*), *τοῦ* with infin. (10), 'world' (*κόσμον, cp 21*), 'complete' (*συντελεῖω, ἕως*), 'before' (*ἔμπροσθεν*), 'departed' (*ἔπεσθη*), besides the addition of 26, 5 (in an instant), 6, 6 (*εὐπειθεῖ*), 10 (to safeguard thee), 11 (for a season), and the omission of the angelic ministry at the close (made up for by the later vision of 22: 43?).

It is evident that the original text in 12 was little altered in subsequent recensions and that the final editors have reproduced it accurately though not slavishly, preserving the essential features of the story. The main exception to this rule is the altered order of the second and third temptations by a process of transposition which is fairly common throughout the synoptics (see SERTON ON THE MOUNT, § 9). There are no data which would enable us to decide with any confidence which, if either, represents the original series in the Logia, much less the actual sequence. Fortunately the order is not a matter of moment.⁴ Each of the two canonical sequences has plausible features and is ethically effective, especially in view of the gospel in which it occurs.

In Mt., where Jesus is pictured as the real if inexperienced (11: 3) Messiah of Judaism, the newly realised consciousness of his position (3: 17) suggests the final and supreme temptation of adopting compromise with external methods in order to gain the universal dominion which formed his goal (12: 11). The true Messiah, as had been already seen in part (Ps. Sol. 17: 37-43), was to be no second Solomon but one whose reliance was solely upon God for strength and wisdom. In Lk., again, the climax is not merely that the OT scriptures themselves might suggest unworthy ideas, but that presumptuous claims upon God are a danger subtler than seductions appealing to the flesh or to the external and sensuous inclinations (10: 12). Besides, 'thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God' formed a dramatic and appropriate ending to the initial series of temptations in a life which Lk. emphasises (4: 13 22: 28) as a tempted existence throughout. Further, an apologetic tendency is to be traced in his anxiety to give a more natural geographical order, to show that the retirement was due to a spontaneous and spiritual⁵ impulse or rather *hēthē* (1: 1 *f.*, *πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου . . . ἤγειρο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι*, cp Rom. 8: 14), and to explain⁶ for the benefit of non-Jewish readers (16: 8 *f.* . . . *ἀττήν*) how S: 29 could reasonably make such an offer.⁷ The awkward

¹ The Gospel of the Hebrews apparently agreed here with Lk. (*τοὺς ἁγίους οὐκ ἔχε* . . . *εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν* . . . *ἄλλ' ἔτι ἄλλο*), (Eusebius, *Historia*, 7: 25 [1: 25] v. 370). The latter is characteristic of Mt. (4: 1), is added to Lk. harmonistically by Ss., as Lk. 8: 8 for a reason (cp Mt. 4: 11) (so CURT).
² Here, as at 3: 22 (cp Mt. 3: 16 Mk. 1: 10), the most correct form (Dahman, *Historia*, 1: 66 f.).
³ In 7: 1, whether? Hardly to Galilee (7: 14). There is a good deal to be said for Hahn's idea that the retirement to a conflict of Jesus with Lk. forms a distinct stage of preparation (cp 7: 1 and 7: 14). Certainly that is the impression left by the narrative. But this may be due simply to the ill-arrangement of Lk. at this point (see, e.g., the chronological position of 3: 10 f. and 6: 4 to the author's real conception).
⁴ The thoughts crossed and recrossed each another, returned and returned, and the record is simply a classified summary of forty days' reflections and examinations (Deysche, or rather of prolonged a nation in mind and soul. Some list of all such chance, however, is attached by Hering to the order preserved.
⁵ Galilee, temple Jerusalem; see also O. Holtzmann's note on *Luc.*, 25: 2, 103 f.).
⁶ Bruce (*Expository*, *Text*, 1: 4) prefers to regard this as the first instance of Lk.'s editorial solicitude to avoid anything possible in the mind of such a holy man.
⁷ Mt. naturally takes it for granted that his readers must understand the Jewish notion, shared by most early Christians, of the present age and world lay under the control (C. G. 3: 4 Eph. 6: 12, etc.; Everling, *op. cit.*, 41 f., 107 f.) of Satan as King of the present time (*ὁ πρῶτος αἰὼν σατάνης*) or King of the present throne (*ὁ πρῶτος βασιλεὺς σατάνης*) (cp *Rev.* 12: 9).
⁸ The transport to a hill-top, characteristic of Jewish apocalyptic (Rev. 21: 10, cp Herm. *Sym.* ix. 17, etc., also 1: 26, 40, Apoc. Bar. 76: 6), is also softened down (*εἰσαγαγε*), and stress

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insertion of the genealogy (323-35) between the baptism and the temptation may have been intended to suggest that Jesus was mature, as well as equipped by descent, at his entrance upon ministry and at the moment of his conflict with Satan (50), evidently, Justin, *Dial.* 125, 354: *ὄτε γὰρ ἀνθρώπου γέγονεν, προσήθηεν αὐτῷ ὁ δαίμων*. It certainly makes the connection, rightly emphasised in Mk. 1:12 (καὶ εὐθύς) and even Mt. (4: 1), *τότε*, somewhat loose.

Treating the subject of their relation to similar narratives elsewhere (see § 13), we may remark that the figurative stories in Mt. and Lk. were written in an atmosphere

5. Contents of the tradition. God's authority (Mt. 12:27 f., Lk. 11:17, etc.) and the personal agent in seduction—a belief (Jewish and early Christian; Spitta, *Das Christentum*, 134-35) which there is no reason to doubt was shared, in however unmodified and moralised a form, by Jesus himself. In two other visions of spiritual conflict recorded by Lk. (2:10-12, 22:3 f.), Satan appears as the defeated protagonist of Jesus; and these, like the original nucleus of the baptism-story (*Historical New Testament*, 19-21, 112) and possibly also the transfiguration, certainly represent (*Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαίου*, 113) autobiographical communications of one who, like Paul, though far from being a visionary, had visions and moments of rapture, especially at crises of his religious experience. These communications must have been made to the disciples in order to reassure, impress (Mt. 26:9), and clarify their minds. The main object was to throw light upon his own method and aims, and also by inference upon the course of life to be followed by his adherents. Hence, in their present didactic form, it is not easy to determine whether the stories originally possessed a Messianic or a human significance, unless both are conceded to have lain blended together.

[With regard to the order of the three Trials, it is worth mentioning (after O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, § 72) that according to the fragments of the Gospel of the Hebrews (referred to again in § 14) the narrative was originally so arranged that the temptation on the mountain came first, that in the city second, and that in the wilderness third, whereas in Mt. the order is: wilderness, city, mountain, and in Lk. wilderness, mountain, city. The above psychological reasons for preferring the order of the Gospel of the Hebrews, pointing out that it coincides moreover with that in which the texts quoted from Deuteronomy occur (9:1 f., 8:2 f.). It was, in Deuteronomy, he supposes, that Jesus, in the prolonged period of meditation after his baptism in which his vocation had been revealed to him, sought for the guidance of which he felt in need.]

i. Loneliness and fasting, the normal conditions of an ecstasy or trance, naturally introduce the first

6. The three trials. synoptic temptation, the ethical point of which lies in the refusal of Jesus to

seek exemption from the limitations of common needs and bodily privations. The later counsel Mt. 6:25-33 is thus grounded in his own experience (cp. Jn. 11:4 and Mt. 10:2-10; Lk. 9: 10 f.). Divine sonship, even in its highest degree, is thereby shown to confer no title to exceptional treatment; it merely enforces the duty of loyalty to God's interests and demands as the supreme thing in the moral life (see the application of this in Jn. 6:26 f.), and the companion duty of faith, that such devotion shall not be left ultimately destitute by God.

ii. With admirable penetration the very intensity of such faith is represented in the temple-temptation as an insidious occasion for presumption. The inclination

had on the time (*ἐν αὐτοῦ χρόνῳ*, 43). The appositeness of Mt. 4:3 and the more vivid Lk. 4:3 lies in the resemblance between the rounded single of the locality and leaves of bread (cp. Mt. 7:9). There is no subtle allusion to the Baptist's remark (Mt. 3:11), which indeed is amply illustrated otherwise (cp. Klein's *ZNTW*, 1901, pp. 143-144).

1 The contrast between a human and a poetical parallel. As early as the seventh century, the Temptation was viewed as a interchange of dangerous thoughts, by Bahá'u's Bakker: *Die geistliche Welt* (chap. 2).

2 It is notable that the tempted nature of Christ is brought forward in Hebrews, a book figuratively allied to 1 Pt. 1:5. Vers. 3 For the imparting of the substance of ecstasies and trances see Acts 11:4 f. 10 f., 18:7, 22:7, etc., and *Act. 1:26* 1901; *O'ni eius erant aperti, os vero clausum, sed inspiratio spiritus erat cum illi. Visio quum videbat, non erat de seculo hoc, sed de discedenti omni carni. Et cum cessavit a visione, reversus notavit visionem Ezechiae et illi eius Nasium.*

3 See Gumke's *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes* (1789) 32, and *Ev. 1:26*, § 2 (with *Prophetie des Ezechiel*, § 10). A notable exception occurs in Rev. 1:2 f. Intense prayer may have preceded the Temptation (see von der Goltz, *das Gebet*, 33), but it is not specifically mentioned.

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now is to abuse not one's feeling of independence but one's consciousness of dependence—i.e., the current pious conviction, shared by Jesus, that God could and would miraculously interpose on behalf of his servants in peril. Jesus repels this suggestion. Genuine faith in man, he is convinced, will be content to believe in God's care without nervously insisting upon arbitrary proofs of it.

iii. The mountain-temptation depicts Jesus' rejection of another attractive and plausible idea which occurred to him (no doubt suggested in part by popular expectation, viz., that his Messianic goal might be swiftly and smoothly reached along paths bordering upon compromise. Roman's motto for the sect—Christ or Mahomet—hits off one aspect of the dilemma precisely. Yet the bearing of the temptation need not be exclusively messianic, as Mk. 8:6 shows; the latter passage (with 8:3) indicating also that here at any rate the larger temptation-narrative, relegated not without psychological aptness to the opening of Jesus' life, forms really a miniature of the fundamental temptations which recurred as constant factors in his career, just as the Sermon on the Mount is placed by Mt. unchronologically in the forefront of the ministry as a summary of his general teaching. No doubt the moral insight of Jesus carried with it foresight of coming perils. At Nazareth he had not been out of touch with currents surging from the outside pagan world and its glories (see GAVN, *IG* 35-37, 433-435, for the consciousness of ethnic splendour possible to a Galilean). But the full force of such a temptation could not be felt until he had entered definitely upon his public mission (cp. Jn. 6:14 f.); and the same may be said of the temple-temptation (Mt. 26:51 f.), for hitherto Jesus, though acquainted of course with the dizzy pinnacle of the temple (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 115), had run no risk to his person (see further the didactic side of this developed in Mt. 10:17-19; Lk. 12:2-12). The difficulty of Jesus at the outset naturally was to see and choose the true method; his subsequent trial, recurring at frequent stages, was to adhere to the choice made in this initial hour of insight.

The Logia passage on the temptation thus represented the disciples' memory of Jesus' memory. It was the

7. Historical nucleus. literary embodiment, coloured by OT reminiscences, of a crisis in the life of Jesus which (cp. Mt. 12:30; Mk. 3:27) he imparted in an ideal and concentrated form, looking back on it through the later, deeper experience of his

1 The ethical triumph of the crisis, as Keim points out (*Jesu von Nazareth*, ET, 2:125), is not simply that Jesus conquered but that "the inexorable godlike loftiness of his judgment discovered the devil in a riddle which even the noblest would have fumbled as spiritual pearls." Further, with the possible and partial exemption of the hunger-experience, the allusions in this initial crisis of Jesus' life are depicted as attractive rather than threatening or painful. All trial (in the modern sense of the word) is temptation; but all temptations are not trials. As Gethsemane indicates, Jesus felt the harsh as well as the soft touch, and emerged from the ordeal unspangled; cp. *πνεῦμα αἰνῶς περιστάσει*, *ἡ ἀπορία ἀναπύσει* (Hb. 2:18-19).

2 The allusion to Peter as an embodiment of Satan corresponds with the early Christian belief that seductions through human influence were the devil's work (Weibel, *Ueber die Ursprünge u. der Götter*, 1:17-189 ff.); but the synoptic stories, in their present form at any rate, expressly exclude the idea that Jesus had to grapple in the temptation with anything but spiritual hosts of wickedness (Eph. 6:12 f.). Even the notion of the temple-temptation as a miracle of display before a world is rather irrelevant and theatrical. For the impolitical character of Christ's propaganda, see Barth's *Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu*, pp. 41-44.

3 The OT citations are all from Q, and present little or no difficulty. Mt. 4:6 omits *τὸν* before *ἐκέρωπ*, with Mt. (10:8 f.); the other variants *ἐξ ἀπορίας* (Lahn, *Evil*, 2:31; Nestle, *Evangelium*, 2:1) and *ἐξ ἀπορίας* are insignificant and uncertain. Ps. 91:11 f. is quoted with some freedom in Mt. 4:6. But in citing Mt. 6:13 both Mt. and Lk. agree with Q in substituting *προσκυνήσεις* for *δοξάσεις* and in adding *καὶ τὰ αἰμάτια*. The sequel in Ps. 2:7, 12:7, may have suggested the mountain-temptation, but as perhaps the boasts of Ps. 91:11 may have suggested Mk. 1:12. But such confirmations or infusions are at most subordinate to the dominant factor in the composition of the story (viz., the endeavour to summarise the cardinal temptations of Jesus).

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actual ministry, when the initials eductions had become more grave and subtle than before. The historical nucleus of the tradition is the natural and overpowering impulse which drove Jesus into the gaunt, wild solitudes W.¹ or rather E. of the Jordan to reflect upon the strange consciousness (Haddensperger, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, 220 f.) which had recently dawned upon him at his baptism,² to forecast its issues and determine his course of action (cp Gal. I.15-17). It is noticeable that he does not seem to have doubted the reality of his Messianic consciousness; for the words 'if thou art a son of God' (*εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ Θεοῦ*) do not bear this full hypothetical meaning. What he had to win clearness and conviction upon was the real nature and consequences of his position; if any hesitation or uncertainty upon the genuineness of this occurred to him, it was during the period of conflict³ (implied by Mk. and Lk., not Mt.) and self-questioning preceding that in which Mt. and Lk. place the triple and typical conflict of what is rather inappropriately termed the Temptation of Jesus.

J. Mo.

It has been remarked above (introd.) that light might be expected to be thrown upon the singular and suggestive story of the Trials of Jesus by comparing it with more or less striking parallels in the literature of other religions, but that it is also possible that the insertion of such a narrative (which is plainly not literally true) may conceivably be accounted for by the existence of some custom or observance which may have led the narrator to postulate such an event as the threefold trial at the opening of the ministry of Jesus. In an essay read before the Oxford Society of Historical Theology in Nov. 1911 (an abstract of which is given in the Society's *Proceedings* [privately printed], 1901-2, pp. 27-31) the view has been expressed by Prof. A. A. Bevan that the so-called Temptation-story in its original form (*i.e.*, a form resembling the narrative in Mk.) was a description of a traditional practice or ceremony, by which, it was supposed, a man could obtain control over demons.

8. Possible light from the modern East.

The practice referred to must have been of ancient origin, and it has continued in the East down to the present day. Rather than attempt to describe it anew, Prof. Bevan cites the testimony of an Oriental, as reported by Prof. E. G. Browne in his work, *A Year amongst the Persians* (1893), 148 f. About fifteen years ago Prof. Browne heard this story from a philosopher of Isfahan, entitled Aminu-sh-Shari'at.

'At one time of my life I devoted myself to the occult sciences, and made an attempt to obtain control over the *jinn*s, with what results I will tell you. You must know, in the first place, that the *modus operandi* is as follows:—The seeker after this power chooses some solitary and dismal spot. . . . There he must remain for forty days. . . . He spends the greater part of this time in incantations in the Arabic language, which he recites within the area of the *manjal*, or geometrical figure, which he must describe in a certain way on the ground. Besides this, he must eat very little food, and diminish the amount daily. If he has faithfully observed all these details, on the twenty-first day a lion will appear, and will enter the magic circle. The operator must not allow himself to be terrified by this apparition, and, above all, must on no account quit the *manjal*; else he will lose the results of all his pains. If he resists the lion, other terrible forms will come to him on subsequent days—tigers, dragons, and the like—which he must similarly withstand. If he holds his ground till the fortieth

¹ In the vicinity of Bethsara? Cp JOHN THE BAPTIST, § 6. On the haggard, austere Judean desert with its vipers (Mt. 3.7), see GABRIEL, *Heb.* 312-317.

² Justin (*Dial.* 13), 131 loosely brings the two into close connection—*quia τὸ ἀνάβηται αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου τοὺς ὄμιοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐκτελέσει τὴν ἐπιπέσειν τὸν διάβολον*.

³ In *Chon. Hom.* (II 15 192) these forty days are occupied by discussions (*διαλέγεσθαι*) with the devil (*ἐπιπορεύων ἀπὸ ἀναρχαίου*, 220). See the striking passage cited from Victor Hugo's *Quatrevingt-trois* (in John Morley's *Studies in Literature*, 235 f.) on the moral incitements and haunting effects of Nature upon the human conscience, and especially of Nature in her more savage and gloomy scenes. Where the strong conscience resists, and develops by resisting, 'the puny conscience soon turns reptile. . . it undergoes the mysterious infiltration of ill suggestions and superstition.'

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day, he has attained his object, and the *jinn*s, having been unable to get the mastery over him, will have to become his servants and obey all his behests. Well, I faithfully observed all the necessary conditions, and on the twenty-first day, sure enough, a lion appeared and entered the circle. Next day a tiger came, and still I succeeded in resisting the impulse which urged me to flee. But when, on the following day, a most hideous and frightful dragon appeared, I could no longer control my terror, and rushed from the circle, renouncing all further attempts at obtaining the mastery over the *jinn*s. When some time had elapsed after this, and I had pursued my studies in philosophy further, I came to the conclusion that I had been the victim of hallucinations excited by expectation, solitude, hunger, and long vigils; and, with a view to testing the truth of this hypothesis, I again repeated the process which I had before practised, this time in a spirit of philosophical incredulity. My expectations were justified; I saw absolutely nothing. And there is another fact which proves to my mind that the phantoms I saw on the first occasion had no existence outside my own brain. I had never seen a real lion then, and my ideas about the appearance of that animal were entirely derived from the pictures which may be seen over the doors of laiths in this country. Now, the lion which I saw in the magic circle was exactly like the latter in form and coloring, and, therefore, as I need hardly say, differed considerably in fact from a real lion.'

This custom, it will be noticed, belongs to the large class of observances now often called 'ceremonies of initiation,' that is to say, ceremonies

9. Initiation ceremonies.

by which a man is introduced into some new line of life, such as that of a warrior, a priest, a king, and so forth. Among savages, as is well known, these ceremonies are often very elaborate and very repulsive, involving, for example, mutilations of the body and other torments; among civilised peoples there is naturally a tendency to soften them down, or suppress them altogether; but traces of them have survived in almost every country of the world.

In the particular case under consideration the purpose of the ceremony is perfectly clear,

10. Subjugation of jinn.

namely, to obtain power over those beings whom modern Orientals call *jinn*—a term which in meaning corresponds to the Jewish *shedim* and to the Greek *δαίμονες*, *δαίμονια*.

Later Jewish writers told that King Solomon possessed such a power (*הַיָּהוָה עָרַב לְיָדוֹ הַדְּמוֹנִים*), as Josephus calls it; Josephus also states that Solomon composed incantations whereby diseases are relieved, and left behind him forms of exorcism, whereby men control and drive out demons, so that they can never return. He adds, 'even to the present day this mode of cure prevails among us to a very great extent' (*Ant.* viii. 2.5).

In this connection it is to be observed that both in ancient and in modern times a distinction is made between *subjugating* demons, as Solomon is supposed to have done, and *entering into league* with them, in order to gain some advantage for oneself or to injure one's enemies. The former is called lawful, the latter unlawful magic. Now the ceremony which we are discussing evidently belongs to the former category, and that it bears a striking resemblance to the accounts of the temptation in the Gospels, as Prof. Bevan points out,

cannot be denied. In both cases we find the forty days spent in the desert, the fasting, and the presence of the wild beasts. It is also plain that in the Synoptic narrative of Jesus' ministry the casting out of demons is a continually recurring feature. It appears natural, therefore, that the narrative should begin with an account of the process by which Jesus' power over the demons was acquired. Nor must we overlook the important fact that the Fourth Gospel, which omits the 'Temptation,' also omits all reference to the casting out of demons. Does not this give plausibility to the view that the early Christians believed that their Master had obtained control over the demons by performing this rite at the outset of his ministry? Further corroborations of this view are given in the abstract of this essay in the *Proceedings* referred to.

An earlier explanation must, however, be mentioned. The more we familiarise ourselves with the utterances

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of primitive antiquity, the more we are relieved from the difficulties incident to a literalistic and rationalistic reading of ancient religious records. Primitive antiquity delights in myths, and details derived from myths were not held to be misplaced in narratives the nucleus of which was historical. Indeed, even whole episodes might be borrowed from myths and adapted to their own needs by the writers of popular narratives, without any sense of incongruity. How largely this is the case in the earlier portion of Israelite history, is becoming known, and there is no sufficient reason for denying the existence of a more or less modified mythic embroidery in early Christian narratives. The narrative of the Temptation of Jesus is one of the most precious of these narratives. We cannot call it an allegory any more than we can call the Hebrew paradise-story an allegory, for it is put forth as history—such history as to early Christians of a primitive habit of mind appeared to need no proof, because it was ideally and undeniably true. Had these been called upon to prove the facts of the history, they would not have understood the summons, unless, indeed, it came to them from one who was equally sceptical as to all that the truly ancient mind held most dear, and in this case they would have scorned to answer it. We need not then indulge the pleasant fancy that Jesus himself may have given the impetus to the production of the temptation narrative, by giving some of his nearest disciples glimpses of his early soul-history. The fancy is not only unnecessary but also unwise—at least, if it entices us to suppose that our purely subjective imaginings are of equal value with critical or traditional facts, and so to lose that sobriety which in a student of religion is the crowning moral quality.

There are two stories¹ parallel to that now before us which deserve the attention of the student. One is the Temptation of Zarathustra (Zoroaster) by the evil spirit Angra Mainyu; the other is the Temptation of Gautama (the Buddha) by the demon Mara. In both these stories the tempter seeks first of all to overcome the Holy One by violence, and only when this effort fails has recourse to spiritual temptations.

Ahriman, 'the guileful one, he the evil-doer,' bids a demon rush down upon Zarathustra. But the holy Zarathustra steps forward to meet him, wielding 'stones as big as a house,' obtained from Ahura Mazda (i.e., thunderbolts). Then the guileful one, fearing the overthrow of his own empire, promises Zarathustra that if he will 'renounce the good law of the worshippers of Mazda,' he shall 'gain such a boon as Zohak gained, the ruler of the nations.'² Zarathustra answers, 'No! never will I renounce the good law. . . . though my body, my life, my soul, should burst.' And when Ahriman howls out, 'By whose word wilt thou strike and repel,' Zarathustra answers, 'The words taught by Mazda, these are my weapons, my best weapons.' Once more he chants the sacred formula, the Ahuna Vairya, and prays, 'This I ask thee: teach me the truth, O Lord!'³

With this, Darmesteter⁴ well compares the Temptation of Gautama by the demon Mara.

The legend is that when the young Indian prince made the 'great renunciation' to devote himself to the discovery of truth for the sake of his fellowmen, Mara became visible in the air, promising that in seven days from now the wheel of empire would appear, and would make Gautama sovereign over the four continents and the two adjacent isles. Baffled, the demon Mara sends his three daughters, Craving, Discontent, and Lust; but their wiles are fruitless; on the forty-ninth day the king of the gods brings water for his face, and the four guardian angels minister to him.⁵

It is plain that both these stories are of mythic origin;

¹ Already referred to by J. F. Carpenter, *The First Three Gospels*, 165 ff.; J. M. Robertson, *Christianity and Mythology*, 344, 353, 355.

² A king in ancient Iranian mythology who ruled the world for a thousand years.

³ *Vidvat* (Zendavesa), 191-11 (the Revelation chapter), 272-3, 274-202; cp. *Introd.*, p. lxxvii. There is also a briefer account of the episode in the *Dinkart*, besides allusions to it elsewhere (A. V. Williams Jackson, *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, 53).

⁴ *Ormuzd et Ahriman*, 201.

⁵ *Birth Stories* (Rhys Davids), 184, 90 ff., 106 ff.

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plain too that psychological reflection has done more for the Buddhist story than for the Zoroastrian.¹ The more archaic of the two stories is the Temptation of Zarathustra, the more appealing the Temptation of Gautama. Darmesteter traces both to the nature-myth embodied in the dialogue of the *Paus* and *Saramā* in the *Rig Veda*. This, at least, seems highly probable;

the Temptation-stories in general originated in the mythical conflict between the Light-god and the Storm-spirit, and while we fully grant that the story of the Temptation of Jesus has been, like that of the Temptation of Gautama, enriched by psychological reflection, and (we may add in the case of the Gospel story) by reminiscences of the Temptation of Adam and of ancient Israel, we cannot consistently deny that its ultimate germs are mythical. Not that the mythic element in this story can be traced to imitation of either of the two parallel stories mentioned above (§ 15); so far as we know as yet, it is only in the apocryphal Gospels (150-700 A.D.) that Buddhistic influence can safely be admitted. Indeed, the 'exceeding high mountain,' from the top of which the tempter shows Jesus 'all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them,' would seem to be suggested by the Babylonian mountain of the gods which passed into the folklore of the Israelites² (cp. *Is.* 14.13; *Ezek.* 28.16), and is ultimately the great mythic earth-mountain. 'We know not where to look for the "high mountain,"' remarks Kern. The Gospel according to the Hebrews, however, did know. According to a fragment in Origen,³ the Saviour said, 'Even now my mother the Holy Spirit hath seized me by one of my hairs, and hath brought me to the great mountain Tabor (*Θαβωρ, Ταβωρ*). Why Tabor? Probably by a misunderstanding. It was the mountain of the Navel (*ἡ Νύμφη*) that was originally meant—the mountain in the earth's centre. Earlier generations knew where this mountain was—it was in the old Hebrew Paradise, but certainly no one in the first Christian century could have localised that Paradise.⁴ It was also on this mountain that we should have expected to find Jesus spending the forty days; the analogies of *Ex.* 24.18-34.28 and *1 K.* 19.8 ff. point distinctly to this. But here again the lapse of centuries since the period of a still flourishing folklore must be borne in mind. Since these passages were written transcendentalism had placed its seal on Jewish theology, and even the most venerated earthly mountain was no more than the footstool of God (cp. *1s.* 99.5; *1 E.* 127). Jewish ascetics naturally resorted to the desert, as the region where communings with another world would be most attainable (cp. *JOHN THE BAPTIST*, § 1). It was possible there to reduce the claims of fleshly nature to the utmost; there, too, mysterious oracular voices might be heard (see col. 3882, with n. 2); there, too, the moral athlete might prove his spiritual weapons in conflict with the Evil One. Whether the 'forty days' were, according to the earliest form of the narrative, really forty days of temptation may be doubted. The Lenten fast of forty days might naturally exert a modifying influence on the original tradition, which surely must have said that Jesus, as the second Moses and the second Elijah,⁵ communed with God for forty days before he underwent the sorest attack of the Evil

¹ According to Rhys Davids (*Buddhism*, 36, 37, 38), 'the very thoughts passing through the mind of Gautama appear in gorgeous descriptions as angels of darkness or of light. Unable to express the struggles of his soul in any other way, they represent him as sitting sublime, calm, and serene during violent attacks made upon him by a wicked visible tempter and his wicked angels, armed by all kinds of weapons.' We must not, however, imagine that the Temptation of Gautama is of purely psychological origin. Even here the first germs are evidently mythological (see Darmesteter).

² The fondness for references to mountains in Jewish eschatological literature also has its roots in mythology.

³ See Nestle, *N.T. Gr. Supplementum*, 77, and cp. *TABOR*, § 5.

⁴ There is evidence suggesting that the early tradition placed it in the Jerahmeelite Negeb (see *PARADISE*, § 11, with n. 6).

⁵ On the genesis of the 'forty days' in the Moses and Elijah story, cp. *MOSES*, § 11.

One.¹ Just so, Zarathustra is said to have beheld seven visions of Ormazd and the archangels before meeting the combined attack of the powers of evil.² It may well be that in the original Temptation of Jesus, as in that of Zarathustra, the efforts of the tempter were made to centre in the one object of drawing the Saviour away to a false ideal of success. Analogy favours the view that this, like other stories of the same class, grew, and by the belief that it grew our appreciation of the final perfected form is increased rather than diminished.

One serious difficulty, however, remains. The short account in Mk. runs—

³ And he was in the wilderness forty days tempted of Satan; and he was with the wild beasts; and the angels ministered unto him (Mk. 1.13).

To suppose that this account merely sums up a fuller narrative, such as Mt.'s, is scarcely admissible. It consists of three clauses, and it is only the first and the third which can be represented as the skeleton of the vivid narrative known to Mt. and Lk. 'He was with the wild beasts' (*ἦν μετὰ τῶν θηρίων*)—clearly there is something more than picturesque realism here, and the duty of the critic is not performed by referring to Is. 30b. 2 Macc. 5.27. We seem to have here a fragment of another separate narrative, attached to the beginning of Jesus' career, the trials described in which were those incident to initiation into mysteries, or (in Egypt) to the passage of the soul to the Islands of the Blessed.⁴ J. M. Robertson⁵ is inclined to account in this way for the tempter's invitation to Jesus to grasp at food before the appointed time. 'We know that among the trials of the later Mithraic initiations were those of hunger and thirst; and as the adversary, the tempter, is a capital figure in all stages of the Mazdean system, it would be almost a matter of course that the initiate should figure as being tempted by him to break down in the probation.' It would certainly not be extraordinary that some echo of these mysteries should have made its way into the Christian community, considering how loose was the struggle between Christianity and Mithraism (the successor and supplanter of Mazda-worship) at a later period. Nor have we even thus exhausted critical possibilities. Considering that ability to vanquish demons was regarded as one of the most essential gifts of the Messiah (cp Mk. 3), it is not surprising if an attempt was made by early Christians to connect the temptation-story with this widely spread view of the messianic office. The discussion in §§ 8-11 will not, indeed, supersede the mythological theory, but it may help us to realise the popular theories which may possibly have been based at an early time on the narrative of the temptation.

T. K. C.

On the literary criticism of the synoptic narratives, besides the relevant sections in critical editions of the synoptic gospels and in the various biographies of Jesus, see von

15. Literature. Engelhardt, *Die temptation Jesu* (1885); Hinefeldt, *Die Versuchungsgeschichte* (1893); N. Schmidt, *St. Act.*, 1833, p. 443 f.; Weiml's *Lehre Jesu* (E. F. 1897, 303); W. H. Conger, 'Die Versuchungsgeschichte' (*Protest. Monatschrift*, 1899, 311 f., 352 f.); and B. W. Bacon, *Bibl. World*, Jan. 1898, pp. 12-25; also Ullmann's *Sündlosigkeit Jesu* (E. F., 1871, 144, 255-261 [1875-6]); Tremblay's *Studios sur l'Évangile*, 1865 (1867); *Le Monde* (6. h. 2); Campbell's *Christ, Studies in Luke*, 1895 (1. 11); A. B. Garvie, *E. F.*, 1873, 147, 156 f., 200 f., 453 f., 504 f.; W. W. Peyton, *E. F.*, 1873, third ser., 9, 99-101, fourth ser., 2, 200-275, 430-434, 422-275, 240-260; and W. B. Hill, *Bibl. World*, 11, 98-99; further, on the metaphysical problem, Bruce, *Incarnation of Christ* (1880), 2, 26-28; and Fairbairn, *Christ in Nat. Theology*, 347-353 (1873). A crude literalism dominates e.g. Sayles's *Nebe's Der Versuch des Herrn eine irdische That-sache des Sohnes Gottes, durch Satanas in der Wüste* (*Mittheil. und Nachrichten für die evang. Kirche in Russland*, 32, 49-104); cp

¹ Keim unites the two views of the forty days. ² He stands like Moses on Sinai in still converse with God, by whose word he lives, but he is, at the same time, put to the test by Satan; and in this side of his sojourn which has been most industriously portrayed (*Jesus of Nazareth*, E. F. 2, 205). The synoptics, however, only speak of his being tempted of the devil.

³ Williams, *Jesus and Lazarus*, 59 f.

⁴ Mass, *Prison of Christ*, 194 f.

⁵ *Christianity and Mythology*, 354.

A. D. Kurrikoff (*ibid.*, 1895, pp. 269-277, 303-317). [Art. published since the above article was written: G. Ouyé, *E. F.*, June 1902; Hilgenfeldt, *ZIT.*, 1902, pp. 25-302; Demmy, *Death of Christ* (1902), 16-18; and J. Halesy, *Kyrie Scrittura* (Jan., 1902), p. 117; also, for rabbinic parallels on Satan tempting Abram, Moses, and Israel, Gröner's *Jahrhundert d. Heilg.*, 2, 379 f.]

J. M. (§§ 1-7, 15); T. K. C. (§§ 12-14)

TENT. The tent, as a place of abode or shelter appears to stand midway between the tree and the circular hut.

1. Introduction. The tree, with its canopy of branch and brushwood, would suggest to nomadic tribes the use of the tree-trunk or pole, around which would be hung the skins of animals caught in the chase, whilst settled races would prepare a more lasting shelter by the erection, on a similar plan, of round (or nearly round) dome-shaped buildings of straw and clay. A later development of this would be the construction of round buildings with perpendicular walls, and sloping, not conical roof.

For these stages cp Montelius, cited by O. Schrader, *Deutscherman. Alterthum.*, 1897, and J. H. Middleton, art. 'Temple' in Smith's *Dict. Class. Ant.* 2, 773^b (the round shape was the earlier form for a god's house, just as the circular hut, but round a central pole, is the early architecture for a human habitation). It is not denied, however, that oval or oblong buildings are very old, and although there are indications that the Indo-Germanic races, for example, passed through the 'round-hut' stage (Schrader, *op. cit.*), it cannot be proved, although it may plausibly be inferred, that they were originally tent-dwellers. It is not clear how the rock-hewn chamber, and then the rectangular abode, is to be deduced, not yet sufficiently warranted by the evidence.¹ At all events, there is reason to suppose that the portico or gateway in front of the Egyptian house, for example, has evolved from a previous practice of building some kind of structure before the mouth of a cavern. Cp OUGÉ, 3.

It is unfortunate that the exact age of the circular dome-shaped beehive buildings in the Sinaitic peninsula which are described by Palmer (*Desert of the Exodus*, 139 ff., 186, 187, etc.), is unknown.² At all events there is no solid ground for the old theory (based on Lev. 23.4) that they were once occupied by the children of Israel during their wanderings in the wilderness. Some of them (at least) appear to have been used as tombs by monks, a use to which they are occasionally put at the present day, and this supports Mr. F. C. Burkitt's suggestion that the term applied to them, *nauidims*, is not from *nauidis*, 'mosquito', but is an evident oral corruption of *nauidims*, plural of *nauid*, which is ultimately derived from *nauid* (Syr. *nauid*), 'temple', but is used for 'cemetery,' and apparently for the Parsee towers of silence—in fact for any non-Mohammedan kind of burial place (pri. late communication).

The characteristic Hebrew term for the tent is *chul* (חֹל, *ḥal*) [BAM.], occasionally rendered TABERNACLE (*q. v.*, § 1). It has been connected³ with the Ass. *ālu*, 'settlement, city' (in contrast with *maḥāza*, 'fortified place'); but the relationship is doubted by Noldeke (*ZDMG* 40.72) [1886], who also questions the identity of the Hebrew word with the S. Sem. *ahil* (*cit.* 154, n. 1).⁴ On the other hand, *chul*, like *hith* (see HOUSE, § 1), may refer not only to the dwelling, but also to its occupants; cp Ps. 83.7 [6] 'tents of Edom' (= Ishmaelites), 120.5 'tents of Kedar' (*cp* 7. 68 'those who hate peace').⁵ and for this reason it has been considered probable that the last two letters of *חֹל* are in fact 1 Ch. 141, and that *חֹל* of 2 Ch. 11 [1] are corruptions of tribal names.⁶

¹ Tent is also the rendering of *milḥan*, מִלְחָנָה, Cant. 1 and (*ḥul*) Nu. 24.5 Jer. 30.16; of *zakkah*, זָכָה (*chul*) 1 Ch. 11.1; see PAVILION (1), TABERNACLE, § 1; and *ḥul* of 1 Ch. 11.1, Nu. 25.8, see PAVILION (2), and § 4 below. *Ḥal* (*chul*) is used of a tent? in Gen. 27.15 33.17 (1), and is thus rendered in

¹ For cave- or underground dwellings among Semites, cp Now. *Il. I. 15*, f. (C. of Jordan, Petra, and E. of the *L. Arabie Méridionale*, 1450 (S. Arabia).

² See KIRKICHI-DIAI TAAMAH, NEGBA, § 6.

³ E.g., by Fr. Delizsch (*Prod.* 105), Sayce (*TSB* 11.2, 1881).

⁴ Noldeke compares Syr. *paḥla*, 'troop, tribe'. In 1886, Semitic comes also the cognate Nab. *ḥul*, found in two inscriptions from Haurlin (*CIS* 2, 154 f.).

⁵ Not to be corrected into *ḥul* (*ḥul*), 'haters of this man' (i.e., 'Sabbasians') as the emendation in Cant. 1.7; see We. *Prod.* 218, n. 1 might suggest.

⁶ Cp Wi. 'Musri,' etc. *MTC*, 1868, 148 ff., and see Z. *op. cit.*

⁷ Cp, perhaps, the gloss in Hesychius: *βαρην*—tent of Sibir.

TENT

by RV in 2 K. 237 (but see DUBBS, § 2, col. 1146). Conversely, *Shel* seems to refer to the palaces of Israel's neighbors in Ps. 84 to (11) Job 21 28.

On the use of *Shel* in Saborian and Ptolemaic proper names, see ABUDHAMAN, OGDAN, OGDIBAH.

Originally the Hebrews, like the Arabs,² were essentially a tent-living people, and in one of their legendary genealogies they enumerate among their ancestors Jabal, the father of tent-dwellers and herdsmen, thus recognizing their nomadic origin (Gen. 4:2, cp. Heb. II, 9, and see CIVILIZATION, § 10). The tent-dweller, if he follows an honest calling, is essentially a herdsmen, and it is not until he has become at least an agriculturist—the two types are represented in Abel and Cain respectively—that he will begin to think of replacing the tent by a shelter of a more substantial character.³

The Canaanites among whom the Hebrews settled were house-dwellers (cp. Nu. 13:23 Dt. 12:35, and see CIVILIZATION, § 10). The tent-dweller, if he followed their example, is only to be expected, and is presupposed in the (later) law Dt. 22:3 (cp. HOSER, § 11). Still, it is noteworthy that outside help was desirable, if not actually necessary, and for the building of his temple Solomon was obliged to invoke the aid of the more expert Phoenicians (see HIRAM, I). Just as Arabian tradition relates that for the erection of the Ka'ba Coptic, Persian, or Roman workmen were called in (Fraenkel, *op. cit.* 4).

In this connection it is interesting to note that the Arabic word for 'roof' (*qafṣ*) is of Aramaic, and ultimately, perhaps, of Assyrian origin (Fraenkel, 5; Miss Arnold, *ibid.* 102, 110), and that the Hebrew synonym *qay* is of unknown etymology, and does not appear to be Semitic. Similarly, the derivation of the Heb. *ṭip, ṭip, ḏelēh, ḥagar* (in *mishṭā*, etc.) and *ḥel*, all of which presuppose town-life, are quite obscure.

Long after the settlement, the Hebrews retained in their language traces of their earlier mode of living. Wealth and cattle (צֶמֶד) are identical terms.⁴ *Nes* (נֶסֶךְ), 'to journey,' comes from the idea of pulling up the tent-pegs before journeying. Removal is compared to the carrying away of the shepherd's tent (cp. Is. 38:12); dissolution is as the breaking of the tent-cords, and as the fall of the tent, when there is none to set up or spread the curtains (Job 12:14 RV, Jer. 10:20). A tent firmly staked with stout cords is a figure of security (Is. 33:20), and a tent-peg, like our 'pegging out a claim,' is synonymous with the right of possession (Lev. 25:16). 'To your tents, O Israel' remains the formula of dismissal, and even in the time of Amazāḥ, Judah is deemed to dwell among tents (2 K. 14:12).

In spite of this, however, it is important to remember that there were certain clans in Israel which apparently continued to remain semi-nomads (e.g., Kenites and doubtless other clans living S. of the Negeb, and to the E. of the Jordan). Again, although modern analogy supports the inference that the agriculturists were almost wholly house-dwellers (however mean their abode may have been; see HOUSE), yet to a certain extent these still retained the earlier custom of dwelling in tents, whether it was during the ingathering of the vintage (see TABERNACLES, FEAST OF) or for comfort

TENT

during the summer, or from religious principle (see RICHARDSON).⁵ See below § 4.

On the ease with which the people will pass from house to tent life see Per. Chap. *Art in Chalil* I, 10. To understand this we must realize the deeply rooted preference which all Bedouins have for their tent.⁶ It is still the practice to the E. of the Jordan for the population of such towns even as es-Salt and Kerak to pitch their tents in the country during the summer. The same holds good of the peasantry of S. Palestine, and was no doubt usual in ancient times (Thomson, *Land and People*, 200). Another practice, Schumacher remarks, is for the fellahin of the Jordan to build a hut of branches or reeds⁷ upon the roofs of their houses (*ibid.*, 43). Cp. also B. D., § 1; HOSER, § 3, II 1.

As an instance of the modification of the tent by a more settled folk, the usage of the Turcomans, NW. of Aleppo, is of interest. According to Bin Khaldūn (*Traité de l'Asie*, I, 2; *Land*, 1, 122), the dwellings consist of oblong walls of about 4 ft. in height. These are made of loose stones, and the whole is covered over with a black cloth of 2 or 3's hair, elevated by twelve or more posts, about 2 ft. high, in the middle of the enclosure. A stone partition near the entrance leads off the women's apartment from that of the men. Many of the people, however, live in large huts 15 ft. high, whose walls are built but have roofs of rushes. As a further adaptation may be noted the *ḥut* or tent of the Kirghiz in Central Asia, consisting of a wooden frame for sides, radiating ribs for roof, and a wooden door, etc. Over this framework a heavy covering of felt is thrown, which is either weighed down with stones or, when necessary, staked together.⁸ From this it is possible to gain some idea of the construction of the Israhite tabernacle, as it existed in the mind of the priestly writers. See further TABERNACLES, § 10.

The well-known retention of ancient customs in the East being admitted, our conception of the tent of the Hebrews must be based upon our knowledge of its construction among the Bedouins of the present day,⁹ supplemented by the in-

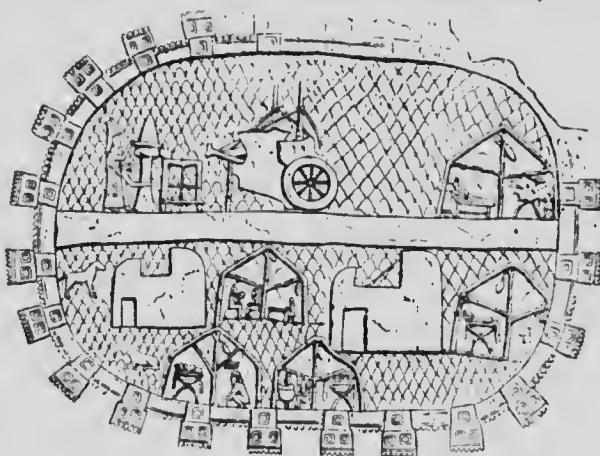


FIG. 1.—Sennacherib's camp at Lachish. Brit. Mus. Assyrian Saloon.

fortunately small number of representations of tents upon the Assyrian sculptures, and illustrated by the scanty details in the O.T. The sculptures furnish us with illustrations of the royal pavilion which accompanied Sennacherib at the siege of Lachish,¹⁰ and from

¹ [Che. *Ṭā*,² contends that in a number of passages (Ps. 134:1 Ps. 27:5 Jer. 61:5 Jer. 26:78 Jer. 84:11) טֶנֶת is miswritten for טֶנֶת.]

² Cp. Gen. 37:25 Judg. 8:11 (where *Tā* actually has טֶנֶת for טֶנֶת) Ps. 83:7 1 Ch. 5:10. As an examination of the terms appears to show, the Arabs learned the art of building from the Aramaeans (Fraenkel, *Aramaic Frontiers*, I, 17). The older civilisation of the Mitannians and Sabraens of the S. of Arabia does not come under consideration here.

³ On the gradual settling of the Hebrews, cp. Buhl, *Die assyrischen Verhältnisse d. Israeliten*, 13 ff. (Berlin, 1890).

⁴ Cp. also perhaps, Syr. *mishṭā*, and see CATTLE, § 8 (end).

⁵ Cp. Bu. 'The Nomadic Ideal in the OT' (*New World*, 1902).

⁶ Cp. v. Oppenheim, *Mitteilungen z. Pers.*, 105, 215.

⁷ Called *ḥarshā*; cp. below, vol. 4, 21, n. 2.

⁸ *Journ. Brit. Mus.*, Tent, 201, 202. The tent of Shiloh, according to Rabbinical writers, was also supposed to be a walled enclosure, covered over with curtains.

⁹ Among the descriptions of the various travellers in the East, Burckhardt, and more especially Dozy, have been drawn upon most frequently in this section.

¹⁰ Cp. also the pavilion portrayed upon the bronze gate of Balawat (expedition against Carchemish). For other royal tents, cp. Per. Chap. *Art in Chalil*, I, 171, 193.

the same source there is preserved, fortunately, a plan of the Assyrian camp. In which are depicted both the royal pavilion and tents of a less luxurious description (fig. 1). In addition to this, upon the sculptures representing Assurbanipal's expedition against the Arabians (*AB 2517 L. 122*), there are interesting portrayals of the tents of the enemy (fig. 2). In the uppermost panel, the tent-dwellers are seen peacefully working; below, is depicted the hand-to-hand combat with the Assyrians; and, finally, the Arabians are overpowered and killed, and the burning tents are on the point of collapse. The representation is extremely vivid. The framework of the tents appears to consist of an upright branch from the middle of which other branches

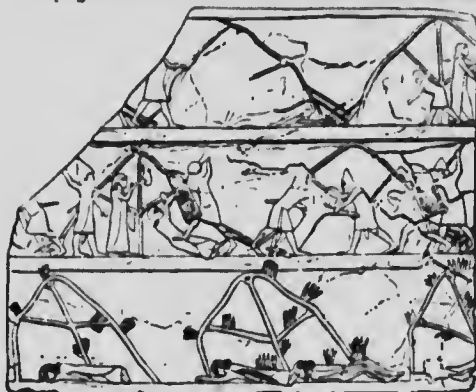


FIG. 2.—Arabian tents. Brit. Mus. Assyrian saloon.

project, and the general appearance, it will be seen, is markedly inferior to that in Semmehert's camp.¹

The Assyrians, like the Egyptians, were especially a house-dwelling people. But according to De Morgan (*Recherches sur les Origines de l'Égypte*, 66 f., Paris, 1897; cp Bulge, *Hist. de l'Égypte*, 142 ff 192; London, 1902), the earlier inhabitants of Egypt lived in booths of rush and reed, and the art of hick-making (see Hicks) was introduced probably from Chaldea. As regards the Assyrians, the theory that they, too, once dwelt in tents or booths, can at present be supported only by the fact that they were in the custom of erecting a tent upon the flat house-roof (Per. Chip., *Art in Chald.* 107, cp above, § 2, end), a practice which might lead to the erection of the so-called 'upper-chamber' (found also in Egypt, e.g., Wilk., *Law*, 125, 132), and of the rounded tops, domes, or sugar-loaf roofs of Mesopotamia (cp *Art in Chald.* 120, 145 ff.). May we also point to the general lack of windows?

The nomad tent (*hejra*, Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1224) is made of black worsted or hair-cloth, or of sheep's wool mingled with the hair of goats and camels.² Tents of linen were, and still are, used only occasionally for holiday or travelling purposes, by those who do not habitually live in them (Kato, *Bibl. Cycl. int.* 'Tent,' cp Doughty, 2356). The Bedouins of the Jaulán according to Schumacher (*Jaulán*, 51 f.) do not make the plaited goat-hair tent-cloths themselves, but buy them from certain tribes and gipsies (*Nawawir*), who for the most part drive a regular trade in this.³ The skeleton consists of a number of tent-poles (*amān*, *arāsmān*),⁴ varying in number from three to nine according to the size of the tent, which are kept in position by cords (*alther*, *māthār* [cp CORK], mod. *tanab* or *habl* [EG.]) attached to stakes or pegs (*yāthūd*, mod. *watēd*).⁵

¹ Cp also Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, 2271 (London, 1847), and Per. Chip., *Art in Chald.* 139.

² Hence the mod. name *baib k'ir*, *ba'wabir*; for the material, cp also Ex. 26. 26, 14, TABERNACLE, § 4 f., SACKCLOTH, § 116.

³ Tent-making, the trade followed by Paul, was no doubt a lucrative profession. The Pesh., however, in Acts 18. 3 reads

ⲓⲃⲉⲃ. 'shille-makers,' (= *lorarius*?), whence it has been

suggested that ⲓⲃⲉⲃⲉⲃⲓⲃⲓ is an error for ⲓⲃⲉⲃⲉⲃⲓⲃⲓ. See further, CILICIA, PVL. § 5, SACKCLOTH, and cp SUEB., § 3 n.

⁴ For a collection of other mod. terms in use see Oppenheim, *Von Mittelmeer z. Pers. Golf*, vol. 2, facing 44.

⁵ The Hebrew phrase for 'to pitch a tent' (ⲓⲃⲉⲃⲓⲃⲓ ⲁⲓⲃⲉⲃⲓⲃⲓ, Gen.

Over the poles are stretched the coverings of skin or rag (*ḥṣṣā'ah*, cp *Ar. Des.* 1041), and around the sides is hung a long cloth, an open space being left at one side for light and ventilation.¹ Inside the larger tents, a hanging, commonly not more than breast or neck-high, separates the smaller and inner apartment (*kubbat*, *makhram*) for the women (who rarely have their own tent, cp § 1 below), from the larger, and commonly open division, which is used as a reception and general living room (*ḥamk'ah*).² When there is a triple division, and this is rare (cp Doughty, 2283), the extra room is used for servants and cattle. The tents average 20-25 feet in length (though sometimes reaching as much as 40 feet), they are about 8 to 10 feet high, and usually oblong in shape; round tents are mentioned in the old Arabian poems,³ and a few traces have been found at the present day near Teima (Doughty, 1284 f.); but with these exceptions, they are used only by Turkish sheikhs and travellers.

The Arabs usually wander in *ferjān*, or nomad hamlets, according to their kindreds,⁴ accompanied perhaps by some poor unprotected followers. The collection of tents forms the *manzil*;⁵ if few, they may be arranged in a circle or semicircle,⁶ but usage varies, and not infrequently a tribe may be identified at a distance by the arrangement adopted.⁷ Zarebas, etc., campments surrounded with a stone wall, are vouchsafed for in the desert of Phaan (Nowack, *H. I.* 137), but are not common.

The Sheikh's tent is naturally the most important, though not necessarily, therefore, the most luxurious. It is usually placed in the most prominent position, and will often face the direction from which travellers may be expected to arrive (cp Gen. 18. 1 f.). To it repair the desert wanderers (*ḡawaf*, *Al-lah*, 'God's guests'), who find therein a sanctuary and can claim protection for two nights and a day.⁸ The *rahla* ('migration') is agreed upon the previous day by common assent or may rest with the Sheikh. Should his tent remain standing an hour past sunrise, it is known that the camp will not move that day (Doughty, 1266). Naturally the proximity of trees and wells (cp Gen. 18. 4) is sought for in selecting a fresh *manzil*.

To the women falls the duty of erecting and taking down the tents (Doughty, 1271). It is in their apartment that the goods and chattels are stored, though these, it is true, are few in number (Doughty, 126-227). Some lumps of rock-salt, a few lengths of cloth and pouches of leather, a box for the female vanities, the great brazen pot, a lamp, and a dozen or so utensils will form the average equipment (Doughty, 127, cp HOUSE, § 6 and references).

Nowhere do we find such conservatism of ancient

8125 Jer. 63) really contains a reference to the hammering (225) of the tent-pole.

¹ This is the only door, in the proper sense of the word; see DOOR. Contrast Gen. 18. 1 f. the *entrance* (*ḡelbāl*) of the tent, and 19. 7 the *door* (*ḡelbāl*) of the city-house (*ḥay'ah*); cp also where mention is made of the beam, *ḡirāh*. (cp Jer. 49. 39, the Arabians who have neither 'doors nor beams'.)

² Doughty (*Ar. Des.* 1227) well says: 'Tent is the woman's house; their clay house is built in like manner, a public hall for the men and guests, and an inner woman's and household apartment.'

³ The tents in the illustrations from the monuments (above) are also probably round.

⁴ Cp P's conception of the camp of Israel in the wilderness (Nu. 1. 52, etc.). In modern times the size of a tribe is frequently reckoned by the number of tents; for examples, see Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, 471.

⁵ From *Ar. nasāla*, 'to dwell,' perhaps originally 'to unroll.' Cp in Syr. *māḥṣirāh*, 'camp,' from *ḥṣā*, 'to loosen' (and *ḥṣā*). See Fraenkel, *op. cit.* 3, n. 1.

⁶ Cp the *Ar.* name *ḡawāḥir*, and the Heb. *ḡawāḥir*; see CAMP, § 1; CATTLE, § 1; NIGER, § 6.

⁷ Cp CAMP, § 1. Thus the tents may be arranged in the shape of a triangle, rectangle, in one long line, or in two parallel lines (Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine*, 225 f.); for square-shaped encampments, cp Robinson, *Bibl. Res. 189*, and for oval ones.

⁸ Rich and elaborate tents are more characteristic of the Persians, cp Judith 10. 21.

⁹ Doughty, 1228, cp WRS, *Kinship*, 41 f. 250, and see STRANGLER AND SUPERNER, § 5.

TENTH DEAL

customs as in matters outside everyday life, and in the case of the tent this is particularly illustrated in certain religious festivals (cp. above, § 2), and in marriage ceremonies. It has not escaped notice that in a few cases in the OT the tent appears to be the property of the wife (cp. *Judg.* 17, Sarah, *Gen.* 24:6; Jacob's wives, 31:33f.), and in this Robertson Smith recognised the survival of an earlier stage of society (still found in various phases among some communities where the woman possesses her own tent in which she receives her husband, and in which, though married, she retains perfect independence (the so-called *hennu* marriage). In later ages, when marriage entails the loss of her independence, and the woman belongs to the man, the importance of the tent is retained in a variety of ways: thus, notably, the Arab still erects a special hut or tent for his wife on the first night of marriage, although it is otherwise unusual for the woman to possess a separate dwelling (*Kinnhirp*, 167).

The erection of this tent for the consummation of the marriage illustrates *2 S.* 19:22 (*the*, not *a*, tent as in AV); such a bridal chamber may well have been called *huppah*, *הַחֻפּוּת* (cp. *Joel* 2:11 [where the *huppah* is used of a bridegroom, as also is *הַחֻפּוּת* itself in Ps. 134:3b]).¹ According to Robertson Smith (*Kinnhirp*, 198) and the *Arche* or bridal bed (*Gen.* 1:16) was also primarily a booth; cp. Ar. *ʿarrah*, 'thicket,' *ʿarrahah*, 'to make a booth' (esp. with a view to marriage), *ʿarrah*, 'bridegroom,' and *ʿarrah*, 'wife,'² but this is doubted by Bulde, *Fünf Mägdelein*, on *Gen.* 1:6.

Allusion has already been made to the circular and tent-like shape of the earliest temples in the classical world (§ 1), and although there do not appear to be actual records of the use of tents as temples, at least Orontes had his sacred booths (*Plin.* ii. 316) and temporary booths were not infrequently erected in sacred precincts (*Fraser, Paus.* 2:165 f. 204). These usages remind us both of the tents and booths erected by the Israelites on special religious festivals (*Hos.* 12:6, see TABERNACLES, FEAST OF), and of the temporary tents in which dwelt the female mourners over Hosen.³ Portable tents were also used as shrines on military campaigns (*WRS, Rev. Sem.* 37, cp. Schwally, *Semit. Krongelertw.* 1:11), and the use of tents as sanctuaries⁴ was familiar to the Israelites long after the settlement in Canaan. See further, TABERNACLE, esp. § 12.

TENTH DEAL (תֵּשֶׁבֶת). *Ex.* 29:40 AV, RV 'tenth part [of an ephah].' See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, § 3 (1:7, 'omer').

TEPHON (תֵּפֹן [A]). *1 Macc.* 9:50 RV, AV TAPHON (4:7).

TERAH (תֵּרַח, תֵּרַח [BADEL]; AD sometimes תֵּרַחָה; *Thare*), the father of Abraham (*Gen.* 11:24 ff. *Josh.* 24:2 f. *1 Ch.* 1:6 *Lk.* 3:34). Tradition described him variously as the son, and as the brother, of Nahor. P represents him as migrating from 'Ur Kasdim' (see UR OF THE CHALDEES) to 'Haran' (*Gen.* 11:31). To understand 'Terah,' we must, first of all, have a definite view as to the meaning of 'Abraham' and 'Haran.'¹

(1) There is some probability in Winkler's theory (*OT* 2:24 n. 1) that תֵּרַח is an intentional distortion of תֵּרַחָה (*yerah*)—Ass. *arhu*, originally 'the beginning of a moon.' Ur Kasdim, whence

¹ Another word is *kubba* (*Su.* 27^a, see PAVITSON, 2) with which cp. the Ar. term *kubba* (E 3, above). HUBPROF (*Zinn*)² properly 'tent,' but the older view is better (see *Gies. Theol.*, Di.), and is supported by the vulgar colloquial usage of the word in both MH and Ar. (cp. Freytag). Note that the derivative 'alcohol' itself, was used in Spanish to denote especially the recess in a chamber for the bell.

² *Mil.* 100, the *arishi* (*col.* 4970, n. 3 above). The stem is to be kept distinct from Ass. *erish*, 'bridegroom,' which corresponds to Heb. *ʿarrah* (תֵּרַח), 'to respond,' lit. 'pay the price.' The original meaning of תֵּרַח is uncertain.

³ A. Ferrinans has shown, the rite has traces of the Tammuzcult (*Z. A.* 10:23); cp. also v. Kremer, *Stud. u. vögelich. Kultur.* *gen.* 4, 1:59 (Vienna, 1890).

⁴ The *Arava* appears to have evolved from a tent (Wellh. *Stud.* 2:71).

TERAPHIM

Terah came, was (as is commonly held) the S. Babylonian city of Ur, which was the seat of the moon-cultus. Haran (or Haran, where Terah died) was the other great centre of the same cultus (see HOSIAS). This must be taken in connection with the theory of Winkler and his pupils as to the mythological character of Abraham and Sarah (cp. *Soc. Sci.* 12). Another view, however, may deserve to be mentioned. There is no reason to think that Abraham is the hero of the *Jozababees*, as Terah (cp. Sarah) is the hero of the *Teraphims*, and that his original seat (*i.e.*, that of the *Jozababees*) was, traditionally, in the southern Haran. Terah's close connection with Haran and Nahor (= Haran), suggests that he is a double of Abraham, and that his name is a corrupted fragment of *Terahmer*. Possibly for 'corrupted' we should rather say 'diminished,' or his authority, may, as Winkler (see above) remarks, have had a repugnance to a name which suggested moon-worship. (1) Jensen's comparison of S. Syrian (Chaldean) proper nouns, like *Tarhular* (*Z.* 10:7); *Hittite*, 1310, leads to the meagre result that Terah may have been a divine name. T. K. C.

TERAH (תֵּרַח), Nu. 5: 27 f. RV, AV TARAII (4:7).

TERAPHIM (תֵּרַפִּים, ⚪ in Gen. εἰδωλα. Hist. *Books* *Teraphim*, *Θαρ.*, *Teraphim*, *θεομα* [*Gen.* 1 S. 19:24 *Teraphim* (H) 19:11 *εἰδωλα* or *εἰδωλα*], *Hos.* 34 *θεομα* [see below, n. 2], *Ezek.* 21:21 *εἰδωλα*, *Zech.* 10:2 *αποθεγγυματα*; *Αρ.* *μαρμαρατα*, *πρωτοι* *Συμ.* *εἰδωλα*, *εἰδωλα*, *Θεραφει*, *Hebr.* *Teraphim*, *εἰδωλα*); AV (following Vg.) sometimes translates, sometimes translates 'image,' 'idols,' 'idolatry'; RV more consistently adopts 'teraphim' throughout.

The name appears to designate a particular kind of idol (cp. *Gen.* 31:9 with *7: 10*, 'my god'; also 35:2 ff.). Of the form of these images we learn nothing from the security notices in the OT; we cannot certainly infer from the fact that Laban's was concealed under a camel saddle that it was small, nor from the use which Michal makes of David's (*1 S.* 19:13 ff.) that it was of the size or shape of a man. Laban's teraphim (his god) was stolen by Rachel (*Gen.* 31), but with other foreign gods and heathenish amulets, was put away by Jacob before he went to worship Yahwe at Bethel (*35: 4*); the meaning of the story (in E) plainly is that the teraphim were relics of Aramean paganism which Israel cast off to serve Yahwe alone (cp. *Josh.* 24:23; see also *1 S.* 15:21, where in a prophetic passage (E. Bulde) teraphim¹ is coupled with divination as a type of sin most hateful to God, and *2 K.* 23:24 (R₁), Michal had an ephod and teraphim in his shrine, which were carried off by the Danites to their new settlement at the sources of the Jordan and placed in their sanctuary (*Judg.* 17:5 18). The teraphim in David's house (*1 S.* 19:13 ff.) is spoken of as if it was a thing which would be found in every household. In the eighth century Hosea joins the ephod and teraphim² with sacrifices and masschahs as essential to the religious observances of his people; in their absence religion would cease (*Hos.* 3:4).

Like the ephod, with which they are associated (in *Judg.* and *Hos.*), the teraphim were employed or consulted in divination (*2 K.* 23:24 *Ezek.* 21:21 *Zech.* 10:2). Ezekiel, in the passage cited, represents the Babylonian king as divining by shaking arrows (obolomancy; see URIM AND THURMIM), inquiring of the teraphim, examining the entrails of a sacrifice (*tertipficium*); cp. also *1 S.* 15:21, where divination (*עֲוֹלָה*, *sortilgium*) is connected in a similar way with the teraphim. It is not clear, however, that the teraphim were consulted by the lot; Ezekiel seems to distinguish the two. Spencer's theory that the teraphim were small images (figurines), perhaps of human form, the heathen counterpart of the Urim, has no substantial foundation.³ Other scholars have inferred from *Gen.* 31:10-35 *Judg.* 17:5 ff. *1 S.* 19:13 ff., that the teraphim were household gods (cp. notes, a Lapidé, Seb. Schmid, Vitringa, *Ex.* *Ferr.* *Lans.* etc.); more specifically, images of the ancestors, so that the consultation of the teraphim was a kind of names oracle (E. Meur. *Stade*, Schwally, etc.). The latter hypothesis rests upon questionable anthropological or etymological

¹ Read תֵּרַפִּים ⚪

² It is to be observed that ⚪ has θεομα, elsewhere used to render תֵּרַפִּים.

³ See URIM AND THURMIM.

TEREBINTH

TERESH

assumptions; other passages are hardly compatible with the theory that the terebint were solely domestic idols (see Hos. 34 Ezek. 21:21 [26], Zech. 10:2 2 K. 23:24).

The etymology and meaning of the word are unknown; for various conjectures see Ges., *Thes.* 1419 f.; Moore, *Judges*, 351 f. (p. also L. Low, in *HZA*, 1914); those who think that the terebint were images of the ancestors connect the name with עֲרֵב (Neubauer, Sayce, Klo., Schwally). The opinions of Jewish writers about the nature of the terebint may be found by the citations in Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* 280 ff.; Beyer, *Additamenta* to Selden, synt. u. chap. 1. The most remarkable is that the terebint was a named human head (Jer. Larg. Gen. 31:30, etc.); with which (p. the stories of this kind of divination among the Harrarians, Chwolson, *Saviez*, 249 ff. 308 f. 150 ff. *Literature*, Jerome, *Ep.* 24, *De Ephod et Theraphim*; Selden, *De Jure Juris*, synt. 1 chap. 2, with Beyer's *Additamenta*; Spencer, *De legibus ritualibus*, bk. 8 chap. 7; Pfeiffer, *Expositiones biblicae*, 4; van Dale, *De divinationibus idolatriae*, chap. 11 (against Spencer); Ewald, *Alttestamentarische Theologie*, 127 ff.; Stade, *Gl.* 1:147. Schwally, *Leben nach dem Tode*, 35 ff.; Moore, *Judges*, 170 ff.; I. C. Foster, *IBL*, 21:27 ff. (1912). See also THEODOR, and v. ESCALATORIA, § 4. G. F. M.

TEREBINTH. The four forms אֵילָן, אֵילִּים, אֵילֹן, אֵילֹנִים, are evidently closely connected in origin. אֵילָן, אֵילִּים, or אֵילֹן, אֵילֹנִים, is best regarded as plur. of אֵילָן, אֵילִּים, or perhaps of the masculine form אֵילָן (occurring only in the proper name אֵילָן אֵילֹנִים) from which אֵילָן is the *nomen unitatis*. אֵילִּים and אֵילֹנִים are usually taken together as 'terebinth,' אֵילִּים and אֵילֹנִים as 'oak'; though Celsus (*Urbew.* 1:14 ff.) joins אֵילִּים as 'terebinth' to אֵילֹנִים and אֵילֹן. The connection of these words—at least of אֵילָן, אֵילִּים—with the divine name אֵל, suggested by Wellhausen (*Proz.* ET, 238) and Stade (*Gl.* 1:455), is too vague to help towards identifying the tree intended (cp WRS, *Rel. Sem.* 20:192 f.); the difficulty is increased by our uncertainty as to the original meaning of the root אֵל, according to others אֵלָן—with which the words appear to be connected. (See the literature cited in Gesenius¹ under אֵל, and cp NABES, § 116.) On the other hand, the fact that אֵילֹן, אֵילִּים, which is in form exactly equivalent to אֵילֹן, means 'a tree' in general, may suggest that the special sense which these words have acquired in Hebrew is derived from a more general one—viz. that of trees *par excellence*—the large and strong trees characteristic of the region. This view is supported by the fact that the place Eilat was apparently so called from its palm trees (see Eilat), and the possible or (Moore) probable identity (but see DUNAN) of the אֵילֹן אֵילִּים in Judg. 4:5 with the אֵילֹן אֵילִּים of Gen. 35:6. Twice, however (Is. 61:1 Hos. 4:13), אֵילִּים and אֵילֹנִים are mentioned in the same verse as distinct trees. And as a considerable body of tradition has identified אֵילִּים with the terebint (Celsus, *l.c.*), and there is repeated mention of the אֵילֹנִים of Bashan (Is. 2:13 Ezek. 27:6 Zech. 11:2), a district famous for its oaks, it is reasonable to conclude that אֵילִּים and אֵילֹנִים came to be used for these trees respectively. It is doubtful whether the distinction in pointing between אֵילִּים and אֵילֹנִים and between אֵילֹן and אֵילֹנִים is more than an artificial creation of later times². The occurrence in אֵילֹן אֵילִּים of אֵילֹן אֵילִּים and אֵילֹן אֵילִּים (Judg. 9:37 [13]) may help to show which of the forms were original.

The special associations of large trees like the oak and the terebint with the religion of the Hebrews, as with those of other Semitic peoples, have been discussed by Baudissin (*Studien*, 2:184 ff.), Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.* 20:185 ff.), Stade (*Gl.* 1:455 ff.), and others. Such names as אֵילֹן מִרְיָהוּ ('oak of the teacher' (Gen. 12:6 Dt. 11:6)), and אֵילֹן מִלְּעֹנָיִם (אֵילֹן אֵילִּים, 'diviners' oak' (Judg. 9:37)), point to their having been early seats of prophetic oracles. The custom of burial beneath the tree (Gen. 35:8 1 Ch. 10:12) is again an evidence of sacred association. On the appearance of the angel to Gibson beneath the אֵילָן in Ophrah, see Wellh. *Proz.* ET, 238. By the prophets the association of worship with sacred trees was condemned as a departure from the spiritual ideal of Israel's religion, and also on account of the degrading practices connected with it (Hos. 4:13 Ezek. 6:13 etc.).

2. Religious associations.

1 G. F. Moore goes further: 'There is no real foundation for the disrimination; the words signify in Aramaic "tree" simply; in Hebrew usually, if not exclusively, "holy tree".' (note on Judg. 4:11). If so, however, the correctness of the text in Is. 6:13 Hos. 4:13 will have to be disputed.

We proceed to notice briefly the occurrence of the various words.

1. אֵילָן, אֵילִּים (Gen. 35:4 Judg. 9:11 19 1 S. 17:2 [20A om.] 17 [20B om.] 21 [20] 2 S. 18:31 [21] 1 K. 13:17 1 Ch. 10:12 Is. 1:30 6:13 Ezek. 6:13 [20] om.)

3. References. Hos. 4:13 [20] δένδρον στυκιάκου[20]; τρεπυ[20] (β[20] in Eccl. 2:15; the proper name אֵילָן, Elath, Dt. 28 etc. is possibly the same word) is in AV rendered 'oak' (RVmg. 'terebint') except in the two places where אֵילֹן, אֵילִּים, is also present; in Is. 6:13 AV has 'cedar' and Hos. 4:13 RVmg. 'elm,' while RV has 'terebint' and 'terebint' in these verses. אֵילֹן renders six times by δένος and three by τρεπυ[20]; besides these, twice in Judges 20A has δένος and 20B τρεπυ[20].

As has been shown at length by Celsus (*l.c.*) the meaning 'terebint' will suit all the passages where אֵילִּים occurs. *Pistacia Terebinthus*, L., which in some countries is only a shrub, attains in Syria the proportion of 'a noble imbricated tree,' 20 to 40 ft. or more in height (Fl. and Haub. 20:165). It may thus constitute landmark. Robinson (*RA* 3:15) describes one he saw on the way from Hebron to Ramleh—such a tree as we can imagine to have given the valley of Elath its name. 'Here, in the broad valley, at the intersection of the roads, stands an immense Butm tree—the largest we saw anywhere in Palestine, spreading its boughs far and wide like a noble oak. . . . The Butm is not an evergreen. . . its small feathered lance-shaped leaves fall in the autumn and are renewed in the spring. The flowers are small and followed by small oval berries, hanging in clusters from 2 to 5 m. long, resembling much the clusters of the vine when the grapes are just set.' The abundant branching and foliage of the terebint agree with the references in 2 S. 18:31, 14 Eccl. 2:15; the fact that it is nevertheless not an evergreen explains the simile in Is. 1:30.

2. אֵילָן, אֵילִּים (אֵילֹן אֵילִּים, Josh. 24:26), can be only a slightly divergent form of אֵילָן, אֵילִּים. The tree intended in Josh. (l.c.) may be the same as that mentioned Gen. 35:4 (Balaac), where for AV, 'plain,' read 'oak' or 'terebint'.

3. אֵילֹן, אֵילִּים, or אֵילֹן, אֵילִּים, the plur. of אֵילָן or אֵילִּים (see above) occurs Is. 1:20 57:5 61:1 and possibly Ezek. 31:14. In the first two places אֵילֹן has wrongly εἰδωλό, which is followed by AV 'idols' in the second. In the first passage (Is. 1:20) the disappointingness of nature-worship which is indicated (Ch. 1:20) the same species of idolatry is referred to in 57:5. In Is. 61:1 (where אֵילֹן interprets loosely γενεά) we have a spiritual metaphor drawn from the noble stature and luxuriant foliage of these trees; cp 10:21 and other passages. The word אֵילֹן constitutes a difficulty in Ezek. 31:14; its rendering πρὸς αὐτὰ forming the part of the original אֵילֹן, according to some versions (Field, *l.c.*), and the verse reads more smoothly if, with Cornill, we omit the word. (See *Crit. Bib.*)

4. אֵילֹן, אֵילִּים (in אֵילֹן אֵילִּים usually δένος, Gen. 12:6 18:18 31:1, 18:1 11:30 Josh. 10:11 [cp אֵילֹן] Judg. 4:11 9:6 17 1 S. 10:3), wrongly 'plain' in AV, and (5) אֵילֹן, אֵילִּים (usually δένος or βάλανος, Gen. 35:6 Is. 2:13 [δένδρον βάλανου] 6:13 44:14 [om.] Ezek. 27:6 [βάλανου] Hos. 4:13 Am. 2:9 Zech. 11:2).

אֵילֹן and אֵילִּים are slightly varying forms of the same word, which had come to denote a particular large tree distinct from אֵילָן, אֵילִּים, most probably the oak. According to Tristram² (*NHB* 368 ff.) there are three species of *Quercus* which flourish in Palestine, the most abundant being the evergreen *Q. pseudo-coccifera*; the others are both deciduous species, *Q. Agilops* and *Q. infectoria*. The first he describes as in appearance much like our 'holm oak,' and he speaks of one very large tree of this species, the so-called 'Abraham's oak' near Hebron. The oak of Bashan he believes (following Hooker) to be *Q. Agilops*. (cp Underhill in *ZDPV* 13:220 ff. On the oaks of Sharon, see SUYKON, S. M., w. 1:140.)

TERESH (אֵילֹן), a chamberlain of king Abimelech (Esth. 2:21 6:2 om. BAL-*שב*, אֵילֹן אֵילִּים [אֵילֹן אֵילִּים] in

1 For Ps. 20:9 and Gen. 49:21 where אֵילֹן compares Naphtali to a στέλεχος ἀνεμίμων (i.e., אֵילֹן אֵילִּים, Dt., etc.), see HUBB, NAPHTHALI.

2 His statements are based upon the important paper by Sir J. D. Hooker in *Trans. Linn. Soc.* 23:311-377.

TERTIUS

Esth. 121. THARRA (ΘΑΡΑ [N^ord.], ΘΕΛΕΥΤΟΥ [1 3]). If the name must be Persian, we have a choice between *tarf*, 'dark, fierce' (Ges. *Lex* (12)), and *tarhath*, 'fenced,' the supposed original of Tirshatha (cp Marq. *Evangel.* 70); Oppert (*Annales de philol. chaldéenne*, janv. 1861), however, compares Tiri-dates, the name of the governor of Persopolis (temp. Vexander). But if underneath the present Esther-story there is an earlier story, the scene of which was not in Persia, but in the land of Terahamel (N. Arabia), the only one of the above suggestions which will serve us is the second, and the question is, What is the origin of ΤΙΡΣΑΘΑ? But cp also ΖΕΥΘΑΡ.

TERTIUS (ΤΕΡΤΙΟΣ), in the present text of the Epistle to the Romans (16:22), figures in the first person as having 'written' the epistle (ἐγὼ Τέρτιος ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολήν). As long as the authenticity of the epistle is maintained it is impossible to suggest a reason why Paul's amanuensis, while delivering the author's greetings in the usual manner in 23:21, should thus abruptly have taken an independent course in 21:22. True, 1 Cor. 16:21 Col. 4:3 2 Thess. 3:17 compared with Gal. 6:11 can be urged for the opinion that Paul dictated his epistles; but so far as Rom. 16:22 is concerned this does not lead to any further conclusion than that an amanuensis had to be mentioned somewhere in the pseud-epigraphum. In point of fact the appearance of Tertius at this place belongs only to almost the final form of the work. See ROMANS, § 4, 7, pp. 3-4.

Various conjectures have been made regarding Tertius (Terentius) on the assumption of the authenticity of the epistle. A favorite suggestion is that he may have been one of those Jews whom Claudius had expelled from Rome. Under IUSTUS, 2, it has been suggested that he really is the Titus, or Titus, Justus of Acts 18:7. Ryder (*IBZ* xvii, 98-102) thinks of him as an influential Roman Christian, and argues that Rom. 16:21 is a letter or part of a letter from him to his friends at Rome. It can hardly be disputed, however, that the argument for the separation of chaps. 15-16 from the rest of the traditional epistle is stronger than that for their ascription to Tertius. Cp SIMON (17) the Cyrenian). In the lists of the

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'seventy' disciples by the Pseudo-Dionysius and Pseudo-Hippolytus Tertius appears as bishop according to Dionysius the second bishop of Comum.

TERTULLUS (ΤΕΡΤΥΛΛΟΣ [Ti. WH]), the rhetor or orator who appeared for the prosecution against Paul before Felix (Acts 24:17).

TESTAMENT (ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ), Mt. 26:28 etc. See COVENANT, § 7; also GALATIA, § 24.

TESTIMONY (ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ), Ex 16:34. See ARR., § 3. Cp also WITNESS. On 2 K. 11:12 see BRAVELETS, 5.

TETA (ΤΑΤΑ [A]), 1 Esd. 5:28. AV—Esd. 2:42. HATTA (*J. S. L.*).

TETRARCH (ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΗΣ), the ruler of a tetarchy (ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΙΑ), that is, in the original sense of the word, of one-quarter of a region. The title of tetarch is familiar from the NT as borne by certain princes of the petty dynasties, which the Romans allowed to exercise a dependent sovereignty within the province of Syria. In this application it has lost its original precise sense, and means only the ruler of part of a divided kingdom, or of a region too narrow to support a higher title. After the death of Herod the Great (1 B.C.) his realm was shared among his three sons; the chief part, including Judaea, Samaria, and Idumea, fell to Archelaus (Mt. 2:22), with the title of ethnarch (see ETHNARCH), Philip received the NE. of the realm, and was called tetarch; and Galilee was given to Herod Antipas, who bore the same title (Lk. 3:1). These three sovereignties were reunited under Herod Agrippa from 41 to 44 A.D. On the tetarchy of Lycaonia mentioned in Lk. 3:1 see ARRENE, LYCANIAS.

TETTER (ΠΟΞ, *bohak*; ΔΑΦΑC), a harmless eruption of the skin (Lev. 13:38f. AV 'freckled spot').

In Syria, at the present day, this disease is known by the same name, *bohak*, and it is recognized as not dangerous. It takes the form of dull white or reddish spots on the skin, of unequal size, and hardly rising above the surface of the skin. The spots have no bright surface, and in time disappear of themselves. *SBOT*, *Lex. Lang. and Lit.*

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INTRODUCTION

The exact determination of the original text of the Old and New Testaments is a study which has points of contact with questions concerning both the

1. General limits. Canon of Scripture, and the literary sources of the several books. There are instances of a translation acquiring a scriptural authority which has never been accorded to the original, as in the case of ECCLESIASTICUS (2, 7, 1); other books have been the product of successive compilations and revisions, so that it may become a matter of doubt at what stage of its existence it can be said to have been in its 'original' form. Generally, however, the limits of the subject can be marked out by the actual state of extant documents. Thus the criticism of the 'Priestly Code' (P), or of the book usually called JE, as they may have existed before the compilation of the Pentateuch, lies quite beyond textual criticism. Our documents do not carry us back behind the Pentateuch already complete as a single work. On the other hand, the extant texts of the Greek translation of Jeremiah suggest very serious questions as to the collection and editing of his prophecies and as to the authority for the arrangement found in the Hebrew and adopted in the English Bible.

The case stands much the same with the NT. We can learn from the variations of our MSS little that directly bears on the apostolic origin of the Fourth Gospel, or the Pastoral Epistles. Even the earliest versions do not take us behind the collection of the four evangelic narratives which together made up the Gospel, or the collection of the thirteen Pauline Epistles. Of the literary fate of the Apostle's letters, of the journeys which they may have made from Corinth to Rome, or from Thessalonica to Philippi, before incorporation into the collected edition, our MSS tell us nothing. There is some evidence that there circulated in the West an edition of the Epistle 'to the Romans,' in which the name of Rome was absent from the opening salutation, and there is strong evidence that elsewhere than in the West the name of Ephesus was absent from the Epistle 'to the Ephesians'; but on this one circumstance it is difficult to build. The only real point where textual study touches the 'Higher Criticism'—though it must be confessed that it is an important one—arises when we consider what inferences are to be drawn from the incomplete condition in which the Gospel according to Mk. appears in the best texts. By whomsoever Mk. 16: 9-20 was supplied, and at whatever time it was first attached to the Gospel, the fact remains that the genuine text breaks off in the middle of a sentence with all the marks of accidental mutilation. The natural inference, the only inference which would be drawn from a similar state of things in any classical or ecclesiastical writing in which such phenomena were observed, is that all our MSS are ultimately derived from a single copy itself imperfect at the end.¹

But this forms an exception to the class of problems raised, and the subject of this article may with little loss of accuracy be defined to be the history of the text of the books of the Old and New Testaments from the time each became canonical, whether in the Jewish or the Christian church.

The methods of scientific criticism are of course equally applicable to the whole of the Bible. Indeed, in certain branches of textual study the division observed in this article between OT and NT has no significance.

The Old Latin, for instance, and the Egyptian versions are translations of the Greek Bible as a whole; in such cases the only true divisions are those produced by the mechanical conditions of transcription. Those books of the Bible which were usually included in the same volume have usually the same literary history. Nevertheless, the division into NT and OT represents for the most part a real distinction. All purely

¹ Probably it was mutilated elsewhere. 'Boanerges' is too monstrous a form not to be a mere corruption.

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Jewish documents obviously extend to the OT only. Then, again, the Peshitta and the Latin Vulgate are in the OT translations of the Hebrew, and the study of them raises a class of questions quite separate from that raised by the study of the texts of the NT with which they are bound up.

But the great distinction between the textual study of the OT and that of the NT lies in the very different

2. Textual criticism. part which palaeographical error has played in the surviving documents. Accidental mistakes in the chief ancient texts of the NT are rare; but in the OT they are to be found continually. The inevitable result is that conjectural emendation, which is almost inadmissible in the NT, is in the OT a necessity, and one which can historically be justified.

A few words here on this important subject may not be out of place. Strange and confusing as the appearance of an ancient MS is to our eyes, it was nevertheless clear enough to those who wrote it, and the mistakes in copying which we make are as a rule avoided in old times. The discoveries of very ancient papyrus fragments of classical works have not overthrown but rather confirmed the better class of extant mediæval codices. As long as a work was frequently read, as long as the scribe was fairly familiar with what he was copying, mere mistakes do not seem often to have been made, and when made were frequently corrected. In rare and unfamiliar writings a perfectly different state of things obtains, and there is then no limit to the perversity of the copyist.

The NT was written by Christians for Christians; it was moreover written in Greek for Greek-speaking communities, and the style of writing (with the exception, possibly, of the Apocalypse) was that of current literary composition. There has been no real break in the continuity of the Greek-speaking church, and we find accordingly that few real blunders of writing are met with in the leading types of the extant texts. This state of things has not prevented variations; but they are not for the most part accidental. An overwhelming majority of the 'various readings' of the MSS of the NT were from the very first intentional alterations. The NT in very early times had no canonical authority, and alterations and additions were actually made where they seemed improvements. The substitution of *ἐλεημοσύνην* for *δικαιοσύνην* in Mt. 6; and the addition of the doxology to the Lord's Prayer a dozen verses later are not palaeographical blunders, but deliberate editing.

The literary history of the OT has been very different. While the Canon of the OT was being formed, Hebrew was a dying language, and the political misfortunes of the Jews were of a nature far less favourable to the preservation of ancient documents than the legal persecutions of the Christians. Under Antiochus, under Titus, and finally under Hadrian, the Palestinian Jews suffered all the devastating and uprooting effects of a war for existence, and it is no wonder if, at the close of each of these epochs, the MSS which survived were few and torn, and the scholars who could read them fewer still. Hebrew had become a learned tongue, its place being mostly supplied by the various forms of Aramaic, and it was not every Jew who could read the Scriptures in the original, far less spell out correctly a damaged or faulty exemplar. These are the very conditions in which slips of copying are inevitably made and least easily detected. The veneration which the Jews felt for their Scriptures ultimately led them to copy so accurately as to preserve the most obvious blunders in the transmitted text; but this antiquarian science came too late.

Nor are we on much surer ground when we come to the only very ancient version—viz., the Greek OT commonly called the Septuagint. The fable of the seventy translators, each of whom independently agreed in their rendering, may be evidence that the Alexandrian Jews had some common tradition of the meaning of the Law; but if we except the Pentateuch, to which alone the name 'Septuagint' properly applies, the various

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books of the Greek OT bear all the marks of having been originally the private ventures of untrained scholars. These unsatisfactory translations passed over into the keeping of the Church; but Christian scribes were unable to check corruption in a text which frequently cannot be translated to make rational sense, nor have we any guarantee that the earliest MSS which came into Christian hands were accurate representatives of the original version. Yet from these earliest Christian MSS our copies seem to be descended.

Thus both in the Hebrew original and in the Greek translation there are serious breaks of continuity in the history of the OT, to which the history of the NT

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offers no parallel. The textual critic is therefore justified, in the case of the OT, in a temperate use of conjectural emendation based (1) on the scientific study of the Hebrew language and (2) on the ascertained usage of the biblical writers in passages where the text is comparatively free from suspicion.

From various causes, but chiefly from the better preservation of the documents, the textual criticism of the NT is at the present time in a more advanced state than that of the OT. Contrary, therefore, to the usual custom, the history of the text of the NT in the original and in translations will precede that of the OT in this article.

I.—NEW TESTAMENT.

A.—TEXT

The original authorities for the text of the NT may be divided into three classes—*viz.*, Greek MSS, Versions made from the Greek, and Patristic Quotations. The Greek MSS range in date from the fourth century¹ to the invention of printing, the Versions from the middle of the second century to the ninth. The original form of each version is attested by MSS, some (as in the case of the Old Latin) as early as any known Greek MS, and by the quotations of writers who used the version.

We may point out here the inherent merit of the testimony obtained from versions and patristic quotations, and the counterbalancing difficulties attendant on their use. The most ancient versions of the NT into Latin, Syriac, and Egyptian, are older than our oldest Greek MSS; wherever, therefore, we can be sure that we have the original form of any of these versions, and wherever we are able to retranslate with certainty that original form into the Greek underlying it, we have a resultant Greek reading possessing a higher direct claim to antiquity than the reading of any single extant Greek MS. But obviously this is not always the case.

1. Until a version has been critically studied we may not assume that any single MS faithfully represents its original form, for the text of the MS may have been revised from later Greek texts. Moreover, the early translations were not always literal, nor can Greek distinctions always be represented in another language, so that retranslation in some cases is a matter of uncertainty.

2. The testimony derived from quotations in ecclesiastical writers also requires very cautious handling. Many 'Fathers' were not in the habit of quoting accurately, and the text of their works, which in some important instances depends ultimately on a single late MS, is often open to suspicion.

Nevertheless, patristic quotations have a special value to the textual critic. They are as a rule both localised and dated. Where there is reason to believe that the quotation in a writer's work reproduces the reading of his Bible we have in effect a fragment of a MS of the writer's own age and country, which serves as a fixed point in our historical and geographical grouping of the continuous extant biblical texts.

Unfortunately patristic evidence is often lacking just where it is most wanted. The verses most instructive for tracing the literary history of the text of the Bible are rarely those of immediate doctrinal import, and again and again where crucial variations occur the testimony of early Fathers is absent. It is especially difficult to ascertain the true weight of the patristic evidence for omissions.

Most non-Greek Fathers are to be reckoned among the authorities for the version in their vernacular; but some—notably Tertullian and Jerome—seem often to make independent translations of their own direct from the Greek.

In quoting authorities, the Greek MSS written in *uncial* letters (ranging from the fourth to the ninth cent.—or later) are denoted by capital letters, those written in *minuscule* (ranging from the ninth to the sixteenth cent.) by numerals. These latter are commonly called 'cursive.' (See

WRITING.) There is absolutely no distinction in critical value between a 'cursive' and an 'uncial' MS.

CHIEF GREEK MSS OF NT

Designation.	Place.	Contents.
	<i>4th Cent.</i>	
B (<i>Cod. Vaticanus</i>)	Rome	all books except part of Hebr., Pastoral Epp., and Apoc.
Ⲁ (<i>Cod. Sinaiticus</i>)	S. Petersburg	all books complete.
	<i>5th Cent.</i>	
11 (<i>Cod. Bezae</i>)	Cambridge	Gospels and Acts.
A (<i>Cod. Alexandrinus</i>)	London	all books.
C (<i>Cod. Ephraemi</i>)	Paris	fragm. of nearly all books.
	<i>6th or 7th Cent.</i>	
12 (<i>Cod. Claromontanus</i>)	Paris	Pauline Epp.
E2 (<i>Cod. Laudianus</i>)	Oxford	Acts.
	<i>8th Cent.</i>	
L (<i>Cod. Regius</i>)	Paris	Gospels.
	<i>9th Cent.</i>	
Δ (<i>Cod. Sangallensis</i>)	S. Gallen	Gospels
Γ (<i>Cod. Bernerianus</i>)	Dresden	Gospels
Π2 (<i>Cod. Porphyrianus</i>)	S. Petersburg	Paul. Epp.
		all bks. except Gospels.

The following fragmentary uncial MSS are important for the light they throw on the history of the text—

Z (7th cent.)—fragments of Mt.; Ξ (8th cent.)—fragments of Lk.; six fragmentary MSS denoted by F, ranging from the 6th to the 7th cent. and containing portions of the Gospels with a Sahidic translation, which, together with some similar fragments lately published by Amelineau (*Not. et Extr.* vol. xxxix.), give the type of Greek text current in Upper Egypt.

The most important cursives are: 1. In the Gospels, those numbered 21, 157, 28, 575, 700; and the two groups 1-113 (11-20) and 130-9 (124-30-543). These two groups are composed of the immediate descendants of two lost uncials, each of which would have been as valuable for critical purposes as any but the very chief codices B¹ & A. 2. In the Acts, a special mention must be made of 91, for the goodness of its text; also of 137, 150, and in the Epp. for the marginal readings cited as 67** (Paul) and 66** (Cath. Epp.).

Cod. 562 (Gregory) is also called 473 (*Venerabilis, Burgon*), and 29c (*Fischer*).

Cod. 700 (Gregory) is also called 604 (*Sinaiticus, Hoskote*).

" 543 (Gregory) " 356 (*Sinaiticus*).

The history of the printed text of the Greek NT falls into three divisions: 1. The first age opens with the

5. Printed editions. *editio princeps* of Erasmus at Basel in 1516, and includes the early printed editions of Stephens (1550), Beza, etc., and the Polyglots. During this period the ordinary form of the text, commonly called the *Textus Receptus*, was fixed, and the first collections of various readings were made. 2. The second age dates from Mill's edition of 1707. Little change was made in the printed text during this second period, but it is marked by the great collections of variants brought together by Mill, Wetstein, Matthaei, and others. The first attempts

¹ Some papyrus fragments from Oxyrhynchus are still earlier, being assigned to the middle of the third century A.D.

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towards a systematic arrangement of the material by Bentley, Bengel, and Griesbach also fall within this period. iii. The third age dates from Lachmann's edition of 1831, in which for the first time a modern editor constructed the text from ancient evidence alone, without reference to previous editions. During the last fifty years many very ancient documents have been discovered; many more have been for the first time accurately collated, or edited in full. As a natural consequence the earlier collections of various readings have been almost entirely superseded. The same may be said also of the earlier critical theories, which were based on imperfect data, especially with regard to the primitive forms of the early versions.

The *Textus Receptus* derives its name from a passage in the preface to the Elzevir edition of 1633. This edition, though really little more than a bookseller's reprint, professed to give the text as received by the best authorities.¹

As a matter of fact the early editions of the NT were constructed from but few MSS, and those which were chiefly followed were late and of no special critical value. Yet from the very fact that the MSS used were commonplace, those editions give a very fair representation of the ordinary text of the middle ages.

The importance of the *Textus Receptus* is derived not from the accident that it was the text of the early editions, or of any one of them, but from the fact that it is in all essentials the text of the NT as publicly read in the Greek church ever since the fifth century. For this reason, in collating the variations of MSS the *Textus Receptus* (e.g. in Scrivener's reprint of Stephens) should still be used in preference to any modern critical text.

A complete list of the editions of the NT in Greek is given in 'Tischendorf,' vol. iii. pp. 202-287. The two editions which are practically indispensable to the student are those of Tischendorf-Gregory (1860-1894), and of Westcott and Hort (1881). 'Tischendorf' (i.e., the 'editio octava critica maior') contains by far the fullest collection of variants of every class, those of the medieval MSS being almost completely recorded. The Prolegomena by C. R. Gregory (who brought the whole edition to a conclusion after the successive deaths of Tischendorf and Ezra Abbott) occupy the third volume, and include full lists and descriptions of all the MSS, versions, and editions. The edition thus forms a complete introduction to the study of the textual criticism of the NT.

In using it, however, we must remember:—(1) The text is the product of Tischendorf's somewhat arbitrary judgment, and has no special authority; (2) some valuable readings, now only found in minuscules, are not recorded, and must be looked for in earlier editions, such as Wetstein, or even Mill; (3) the readings of the versions, especially of the Oriental versions, are not always given accurately, and they are rarely quoted where their text, though implying a different Greek reading, is not supported by any known Greek MS.

The general theory contained in Westcott and Hort's *New Testament in the Original Greek* (published in 1881, (2) 1886) has formed the starting-point for all subsequent investigation of the textual history of the NT, whether by way of defence or of criticism. It will therefore be necessary to describe the main outlines of this theory at some length.²

If a text of the NT were formed by taking in each variation the reading of the majority of the Greek MSS, it would be in all essentials identical with that found in the works of Chrysostom, who died in 407, after having lived all his life, except the last ten years, at or near Antioch.³ It would also be the text of Theodoret and the other writers of the Antiochian school as well as of later Greek Fathers generally. Such a text would,

¹ The words of the Preface are: *Textum ergo habes, nunc ab omnibus receptum: in quo nihil immutatum aut corruptum damus.*

² The Introduction to this edition is from the pen of Dr. Hort (§ 21). In the following pages it will be cited as 'Hort,' with a reference to the numbered paragraphs.

³ Hort 130.

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moreover, be practically identical with the 'Received Text'—that is, the text as first printed by Erasmus in 1516 and repeated with little serious variation in Lachmann's edition in 1831. The text thus formed, called by Westcott and Hort *Syrian* or *Antiochian*, Hort commonly uses the term 'Syrian'; but the 'Syrian Text' of the Greek NT is so easily confused with the Syriac version (with which it has nothing to do), that the term 'Antiochian' will be used here instead.

The agreement of the Antiochian text with Chrysostom's shows it to have been in existence as early as the fourth century, whilst the fact that the MSS by which it is supported form in most cases a majority numerically overwhelming, shows that it continued to be the current text of succeeding generations. It does not agree, however, with the text as preserved in our oldest MSS \aleph and \mathcal{B} or in the Egyptian versions, and still less would it be the text represented by the older forms of the Latin and Syriac versions. The clearest view of the nature of the Antiochian text and of the documents which support it is found in a series of readings called 'collate' by Hort, where the later text has combined earlier rival variants.

For example:—

1. Lk. 24:53 (after 'and they were continually in the temple')—

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| (a) blessing God | \aleph C ¹ I, Syr. sin. palest Boh. |
| (b) praising God | \mathcal{B} ϵ a (b) β γ Aug. |
| (c) praising and blessing God | A miscell. minusc. omn. ϵ ζ Lat. v. g. Syr. v. g. δ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ \omicron π ρ σ τ υ ϕ χ ψ ω Eth. |

(Latin MSS are represented by *italics*. For the notation of the Versions and the weight to be given to them, see the sections upon each version.)

Of the three readings here called α , β , and γ , either α and β are independent abridgments of δ , or δ has been made out of α and β . That is, unless δ be the original reading it is not a chance alteration or expansion, but a combination of *previously existing variants*. Now although δ has the immensely preponderating numerical majority of witnesses in various regions, it is not supported by the older forms of text in any of the main classes of evidence. In Greek, δ is opposed by the three oldest MSS \aleph C¹, though it is supported by A, a MS of the fifth century; it is opposed by the African (ϵ) and the European (ζ η θ) forms of the Old Latin, though supported by the revised texts ζ and Jerome's Vulgate; in the East δ is opposed by the Old Syriac (Syr. sin. or S.) and the Palestinian lectionary, though supported by the Syriac Vulgate and the Harelean; finally it is unknown in the Egyptian version.

The analysis of the evidence is fatal to the originality of δ , the Antiochian reading; it must, therefore, be later than α and β , and, if later, must be a mere combination of them.

2. Mk. 5:20 (following *καὶ ἀπεστείλαν αὐτὸν εἰς οἶκον αὐτοῦ λέγων*).

- | | |
|---|--|
| (a) Μῆδὲ εἰς τὴν κώμην εἰσελθῆς (M) B ¹ I, 2 ^o 200 Syr. sin. Boh. | [η has $\mu\eta$ for $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon$] |
| (b) Ὑπαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου καὶ μῆδεν εἰπῆς εἰς τὴν κώμην (D) ϵ ζ . | |

(β) Ὑπαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου καὶ ἴαν εἰς τὴν κώμην εἰσελθῆς μῆδεν εἰπῆς μῆδὲ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ 23:60-34^b 22 56^c ϵ ζ , and with the omission of $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon$ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ δ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ \omicron π ρ σ τ υ ϕ χ ψ ω Eth. (nearly).

(β) Μῆδὲ : εἰπῆς εἰς τὴν κώμην (or ἐν τῇ κώμῃ) κ (ϵ).
Syr. al. (ug.) Arm. have a prefixed β .

(δ) Μῆδὲ εἰς τὴν κώμην εἰσελθῆς μῆδὲ εἰπῆς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ AC Δ miscell. minusc. omn. (exc. δ) Syr. v. g. δ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ \omicron π ρ σ τ υ ϕ χ ψ ω Eth. Go.

(Notice that the Old Syriac version has now to be added in both of these examples to the little band which supports the α text adopted by Hort.)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 3. Lk. 24:40. | |
| (a) οὕτως γεγραπται παθειν τον χριστον \aleph C ¹ I, D Lat. al. eur. (Lat. sic om. ουτως) Syr. palest Boh. Eth. | |
| (b) οὕτως εδει παθειν τον χριστον minusc. ϵ Syr. sin. (<i>hactenus</i>) Arm. Fos. <i>Pharph.</i> | |
| (c) οὕτως γεγραπ. και οὕτως εδει παθ. τον χρ. AC ² N rell. ϵ ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ \omicron π ρ σ τ υ ϕ χ ψ ω Eth. | |

(Part of the verse is illegible in Syr. sin; but there is no doubt as to the reading. Note that here, as often, the Antiochian follows Syr. sin.)

The distribution of documents in these collate readings is roughly, as follows. To α belong \aleph B¹, and the Italian (or Memphitic) version; to β belong D and the older forms of the Latin versions. The Sahidic (*Phoenician*) version agrees sometimes with α and sometimes with β , as is the case also with the Old Syriac. In a few cases where the Latin side with α , the Old Syriac forms the chief item in the antestimonium of β .

¹ Hort 140.

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text; but it never sides with δ . All other authorities (except fragments) have been influenced by the δ text.

The groups of authorities marked off above is α , β , and δ , are found to present distinct types of text all through the Gospels. We can thus test their witness chronologically and geographically through the quotations of the Fathers. This examination again is as adverse to the priority of δ to α or β as the analysis of the conlate readings. After the fourth century, evidence for δ is doubtful; before the fourth century it is doubtful or non-existent.

A fourth family (γ), independent of β and prior to the Antiochian text (δ), is recognised by Westcott and Hort. No document contains it in a pure form; but readings characteristic of it are most frequent in \aleph , L, T, Z (M), Δ (Mk), Ξ (Lk), and in the Bohairic version, in fact in all the documents where α readings are found except B. This text is supposed by Hort to have originated at Alexandria and is called by him *Alexandrian*. The most constant witnesses for the text called β are the various forms of the Old Latin; it was therefore supposed by previous investigators to have arisen in the West of Europe, and is still universally known by the name of *Western*. The α text, which is neither 'Western' nor 'Alexandrian,' nor 'Antiochian,' is called by Hort *Neutral*.

These three strains—the Western, the Alexandrian, and the Neutral—are the three great divisions into which, according to Hort, the ante-Nicene text of the NT can be divided.

8. The three texts.

The 'Western' text is found everywhere, from the banks of the Euphrates to Spain and to Upper Egypt. The Alexandrian text is witnessed chiefly in Alexandria and Lower Egypt. The Neutral text is not so clearly associated with any local area; but, as is implied by the name, its subsidiary attestation is found among predominantly Alexandrian documents as opposed to Western corruptions, and among the Westerns as opposed to Alexandrian corruptions. Moreover, not all Western readings are shared by the whole of the Western array, some early Western texts in many cases supporting the Neutral reading where other Western authorities have gone wrong.

For more concretely, the case may be stated thus: combinations of B (the typical Neutral document) with ρ or L, or the Bohairic on the one hand, or with D or the Latin or the Old Syriac on the other, approve themselves as giving the genuine reading. B is thus the central witness for the text; it is sometimes right almost alone, and to reject its readings is never quite safe. Instances are also given by Hort of 'tertiary variations,' where the Western texts have a corruption in one direction and the Alexandrian in another, but B retains the genuine reading, which could not have arisen from either corruption and yet explains the origin of both.

Next in excellence to B is ρ , which Hort believed to have a text entirely independent of B; so that the combination ρ B, which frequently occurs even in opposition to all other authorities, is practically certain to give the true text. Almost the only exceptions are found in a series of passages found in all except Western documents, which are nevertheless considered by Hort to be no part of the genuine text of the NT. In these passages, called the 'Western Non-Interpolations,' B has gone wrong, and the true text is preserved chiefly by D and the Latin.

The reasons given by Hort for the final supremacy of the Antiochian text are mainly two, one political and the other literary.

At Antioch is the true ecclesiastical parent of Constantinople, so that it is no wonder that the traditional Constantinopolitan text, whether formally official or not, was the Antiochian text of the fourth century. It was equally natural that the text recognised at Constantinople should eventually become in practice the standard New Testament of the East (Hort 1903). The qualities which the authorities of the Syrian (i.e., Antiochian) text seem to have desired to impress on it are lucidity and completeness. . . . New omissions accordingly are rare, and where they occur are usually found to contribute to apparent simplicity. New interpolations, on the other hand, are abundant, most of them being due to harmonistic or other assimilation, frequently capricious and incomplete. Both in matter and in diction the Syrian text is not particularly a *textus receptus*. The spirit of its own corrections is at once sensible and feeble. Entirely blameless on either literary or religious grounds as regards vulgarised or unworthy diction, yet showing no marks

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of either critical or spiritual insight, it presents the New Testament in a form smooth and attractive, but appreciably impoverished in sense and force, more fitted for cursory perusal or recitation than for repeated diligent study (Hort 1903).

The survival of good readings in some late cursives may be accounted for in two ways. Readings from the older texts may here and there have been introduced into a fundamentally Antiochian text from marginal glosses or through the eclectic preferences of scribes. But as late MSS which contain good readings present them in the less read parts of the narrative quite as much as in the more striking sayings, it is probable that these good readings are generally the result of a process of imperfect correction. A MS containing another than the dominant Antiochian text would be connected to that text, but not as a rule with perfect accuracy. Only in those readings which do not agree with the ordinary text of the Middle Ages can we be certain that such MSS are reproducing the text of their remote ancestors. The minuscules, in short, give little additional authority to the 'received text' where they agree with it, whilst their differences from it are often of critical weight.

It is still held by a few scholars that the Syrian Vulgate is a true product of the second century, and

9. General remarks: Antiochian revision.

that the version known by the name of the 'Separated Gospels' (called in the above section the 'Old Syriac') is a revision of it. According to this the support given by the Syrian Vulgate to the Antiochian text transfers the evidence for that text from the fourth to the second century. But Syriac patristic evidence for the existence of the Syrian Vulgate (i.e., the Peshitta) in its present form before 411 A.D. is non-existent; whereas the text of the 'Separated Gospels' (or 'Old Syriac') is actually attested from works of the third and early fourth centuries. (For the proof of this, see below on 'Syriac Versions' §§ 22 ff.)

Another objection which has often been raised is the silence of ecclesiastical writers with regard to the Antiochian revision. It has been said that if there had been prepared at Antioch early in the fourth century a revision of the text of the NT which practically came to supersede all other forms of the text, we should have expected clear references in ecclesiastical writers to so great an event. We hear something about the circumstances which gave rise to Jerome's Vulgate; should we not find similar references to the Antiochian revision if it had ever taken place?

The parallel here suggested with the history of the Latin Bible is instructive; a closer examination will show that it tells the other way. It is true that we know something about the preparation of Jerome's new translation; but this is owing to the fact that we possess the correspondence of that energetic and self-assertive personality. Of the reception of his NT we know little, except that his revision of the Gospels seems to have found favour immediately in Africa. A still closer parallel to the silent success of the Antiochian revision is afforded by the history of the Book of Daniel.

Both the Greek and the Latin branches of the church originally received the Book of Daniel in the LXX version, but afterwards discarded this for the version of Theodotion. The change occurred in the Greek-speaking church towards the end of the second century, in the Latin church (at least in Africa) about the middle of the third century. But on events connected with this serious alteration of the traditional text ecclesiastical writers are silent, and we are forced to say with Jerome (*Prolog. in Dan.* 3), 'let hoc ever acciderit nescio.'

A true picture of the general attitude of the fourth century to textual revisions is, in the opinion of the present writer, given by the Latin dialogue *contra Iulientium Donatistam*,² where a Catholic and a Donatist dispute together, the Catholic using the Vulgate throughout the Bible unchallenged, though the Donatist uniformly quotes from an Old Latin text.

Against these objections to the theory of the Antiochian

¹ Hort 1903, and especially 234 ff. ² M¹, loc. cit. 437-3.

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revision we may now set the evidence derived from the Sinai palimpsest (S₁), a MS discovered some years after the publication of Hort's work.

Hort's estimate of the Old Syriac had been necessarily derived from Cureton's MS (S₂), the surviving portions of which cover less than half the Gospel text. It seems, moreover, to represent a type of the Old Syriac which has undergone revision from the Greek (see col. 502). Thus the discovery of S₁ has practically for the first time revealed to us the true character of the great version of the Eastern world in its earliest form.

Now S₁ is absolutely free from the slightest trace of Antiochian readings. Not one of the characteristic Antiochian conflate readings is found in it. Moreover, in certain cases where the Latins agree with the 'Neutral' text, but the Antiochian text has an additional clause, this additional clause alone is found in S₁. An instance is given above (§ 7) from Lk. 21:6; another may be found at Mk. 1:1, whilst the additions to the true text of Mk. 12:23 and 13:8 have a somewhat similar attestation. These passages do not merely prove that the Old Syriac was uninfluenced by the Antiochian text; they go far to show that a text akin to the Old Syriac was one of the elements out of which the eclectic Antiochian text was constructed. Thus the readings of B and its allies, the readings of the Old Latin and its allies, and now the readings of the Old Syriac, all contribute to explain the phenomena of the Antiochian text; but the mutual variations of B and the Old Latin and the Old Syriac cannot be explained from the Antiochian text regarded as the genuine original.¹

In leaving the discussion of the Antiochian revision we leave the region of comparative certainty. Hort's division of the ante-Nicene text into the three strains of Western, Alexandrian, and Neutral, still more or less holds the ground; but important details of his scheme have incidentally been undermined, and the fresh evidence of S₁ is here much less favourable to his presentation of the history of the text. The general tendency of criticism has been to raise the value of the texts which Hort would have grouped under the heading of 'Western.' The channel of early 'non-Western' transmission has been still further narrowed, whilst there have come to light types of early 'Western' texts purer than those which have earned them both their misleading name and their bad reputation.

1. Recent research has decidedly confirmed Tischendorf's assertion that B and \aleph came from the same scriptorium.

This was admitted by Hort; but he thought that the two MSS might have been written in Rome. It now seems almost certain that they both belonged to the great library collected by Pamphilus at Caesarea.² We must therefore allow for the possibility that their agreements come from a partial use of the same exemplar. This might happen in several ways; e.g., the immediate ancestor (or ancestors) of \aleph may have been largely corrected to the B text. These considerations do not militate directly against the excellence of the common archetype of B \aleph but they undoubtedly raise once more the very serious question whether these great codices are in every case independent witnesses.

The demonstrable inferiority of B in certain books of the OT, notably Judges and Isaiah (see OT, 'Greek Versions'), may be held to cast a certain suspicion upon its NT text. But the great Bibles of the fourth century must have been copied from several smaller codices or rolls containing only part of the Scriptures. The textual characteristics, therefore, of B in the Prophets of the OT are by no means necessarily those it exhibits in the Gospels or the Acts.

2. The claims of the Antiochian text to represent the apostolic original are rejected mainly because no clear evidence can be found for it earlier than the fourth century. It is acknowledged by all that the various forms of the 'Western' text were widely spread in the second and third centuries. But where was the 'Neutral' text transmitted?

¹ The latest serious defender of the conflate readings of the Antiochian text is W. Bousset (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, vi, 1, 2, 102); but the emphatic rejection of these readings by S₁ has made the refutation of his argument superfluous.

² See Bousset, *l.c.* 445 ff.; J. R. Harris, *Stichometry*, 71-89; J. A. Robinson, *Euthaliana*, 36-43.

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Hort's answer is unambiguous. 'The Western licence did not prevail everywhere, and MSS unaffected by its results were still copied. The perpetuation of the purer text may to great measure be laid to the credit of the watchful scholars of Alexandria; its best representatives among the versions are the Egyptian, and especially that of Lower Egypt; and the quotations which follow it are most abundant in Clement, Origen (Dionysius, Peter), Didymus, and the younger Cyril, all Alexandrians' (Westcott and Hort, *smaller ed.*, 559).

It must, however, be noted that the testimony of our Alexandrian and Egyptian witnesses becomes more and more Western the earlier they are. Of the three great Alexandrian fathers, Origen is more 'Western' than Cyril, Clement is more 'Western' than Origen.¹ Recent criticism has dealt similarly with the evidence of the Egyptian versions. The old arguments for the comparative antiquity of the Sahidic version remain, and new discoveries of ancient fragments of that version and its immediate kindred are made year by year. But in the Sahidic the Western influence is often peculiarly well marked.² The Bohairic, on the other hand, is thoroughly non-Western; but Guidi has shown that this version in its present form, so far from being a product of the third century, is almost certainly not earlier than the sixth. The very existence of a specifically Bohairic literature before the sixth century is extremely doubtful (see § 34).

Yet with all deductions it remains true that the 'Neutral' text receives a larger measure of general support even from the Sahidic version than from the early Latin or Syriac texts. In other words, a predominantly 'non-Western' text was current in Egypt from about Origen's time onwards. We are, moreover, placed in a peculiarly favourable position for studying this type of text owing to the fortunate accident that the Antiochian revision never found favour in Egypt. Until long after the Arab conquest the books found in Egyptian documents, both Greek and Coptic, continued on the whole to be that which Hort has called 'Alexandrian.' This text, though far purer than the Antiochian, is equally with it an artificial eclectic revision; its survival at Alexandria, alone among Greek-speaking communities, was no doubt connected with the growth of Egyptian Monophysitism.³

3. The 'Western' text, as a whole, has hitherto found few defenders. This is partly due to an imperfect apprehension of the antiquity and extension of the Western text as revealed by patristic quotations and by versions (Hort 170). Hort, whose general estimate of Western readings is no more favourable than that of his predecessors, groups Western characteristics under the three heads of *Paraphrase*, *Interpolation*, and

¹ *Ibid.*, 549. The Gospel quotations of Clement of Alexandria have been carefully edited by P. H. Barnard (*Texts and Studies*, 5, 5, 1899).

² Hort, 559.

³ The form in which the alternative ending to Mk. 16 is exhibited by the 'Alexandrian' text is a good illustration of its highly artificial character. The genuine text of that Gospel breaks off in the middle of a clause at Mk. 16:8 with the words *ἐδοξασθησαν ἡμῖν* ('For they feared . . .'); but an ancient text, now represented by the Latin Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae, added the following sentence: 'But all that they had been commanded they showed forth in few words to those that were with Peter. And after these things, Jesus himself also appeared, and from the East even into the West sent forth by them the holy and incorruptible preaching of eternal salvation. Amen.' The absence of quotations from Mk. 16:9-20 in Tertullian and Cyprian makes it highly probable that κ here, as elsewhere, faithfully reproduces the text of the Gospels current at Carthage up to the middle of the third century. This shorter conclusion evidently presupposes a text which ended at 16:8 as in B \aleph and S₁.

Most documents of course add to 16:8 the so-called 'last twelve verses of St. Mark,' forming 16:9-20. It is the characteristic of the Alexandrian recension that it gives both conclusions, the longer one being linked to the shorter by a critical note. This composite ending is still extant in five Greek MSS, in some Ethiopic MSS, and in the margins of the Harleian Syriac and of the best MS of the Bohairic, accompanied in most cases by the critical note (see Amelineau, *Not. et Extr.*, 342, and the descriptions of Ψ [Gregory 445], and of η^{12} [Gregory 100], and see also J. R. Harris, appendix to Mrs. Lewis's *cat. of 1700 A.M.S. at Mt. Sinai*, 103 f.).

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Assimilation (Hort 173-175). Notwithstanding this unfavourable verdict, 'Western' documents not infrequently form the bulk of the attestation for the readings adopted by him.¹ The fact is that the expression 'the Western text' is a misnomer. The 'Western' documents do not present a single recension, like the Antiochian text, or even a body of aberrant readings; they rather represent the unrevised and progressively deteriorated state of the text throughout the Christian world in the ante-Nicene age. 'Western' readings are accordingly of various types, ranging from the uncorrupted original to the most extreme forms of interpolation and paraphrase. It was a perception of this fact that led Hug as early as 1808 to speak of what is usually called 'the Western text' by the name of *κοινή ἑξέσις*.

Much of the bad repute of 'Western' texts comes from the almost universal practice of treating Codex Bezae (D) as their leading representative. But this famous MS, though it contains very ancient elements, is far from being a pure representative of any ancient strain of text. A more just view would be gained by taking, on the one hand, the Latin fragments called *Cod. Bobiensis* (k) as the best type of the texts early current in the West, and, on the other, the Sinai palimpsest (Ss) as the best type of the texts early current in the East. Both these documents would be reckoned as 'Western' according to the ordinary view; but it has not yet been proved that they have any common origin later than the archetype of all our extant authorities.

The discovery of the Sinai palimpsest has materially altered our conceptions of the early 'Western' text. One of the chief characteristics formerly assigned to that text was a tendency to admit interpolation; and the presence in the leading 'Western' authorities of a series of interpolations, which must have come from non-canonical sources, seemed to make it obvious that all 'Western' documents were derived from an interpolated copy of the Gospels later than the archetype of B⁸⁸ and their allies.² But though the Sinai palimpsest has a thoroughly non-Alexandrian text, *not one of these interpolations is found in it*. It was the presence of clear errors in all 'Western' documents known to the earlier critics which made them think of a 'Western' recension or edition; every fresh discovery, therefore, of documents fundamentally 'Western,' but nevertheless free from these errors, makes the theory of a single Western *recension* less and less probable.

4 One of the arguments employed by Hort in favour of the genuineness of the 'Neutral' text is the intrinsic excellence of the groups containing B, the chief 'Neutral' document. This line of argument is of course quite independent of theories connected with the spread of the 'Western' or of any other ancient text. It is somewhat open, however, to the charge of subjectivity, and the very fact that not all the readings adopted by Hort have found universal favour, proves that the evidence of groups might have been interpreted differently. Salmon (*Some Thoughts on the Textual Criticism of the NT*, 1897) calls the term 'Neutral' 'a question-begging

¹ Notable instances are Mt. 6:33 [B⁸⁸], 7:13 [B⁸⁸], 13:35 [B⁸⁸ min. Orig.], 16:28 [B⁸⁸ codd. ap. Orig.]. The square brackets contain the 'non-Western' attestation of the text of Westcott and Hort. Thus before the discovery of S the true text of Mt. 6:33-34 was known from 'Western' documents alone.

² There are about twenty of these 'Western' interpolations in the Gospels. The chief of them are: Mt. 3:15 (the light at the baptism); Mt. 16:28 ('the face of the sky'); Mt. 29:28 ('seek from little to increase'); Mk. 16:4 (the angelic host at the resurrection); Lk. 6:4 (the man working on the Sabbath); Lk. 9:54 ('I know not what spirit ye are of'); Lk. 22:43 (the bloody sweat); Lk. 23:34 ('Father, forgive them'); Jn. 5:4 (the man at the pool); Jn. 7:53-8:11 (the woman taken in adultery).

All these are absent from Ss as well as from B⁸⁸, but they appear to belong to the earliest Latin texts. The longer conclusion to the Second Gospel (Mk. 16:9-20) is absent from k in addition to B⁸⁸ Ss, so that this passage forms no part also of the earliest non-Alexandrian text.

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name' (p. 49), and adds with great truth, 'if we want a more precise answer to the question what Hort means by "Alexandrian," we shall not be far wrong in saying, those readings which are Alexandrian in their origin and are not recognised by Codex B (p. 51). Yet there is no doubt that the text of B in the Gospels is, generally speaking, an excellent one. Of this there can be no stronger proof than the support it frequently gives to early readings, which, but for the witness of B, would have been dubbed with the fatal epithet of 'Western'.' The habitual associates of B are of quite a different character; so frequently indeed does it agree with such 'Alexandrian' documents as TL and the Egyptian versions, that it has actually been maintained that the Gospel text of B is a transcript of the Egyptian recension of Hesychius (Boussset, *TT* vi, 120). But the occasional, yet unmistakable, support which B affords to the Western against the specifically 'Alexandrian' readings is inconsistent with this view.²

To sum up, Hort's text of the Gospels is less affected by recent discoveries than his criticism of the documents.

11. Conclusion. As was pointed out above, the readings chiefly relied on by B⁸⁸, the authorities on which Hort chiefly relied, are often supported by the most ancient form of the Old Latin (k), or by the most ancient form of the Old Syriac (Ss). These readings are almost always to be preferred, for they represent an agreement between the best 'Western' and the best 'non-Western' texts.³ The crucial difficulty occurs where all the early 'Western' documents unite against B⁸⁸, or B⁸⁸ and the Bohairic. In other words, the question before the textual critic in the immediate future is, Are the oldest forms of the Old Latin and the Old Syriac independent? We may put the question in another form. Accepting Hort's nomenclature, and remembering that 'Western' documents such as k and Ss not infrequently support B against the specifically 'Alexandrian' text, what grounds have we for thinking that B, or even B⁸⁸ united, is entirely free from 'Alexandrian' corrections?⁴ In the portions of the Gospels where k and Ss are both extant, B has the support of one or other of them about four times out of five; may not B be itself in the wrong in the remaining readings? How far, in time, can we trust B whether supported by the other Greek MSS or not, in cases where its only attestation among the ancient versions is Egyptian?

The answers to these questions cannot positively be given until a complete analysis has been made of the extant 'Western' variants to the text of B⁸⁸. It is,

¹ E.g., in Lk. 10:17, B has 'seventy-two' disciples with the best Latin and Syriac texts, not 'seventy.'

² There is not the slightest likelihood that the non-Alexandrian readings in B have been introduced into the text of B's ancestors by irregular revision. The probability indeed is all the other way. The few indications afforded by the actual readings of the MS tend to show that 'Western' (or at any rate non-'Alexandrian') readings would have been corrected out, not introduced. The most striking instance is Mt. 27:46. In these verses the common text has βαπαββαρ . . . βαπαββαρ, but an ancient text (now represented by some good minuscules, a scholion, and the Old Syriac) read Ἰησοῦ βαπαββαρ . . . Ἰησοῦ τοῦ βαπαββαρ. Now B has Ἰησοῦ in neither place; but it inserts τοῦ before the second βαπαββαρ. The obvious explanation is that an ancestor of B had the reading Ἰησοῦ βαπαββαρ, but the corrector who expunged the word Ἰησοῦ in both places omitted to delete the article in the second place. Other instances, somewhat similar, are Mt. 21:11 (στρωπος); Mt. 23:26 (τοῦτο); Lk. 17:37 (παρταρο); Jn. 8:57 (εσπαερε). In such places the 'neutrality' of B is the neutrality of compromise.

³ A striking instance is afforded by the readings connected with the double cock-crowing in Mk. 14. The text adopted by Hort was that of B, a Greek lectionary, and the Bohairic. It is now found also in Syr. sin. The fact that Syr. sin. here agrees with B is a strong confirmation of the correctness of Hort's judgment; at the same time it removes the whole set of variations from the category of places where the true text is preserved in 'non-Western' documents alone.

⁴ The definite issue is raised, for instance, in Mk. 6:20, where B⁸⁸ L⁸⁸ Boh read ἡραπει for ἐμοις. 'Εμοις (with slight variations) is found in all other documents, including Lat. vi and Syriac. If ἡραπει be not original, it looks more like an ingenious conjecture than a palaeographical blunder.

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however, in the direction here indicated—viz., the preservation of the true text in a considerable number of cases by 'Western' documents alone—that criticism may ultimately be able to advance beyond the point reached by Hort.

We may add a few illustrations of passages where the text adopted by WH can be certainly or probably amended.

i. Mt. 6:3 'your Father knoweth what things ye have need of *πρό τοῦ ὑμᾶς αἰτῆσαι αὐτόν.*' For *αἰτῆσαι αὐτόν*

12. Illustrative texts.

we find *ἀνοῦσαι τὸ στόμα* in D^h.¹ This picturesque locution has been adopted by Blass and by Nestle (Hastings' *IB* 739f); the slenderness of the attestation may be explained by the desire of avoiding what seemed an unglorified expression. All Syriac MSS. support the common text; but it is worth noticing that in Mt. 5:2 S₁ reads 'and he began to say to them' instead of 'and he opened his mouth and taught them' saying, . . .

A somewhat similar variant is to be found in Mt. 7:21, where for *δοῦλοῦσάω* we find *δαῖνω* attested in *h 77* codd. pp. lat. (incl. *de Rebus*, § 7); Justin Martyr 202, with the African Latin (k [Cyp] also [i] g) and S. *thiat* S₁), have *ἐπῶ*—i.e., their text has been assimilated to Lk. 13:27.

ii. Mt. 11:5 'καὶ πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται' om. k S₁ Dat⁹¹ (i.e., *ibid.*, 1003).

These words belong to the genuine text of Lk. 7:22 and are in accordance with Lk.'s accustomed diction. In Mt., on the other hand, the word *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι* never occurs again; if the phrase omitted by k and S₁ be retained, we must almost assume that Mt. is here directly borrowing from Lk. Omit the phrase, and the linguistic difficulty is removed; Mt. gives the actual words of Jesus, whilst Lk.'s addition 'the poor are evangelised' is an early (and correct) interpretation of them. Similarly *νομικός* in Mt. 22:35 is alien to the diction of the First Gospel and comes from Lk. 10:25; the word is rightly omitted from Mt. by 1-118-209 e S. Arm Origen¹⁰¹.

Harmonistic additions are among the most frequent and misleading corruptions of the text, as Jerome was the first to see: 'dum eundem sensum alius alter expressit, ille que unum e quattuor primum legerat, ad eius exemplum ceteros quosque aestimaverit emendandos' (*U. P. ad Damasum*). Other passages where the discovery of S₁ has helped to remove additions of this kind are Mt. 21:44 (taken from Lk. 20:18); Lk. 11:41 *οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῶν μύλων* (Mt. 5:15); Jn. 12:8 'For the poor ye have always with you, but me ye have not always' (taken from Mk. 11:7, Mt. 26:11, but omitted in Jn. by D S₁).

iii. Mt. 25:1 'went forth to meet the bridegroom and the bride.' D 1^o-209 121^o latt Syrr (incl. S₁) Arm. This addition is certainly genuine, and in accordance with Oriental custom. The bridegroom goes with his friends to bring away the bride from her father's home; no one is left at the bridegroom's house but a few 'virgins' (i.e., maidservants) to keep watch. In the parable these maidservants represent the church (as in Lk. 12:50), whilst the arrival of the wedding procession with the bridegroom and his bride represents the coming of Christ. Christ is here the bridegroom and the bride, the waiting servants are the church. But the more familiar image was the comparison of Christ to the bridegroom, the church to the bride; when the Bride had become the stock metaphor for the church, the careless editor had a strong temptation to leave it out in the parable where it does not mean the church.

iv. Mt. 8:12 'καὶ παρηγοία τῶν λόγων ἑδάξει.' These words come after the first announcement of the Passion, without variation in Greek MSS. As they stand they are a remark of the evangelist, to which there is nothing

¹ I.e., codd. Claramontanus of the 6th century. D has the itacism *ΑΝΟΙΞΕ*.

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corresponding in the parallel passages Mt. 11:21, Lk. 9:22; either the remark was considered too uninteresting to repeat, or it originally contained something which later writers might regard as unsuitable. For 17, 31, 7, S. Dat⁹¹ and k have 'the Son of Man must suffer many things . . . and after the third day rise and openly speak the word'—i.e., they read *ἀνάξει* or *ἑδάξει* instead of *ἑδάξει*, thereby making the clause part of Jesus' word to the disciples. The central thought, therefore, of the prediction is not the physical miracle but the general victory of the Gospel after the great struggle (cp Hos. 6:2). That Jesus did not preach 'openly' after the Resurrection was a reason why the clause should be omitted by Mt. and Lk., and at a later period should be altered in Mk.; but the agreement here of our earliest eastern and western texts enables us to restore the original form with confidence.

v. The restoration of the true text of Acts is a more difficult matter than that of the Gospels owing to the comparative poverty of the evidence. We need especially something corresponding to the 'Old Syriac,' by the aid of which we might separate really ancient readings in the Old Latin and in D from those western variants that never had anything beyond a local circulation. Several of the proper names are undoubtedly corrupt. *Ε.Ε.*, 'Ιουδαίαι' Acts 20 is impossible, for Judaea is quite out of place between Mesopotamia and Cappadocia. The African Latin (Tert. adv. Jud. 7, Aug. *c. Fund*) substituted *Armeniam*; but this is palaeographically unlikely; possibly Lk. *γορδύγαιαν* i.e., Gordyana, now Kurdistan. *Μ* in Acts 16 'Ιωαννης' is a mistake for 'Ιωβάδας, the true name being preserved only in D, in Berger's Pergamon MS. and (as E. Nestle points out) in Lagarde's 68 69 B; on the other hand the Fleury palimpsest (618) is said to have [Ι]ωάννης, and we may conjecture from the *Doctrine of Addai* 11:23 that the Old Syriac attested *Ουβίτ*, i.e., *υβ*. In Acts 13:8 the present writer has a strong suspicion that the mysterious name 'Ερμούα, for which *Ερμούα* is read or inferred in several Western documents, is a corruption of ὁ Λοιδός, 'the pestilent fellow' (cp Acts 21:8). But conjectures of this kind stand on quite a different footing from those restorations of the text which are based on a consensus of the most ancient evidence. If we are to feel any confidence that this or that phrase or variant is the actual word of the original writer, it must be because we can really trace back the phrase in question to the earliest times, not because it happens to have commended itself to some critic of the ancient or modern world.

In addition to Hort's *Introduction* (above, § 7), the following works on NT textual criticism may be recommended: E. Nestle, *Introductio ad Textual Criticam of the Greek NT* (Theological Translation Library, vol. xiv.), 1904; F. G. Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the NT*, 1911; K. Lake, *The Text of the NT* (Lectures, 1906); G. Salmon, *Some Thoughts on the Textual Criticism of the NT*, 1907; C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des NT*, vol. i., 1902; this will be a separate edition of the *Prolegomena* to his handbook, brought up to date. A new and important work on textual criticism is announced (1922) by H. von Soden.

B. VERSIONS

I. LATIN

Latin versions of the scriptures can be traced back into the second century. The Scythian martyrs at Carthage in the year 180 A.D. had in their possession rolls 'epistles of Paul the apostle'. What type of text these MSS. may have contained it is of course impossible directly to determine; but the occasional references of Tertullian (e.g., *adv. Prax.* § 5) to the translation then in common use are not inconsistent with the belief that it was of the same general type as that found in the many biblical quotations of Cyprian.

To Cyprian, according to the judgment of the latest

¹ *Texts and Studies*, i. 2114.

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investigator of his style,¹ the Latin version seemed 'clumsily executed and quite modern'; but he quotes it continually with remarkable accuracy, and never seems to question the correctness of the renderings. The natural inference is that Cyprian in the middle of the third century found a definite Latin text established as an authoritative standard in Carthage.

We are able to carry back the history one stage farther. The quotations of Novatian, Cyprian's Roman contemporary, give us the text current in Rome, just as Cyprian's quotations give us the text current in Carthage. To them we may add the few verses quoted by the Roman presbyters Moyses and Maximus in their letter to Cyprian (ap. Eyp. I, p. 31, § 4). These quotations present marked differences from the Cyprianic text, as well as marked agreements with it; we are, therefore, justified in assuming for both the Carthaginian and the Roman types a common origin, which at the same time must have been sufficiently remote to allow for the development of the characteristic differences between the two texts.

No tradition of the origin or literary history of the Latin versions seems to have been known even to 14. Their Augustine or Jerome; it remains an open question whether the first translation was made in Roman Africa, in Italy, or in Gaul.

What is certain is that by the middle of the fourth century, Latin biblical MSS exhibited a most confusing variety of text, caused at least in part by revision from later Greek MSS as well as by modifications of the Latin phraseology. This confusion lasted until all the 'Old Latin' (or 'ante-Hieronymian') texts were supplanted by the revised version of Jerome (383-400 A.D.), which was undertaken at the request of Pope Damasus and ultimately became the Vulgate of the Western church.

We are thus driven back on evidence other than tradition to classify our MSS—to find, if possible, the local texts which they respectively represent. This classification is the more necessary as the primary importance of the Old Latin versions lies in their age. The 'Old Latin' may go back to the second century; but before any particular Old Latin reading can be safely treated as second-century evidence we require at least *prima facie* proof that the document in which it occurs has a text which has largely escaped revision from later Greek MSS.

In classifying our Old Latin authorities each group of books must be treated separately. As a matter of fact, the different groups have had different literary fates. In the Gospels, the Psalms, and Isaiah, we find a maze of aberrant texts; on the other hand, the book of Wisdom seems never to have undergone a thorough revision in later times, and the text of Cyprian's citations here hardly differs from the printed Vulgate.

The necessary starting-point is supplied by the biblical quotations in the Latin Fathers. Some of the evidence, however, derived from this source must be used with great caution.

i. It is rarely possible to take the many scriptural allusions in Tertullian's works as literal representations of the biblical text current in Carthage in his day. The *vatic*, in fact, is unlike any surviving type of the Latin versions that it is maintained by Zahn² and others that the Bible had not been translated into Latin in Tertullian's time. Even those, however, who place the origin of the Latin Bible earlier than Tertullian admit that he often translates directly from the Greek. A clear instance of this is *de Carne Christi* § 20, where Mt. 119 is quoted in agreement with the ordinary Greek reading against the combined testimony of all the older Latin texts.

ii. A great uncertainty hangs over the age of the Latin translation of Irenaeus's work *Against Heresies*. If it be contemporary with the author it becomes a primary witness for the Gallican text. Some, however, including Hort, have placed it in the fourth century, and this is undoubtedly the safer view.

iii. One of our chief authorities, the *Testimonia* of Cyprian

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(a series of proof-texts from Scripture), was so popular in the Latin church that certain later writers quote from it instead of using the Bible directly. To so far as this is done these writers cease to be independent witnesses. This applies to Firmilianus Maternus, Commodian, Laetantius, and in part to Lucifer and Zeno.

Fragments at least of eighteen MSS of the Old Latin Gospels are still extant. Of these only one—the Latin of Codex Bezae (*b*)—is a bilingual. Five of these MSS—*aa*, *cc*, *Verdellensis* (*z*), Veronensis (*h*), Palatinus (*e*), Sangallensis (*v*), Bobiensis (*k*),—as well as *d* itself, are of the fourth or the fifth century, having therefore been transcribed at a time when the Old Latin was in full church use.

16. The Hort was the first to point out the close connection of the texts of *k* and *e* with the many and accurate quotations of Cyprian (ibid. 258). Of these two MSS *k* is more faithful to the Cyprianic standard than *e*; but both are quite on a different plane from the rest of the Latin MSS. We may therefore take the text of *k* and *e* as representing the form in which the Gospels were read at Carthage in the middle of the third century before the Decian persecution. The only other non-Patristic authorities which show a distinctive African (i.e., Cyprianic) character are the contemporary corrections in the text of *a* (esp. in Lk. and Mk.), corrections which must have been made from a MS very like *e*, and isolated sections (e.g. the last chapters of Lk.) in the late MS *c* (Ollertunus).

The character of the 'African Latin' differs much from other Old Latin texts both in language and in the underlying Greek text.¹ But one fact stands out above all others—its unlikeness to the eclectic texts of the fourth century, both Greek and Latin.

For the most part the interpolations of this, the oldest continuous Latin text of the Gospels that has come down to us, are to a large extent not the interpolations of the eclectic texts, and its omissions are not their omissions; moreover its renderings are not the renderings of the later revised Latin texts such as the Vulgate and its immediate predecessors. All this tends to show that the African text of the third century had to a large extent escaped revision from Greek sources; in other words, that the Greek text implied by *k* and its companions is that which underlies the original translation.

The remaining Old Latin MSS, including the Latin of Cod. Bezae, may be classed as 'European', since they agree with the European Fathers against the peculiar African renderings. The origin of this type of text is still obscure. The MSS group themselves round the two great codices *a* and *b*. Of these *b* occupies a central position, the other MSS differing from one another more than they differ from it. At the same time it may be doubted whether *a* does not represent an earlier stage of the European text, as the quotations of Novatian (the Roman contemporary of Cyprian) predominantly favour *a* against *b*, so far, that is, as the 'European' type is developed in them. This is especially the case in Jn., where the *a* text is also supported by Lucifer of Cagliari. On this view 'African' readings found in *a* are relics of the earlier form of the 'European' text. On the other hand *b* is the oldest representative of that stage of the European text from which most of the later forms of the Old Latin, and finally the Vulgate, are descended.

Some of the later Latin texts have been partially conformed to the Antiochian Greek text. The most prominent surviving example is Cod. Bezae (*f*), a Gospel MS of the sixth century. It has been conjectured that MSS of this type were referred to by Augustine under the term *Italia* and that they formed the basis of Jerome's revision. But it is much more probable that Augustine's *Italia* means the Vulgate; see below (§ 50). The peculiar element of *f* is derived from the codices of the Gothic version brought into Italy by the Lombards and perhaps by previous northern invaders during the fifth and the sixth century, whilst the agreement of *f* and the Vulgate (which in parts is

¹ E. W. Watson in *Studia Biblica*, 4 195.
² *Gesch. d. N. T. Kanons*, I 51-50.

¹ See especially Sanday's essay on the text of *k* in *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, vol. ii.

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very marked) is most likely due to the intrusion of Vulgate readings into the text of *f*.¹

Many 'Antiochian' readings are found in the Vulgate, as is only natural in a revision undertaken by the aid of Greek MSS at the end of the fourth century. Some noteworthy agreements of the Vulgate with the Greek MSS *B* and *B* are also found, especially in the Acts: this points to a use of the great library at Caesarea. Jerome gave special heed to the elimination of harmonistic corruptions and to correcting the rendering of important doctrinal expressions. A well-known instance of the latter is the introduction of *supersubstantialem* into the Lord's Prayer in Mt. instead of *cotidianum*, to render *ἐπιούσιος*. Quite as characteristic is *mundus* for *ὁ κόσμος* in Jn., *hic mundus* being reserved for *ὁ κόσμος οὗτος*.²

The African text of the Pauline epistles is imperfectly preserved. The version used by Cyprian is

17. Pauline epistles.

not represented in any known MS, though some of its peculiar renderings reappear in the not inconsiderable quotations of Tyconius (flor. 380). Entirely distinct from these, and representing a different Greek original, is the text of Gal. 5:19 *f*, as quoted by Nemesianus of Thuburne at the Council of Carthage (256 A.D.), a text which has points of contact with Tertullian (*cp. de Pudic.* § 17).³

Among European texts the Latin of cod. Claromontanus (*D₂ d₂*) holds a high place. The twin texts of bilingual MSS are always open to the suspicion of having been greatly assimilated one to another. In the case of *d₂*, however, the genuine Old Latin character of the text is vindicated by its frequent agreement with the quotations of Lucifer of Cagliari (†370). The curious interlinear Latin version of Cod. Bernerianus (*D₂ d₂*) is not predominantly supported by any Latin writer, and perhaps ought not to be reckoned among continuous Old Latin authorities. The revised text used by Augustine in this part of the NT is represented by fragments of two MSS formerly at Freising, now at Munich (*r, r₂*).

In the Vulgate itself comparatively few changes appear to have been made by Jerome in the Pauline Epistles, so that it may almost be reckoned among the late Old Latin texts. On the other hand the Gothic-Latin MS usually quoted as *guc* has very little independent value, as the Latin has been assimilated to the parallel Gothic text.

The Epistle to the Hebrews was absent from the original form of the Latin canon, and it is not quoted by Cyprian or Tyconius, nor apparently by Irenaeus. Tertullian quotes it once (*de Pudic.* § 20), but not as scripture; as in the other parts of the NT the version he uses does not agree with any other Latin authority. It is, therefore, of interest to observe that the text of Hebrews in *d₂* stands on the same footing with that of the rest of the epistles, the agreement with Lucifer being there as clearly marked as elsewhere, although in the MS itself the epistle forms a sort of appendix at the end. The epistle also occurs in the Freising MS, with the text of which the quotations of Augustine agree.

The 'Western' text of Acts is found in nearly all Old Latin authorities (see col. 4996, n. 3); in attempting therefore to trace their mutual connection we must chiefly be guided by the style of the Latin renderings. The mere presence of Western glosses in a Latin source, such as Augustine, tells us little of his relation, e.g., to the Latin of Cod. Bezae.

The most important quotations are found in Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine, Lucifer of Cagliari, and the anonymous African tract *de Receptis*

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(usually bound up with Cyprian). Of MSS *g* have besides the Latin of the Inlinguis Cod. Bezae (*h*) and Cod. Laudianus (*g₂*), large fragments of an African text in the sixth century palimpsest Cod. Florentinus (*h₂*), a complete European text in Cod. Vagab. Holmensis (*g*), and I. 136 2816 end in a (?) Spanish text published by Berger from a MS once at Perpignan (*g*). There are also fragments of a late European text in a fifth century palimpsest at Vienna (*g*), now published by H. J. White. The 'Acta' of Augustine's dispute with Felix the Manichee at Hippo in 404 A.D. should almost be counted among the MSS, for in them Augustine reads from a codex the continuous text of Acts 1:21 (see below, § 21).

The most primitive form represented by these MSS *g* that found in *g*, the text of which is almost exactly that of Cyprian and also of Augustine. That the text contained in *g* is ancient, although the MS is only of the thirteenth century, is proved by its close agreement with the quotations of Lucifer, where it agrees with as well as where it differs from the Vulgate.

This type of text is also found in a Milan lectionary (*g₂*) containing the story of Stephen, and to some extent in *r*; it reappears, strange to say, in the non-Vulgate portions of the 'Vulgatae continentia', a Visigothic lectionary published by Mann. The text of *g* differs greatly from *g₂* and seems to have most affinity with the very scanty extracts in the Speculum (*g₂*) which are parallel to it. The not infrequent agreements of *g* with *g₂* seem rather to be due to the fact that each is a very literal version of the Greek than to real kinship of text. The Latin columns of the two bilinguals *g* and *g₂* are almost exactly agreed closely with an ancient Latin text *l*. The renderings found in the quotations of Tertullian and the Latin translation of Irenaeus here as in other parts of the Bible do not agree consistently with any other authority.

With regard to the underlying Greek, Irenaeus and the Africans together with the Perpignan MS all go back to a Greek text such as that of Codex Bezae, but comparatively seldom afford any real support to the eccentricities of its Latin side. It is probable that the 'Western' element of *g₂* (Laudianus) is ultimately of Latin origin.⁴ This, however, but rarely gives an independent value to the Latin side of the existing MS, except where *g₂* stands alone among Greek authorities. Whatever the history of the ancestors of Cod. Laudianus may have been, in our MS the Greek and the Latin are almost completely equated to each other. The pages indeed have quite the appearance of a glossary.

In the later European text represented by *g* and Lucifer the 'Western' glosses have been to some extent corrected out. This is true still more of the Vulgate, which in Acts not infrequently follows the Greek text approved by modern critical editors.

A very remarkable type—a third-century African text as far as regards renderings, but without the 'Western' glosses—is found in the anonymous tract *de Receptis*

mate. It reflects in fact the isolated position of the writer, who, although a contemporary of Cyprian, differed from the majority of the Africans in the biblical text he used, as he differed from them on the question of the Rebabaptism of heretics.⁵ The literary history of Acts in Latin can never be regarded as sufficiently settled until the appearance of this curious text is sufficiently accounted for.

The full collection of seven Catholic epistles which

usually follows Acts in Greek MSS was not included in the Latin canon until the fourth century. Only 1 Pet and

1 Jn. with Jude had hitherto been universally re-

¹ This contrasts strongly with the perfect agreement between *g₂* and Beza, who actually used the Cod. Laudianus itself.

² Blass, *Acta Apl.* p. 23 *f*.

³ The phraseology of the quotations in the *de Receptis mate* is almost always that of the Cyprian Bible. The work is a letter apparently addressed to Cyprian himself (H. J. White). It is possible that it was not originally composed in Latin, and that we possess only the Latin translation, as in the parallel case of Firmilian's letter to Cyprian (*ap. Cyr.* *Ep.* 73). This would account both for the African phrases and for the non-African text. It is worth noticing that the *de Receptis mate* contains a clear allusion to Mk. 16:7 (9. end): *non crediderunt, nisi postquam ab ipso Domino omnibus modis fuissent obsecrati ut crederent*.

⁴ E. C. Burkill, *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, 1120-34. Fr. Kauffmann's 'Beitrag zur Quellenkritik der gotischen Bibelübersetzung', in *Ztsch. f. deutsche Philologie*, 32, 305-115.

⁵ In Jn. 19 in the Vulgate, against all Greek MSS, substitutes *unum ovile* (Cone fold) for the Old Latin *unus grex* (Cone flock), and from the Vulgate was derived the familiar rendering of the authorised version. The Vulgate rendering of this verse has been used by Wordsworth and White in support of their view that Jerome used Greek MSS of a type of text now lost. See, however, J. H. Bernard in *Hermathena*, 11, 315-342.

⁶ For Nemesianus see C. H. Turner in *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, 2622 *f*.

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ceived, although 2 Jn. is also quoted by some early Fathers.

The extant Old Latin authorities for this division of the NT are as follows:—(1.) Of the Old African version, no MS is known; but we have the quotations of Cyprian from 1 Pet. (called *ad Ponticos*, as in Tertullian) and 1 Jn. With these, on a whole, agree the quotations of Tyconius. A verse from 2 Jn. is quoted by one of the Bishops at the Council of Carthage. (ii.) A later African revision, including all the seven epistles is found in Augustine. Of this revision we have two MSS, *A* at Paris (fragments of 1 and 2 Pet., 1 Jn.) and *g* at Munich (a large fragment of 1 Jn.). *A* is the same Cod. Floriacensis as in Acts, but in the Cath. Epp., the text is not Cyprianic, but late African. A peculiar recension is found in the pseudo-Augustinian *Speculum (m)*, in which the extracts from Jas. agree very closely with the quotations of the Spanish heretic Priscillian. This late Spanish type of text is noteworthy as the original source of the famous gloss of the Three Heavenly Witnesses in 1 Jn. 57. (iii.) Among European texts we have the extensive quotations of Lucifer, including more than half of Jude; fragments of Jas. and 1 Pet. are also found in 1 (see § 18). Of Jas. a complete text is extant in a non-liturgical MS formerly at Corbeiy, now at St. Petersburg (27). This translation appears to be as old as the early part of the fourth century, and is apparently used by Chromatius of Apuleia. A fragment of 3 Jn. is found in Cod. Bezae, immediately before Acts; but it must remain a matter of conjecture what other books that MS once contained between the Gospels and Acts.¹

The Apocalypse from the first formed part of the Latin NT, and in Africa the ecclesiastical version of it

20. **Apocalypse.** does not seem to have suffered revision in the fourth century as was the case with the rest of the NT, except Acts. Hence it comes to pass that the 'late African' text of the Apocalypse, as given almost in full in the Commentary of Primasius, bishop of Hadrumetum in the sixth century, differs but little from the Cyprianic text. The same text is also found in the fragments of Cod. *A* (see above, § 187). A somewhat different type appears in the Commentary of Tyconius, large fragments of which are preserved in Primasius, in Beatus the Spaniard, and in other sources. Beside these a late European text is extant in *g* (see above, § 18); but Lucifer avoids quoting the Apocalypse altogether. A third type of text seems to underlie the Vulgate, which has affinities both with *g* and with the African text.

In certain circles some parts of Jerome's revised translation were received immediately into Church use.

21. **History of the Vulgate.** This, for instance, was the case at Hippo. Augustine, whilst writing to Jerome in 403 A.D. to deprecate his great changes in the OT, nevertheless says: 'Pronde non parnas Deo gratias agimus de opere tuo quod *Euangelium ex Graeco interpretatus es, quia pene in umbra nulla offensio est*'. This limitation of his praise to the Gospel is confirmed by the story of the trial of Felix the Manichee in the following year (see above, § 18). At the trial Augustine had occasion to read from the NT the story of the descent of the Spirit. Accordingly there was handed to him first a *Codex* of the Gospels, from which he read Lk. 24 30-40 in the Vulgate text; then being given a *Codex* of Acts, he read out Acts 1:20 in a very pure African Old Latin text. The fact that the text of Acts as here given is quite unmingled with Vulgate readings shows that our MSS of 'Aug. contra Felicem' have suffered no wholesale corruption; we cannot therefore but conclude that by 403 A.D. the Gospels were read at Hippo from the Vulgate.

¹ The vacant space would suggest that the missing books are the Apocalypse, and all three Johannine epp., mixing up with the Fourth Gospel the complete *Instrumentum Johannis* (Tert. *de Res. Curis*, § 38).

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whilst in other books of the Bible, such as Acts, the unrevised Old Latin was still publicly used.

In some parts of the Western Empire the old versions were long retained in ecclesiastical use, especially in Gaul and S. Italy. This resulted in the formation of mixed texts, sometimes by the insertion of familiar Old Latin phrases into Vulgate MSS, but more often by the imperfect correction of the codices of the old versions to the Vulgate standard. These principles were in action in all parts of the Latin church; but they produced somewhat different types of text owing to the different epochs at which the Vulgate text, as current in Rome and S. Italy generally, was brought in among the various nationalities.

Some of the most interesting texts of the Vulgate come from the British Isles. Both Great Britain and Ireland had received the Bible before the victory of Jerome's revision; but the coming of the heathen English almost entirely destroyed Christianity in what is now England. The mission of Augustine brought the Vulgate with it, and the careful English scholars of Northumbria looked to Rome and S. Italy for patterns of text, rather than to north-western Europe. A product of the Northumbrian school is the *Codex Amiatinus*, now at Florence, the leading MS of the Vulgate both in the Old and in the New Testament. This great book appears to have been copied from a Neapolitan text; it was written at Jarrow or Wearmouth a little before 710 A.D. and was brought to Italy as a present to the Pope by the Abbot Ceolnoth.

The Irish, until after the time of Columba, adhered to the Old Latin; one fairly pure Irish Old Latin text of the Gospels survives in Cod. Usserianus (22). From about the year 700, however, the Roman tinsure and the Roman text began to make way among the Irish also, and this resulted in the prevalence of a mixed type of MSS of which the Book of Kells and the Book of Armagh are noteworthy examples. A similar type of text is found also in MSS written in Britain representing the fusion of Iona and Rome.

Simultaneous with the re-establishment of a Western Empire under Charlemagne came efforts for improvement of the Vulgate text. Hence arose the two great eclectic editions of the ninth century; that of *Theodulfus* of Orléans, who aimed at collecting a large body of variants in the form of marginal notes; and that of *Aluinus* of York, who at the express desire of the great Emperor constructed a standard text. Aluinus' revision was presented to Charlemagne on Christmas Day, 801 A.D., and although his text was soon corrupted in minor details his work marks a turning-point in the history of the Vulgate. 'Up to the middle of the ninth century . . . we find a distressing jumble of the best and the worst texts existing side by side, the ancient versions mixed with the Vulgate in inextricable confusion, and the books of the Bible following a different order in each MS. After Aluinus all is changed; the singularities have been levelled, the text has become more equal and its character more tame. . . . From Aluinus' time onward the only Bible in use has been that of Jerome, and the ancient versions have disappeared' (Beuger, *Vulgate*, p. xxvii).

II. SYRIAC

Almost everything that relates to the origin and early history of the Syriac versions is the subject of controversy.

22. **Three early Syriac versions.** In the following account an attempt has been made to distinguish between what may be regarded as proved beyond reasonable doubt, and what must in our present state of knowledge remain only a probability. It will be necessary, in discussing the earlier forms of the Syriac versions, to take the various parts of the NT one by one, as in the case of the Old Latin. The later Syriac versions will be described subsequently by themselves.

The Four Gospels.—About the year 420 A.D. the Gospel was extant in Syriac in three forms, viz.—

(1.) The *Peshitta*, or Syriac Vulgate.

¹ The Vulgate was first printed at Mainz between 1452 and 1456 (C. Mazariu Bible D.). The authoritative edition used by the Roman Church was issued by Clement VIII. in 1592. A critical edition of the NT is being prepared by Bishop J. Wordsworth and the Rev. H. J. White, of which the volume containing the Gospels has already appeared (Oxford, 1889-92).

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(ii.) Tatan's *Diatessaron*.
(iii.) The '*Evangelion da-Mepharreshi*,' or Old Syriac.

A clear idea of the nature of these three documents and their relation to one another is necessary for a right use of the Syriac versions in the criticism of the Gospels.

(1.) The version of the NT which alone has been in ecclesiastical use in the Syriac church since the middle of the fifth century, is known by the name *Peshitta* (or *Peshito* in the Jacobite system of pronunciation) — i.e. 'the simple.'

The name *Peshitta* was in use as early as the ninth or tenth century; it has been conjectured that it originally served to distinguish the Syriac Vulgate of the Old and New Testaments from the Hexaplaric version of the OT and the Hierosolan of the NT (see below, § 19, 20), editions which were furnished with marginal variants and other critical apparatus.

The *Peshitta* is extant in many MSS, a few of which are as old as the fifth century. All of them, however, represent the same type of text as is found in the modern editions. It was first printed by Widmanstadt (Vienna, 1753). The best edition of the Gospels is the *Tetraevangelium* published by (the late) P. E. Pusey and G. H. Gwilliam (Oxford, 1901). A small American edition of the NT in the Nestorian character (New York, 1886, etc.) gives an excellent text in a very handy form. Following the notation of Westcott and Hort, I shall speak of the *Peshitta* as Syriac Vulgate.

(ii.) The *Diatessaron*, a harmony of the Four Gospels composed by Tatan the pupil of Justin Martyr, at one time took the place of the separate Four

24. Dia-
tessaron. Gospels in the public services of the Syriac-speaking church. But a vigorous effort to get rid of it was made by the bishops during the first half of the fifth century, and in consequence of this no copy of the Syriac *Diatessaron* is now known to survive.

Our main extant authority for the text of the Syriac *Diatessaron* is the Commentary of Ephraim¹ (†373). This work is no longer extant in Syriac, but is known to us through an Armenian translation. A few express quotations from the original work survive in some later Syriac commentaries on the Gospels, such as those of the Nestorian Isho'dad and the Jacobite Dionysius Barsabla. A complete Arabic version of the *Diatessaron*, made early in the eleventh century, has been published by Chase from two MSS (Rome, 1883); this was not made from the *Diatessaron* as Ephraim knew it, but from a later edition in which the text had been almost wholly assimilated to the text of the *Peshitta*.² It is therefore nearly worthless for the study of the text of the *Diatessaron*, though valuable for determining the arrangement adopted by Tatan.³ The Commentary of Ephraim is quoted by the pages of a Latin rendering of the Armenian, published in 1876 by G. Moesinger.

(iii.) Another version of the Four Gospels, distinct from the *Peshitta* (or Syr. vg.), was called *Evangelion da-Mepharreshi* — i.e. 'Gospel of the Separated' (ated Jones).⁴ The name obviously contains a reference to the *Diatessaron*, which in contradistinction to it is also called in Syriac *Evangelion da-Mehallip*, 'Gospel of the Mixed'.⁵ The title 'Separated Gospels' would be equally applicable to the Four

25. 'Old Syriac.'

¹ Ephraim is often spoken of as *Ephrem Syrus*, and as 'the Deacon of Edessa.' The Syriac form of the name is *Elam*.

² It is worth notice that the textual history of the *Diatessaron* in the E. is largely paralleled by its history in the W., where it is extant in Cod. Bezae Cantabrigiae and its copies, the text being altogether assimilated to the Vulgate. But there are many indications that it had formerly existed with an 'Old Latin' text. In other words, the text of the *Diatessaron*, so far as we are able to trace it, was always in process of being assimilated to the prevalent local text of the Four Gospels.

³ English translation by I. Hamlyn Hill, *The Earliest Life of Christ* (I. & T. Clark, 1884), and (direct from the Arabic) by H. W. Hoeg in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, add. vol. pp. 35-133 (I. & T. Clark, 1892).

⁴ Perhaps 'Gospel according to the Separated (Evangelists)' is a nearer translation, the particle *da* being used for *et* in the Syriac titles of the Gospels.

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Gospels as found in the *Peshitta*, and indeed the *Peshitta* is probably intended in the passage where *Evangelion da-Mepharreshi* occurs in the canons of Rabbula.¹ On the other hand, the Sinaitic and the Nitrian MSS both call themselves by this name, and Barsabla and Bar Bahblil the lexicographer expressly quote from a *Evangelion da-Mepharreshi* the reading *Jesus Bar Sabas* in Mt 27:37, found in the Sinaitic MS.²

Two codices of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshi* are at present known to scholars, viz. the Sinai palimpsest (S.), and the Nitrian MS used by Cureton (N.). The Nitrian MS, now B.M. add. 14,451, came with the rest of the library of the Convent of S. Mary Deipara in 1812 to London, where its peculiar character was shortly afterwards recognised by Cureton, then keeper of the Oriental MSS. His edition of the MS appeared in 1838,³ and from him the version came to be known as the 'Curetonian'. The Sinai palimpsest was discovered at the Convent of S. Catherine on Mount Sinai by Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson of Cambridge in 1862, and transcribed in the following year by the late R. L. Bensly, J. Reudel Harris, and the present writer.

So may be assigned to the middle of the fifth century. It contained the Gospels in the order Mt. Mk. Jn. Lk., but a text that is now extant in Mt. Lk. 12:10-23:25, Mk. 16:7-20:1, Lk. 24:36-7, 12:11-13:32, 15:11-21:21, 20:29-31, 27:37-40, 24:44, or less than half of the whole. Ss is perhaps half a century older than Sc. It contained the Gospels in the order: Mt. Mk. Lk. Jn., only about 450 verses (i.e., about a eighth of the whole) are now altogether missing; but many words and lines are illegible. Most of the gaps in Cureton's text are now in a measure be filled; but for the history of the text, the value of Ss lies less in those parts where it supplements Sc, than in those where the two MSS run parallel. By a comparison of these portions we are able to gain some idea of the range of variation found in the codices of the 'Old Syriac.'

Since the publication of Cureton's Codex in 1838 a discussion has gone on as to the relative age of the

26. Relation of three.

Evangelion da-Mepharreshi and the *Peshitta*. The general opinion has formerly been that the *Peshitta*, in its present state, had existed ever since the earliest ages of the Syriac-speaking church. The defenders of that opinion rested their case upon the common reception of the *Peshitta* by all the sects into which Syriac Christendom has been divided from the end of the fifth century, the exclusive use of the *Peshitta* by Syriac ecclesiastical writers, and the alleged consensus of Orientals. The first of these arguments, however, indeed, what is universally acknowledged, that the *Peshitta* had already attained a position of exclusive authority by the latter part of the fifth century. But the publication of a mass of early Syriac works during the last fifty years has materially weakened the second argument. The decisive moment is the episcopate of Rabbula, bishop of Edessa from 411-435 A.D. From that time the NT quotations of Syriac writers are influenced by the *Peshitta*, beginning with Isidore Antioch (446). But the quotations in Syriac works, rather than Rabbula agree with the known peculiarities of the *Diatessaron* and the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshi*. The text of the *Diatessaron* itself, as known to us from Ephraim's Commentary and the few but express quotations of later writers, very closely resembled that of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshi* without being identical with it.

¹ The codices of the *Psalter* in the *Peshitta* form the title 'The Book of the Praises of David da-Mepharreshi.' The MS. of the last word be taken to mean 'in separate' (Salustius).

² The *Evangelion da-Mepharreshi* could not be the same as the name in contradistinction to the *Peshitta*. The only evidence which seems to suggest this unlikely possibility is the above-quoted statement about *Jesus Barsabla*, which is repeated word for word by Barsabla and Bar Bahblil. But, as we have seen, before they each took it from some older scholar, namely, the 'Old Syriac' was contrasted, not with the Syriac Vulgate, but with the *Diatessaron*. It is possible that *Jesus da-Mepharreshi* in Rabbula's canons (Overbeck, 220) means any MS of the Four Gospels as opposed to a MS of the *Diatessaron*.

³ It had been already in print for ten years. Three leaves of the codex found their way to Berlin, and are now numbered *Orient. Quart.* 525 in the Royal Library.

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The writings in which the Dutesaron or the *Ev. da M'pharrēshē* are used include the *Acts of Indus Thomas* (mid cent.), the *Doctrinae of Adhai* (4th cent.), the Homilies of Aphraates (170-240), the genuine writings of Ephraim (373), the writings of Cyrillus (4. cent.), the Syriac *Doctrinae of the Apostles* published by Cureton (4th cent.). The Syriac translations of Eusebius' *Evangelical History* and *Leopontina* (made before 411) also show the influence of the *Ev. da M'pharrēshē*, and even Leodis of Serug (4th cent.) follows the Dutesaron in his Homily on the Lord's Prayer.

The witness of Ephraim was long claimed for the Peshitta against the *Ev. da M'pharrēshē* on the authority of commentaries and homilies which were printed as Ephraim's in the Roman edition (1740), but insufficient evidence. Ephraim's genuine writings, which include more than 150 homilies, show no trace of distinctly Peshitta readings (E. C. Burkitt, *S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel*, Cambridge, 1914).

For Rabhūlā is due both the publication of the Peshitta and the suppression of the Dutesaron. At the beginning of his episcopate (411 A.D.) he translated by the wisdom of God that was in him the NT from Greek into Syriac, because of its variations, accurately just as it was' (*Life of Mar Rabhūlā*, in Overbeck, 1724-7). And in his canons he ordered 'that in every church there should be a copy of the *Ev. da M'pharrēshē*, and that it should be read' (Overbeck, 220). When we consider that up to the time of Rabhūlā the Gospel quotations in Syriac works never exhibit the peculiarities of the Peshitta, whilst after the time of Rabhūlā they uniformly agree with it, there can be little doubt that the translation of the NT prepared by Rabhūlā was the Peshitta itself.¹

The Peshitta is thus an edition of the *Ev. da M'pharrēshē*, revised into closer conformity with the Greek, and published by authority with a view of superseding both the Dutesaron and the then current Syriac texts of the Four Gospels.

The method by which the new edition was propagated may be learnt from Theodoret, bishop of the adjoining see of Cyrrhus, who 'swept up more than two hundred copies of the Dutesaron in the churches of his diocese and introduced the Four Gospels in their place' (quoted in Wright's *Syriac Literature*, 91). The older forms of the *Ev. da M'pharrēshē* seem throughout the fourth century to have been much less used than the Dutesaron, so that when the Peshitta was substituted for the Dutesaron in the public services, it practically had no rivals. Neither S, nor S₁ show any signs of having been prepared for church use. In a word, the Dutesaron was condemned; the *Ev. da M'pharrēshē* was antiquated.

The internal character of the Peshitta, as compared with that of the *Ev. da M'pharrēshē* confirms the view of their relation to one another which has been given above.

1. The style of the *Ev. da M'pharrēshē* gives an impression of great age. All the later Syriac versions, such as the Harclean, are marked by excessive literalness, but the *Ev. da M'pharrēshē* is less conventional and more idiomatic than the Peshitta. Certain particles also and idioms are found in the *Ev. da M'pharrēshē* which are avoided in the Peshitta and later Syriac writings.²

2. The subscriptions at the end of each Gospel in the *Ev. da M'pharrēshē* contain no more than 'Here endeth the Gospel of Mark' or 'of Luke', as the case may be. But to render Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μ, more exactly the Peshitta has 'The [holo] Gospel, the preaching of M'. Moreover, it is added in almost all codices of the Peshitta that Matthew composed his Gospel 'in Hebrew in Palestine', Mark 'in Latin at Rome', Luke 'in Greek at Alexandria the Great', and John 'in Greek at Ephesus'. Similar statements are found in some Greek MSS of the Gospels. This peculiar render-

¹ See E. C. Burkitt, *S. Ephraim's Quotations*, 57.

² Such are the occasional use of the copula to introduce the appositive of a conditional sentence (e.g., Lk. 12.45f. S₁ Sc) and the occurrence of the word 'adh', 'forsooth,' which is met with only in the oldest Syriac literature and has been consistently expunged in Sc by a corrector.

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ing of *καρὰ* and the insertion of these pseudo-historical notices, which contrasted with the simplicity of the *Ev. da M'pharrēshē*, are by themselves enough to stamp the Peshitta as a later revision.

3. Although S₁ and S₂ usually agree closely with one another against the Peshitta text, and sometimes even stand alone together against all other critical authorities, they often differ in important readings.³ But the MSS of the Peshitta hardly vary except in orthographical matters and other trifles. It is difficult to reconcile this fact with the priority of the Peshitta. If the two versions had existed side by side during the third century, it is not easy to see why the codices of the *Ev. da M'pharrēshē* should have been honoured by revision from the Greek, whilst the codices of the Peshitta were untouched.

The Peshitta has too many resemblances to the *Ev. da M'pharrēshē* to be considered as an independent translation from the Greek. It must therefore regard the Peshitta as a revision of the previously existing *Ev. da M'pharrēshē*. The Latin Vulgate was prepared in the fourth century, and for that reason was not a revision of the Peshitta as Syriac. The Syriac version, however, conveniently indicates the Greek text which it represents.

The Greek text of the Peshitta (Lk. 10.22) differs from the MSS of the *Ev. da M'pharrēshē* in some exceptions, but the Peshitta agrees with the revision of the Syriac text of the *Ev. da M'pharrēshē*. Greek MSS such as Cod. Bezae Cantabrigiae contain some non-Antiochian readings, but the essentially Antiochian text of the Peshitta, as that of Rabhūlā was the trend of Egyptian and other Greek quotations much the same state of things. At the same time there are readings in Syriac which definitely reflect the local Antiochian tradition (e.g., the punctuation of Jn 5.7f.).

The only theory advanced for the textual facts which has been advanced by defenders of the priority of Syriac to the *Ev. da M'pharrēshē* is that, on the suppression of the Dutesaron, a sudden demand may have arisen for copies of the Four Gospels. Scribes would then have made imperfect copies, full of phrases taken from Latin's Harmony, two of which survive in S₁ and S₂. This theory accounts for the marked resemblance of the *Ev. da M'pharrēshē* to the Dutesaron on the one hand, and to the Peshitta on the other. It does not account, however, for the numerous instances where S₁ and S₂ (or one of them) have a reading which is neither that of the Dutesaron nor of the Peshitta. Thus in Lk. 17.21 (C¹ the kingdom of God is not here) the Peshitta has *with a voice*, the Dutesaron *in the hearts* of S₁ and S₂ have *among you*. Other notable instances are Mk. 10.13, 14.

Such hypotheses about the origin and normal relations of Syriac texts can stand, which does not account for the fact that Mk reads at 16.7 in S₂ although the first twelve verses are found in the Dutesaron as well as in the Peshitta.

Of our two codices of Syriac S₁ is in every respect a better text than S₂. The discovery of S₁ has justified Hort's conjecture that S₁ represents a form of the Old Syriac which has suffered 'irregular revision' from the Greek.² The best evidence for this is afforded by the presence in S₁ of several conflate readings (e.g., Mt. 5.13 Jn. 1.24).

The fact of this revision once established, it is reasonable to assign to the reviser the many passages where words and verses which are absent from S₂ have been added in S₁. Thus the episode of the bloody sweat, the missing clauses of the Lord's Prayer in Lk., the long interpolation after Mt. 20.29, and the verse Mt. 21.41, are all found in S₁ though absent from S₂. The process of revision, however, was by no means thorough, for S₁ agrees with S₂ in omitting Mt. 16.23, 17.21, 18.10 Jn. 5.14, etc.³

¹ The most striking instance is [Mk.] 16.7-8, which is read by S₁ but omitted by S₂.

² Hort, 112.

³ In Lk. 10.42 S₁ has the shorter reading found also in all genuine Old Latin texts, viz., 'Martha, Martha, Mary has chosen the better part,' etc., omitting the *γὰρ* after 'May' in

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It might have been suspected that Ss had been corrected to a Greek text similar to that of H by the correction of all these passages. But this suspicion is shown to be groundless by the fact that Ss contains several interpolations (notably one at the end of Lk. 24:42) which are especially characteristic of the Old Syriac, though found in no Greek MS. Had the passages which are wanting in Ss been deliberately expunged owing to their absence from certain Greek MSS, these other passages would have been rejected along with the rest.

The crucial problem in the history of the Old Syriac is its relation to the Diatessaron. There are two views conceivable.

27. Relation of 'Old Syr.' to Diatess.

1. That the Diatessaron was the original form in which the Gospel was circulated in Syria, and that the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshê* (Syr.vt) was a later translation from the Greek; but the translation was much influenced by the text of the already existing Syriac Diatessaron.

2. That Syr.vt was the original form of the Gospel in Syria; and that the Diatessaron was an independent work, originally composed in Greek (or Latin), but translated into Syriac as far as possible in the wording of Syr.vt, which it eventually superseded for church use.

A third theory, that the Diatessaron was a purely Syriac work, later than Syr.vt and compiled exclusively from it, can no longer be held since the discovery of the Sinai palimpsest.

The Diatessaron undoubtedly contained extracts from the 'last twelve verses' of Mk.,¹ which are absent from Ss and therefore from the earliest form of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshê*. If the Diatessaron had been entirely based upon Syr.vt, we should have to assume that Syr.vt had been already revised by 170-180 A.D., the date of Tatian's return to the East. Besides, the theory that the Diatessaron was a Syriac work fails to account for the Latin *Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae* and allied documents.

An adequate discussion of the other two theories would far exceed the limits of this article, although it depends upon the conclusion reached

28. Conclusion.

whether we are to place the Old Syriac in the middle or end of the second century. It must suffice to say here, that the scanty historical notices of the early Syriac-speaking church contain nothing contrary to the first view (*viz.*, that the Diatessaron preceded the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshê*) and much that confirms it.²

On this hypothesis we may conjecturally date the *Ev. da-Mepharreshê* about 200 A.D. and connect it with the mission of Palut, who was ordained bishop of Edessa by Serapion of Antioch.

The arguments in favour of the second view are chiefly based on the text of Ss. Some of the readings characteristic of that MS. are quite contrary in tendency to what we otherwise know of Syriac Christianity, and that such a text should exist at all is a remarkable testimony to the essential faithfulness of the translator to the Greek text before him. The Diatessaron much nearer reflects the tendencies of the time. In fact, some things which we know to have stood in the Diatessaron almost read like a deliberate protest against the text of Syr.vt as represented by the Sinai palimpsest.

Tatian held Lucanite views, and it accords with them that he left out the genealogies from the Diatessaron, and that Joseph is never called husband of Mary. This course is also followed in Ss (except so far as concerns the genealogies, and it harmonises with all we know of the Syriac-speaking church in the third century). But in Ss this tendency is altogether absent, to such an extent that the last clause of Mt. 1:16 is rendered 'Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, legal issue which is called Christ.'³ Certain statements in Aphraates' *Homily on* r. 42, as well as the words about the 'something necessary' in r. 42. In Ss the missing words are supplied by r. 41; but no particle is added after 'Mary' in r. 42, and thus the reviser's hand is betrayed.

¹ The same mosaic of Mt. 23 Mk. 16 and Lk. 24 is found in full as in the Arabic Diatessaron. Aphraates 120 mentions Christ's session at the right hand of the Father (Mk. 16:19) immediately after quoting Mt. 28:23.

² The public reading of the Diatessaron at Edessa in early times to the apparent exclusion of the Four Gospels, is implied in the *Doctrinae Addai* 26. For the date and historical value of this work, see L. J. Tixeront, *Les Origines de l'Eglise d'Edesse*, esp. 120 ff.

³ [In the text of this verse (p. Mary, § 13(a).]

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the Genealogy of our Lord, and some comments preserved by Barsabbai on Mt. 1 to prove that these readings of Ss are not mere peculiarities of an isolated MS. On the other hand, Ss throughout the whole of the first chapter of Matthew's gospel presents a corrected text (except 11:1-20, 'to them'). The attempt which has been made to represent Ss as an heretical codex rests on no sure foundation, and the natural inference is that Syriac in its original form was characterised by a primitive innocence of offence in this matter (see Lk. 24*).

The arguments which go to prove that the Armenian and Ethiopic versions were originally made from the Old Syriac are indicated elsewhere (see § 36 f.). It may be remarked that there is nothing to connect these versions with the Diatessaron. But if, as seems most probable, they were made from the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshê*, this circumstance affords another proof of its antiquity. If the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshê* were a novelty, hardly holding its own against the ancient and popular Diatessaron, it would scarcely have been chosen in preference to the Diatessaron for missionary translations.

On the first publication of Ss in 1838, Cureton brought forward arguments to prove that the Gospel of Mt. in Ss represented the original 'Hebrew' Gospel whilst the other Gospels were mere translations from the Greek. This view, theory found few defenders and is almost forgotten. But it was based on a perception that there is a difference of style between the various Gospels in the *Ev. da-Mepharreshê*. Lately Dr. A. Hult has collected the indications which show that the translation of the four Gospels does not come from the same hand, Mt. being the earliest and Lk. the latest to be rendered into Syriac (*Die altgriechische Evangelienübersetzung*, Leipzig, 1901). The theory is attractive and may very well rest upon a basis of fact; at the same time too much stress should not be laid upon irregularity of rendering as a proof of composite authorship. Only those who have tried to make a pedantically consistent translation of the Gospels can realise with what difficulty consistency is attained.

No MS of the Old Syriac version of Acts or of the Pauline epistles is known to have survived. That the Peshitta is not the original form of the

29. Acts and Epistles.

Syriac version in these books also is proved by the quotations in Aphraates, and from the commentaries of Ephraim. These commentaries are preserved only in the ancient Armenian translation, having no doubt fallen out of favour when the text on which they were based had been superseded by the Peshitta. In using these commentaries great care is necessary, as the biblical text appears sometimes to have been assimilated to the Armenian Vulgate. The quotations of Aphraates from the Pauline epistles are many; but those from Acts unfortunately cover only five verses.

The almost complete loss of the Old Syriac version, except for the Gospels, causes a serious gap in the apparatus of critical authorities for the text of the NT. It can be to some little extent supplied from the Armenian. Readings of the Armenian Vulgate which differ from the ordinary Greek text, especially if they are supported by the Peshitta, may be considered with some confidence to have been derived from the lost Old Syriac.

The *Catholic Epistles* and the *Apocalypse* formed no part of the Old Syriac version.¹ In the Peshitta this defect is partially supplied by a translation of James, 1 Peter and 1 John, in agreement with the usage of Antioch as represented by Chrysostom; but to this day the Syriac Vulgate does not include the *Apocalypse* or the minor Catholic epistles.

The Peshitta was firmly established for ecclesiastical use in the Syriac-speaking church at the time of the Nestorian schism, and has continued to be exclusively used by the Nestorian community. Among the Jacobites (or Maronite branch of the Syrians), however, successive attempts were made to render into Syriac the full canon and the current text of the later Greek speaking churches.

What appears to have been a revision of the NT

¹ *Addai* 46: 'The Law and the Prophets and the Gospel . . . and the Epistles of Paul . . . and the Acts and the twelve Apostles, these writings shall ye read in the church of Christ, and besides these ye shall read nothing else.' Neither in Aphraates nor in the genuine works of Ephraim are there any quotations from *Apos.* or *Cath. epp.*

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Peshitta, supplemented by those books of the Greek canon which were lacking in Syriac, was made in 508 A.D. by Philoxenus, bishop of Mablog.

Whether any part of this revision of the Peshitta survives is doubtful; but there is good reason to believe that the supplemental version of 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Jude, which was first published by E. Brooke in 1679, and is generally bound up with modern editions of the Peshitta, belongs to the original Philoxenan. A MS of the Apocalypse in the same version has been discovered by Gwynn, who has published the text with full Prolegomena and critical notes (Oxford, 1897).

In the year 616 Thomas of Heraclea (Harkel), bishop of Mablog, made at Alexandria an elaborate revision of the Philoxenan which still survives in several MSS and is called the Harelean Version. It was edited by Joseph White at Oxford in 1778-1803 from a slightly imperfect MS; but the missing portion of Hebrews was at length supplied from a Cambridge codex by Bensly in 1880. It is not improbable that the version of the Apocalypse published in 1627 by De Dieu, and now commonly printed with the Peshitta, is a part of the work of Thomas of Heraclea.

The text of the Harelean version is remarkable for its excessive literalness,² and for the critical notes with which it is furnished. These notes contain the various readings of two (or three) Greek MSS collated by Thomas at Alexandria. In Acts these notes are of real importance, as one of the MSS must have contained a 'Western' text much like that of Codex Bezae. The text of the Harelean version itself, as distinguished from these alternative or additional readings, is almost invariably that of the later Greek MSS.

The Syriac versions hitherto described have all been in the 'classical' Edessene idiom. It is customary also to reckon under 'Syriac Versions' the surviving biblical fragments in the 'Palestinian' dialect.

The Aramaic language is divided into two branches, the classical Edessene being the main example of the Eastern Aramaic, whilst Palmyrene and the various types of Jewish Aramaic (including Samaritan) belong to the Western branch. The dialect in which the Christian version described in this section is written is a variety of the Western Aramaic, almost identical with that of the later Galilean Jews.³ Its linguistic interest, therefore, is very great, for although it is a somewhat literal translation from the Greek, the language in which it is written comes nearest of all known Christian dialects to that spoken by Jesus and the apostles. (See ARAMAIC, § 7 (col. 283).)

The surviving documents can be traced to three sources: (1) the Malkite convent of S. Elias on the Black Mountain in the district of the *Duk* near Antioch,⁴ (2) the convent of S. Catherine on Mt. Sinai; (3) a community, or communities, of Malkites settled in Egypt.

The MSS included under (1) appear to have been brought from the convent of S. Mary Deipara in the Nubian desert at the thirteenth century, after the sack of Antioch by the Mameluke Sultans. They include the Vatican lectionary and the London fragments published by Land. The S. Petersburg fragments published by Land, which were brought by Tischendorf from the East, are almost certainly to be added to the MSS of class (2). Those of class (3) include the book of occasional offices now at the British Museum (Br. 4034), the *Praxapostolus* edited by Mrs. Lewis, and the fragments from the *Caro Iovanna* now in the Bodleian and the Cambridge University library.

For the Gospels we have fragments of four continuous codices:—

1. Land's *Petrópolisitanus antiquior* (7th cent.); 2. Land's *Petrópolisitanus recentior* (8th cent.), two leaves of which

¹ See Wiseman, *Hexe Syriacae*, 172 n.
² The same torturing of the Syriac idiom in order to express every particle of the Greek is found in the contemporary translation of the Hexaplar text of the LXX by Paul of Tella (see § 61).

³ Dalman, *Gram. des Heb.-Paläst. Aramäisch*, 114-6. The only locality in Palestine with which any of our documents can be definitely connected is *Thabul*, a small town in Gal. 12, 1 Eng. 35, almost equally distant from Jaffa, Nablus, and Jerusalem, i.e., not far from the frontier between Judaea and Samaritan territory.

⁴ The Malkites (or 'King's Party') were those Oriental Christians who did not become Monophysites or Nestorians, but remained in communion with Constantinople. The district of the *Duk* (ῥὸ δουκ) is mentioned by Anna Comnena (*Alexias*, 13 12).

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appear to be still at Sinai in *Cat. Libr.* 32:1-3. One leaf of B.M. Add. 14,439, published by Land (11th cent.); 4. Fragments of Mt. and Lk. from B.M. Add. 14,664, published by Land (11th cent.). Besides these there are three complete Gospel lectionaries, one at the Vatican and two at Sinai, besides fragments of at least two others at Sinai and London, all dating from the eleventh century. The Vatican lectionary (Vat. 200, xiv) has been well edited by Lagarde (*Ungelicarum Heterodotum*, 1892). The Sinai lectionaries, together with the readings of the Vatican lectionary, were edited by Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson in 1892.

The rest of the NT is but imperfectly preserved. The very ancient Bodman fragments of the Pauline epistles have been edited by F. H. Cowham (*1909*), 17:1-61, and a small fragment of Galatians from Sinai by E. R. Harris. Land has edited Acts 14:1-1 from an ancient lectionary (see § 62). In 1875 Mrs. Lewis brought in Cairo a late MS⁹ (12th cent.) containing lections from all parts of the Bible except the Gospels, and in conjunction with Mrs. Gibson and Dr. Nestle published the text in 1897 as *Studia Sinaitica*, 4, 5. The lections differ from those in Land's much older lectionary, and Mrs. Lewis' MS is distinctly stated not to have come from Sinai. It may have belonged to the same community that owned the very late MS of the Liturgy of the Nile, edited by G. Margalioth (*CAT.*, 18, 17:2). This liturgy contains a lesson from Acts 16; but the text is nothing more than an adaptation of the Peshitta to the Palestinian dialect.

The Palestinian documents exhibit a mixed text. The influence of the Peshitta is often apparent; but in the main the Greek is closely followed, so that even such Semitic names as *Ἰησοῦς* and *Σαῦλ* are transliterated *Ishu* and *Simin*, not *Yeshu* (or *Ishu*) and *Shammin*. The syntax, moreover, is so much assimilated to the Greek as to render the Palestinian version a very unsafe guide in the reconstruction of the original Aramaic of Gospel phrases.

The origin of this curious literature is still obscure; but the present writer has given reasons for connecting it with the efforts made by Justinian in the sixth century to extirpate the Samaritan religion, and by Heraclius early in the seventh century to harass the Jews. An earlier date than the sixth century is not suggested either by the general course of history or by the character of the surviving documents. F. C. Burkitt's art. in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 2:17:1 ff., contains a full bibliography of the Christian Palestinian literature.

III. COPTIC AND OTHER VERSIONS

Egypt is the stronghold of 'non-Western' texts. The determination of the age of the Egyptian versions is therefore a problem of considerable interest for the general history of the text of the NT.

In Egypt 'the progress of Christianity was for a long time confined within the limits of a single city, which was itself a foreign colony; and till the close of the second century the predecessors of Demetrius² were the only prelates of the Egyptian church. These bishops were consecrated by the hands of Demetrius, and the number was increased to twenty by his successor Heraclius. The body of the natives, a people distinguished by sullen inflexibility of temper, entertained the new doctrine with coldness and reluctance; and even in the time of Origen it was rare to meet with an Egyptian who had surmounted his early prejudices in favour of the sacred annals of his country. As soon, indeed, as Christianity ascended the throne, the zeal of those barbarians obeyed the prevailing impulsion; the cities of Egypt were filled with hermits.³ The date here assigned for the spread of Christianity in the country is borne out by the life of S. Pachomius (§ 41, which puts the repentance of the nation as coming to pass after the persecutions of Diocletian and Maximian. Pachomius, the founder of organised monastic life, born

¹ The Sinai leaves are published in Mrs. Lewis' *Cat. of Sinai MSS*, App. pp. 112-120. They exactly agree in size and character with the leaves of Land's *Petrópolisitanus recentior*.

² Bishop of Alexandria, 189-232 A.D.
³ *Bar. 2:13* (1890), following Eusebius (*Annals*, 1:13) and Origen, *Cels.*, 17:57.

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in 285, was converted early in the fourth century, and established the Tabennite monastery in Upper Egypt in 322. Such a community could not long be without the Scriptures in the vernacular, so that the earliest version in Egyptian cannot be later than the first quarter of the fourth century.

There is very little reason for placing it much earlier. The notices in *Eus. III. 64* of the 'Egyptian' Alexandrians who suffered during the Decian persecution contain nothing to indicate that they formed a separate community, with a translated Bible and Liturgy. The Life of S. Antony is generally quoted as implying the existence of a Coptic version in the third century; but it is not easy to say how much may be built upon the details of the early part of Antony's career, as related by his biographer.¹ The evidence of the *Pistis Sophia* also is unconvincing as to date. The *Pistis Sophia* is a Gnostic work of the latter half of the third century,² which survives in a very ancient Sahidic MS.³ Most of the allusions in it to the Old and New Testaments are loose and paraphrastic. But several of the Psalms are quoted *by number* in full, almost word for word with the Sahidic version. We cannot, however, certainly infer from this that Sahidic is the original language of the book. The Sahidic version must be older than the *Pistis Sophia* as we have it; but the Psalms in question, which are all put into the mouths of the various apostles to illustrate the Gnostic teaching of Jesus, may have been added by the Sahidic translator with the view of commending the book to orthodox readers; their strict fidelity to the biblical text shows quite a different spirit from the free invention of the rest of the book.

As many as five or six Coptic dialects have been distinguished by modern scholars; but from the point of view of textual criticism the Coptic versions fall into three divisions:—the

33. Three versions. Sahidic, the Fayyumic, and the Bohairic. The Sahidic (Saidic) is the version of Upper Egypt (in Arabic *el-Said*); it was formerly sometimes called the Thebaic version. The Fayyumic version, formerly called 'Bashmuric,' is represented chiefly by documents coming from the Fayyum; to this version belong also the biblical fragments in the 'Middle Egyptian' dialect, as in text they agree with the Fayyumic, whatever the relation between the dialects may be. The fragment of a very ancient MS of the Catholic epistle in the 'Akhmimic' dialect must be reckoned among Sahidic authorities for a similar reason. Some of the more ancient Sahidic MSS are Greco-Egyptian bilinguals, the Greek occupying the page on the left hand of the open book.

The version now in ecclesiastical use among all the Copts, or Christian Egyptians, is called by scholars the 'Bohairic.' This version was formerly named 'Coptic' and 'Memphitic'; but the latter term is now known to be inaccurate, whilst 'Coptic' is equally applicable to Sahidic or any other Egyptian dialect. The term Bohairic comes from the Coptic Grammar of Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria in the Thebaid during the eleventh century. Athanasius recognised three dialects, *el-Bohairic*, 'Cairene Coptic,' which is also that of Upper

¹ Antony died at an advanced age in 356. The received date of this birth, viz. 265 A.D., appears to depend upon the fact that shortly before his death he claimed to be 105 years old, but such statements from the mouth of illustrious men are rarely to be trusted. S. Antony could neither read nor write, and could not speak Greek. 'My book,' he is reported to have said, 'my book is the book of Nature (*el-Phara' el-yaqwanan*), and that is present whenever I wish to read the words of God' (Cyprianus, *op. Migis*, 10113). The statements in the Life of S. Antony (§§ 2 and 3, even if we accept the details of the story, imply no more than that *the isolated sayings* of Jesus were familiarly brought to S. Antony's mind, and upon these he built up whole the dogmatic system. Many illustrious Roman Catholics, who may have never heard the Gospels except in Latin, know that Christ said 'Sell that thou hast and give to the poor,' and 'Be not anxious for your life.'

² See Harnack, *U. A. G.*, 177 ff., *Antilebanon, Pistis Sophia*.

³ Both Harnack and Amélineau hold that Greek was the original language of the *Pistis Sophia*.

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Egypt; Bohairic Coptic, which is named from the Bohaira; and Bashmuric Coptic, which is named from the Bashmür.¹ The Bashmuric dialect had already died out in the time of Athanasius, and it does not appear that the Bible had ever been translated into it. The 'Bohairic' (*i.e.*, 'Lake') is not, as is sometimes stated, the Arabic for Lower Egypt (*i.e.*, *Hahel Bahar*), or for the Egyptian sea-coast; it is a district near Alexandria between Lake Marcotis and the W. arm of the Nile.² The Bohairic version is therefore almost certainly of Alexandrian origin. The dialect in which it is written became, later, the *ecclésiastical* language of Cairo, but this change occurred only after Coptic had ceased to be the speech of the people in Lower Egypt, and it was probably caused by the removal of the Coptic patriarch from Alexandria to Cairo.

The earliest surviving codices of the Bohairic NT, of which the date is known with certainty are of the twelfth century, though some fragments are probably as early as the ninth.³ They are often accompanied by an Arabic translation; but there is no instance of a Greco-Bohairic MS. All appear to present the same type of text, the chief variation being the presence or absence of certain interpolations derived from the great Vulgates of the East—*i.e.*, the 'Antiochian' Greek text and the Peshitta.⁴

The Bohairic version was known in Europe for a considerable period before any form of the Sahidic. It was long assumed to have been the earliest version of the NT in any Egyptian dialect, and this opinion is still maintained—*e.g.*, by A. C. Heald in

the fourth edition of Saunier's 'Introduction.' Many scholars, however, consider the Bohairic to be an altogether later recension. The most thoroughgoing exponent of this view is Guidi, whose argument in the *Nachrichten von der K. Ges. der Wissensch.*, Göttingen, 1886, pp. 40-52, is reproduced in the following paragraphs.

Guidi considers that the use of the various Coptic dialects as literary languages was in great part a reaction against the foreign Greek element. The true Egyptians hated foreigners and Alexandrians, and the diffusion of Christianity would be favoured rather than retarded by the dislike of the Imperial Roman authority which was persecuting it.⁵ We may add that this dislike did not cease when the Empire became Christian. When the Emperors were Arian, Egypt was Orthodox; when the Emperors became Orthodox, Egypt became Monophysite.

The foreign and Greek element was comparatively strong in Lower and Middle Egypt, but in Upper Egypt it was weaker, and so the native Egyptian characteristics made their presence felt more strongly there in any new movement. Hence it is that the first beginnings of Coptic literature are found in Upper Egypt where also, for analogous reasons, Coptic maintained itself as a living language longer than in the Delta. These early products of Egyptian Christianity, whether originals or translations, contain a purely Egyptian element. Such, for example, are the *Praxis Sophia*, the Iamne papyrus, and other Gnostic writings, all of which show traces of the ancient biblical

¹ The original Arabic text is given by Quatremère, *Recherches*, 21. A later form of Athanasius' Grammar is given by Stern, *P. J. B. G. Syria*, 1892, 107 f. It is worth noting that Bohairic is claimed as the true *el-Bohairic*, and the Sahidic as said not to be current in Minieh. *El-Bashmuric*, not *Bashmuric*, is the Arabic name of a district near Damietta (Vak. *U. A. G.*, 177).

² The modern *Bohaira* (Vak. *U. A. G.*, 177).

³ In Lord Crawford's *Latena* (Barham MS in the Bodleian), Lagarde, the expositio is translated from Greek with the text of the Gospel text is that of the Bohairic version. See Vak. dated 189 A.D. A fragment is given in Koptisches *Textbuch*, 1894.

⁴ See the passages in question by Vak. in *U. A. G.*, 177 ff., *Antilebanon, Pistis Sophia*, and the critical notes which follow.

⁵ Hecletian's action in Egypt was not directed against Christians alone (pp. Gibbon, *Ep.* 135).

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superstitions of heathen Egypt. The school of thought represented by these writings is quite out of touch with the orthodox Christianity of the Greek church of Alexandria, and would not long be content to have the Scriptures only in Greek. Thus the Sahidic version is probably of considerable antiquity; it can be traced back, as we have seen, to the early part of the fourth century.

To allow the national Coptic element to come to the front in Lower Egypt, where it was less powerful than in Upper Egypt and where the centre of government and of the church was situated, required a longer interval of time. In the end, however, it was remarkably helped by the Monophysite heresy. It is well known that after the death of the Emperor Anastasius (518 A.D.) and the repression of the heresy in Syria, Egypt became the true home of Monophysitism. From that time Egyptian Christianity detached itself more and more from Byzantine Christianity and the Greek church, and under these changed conditions there grew up a new Coptic literature written in Bohairic (the Coptic dialect spoken in the neighbourhood of Alexandria), comprising translations of the Bible from the Greek and of many other writings. It was probably at the same period that popular Egyptian legends, such as the death of Joseph, were adapted into Bohairic from the Sahidic.¹

Coptic is generally supposed to have become a literary language somewhat earlier; but that is not supported by historical evidence, nor can it be proved from the documents we possess. These show us that down to the sixth or the seventh century the official written language of Egypt was Greek. With this accords the fact that the most ancient writings connected with Egyptian Christianity—the original of the Bruce papyrus, the *Life of S. Macarius*, the *Rules of S. Pachomus*, etc.—were all in Greek. Antony did not know Greek; yet the Coptic letters attributed to him and published by Mangrelli (pp. 198, 204) are translated from the Greek.²

An additional reason for assigning a late date to the Bohairic version and literature is the rapid decay both of the Coptic language and of Christianity in Lower Egypt after the Arab invasion. By the fourth century Coptic was almost as dead a language in the Delta as Greek (see Schwartz, *1897, Gen. 101*, though as late as the time of Makari in the fifteenth century the Sahidic dialect was still used in Upper Egypt). The entire absence of native exegetical literature is also inconsistent with the assumed antiquity of the Bohairic. In Lagarde's *Critica* more than thirty Fathers are quoted all Greek. Can one imagine to take a parallel from another Eastern church? See *Opera* on the Gospels with but one extract from Ephraem or Theodorus of Syra?³

The three chief forms of the Egyptian NT—the Sahidic, the Fayyumic, and the Bohairic—are not independent. A comparison of the passages where all three forms are extant brings to light three peculiarities of the Bohairic:

1. *Greater faithfulness to the Greek.*—The Bohairic gives a representation of nearly all the peculiarities of the original, which are often omitted by the other Egyptian versions; it also often reverts to the Greek form of the word.

2. *A different choice of Greek words to be translated.*—The Bohairic is especially distinguished by peculiar renderings for abstract substantives. Peculiar words such as *metra*, *kyria dogma*, *equation*, *theoria*, *theoretical* and *Genetic* are particularly noteworthy.

3. *Where the Bohairic follows a different course of thought from the other it is almost always in favour of the original reading.*—The textual character of the Bohairic thus fits in with the date assigned to it by

1 S. J. Robinson, *Coptic Apoc. Gospels*, F and S, 42, p. xvi.
2 *ibid.*, 54.

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Gaudi. Its chief allies are Codex Regius (A) of the Gospels, a MS. probably written in Egypt in the eighth century, and among the Fathers, not so much Clement and Origen as Cyril of Alexandria.

In all this it is supported by the Harehem Syriac, itself the work of a Monophysite living near Alexandria at the beginning of the seventh century.

The great difference between the general type of Greek text represented by the Bohairic and by the Harehem is due rather to the difference of their ancestry than to their mutual revision.

The Fayyumic version occupies a very peculiar position between the Sahidic and the Bohairic. In the Ptolemaic epistles, indeed, the Bohairic separates itself so much from the other two as practically to become an independent version. But in the Gospels the Fayyumic stands much nearer the Bohairic. The general turn of the sentences and the Egyptian vocabulary are the same in both versions, though the Fayyumic is careless of the connecting particles of the Greek, which here as elsewhere have been industriously supplied in the Bohairic. In essentials, therefore, the official Bohairic revision preserves in the Gospels an Egyptian text somewhat older than itself. Unfortunately, the date of the Fayyumic version is unknown, and its relation to the Sahidic obscure.⁴

The 'Antiochian' Greek text seems never to have influenced Egypt, at least not before the fourth century. Freedom from specifically Antiochian readings is a characteristic of all forms of the Egyptian NT. The relation of the Fayyumic version to the 'Western' text is more complicated. All Egyptian texts are predominantly non-Western; but a few very striking Western readings and insertions are peculiar to the Sahidic, yet not as numerous as might be expected widely spread in later text.⁵ In Antioch, therefore, in the Sahidic a definite Western element, but this by no means so large as that of the text of the margin of the Harehem Syriac, has been preserved, the Sahidic among the numerous manuscripts of Antioch seems probable that it had descended from the beginning.

Even more important are the many readings where the Sahidic supports *NA* or *B* or both, where these great MSS. stand almost alone.⁶ Here again the version must faithfully have preserved the original form, as these readings are usually and consistently in conformity with the original Sahidic bilinguals. We can therefore fit in the evidence of the Sahidic version that a text similar in character to *NA* and *B* though not fully like *NA* was in circulation in Egypt about the beginning of the fourth century.

The full Greek original is preserved both in the Sahidic and the Bohairic, but the Apocrypha seems to have been regarded as uncanonical and never bound up in the MSS. which contain the NT. It is placed after the other books, but the *Apocrypha* in Hebrew is now 217 folios. The MSS. of the Sahidic and the Fayyumic are 115 and 204.

¹ A. A. J. B. p. 100. The Sahidic version of the NT is the only MSS. in which the original text of the Gospels is preserved in its entirety.

² The Sahidic version of the NT is the only MSS. in which the original text of the Gospels is preserved in its entirety.

³ The Sahidic version of the NT is the only MSS. in which the original text of the Gospels is preserved in its entirety.

⁴ The Sahidic version of the NT is the only MSS. in which the original text of the Gospels is preserved in its entirety.

⁵ The Sahidic version of the NT is the only MSS. in which the original text of the Gospels is preserved in its entirety.

⁶ The Sahidic version of the NT is the only MSS. in which the original text of the Gospels is preserved in its entirety.

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In an article of this kind it is almost impossible to indicate the printed texts of the NT in the various Egyptian dialects, which (apart from early editions, now antiquated) he scattered in periodicals such as the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*. Complete lists of editions and MSS will be found in Scrivener (4th ed. [by A. C. Headland], 210-221, 227-29, 240-244. For the official Bohairic, by far the best edition is the Oxford text edited with translation and critical apparatus by G. Horner), vol. 1, *f. Gospels*, 1893; vol. III, *Acts and Epistles* (shortly).

The first mention of an Armenian church dates from the episcopate of Dionysius of Alexandria (248-263), concerning whom Eusebius relates that

36. Armenian version.

he wrote a letter to the Armenians, and that their bishop was named Meruzanes. Gieseler (*Die Anfänge der armenischen Kirche*) believes that this community lived in Azerbaijan; but in any case there can be little doubt that it was evangelised by Syriac-speaking missionaries, and that its ecclesiastical language was Syriac. An Armenian version does not appear till much later. Tradition ascribes the work to Isaac and Mesrob (*l. c.* 400); but, as Armitage Robinson remarks, the accounts 'combine a certain conflict of assertion with a suspicious family likeness' (*Euthaliens* 72). He adds: 'One fact which seems to stand out distinctly after the perusal of these puzzling statements is that the earliest attempts at translating the Scriptures into Armenian were based on Syriac codices,' and goes on to show (pp. 76-91) that there are still unmistakable traces of the primitive renderings from the Syriac in the existing Armenian Vulgate. The Syriac text which was employed was not the Peshitta but the Old Syriac, both in the Gospels and in the Epistles. About the middle of the fifth century this primitive version was thoroughly revised from the Greek, so that it is only here and there that we can recognise the original groundwork. The Greek text by which the revision was made was apparently not the Antiochian, but one akin to B⁸; the readings of the Armenian which are attested neither by Syr.^{av} nor by B⁸ are very few and may have come from chance corruption in later times.¹

The only critical edition of the Armenian version is that of Zohrab (NE, Venice, 1789). A useful abstract of the native traditions about the Armenian version, with lists of some ancient MSS, is to be found in F. C. Conybeare's article in Scrivener (4th ed. 2148-154).

Old Armenian MSS of the Gospels usually omit [Mk. 16:9-20] altogether; those which retain the verses make a break at v. 8, giving the colophon *Gospel of Mark* both after 16:8 and after 16:20. F. C. Conybeare (*Expositor*, 1891, pp. 242 ff.), however, discovered at Echmiadzin a codex of the Armenian Gospels, written in 950 A.D., which contains the disputed verses with the rubric *Aristion Eritzu* ('Of the Presbyter Aristion'). A photograph of the page containing Mk. 16:9 ff. is given in Sweet's *St. Mark*, p. civ. The inference is that the scribe of the MS, or of its archetype, had access to a tradition that Aristion, the friend of Epiphan mentioned in Euseb. *HE* 3:32, was the man who added the verses at the end of the second Gospel. This would seem to be some fifty years too early, if other indications are to be trusted. In any case, the readings of the codex should be published in full, as alone among Old Armenian MSS it contains the story of the Woman taken in Adultery, but in a form quite different from any other authority (Conybeare in *Expositor*, Dec. 1893).

The version in *Géez*, the classical language of the

A. THE MASSORETIC TEXT

All MSS of the Hebrew OT are copies, more or less full and accurate, of a single critical edition commonly called 'the Massoretic Text'. This

40. Massoretic text.

edition, like other critical works, consists of a *Text*, a *Punctuation*, and *Voces*. 'Massora' means tradition, and the unknown editors only profess to give the traditional text, as it was traditionally recited in the synagogue. The date of the Massoretic edition must be placed somewhere between the fifth and

¹ E.g., in Mt. 1:27 the Armenian has *ἀρσὴν* with B⁸ against the Antiochian Greek text on the one hand, and all forms of the Syriac on the other.

TEXT AND VERSIONS

Abyssinians, is usually cited as the 'Ethiopic.' Abyssinian Christianity is said to go back into

37. Ethiopic version.

the fourth century; but the existing version is not older than the fifth or the sixth century. The translation was from the Greek but it has been proved by Gindli (*Die Traduction des Evangelii in Arabi e in Ethiopio*, Rome, 1888) that many of the existing MSS, which are all very late, represent later revisions made from the medieval Arabic text current in Alexandria.¹

A few traces survive of a yet older Ethiopic version of the Gospels, made from the Syriac, as in the case of the Armenian version. The Aramaic colouring of the vocabulary of the Ethiopic NT has been pointed out by Tischendorf's *A T* 3895 note, and the text now and again agrees with Syr.^{av} against almost all other authorities, though it usually follows the Greek or the Arabic. Thus in Mk. 16:6 it reads *ἄραξα* for *ἀραξαίνω*, supported only by cod. 565 and by S⁸ (not by the Dutesaron).

The Ethiopic NT was printed at Rome in 1548; this edition was repeated in Walton's Polyglott, and has been carefully rendered into Latin (O. A. Boncompagni Ludovisi, 1753). Another edition was prepared by T. Pell Platt for the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1830.

The remaining versions of the NT are of much less importance for the text. The Gothic version dates from the middle of the fourth century. It is a

38. Gothic version.

work of Ulfilas (Ulfila, 'Little Wolf', the apostle of the Goths, and so is the earliest surviving literature in any Teutonic language). Ulfilas worked among the Goths of the Danubian Provinces; but the surviving documents all appear to belong to N. Italy and the age of the Ostrogoths, even of the Lombard conquest. Of the NT we have the Gospels and Pauline epistles (except Hebrews), but with many gaps, well edited from MSS of about the sixth century.

The Gothic, unlike the Armenian and the Ethiopic, has any link of connection with the great ante-Nicene versions, so for critical purposes is of less value. For the influence of Gothic on some late Old Latin texts see above, § 19. The MS of Romans cited as *guc* (or *gucph*) is a Latino-Gothic. The Latin appears to be entirely dependent on the Gothic. Here and there the Gothic MSS seem to have taken over Old Latin readings (e.g., 1k. 1:3), in the same way that the Vulg. has been influenced by the Gothic.

The Georgian (*Georgian*) version shows signs of having been originally made from the Old Syriac, like its sister the Armenian (F. C. Conybeare in *Ann. Journ. of Theol. Soc.*, 1891 ff.).

39. Other versions.

The Slavonic version, of the ninth century, is made from the Greek and is the best to represent any ancient type of text not otherwise preserved. Arabic versions from the Syriac and the Greek can be traced back to the eighth and the ninth century, but the current Arabic is essentially a translation of the Bohairic Gospels interpolated from the Greek and Syriac Vulgates. It is difficult to claim to our attention here is that Gindli has recognised the source from which the far earlier Ethiopic has been translated.

Just as in the East late versions were made from the Greek and Syriac Vulgates, so in the West there are various translations, Anglo-Saxon, Frankish, etc., from the Latin Vulgate. A few secondary translations contribute nothing for the critical study of the original text of the NT because the Greek, Latin, and Syriac Vulgates can be accurately constructed from earlier authorities.

II. OLD TESTAMENT

the eighth century of our era. Jerome knew nothing of any system of vocalisation in Hebrew MSS; the present system must have been introduced later than the beginning of the fifth century; an inference limited by the existence of Massoretic codices as old as the sixth century.² (On the Samaritan text of the Pentateuch see § 45.)

¹ Possibly a reminiscence of this revision has been preserved in the *Enchiridion* of Abba Salama published by Eusebius (*Conybeare*, p. 295).

² Systems of vocalisation similar in principle are to be found in Syriac and classical Arabic. All these systems have a common origin, and may have been induced by a common cause, the Mohammedan conquest and the consequent spread of Arabic language in a vulgarised form. Before the seventh century

TEXT AND VERSIONS

1. The *Text of the Massoretic Edition* consists of the consonants of the Hebrew (cp WRITING, § 7), which are, however, divided into words.

According to the Jewish view this alone is 'Scripture,' and in theory it is complete by itself without further punctuation or vocalisation. The extant MSS, none of which are older than the ninth century, give the consonantal text adopted by the Massoretes with great fidelity; throughout the forty-eight chapters of Ezekiel only sixteen real variations occur between a modern edition based ultimately on Western MSS and the 'Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae' (cp *VARIA*, a newly discovered MS of wholly Eastern ancestry). Yet, as will be shown later, this consonantal text is frequently corrupt, so that the agreement of our MSS only enables us to reconstruct their common exemplar and affords no proof whatever that this exemplar faithfully represented the lost original as it left the author's hands.

The leather rolls used in the synagogue contain no vocalisation; but their full agreement with the pointed copies proves that they also are true transcripts of the official Massoretic text.

2. The Massoretic *Punctuation* serves what we are accustomed to consider the double purpose of vocalisation and accentuation. Each word is

41. Vowels. provided with 'points' and one or more accents, the points indicating the vowels that are to be supplied to each letter, whilst the accents indicate the inflections of the voice, telling the reader what pause, if any, is to be made on the word, and thus forming a complete system of punctuation in the English sense of the term. These additional signs also are given with considerable accuracy in the MSS, though there is a certain amount of variation in the case of the subordinate accents.

The value of the whole system as a kind of grammatical commentary on the Hebrew Scriptures can hardly be over-estimated. So well is the vocalisation carried out, that there are very few places where the text can be emended by altering the points and leaving the consonants as they stand. In fact, the Massoretic pointing may even be used as a means of discovering errors in the text. The Massoretes did not make a critical revision; they only supplied traditional vowels to the traditional consonantal text; where the consonantal text was corrupt, really suitable vowels could not be placed. As a general rule, therefore, anomalous pointing in our Hebrew text is a sign that the consonants are wrong.¹ The chief exceptions are to be found in places where theological or national prejudice appears to have influenced the punctuation. Even there, however, the false readings are hardly ever novelities; they are the perpetuation of old and popular errors.²

3. In addition to text and punctuation the Massoretic edition includes critical *Niqqud*, which occupy the margins of our copies. Some of these notes draw attention to anomalies of vocalisation, or what might seem to be such, thereby fulfilling the same purpose that we express by putting off after a word others form part of a vast system of marginal references and computations intended to preserve the literary integrity of the Massoretic standard. For textual criticism, however, the most interesting of these notes deal with passages where the Massoretes, against their usual custom have deserted the reading of the text. Not that even in such cases they have dared to change the written Word (*Kethibh*), the consonantal text it

¹ Systems of partial vocalisation, such as the introduction of matres lectionis, and in SYRIA the dia-critical point, had been employed in Semitic writing where a purely consonantal text had been found hard to decipher.

² Illustrations of this statement will be found, e.g., in Deuter 21 v. 1-18; 9. 6; Ezek 28. 12; Mic 2. 8.

³ Thus the Hebrew *lamma'as* by the help of the perispomenon (Lev. 15. 7; Amos 8. 14), but *lamma'as* was never put into a predicative use, as H. B. F. says. Hence the possible mix. of *lamma'as* with the *lamma'as* of the *lamma'as* (1 Sam. 29, etc.). But this mixed form is not found in our MSS. For other instances, see *VARIA*.

⁴ Some of these lists and lists of words were compiled from the tract *Shema* and are to be found in certain editions of the Talmud, where they are given with vowel-points and the Massoretic edition. For a description of the methods used in the Massoretic text, see Wellhausen Bilek, *Festschrift*, § 27.

TEXT AND VERSIONS

remains unaltered, but the vowels supplied to it are those of the emended consonantal text, which appears only on the margin, followed by the word *Kethibh* 'to be read'.

A certain number of these alterations refer to the spelling or pronunciation of grammatical forms of which the *Kethibh* has often preserved the older type, especially in the Aramaic portions of Daniel and Ezra. But where it is a question of real variation of reading there can be no doubt that the *Kethibh* was simply supposed to be corrupt, and the *Qere* was a more or less successful *conjectural emendation*. Thus we come to the very important conclusion that the Massoretic text itself is, in parts at least, ultimately based on a single faulty MS; when we find in Ezek 18. 24 'five five hundred' in the text, not corrected, but with a marginal note to read 'five' only once, we cannot but conclude that here at any rate the editors had been reduced to following a single MS in which 'five' had been written twice over by mistake.¹

Few scholars will suppose that the *Qere* readings cover all the corrupt passages in the Hebrew text. They are simply the passages where the mistake was most patent and the remedy nearest at hand. It is only likely that we should find corruptions in the ancient literature of the Jews, literature written in a dead language and relating to vanished national and social conditions, circulating among a people whose seats of learning were again and again broken up by political misfortunes (see further, § 66).

But in whatever condition the text underlying the Massoretic edition may be, criticism has to start from it. The direct evidence takes us no farther, and the only quarter from which we can hope for an improvement of the Hebrew text (apart from conjectural emendation) is the study of the ancient versions. From these we may at least learn something of the history of the text back to the second or the third century B.C.

Since the above was written some fragments of papyrus, containing the ten commandments, followed by the *Shema!* (De 6. 4 f.) in Hebrew, have been edited by S. A. Cook in *P&S: I* (Jan. 1904). The appearance of the papyrus and the very remarkable hand-writing, which presents striking resemblances with the Ptolemaic character, point to a date not later than the second century A.D. The text agrees in several instances with the Septuagint against MT. It is possible, therefore, that further discoveries may one day enable us directly to control the Massoretic tradition.

The three chief printed editions of the Hebrew text are the Bomberg Edition, published in Venice 1526, the Mantua Quarto with Norzi's commentary 1743, and the Savoy edition of Van der Hooghe 1780. The last is

42. Editions. the parent of the ordinary editions. The Bomberg edition is the work of Rabbi Jacob ben Hayyim, and contains, besides Rabbinical commentaries, the *Lectio*, a vast collection of Massoretic material brought together for the first time. It is interesting to find that the Bomberg text is based on a MSS of the Massoretes which is generally considered to be a good one, and which may be designated as *Mantua* (the work is completed with a certain amount of *Niqqud* with indices).

In addition to the critical editions there is a considerable body of printed Spanish Hebrew texts, but these are together perished or so nearly so that in libraries at Leck, etc. Such editions are those of Elzer Books of the Massoretes, the Books of *Qere*, and other MSS of ANTONIO DA SILVA.

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Fragments of the Massoretic text. Fragments of a Massoretic papyrus, which might enlighten us as to the original text of the Massoretes, has been discovered by Strassberg.

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TEXT AND VERSIONS

whilst in other places the newly-recovered Hebrew differs widely from both versions. See ECCLESIASTICS, § 47, and especially SIRACH. The extensive variations between the Hebrew MSS and the ancient Greek and Syriac versions show the dangers to which Hebrew works were exposed in transmission unless carefully preserved by rules such as those observed by the Massoretes; they also illustrate the freedom used by the ancients when translating profane literature.

II. VERSIONS

The age and character of the versions of the OT are so different that it may be well to prefix a list of them, arranged roughly in chronological order,

44. OT versions.

1. The *Samaritan* (Heb.) Pentateuch (§ 43) and the *Samaritan* (Aram.) Targum (SAMARITANS, § 50), the origin of which goes back to 400 B.C.

2. The ancient *Greek* version, commonly called the *Septuagint* (§§ 46, 51-55). Parts of it date from the third century B.C.; but other portions are not so ancient, and the whole has been much revised and altered in later times. This is the OT of the Greek church. There are valuable subsidiary translations of the Septuagint into *Latin* (§§ 56-58), *Coptic* (§ 63), *Ethiopic* (§ 64), and *Armenian* (§ 64), from the second to the seventh century A.D., and at a later period into *Syriac* (§ 61), *Arabic*, *Gothic*, etc. (§ 65).

3. The *Pargomi*, paraphrases of the Hebrew OT in the various dialects of Jewish Aramaic for use in the synagogue. Their origin goes back to before the Christian Era; but their extant form was fixed at a much later period (§ 65).

4. Later Greek translations of the Hebrew Scriptures, made during the second century A.D. by Jews or Jewish-Christians named *Aquila* (§ 49), *Symmachus* (§ 47), and *Theodotion* (§ 48).

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6. The new *Latin* version made by Jerome at the beginning of the fifth century A.D., now known as the *Vulgate* (§ 54).

It will be practically convenient to describe these versions of the OT under the languages in which they are found, irrespective of the character of the text.

The 'Samaritan Pentateuch' is not a version; it is the Hebrew text of the 'five books of Moses' as preserved by the Samaritan community.

The Samaritans were a mixed race settled in the country round Samaria. They had been willing to join the Jews in rebuilding the temple after the return; but when the Jews refused their help they became bitterly hostile, and Samaria found a permanent asylum for those who left or were driven out by their co-religionists in Jerusalem. About 330 B.C. one of these refugees, a certain Manasseh, grandson of the high priest Elishah (Neh. 13.2, 3; Jos. *Ant.* vi. 7), obtained leave from Darius Godomanius to set up a temple on Mt. Gerizim, and it is highly probable that along with the temple ritual he brought with him the then canonical Jewish Scriptures, i.e. the Book of the Law in Hebrew.¹ This alone forms the Scriptures of the Samaritans. It is written, like all their books, in the Samaritan dialect, which is the direct descendant of the old Hebrew writing. The dialect spoken by the Samaritans was a variety of western Aramaic (see ARAMAIC, § 1; SAMARITANS, § 57), into which at some period was made a translation of the Pentateuch known as the Samaritan Targum (SAMARITANS, § 50); there is also found in Samaritan MSS an Arabic translation made about the eleventh century A.D. at a time when the Samaritans, like the rest of the peoples of Syria, had adopted the Arabic language. (See SAMARITANS.)

The Samaritan Pentateuch had from the beginning certain intentional adaptations to fit it to the new wor-

ship, as the command to build an altar on Mt. Gerizim inserted after Ex. 20.7, and the interchange of Ebal and Gerizim in Dt. 27.4. Characteristic also of the Samaritan Pentateuch are certain long interpolations from parallel or semi-parallel passages (e.g. at Ex. 20.9 ff. from Dent 18, and in Nu 20.7 from Dent. 1.3), and in some places anthropomorphic expressions not paraphrased, much as in the Targums.² On the other hand it has, presumably, escaped the corruptions which have befallen the purely Jewish line of transmission since the fourth century B.C., whence now and then it agrees with the Septuagint in preserving words and letters which have dropped out of the Massoretic text.³ There is nothing, however, to show that the roll or rolls carried off by Manasseh contained a recension in any way superior to those then current in Jerusalem; in fact, the Samaritan shares with all other extant forms of the Pentateuch some clear palaeographical corruptions, such as 'עז' Nu 21.1, 'עז' Dent 33.1, 'עז' p. Dent. 33.2 (see § 66).

The main thing, therefore, to be learnt from the Samaritan recension is that about the year 333 B.C., less than a century after Ezra, less than a century after the Torah in its present form had become once for all the Law-book of the Jewish church, the text of the Pentateuch was read substantially as we read it now.

The Samaritan Pentateuch and Targum were first printed by I. Meunier in the Paris Polyglot (1612) from a MS brought to Europe by Pietro de la Valle. This was repeated in Walton's Polyglot (1657) and the Hebrew text separately printed in 1707. Bagster's Polyglot contains a collation of this edition with the ordinary printed Hebrew. (P SAMARITANS, § 50.)

46. *Septuagint*: literature into a totally different language, is the ancient Greek version commonly known as the Septuagint.

According to the constant tradition of the Alexandrian Jews the Law was translated into Greek in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (284-247 B.C.) at the instigation and under the patronage of Demetrius Phalareus the librarian of the Alexandrian Library. One of the two authors from whom we gather this is Aristobolus of Alexandria, a Jewish philosopher of the second century B.C.; the other is a Jewish writer of the Ptolemaic period who composed under the name of Aristæus, a courtier of Philadelphus, a fictitious account of the origin of the version. Aristobolus (*Op. Clem. Alex. Strom.* 1.12) and Eus. *Præp. Ev.* 9.6-13.1) maintained that Pythagoras and Plato derived their philosophy from Moses, while the object of the pseudo-Aristæus (*HISTORIC ART. LITTEARY, TURK.* § 19, vi) appears to have been to represent the Greek version of the Law as having been undertaken with the express approval of the high-priestly circle in Jerusalem. These authors had no object in asserting that the version had been made about 280 B.C., in the distinguished heretich patronage (such a representation must have stood in their way); we may therefore assume that it was a historical fact of which they were entitled to take account.⁴ The name *Septuagint* comes from the story given by pseudo-Aristæus, and variously embellished by later writers, that the translation was made by seventy men (or seventy-two, six from each tribe), who all agreed in their renderings.

It will be noted that these stories refer exclusively to the Pentateuch, to which alone the name *Septuagint* (LXX) properly belongs. But the whole Greek OT is now comprehended under this term, by a convenient if unhistorical usage, which goes back to the time of Origen.

The other books of the OT had an even less definite origin than the translation of the Law. They seem to have been turned into Greek by different persons at various times from the middle of the third century B.C.

¹ *Eus.* Nu. 23.4.

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TEXT AND VERSIONS

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down to the Christian Era, or even later. There is evidence for believing that Philo the Jew (about 30 B.C. - 50 A.D.) was acquainted with all the

47. Citations. Of except Escher, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, and Daniel (top CASON, § 50). At a still earlier date (132 B.C.) the translator of Ecclesiastes speaks of 'the Law and the Prophets and the rest of the Books' as existing in Greek (cp. ANON, § 39), whilst the Book of Wisd. 2:12 (2:50 B.C.) contains a clear adaptation of the very peculiar rendering of Is. 3:10 in the LXX.

The use of the OT by the writers of the various books of the NT suggests many difficult problems, the solutions of which have by no means all been reached. Some writers, notably Lk., clearly use LXX. Others, such as the writer of the first Gospel, often agree with the Hebrew in places where it differs from LXX. But it by no means follows that this latter class are using an independent Greek version. In the opinion of the present writer it is far more likely that the quotations in the NT that do not follow LXX are derived either directly from the Hebrew or indirectly through the more or less fixed Aramaic renderings then current in the synagogue. In the case of the Apocalypse we must remember that it is in language an adaptation of a previously existing Jewish Apocalypse in Hebrew or Aramaic (APOCALYPSE, § 24 ff.), an adaptation so close as to be in parts, at least, a translation. Such a work naturally shows in its Greek dress many coincidences with the OT which are quite independent of LXX; but these coincidences can scarcely be used with any confidence to postulate independent Greek versions. After the catastrophe of the Jewish War in 70 A.D. the Semitic-speaking Christianity of Palestine disappeared, and by the next generation the church became entirely dependent on the Greek version of the OT.

In the middle of the second century A.D. we find the Christian Justin and the Jew Trypho equally using the LXX and founding their arguments on its wording, though here and there (as in Is. 3:12-14) the Jew is no longer satisfied with the traditional rendering. But after the Hebrew canon became definitely closed under Akiba and his school, and a stricter exegesis began to come into fashion, the LXX failed to satisfy the synagogue, and three separate attempts were made to supersede it. These are the new translations of Aquila and of Symmachus, and the elaborate revision of the LXX by Theodotion. As these works are of importance mainly for their influence upon the text of the LXX, which continued to be the translation used by the church, it will be convenient to describe them here.

48. Version of Aquila. Aquila, a native of Pontus, is said to have been a proselyte to Judaism and a disciple of the celebrated Rabbi Akiba (d. 135 A.D.). His version, therefore, may be dated about the second quarter of the second century.

It is marked by the greatest literalness, an attempt being made to express every word of the original, and even to render the derivatives of a Hebrew root by derivatives from the corresponding Greek root (*Th.H.*, 22). This method of translation was not the result of ignorance, but of a system of exegesis which was willing to deal on important theological questions from the presence or absence of the simplest form of the textual critic. Aquila's method is extremely literal. It is always easy to retranslate into the Semitic their Hebrew original, and what is particularly to be noted is his style is so pronounced that fragments of his work which have been preserved in other documents can be easily recognised and identified.

R. E. P. and Holy Scripture, 3.

The Hebrew prefix *eth*, which is the definite accusative, is rendered with the preposition *with*. Hence, when Akiba says, 'Thou shalt fear *eth* Jehovah the God' (*Th.H.*, 22), he says, 'Thou shalt fear *with* the God' (cp. with *Th.H.*, 22). So Aquila, the disciple of Akiba, translates the mark of the accusative by *with* (WRS, *OTC*, 12:1, 309). In such cases the *eth* is not governed a case.

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The version of Aquila was used by Greek-speaking Jews in the days of Justinian (A.D. 461), but no MS was known to survive until some fragments of two very handsome codices were found among the debris from the Geniza of the Cairo synagogue, which were transferred in 1867 to the Cambridge University Library. The fragments of the books of Kings (1 K. 20:7-12; 2 K. 23:17-27) were edited in 1867 by L. C. Burkitt, those of Psalms (parts of Pss. 90-103) in 1869 by C. Taylor. Small as is the extent covered by these fragments, they are of great importance for the criticism of Origen's *Hexapla* and the *Hexaplar* readings in our Greek MSS of the LXX.

A peculiarity of Aquila's version, as revealed by these fragments, is the use of the Dal Hebrew character for the Greek letter *alpha* (Yalowe, see N. VIII, § 109). *alpha* is left thus untranslated. In Ps. 102:17 we find *alpha* for *psi*, a notable transliteration, to be paralleled only by *alpha* in the text of Lam. 1:12:3-5:2-4:12, itself probably adopted from Aquila.

Symmachus is said to have been a Samaritan by race and an Ebionite Christian by religion. His version seems to have been published between the times of Irenaeus and of Origen, about 200 A.D. His method was utterly different from Aquila's, as he aimed at giving a rendering of the OT in Greek sufficiently idiomatic not to offend a reader ignorant of Semitic constructions.

The Hebrew text which underlies the translation of Symmachus is equally with that of Aquila almost identical with the Massoretic. Both Symmachus and Aquila appear to have published second editions of their translations, differing slightly from the first. Theodotion is mentioned along with Aquila by Irenaeus (*Her. 3:2*) as a modern translator in contrast to the ancient Seventy.

49. Of Symmachus. He is said to have been an Ephesian and a proselyte to Judaism, other accounts make him, like Symmachus, an Ebionite. The date of his work is uncertain; but, according to Epiphanius, it falls within the reign of Commodus (180-192 A.D.).

The only reason for doubting this and assigning Theodotion to a considerably earlier date is that coincidences with the version of Daniel, which goes by his name, have been detected in various early Christian writings, including some books of the NT. But these coincidences admit of another explanation (see above, § 47) which has strong claims on our acceptance; it would, moreover, be against all analogy that Christian literary tradition should put a work of this kind a century too late.

Theodotion's edition differs essentially from those of Aquila and Symmachus. It was not, like theirs, an independent translation, but a revision of the LXX by the existing Hebrew. He supplied translations of words and passages of the Hebrew for which there was no equivalent in the LXX, but retained the additions of the Greek which are unrepresented in the Massoretic text. The renderings of the LXX were largely retained, and the construction of the sentences but little changed. His own renderings followed the general style of the LXX, his chief peculiarity being a fondness for translating Hebrew words in lieu of translating. Theodotion's version is based on a good text of the LXX which is often unrepresented in our existing MSS, and this is a fortunate circumstance.

The revision of the LXX thus made by Theodotion appears very soon to have influenced the text used by Christian scholars. Clear traces of Theodotion's renderings are found in some of the quotations of Clement of Alexandria (e.g. *Protr.* 1:1, 48:2; *Strom.* 2:1, 1:2; *Enchiridion*, 1:1, 48:2). A little later the same remarkable

¹ The numeral *alpha* in each case is that of the Hebrew text.

² See 'Clement of Alexandria and the LXX' by Dr. Otto Stählin (*Zeit. f. d. Theol. u. Kirche*, 1891).

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phenomenon meets us in Tertullian's quotations from Ezekiel (Tertullian, *De Res. Carnis*, § 20 = Ezek. 37:1-14; *Adv. Iudaeos*, § 11 = Ezek. 8:12-16). But the quotations of Cyprian and other Latin writers from Ezekiel are free from admixture with Theodotion. On the other hand, the Church definitely adopted Theodotion's revision of Daniel in the place of the older and more paraphrastic translation of the LXX. The history of this important change is extremely obscure. It may have been helped on by the popularity of the commentary on Daniel issued by Hippolytus (about 220 A.D.), and, in any case, it was accepted even in the Latin-speaking church at Carthage during the lifetime of Cyprian (250 A.D.). One consequence of this change is that all copies of the genuine LXX text of Daniel have disappeared except two, and these give the text only as revised by Origen (§ 41). We have, therefore, a very imperfect idea on the range of variation in the ecclesiastical texts of Daniel current in early times, and it is probable that the coincidences of language with Theodotion's Daniel which have been observed in early writers are due to the use, not of Theodotion's text itself, but of a text of the LXX, akin to that which Theodotion took as the basis of his revision.

It has been recounted by Sir H. H. Howarth (*PSBA* 23:17-19 [1901]), and the theory has great probability, that the book called Ezra B in our Greek MSS of the Septuagint, which is practically a literal translation of the Massoretic text of Ezra-Nehemiah, is a part of the work of Theodotion, the original Greek rendering of the book being that called *Ezra A* (= *E*, 'Ezra'; in the English *Apocrypha* (see *EZRA*, THE GREEK, col. 1460).

About the year 240 the celebrated Origen, then living as an exile from Alexandria at Caesarea in Palestine,

61. Origen's work.

prepared an edition of all these versions arranged in parallel columns, which is known as the *Hexapla*. The six columns contained (1) the Hebrew, (2) a transliteration of the Hebrew into Greek letters, (3) Aquila, (4) Symmachus, (5) the LXX, (6) Theodotion. In the poetical and prophetic books there were also extracts from a fifth and a sixth Greek version, both of unknown age and authorship. The columns were arranged in very short *cola*, the extant fragments rarely containing more than the equivalent of one or two Hebrew words. A smaller edition, called the *Tetrapla*, was afterwards prepared by Origen himself, consisting of the four Greek versions alone, without the Hebrew columns. The *Hexapla*, however, was not merely a synoptical table; it was rather an attempt to amend the LXX by the Hebrew, like the edition of Theodotion. In the words of Jerome (*Prof. in Paralipomenon*), 'Origen not only brought together the four translations—writing down their renderings one against the other, so that the eccentricities of any one of them can be convicted by the agreement of the three others between themselves; but, what was more audacious, he interpolated the LXX from Theodotion's translation, marking the fresh additions with asterisks, and at the same time abolishing those parts [of the genuine LXX] which seemed to be superfluous'—*i.e.*, as having no equivalent in the Hebrew.¹ It should be remarked that though the additions are usually taken from Theodotion there are many places where the missing words are adapted from Aquila or Symmachus. In principle the *Hexapla* text of the LXX differs from Theodotion's edition only in two particulars:—(1) the process of revision was chiefly confined to supplying what was missing, not to altering the Greek renderings; (2) all additions to the text of whatever kind were indicated by critical marks. But there was no clear indication of actual changes in the text itself, as distinct from additions or suggested substitutions.²

¹ See also Origen in *Matt.* 15:14 (3721).

² There probably were a few variant readings set in the margin, some of which have preserved in the Syr. *Hexapla* (see Kings under the sign Θ in fifth column). Some of these Θ

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The last quarter of the third century and the beginning of the fourth are marked by the appearance of three editions of the LXX, from one or other

62. Three recensions.

of which practically all our Greek MSS are descended. 'Alexandria with Egypt uses as its Septuagint the work of Hesychius; Constantinople, as far as Antioch, uses the copies of Lucian the martyr; the provinces lying between these extremes use the MSS of Origen's work issued by Eusebius and Pamphilus' (Jerome, *Prof. in Paralip.*; 'Alexandria et Aegyptus in Septuaginta suis Hesychium laudat antiochum, Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam Lucianum martyris exemplaria prolat; mediae inter has provinciae Palaestinae codices legit, quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgauerunt, totiusque orbis haec inter se trifaria varietate compingnat'). Of these three editions, the Eusebian is the Hexaplar text of the LXX with its apparatus of asterisks (*) and obeli (†); the Hesychian edition is that found in the quotations of Cyril of Alexandria, and corresponds in character to Hort's 'Alexandrian' text of the NT; the Lucianic edition, like the 'Antiochian' text of the NT, is characterised by attempts to smooth down grammatical harshnesses and by conflate readings, where two previously existing and mutually exclusive renderings have been fused into one.¹ It is this circumstance which gives the Lucianic LXX considerable value for its own internal evidence conclusively shows that one at least of the elements out of which this composite text was constructed was not only ancient, but also quite independent of the texts used for the Hexapla.

Such in brief is the history of the LXX; a few words must now be said about the existing MSS, and the

63. Extant MSS.

relation they bear towards the various ancient texts. First of course come the four great MSS of the fourth and fifth centuries, viz. the Vaticanus (B), the Sinaiticus (A), the Alexandrian (C), and the fragments of Cod. Ephraemi (F). Besides these there are a multitude of copies from the sixth century onwards; but very few of these ever contained the whole OI, which is usually divided up into divisions such as the Octateuch, the Prophets, etc. The Psalter is usually separate.

The original MS of Origen's *Hexapla* was doubtless never copied again in full on account of its unwieldy bulk; but fragments of the Psalms in all five editions, accompanied by a *Catena Patrum*, were discovered in the Ambrosian Library at Milan in 1806 by G. Mercati. The MS (D 39 247) is a palimpsest, the original writing containing in tenth-century minuscules all the columns of the *Hexapla*, except the Hebrew in Hebrew letters. A fragment of Ps. 22, containing all six columns, was found in 1868 among the *Lambdacodex* MSS at Cambridge, and has been published by G. Taylor together with his fragments of Aquila (see above, § 48).

More important for practical purposes than these fragments are the MSS connected with the Eusebian edition of the LXX. These are of varied character. Some, like the great codex B, give a text more or less conformed to the Hexaplar standard, but without the diacritical marks. Others, such as Codex Samaritanus (D) of the Octateuch, have the critical signs, whilst others have the readings are the last survival of a very pure LXX text, see above, § 16.

As to the amount of change admitted by Origen in the *Hexapla* text, it is probable that he amended the Hebrew proper names (cp. Origen, *in Isaiaem*, 1:152 in Baeke's text of the *Hexapla* to Ex. 6:12) but he seems often to have failed to introduce emendations which seriously affected the sense. Thus in Jer. 15:10 he did not alter $\alpha\beta\epsilon\lambda\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$, $\alpha\beta\epsilon\lambda\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$ $\alpha\beta\epsilon\lambda\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$ for $\alpha\beta\epsilon\lambda\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$ for $\alpha\beta\epsilon\lambda\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$ $\alpha\beta\epsilon\lambda\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$ $\alpha\beta\epsilon\lambda\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$ and $\alpha\beta\epsilon\lambda\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$ $\alpha\beta\epsilon\lambda\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$ from Theodotion, although he left the LXX to contain a serious error (Jer. 8:21). The same, however, seems to occur in Philo (*De aeternitate*, 1:10, 1:11).

¹ The original copy of Lucian's revision, written in his own hand, is said by Theodoret to have been burnt in the great conflagration at Nicomedia walled up in the fourth century, the fragments belonging to Jews.

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critical signs together with marginal notes containing renderings from Apolla, Symmachus, Theodotion, etc. Foremost among these fuller authorities is the *Syro-Hexaplar* version made by Paul of Tella in 616-617 A.D. (see § 61), one of the most valuable extant works for the text of the LXX.

From some of the notes in the Syro-Hexaplar version and from remarks of Theodoret it has been possible for Field and Lagarde independently to identify the MSS which contain a Laetanic text. The Hessian text is best represented by the first hand of Codex Marchalianus (A), a sixth-century MS of the prophets. A second hand has added to this MS a number of Hexaplar readings from the other editions.

The chief printed editions of \mathfrak{B} are: (1) the *Aldine*, Venice, 1519; (2) the *Complutensian Polyglot*, Alcalá, printed 1514-17, published 1522, representing a Laetanic text; (3) the *Syriacae*, Rome, 1577, based on Cod. B; (4) the *Alexandrina*, Oxford, 1727-29, 1733, Grabe's edition, based on Cod. A; (5) *Holmæ and Parsons*, Oxford, 1793-1827, a reprint of the Syriac text (Cod. B), but with an apparatus containing the various readings of many MSS and Fathers.

Quite distinct from these, as aiming to reproduce not MSS but particular readings of \mathfrak{B} are: Field's *Hexapla*, a collection of the extant fragments, Oxford, 1875; and Lagarde's restoration of the Laetanic text (*Gen.-Father only*), Göttingen, 1883.

Lagarde in his *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Propheten*, 3 (see Trivet, *IBS*, p. xlvii) has laid down the following rules for recovering the original text of the LXX from our authorities:

56. Recovery of original LXX.

1. The MSS of the Greek translation of the OT are all either immediately or mediately the result of an eclectic process: it follows that he who aims at recovering the original text must follow an eclectic method likewise. His only standard will be his knowledge of the style of the individual translators: his chief aid will be the faculty possessed by him of referring the readings which come before him to their Semitic original, or else of recognising them as corruptions originating in the Greek.

2. If a verse or part of a verse appears in both a free and a slavishly literal translation, the former is to be counted the genuine rendering.

3. If two readings coexist, of which one expresses the Massoretic text, while the other can only be explained from a text deviating from it, the latter is to be regarded as the original.

These admirable rules, however, practically give up the attempt to trace out the history of the text of the LXX. It may therefore be worth while to indicate the lines on which such an attempt may be undertaken.

In the first place it is necessary to get some criterion for estimating the worth of the Hexaplar text with its apparatus of asterisks, etc., as preserved in existing MSS. For this we may use the fragments of the Old Latin which are certainly derived from a Greek text older than the Hexapla (see § 59). Along with the Old Latin we may take the quotations from the early Greek fathers, so far as their text can be trusted. When we compare our Hexaplar text with these primary sources of information the general result may be summarised thus:—(1) The critical signs attached to the text, especially the all-important asterisks (*) which mark interpolations introduced into the LXX from Apolla, Symmachus or Theodotion, are fairly well preserved. Single authorities have dropped some places them here and there; but it is rarely the case that the majority of our witnesses conspire in error.

(2) The Hexaplar text itself, when purged of the interpolations under * is a good text of the LXX, in the whole sense of a continuous text which survives. (3) It is very far, however, from being really pure. The proper

1 The useful editions of Tischendorf (7th ed., 1859) give the Syriac text with the variants of \mathfrak{B} and \mathfrak{C} . The Cambridge *Editha Major* (1870-72), gives the text of \mathfrak{B} and the variants of \mathfrak{B} with some other useful MSS; a larger edition is in progress which it is hoped will supersede *Holmæ and Parsons*.

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names have been largely corrected to the Massoretic Hebrew, while in other matters inferior readings have been either introduced or have been wrongly followed.

Having thus gained some idea of the worth of the Hexaplar text we may go on to apply these results to the criticism of our chief surviving MSS. Their value and independence will be found to differ greatly in the various books. That they all contain Theodotion's Daniel, not the Daniel of the genuine LXX, is perhaps not due to the Hexapla alone, as the change probably occurred earlier. But it was Origen who introduced nearly 400 lines (*i.e.*, half verses) into the LXX text of Job from Theodotion, yet these interpolations are found in all our MSS, so far therefore as Job is concerned it is certain that none of our MSS go beyond the Hexapla.

The fact that in various parts of the OT, notably the four books of Kings (KINGS, § 3, cp SAMUEL, § 4) and Ezekiel, \mathfrak{B} leaves out many passages known to be interpolations, has given philosophy to the belief that it presents us with a pre-Hexaplaric text; but other phenomena of \mathfrak{B} are inconsistent with this view, and it is better to regard \mathfrak{B} as in the main a Hexaplar text without the passages under asterisk (Lagarde, *Prozession*, 3, n. 1). In Judges, Isaiah, and Lamentations, the text of \mathfrak{B} is neither Hexaplaric nor that of the unrevised LXX.¹ [On the text of Judges, cp J. 1061, § 18.]

The text of \mathfrak{C} shows greater independence than that of \mathfrak{B} , and though it is sprinkled more or less throughout the OT with Hexaplaric additions it often retains the reading of the LXX when most other MSS have gone wrong.²

The Laetanic text contains a singular mixture of good and bad readings, but so far as can be judged from the surviving evidence its good readings are also those of the Old Latin. Its value to us therefore is to supply evidence akin to the Old Latin, where that invaluable witness fails us. The character of the Laetanic text is indicated by Jerome (*Ep. ad Socrum et Iovinianum*, cp. Field, p. lxxxvi) when he says: 'editionem ipsam Origenes, etc. *καθηρὸν ἐστὶν κοινότητα* appellat inique *υδαίτων*, et a pleisipue nunc *Λοικαίων* dicitur.' Laetanus's revision, rather than the Hexaplar text, is the representative of the old *καθηρὸν ἐκδοτικὸν* that survives approximately pure in the better texts of the Old Latin. The difference between the comparative value to us of the 'Antiochian' texts of the OT and the NT simply comes from the paucity of what we might call 'early Western texts' of the OT in Greek. If a MS analogous to Codex Bezae survived, the value of the Laetanic text would have been largely discounted.

II. LATIN

The Old Latin is the only version of the OT made from the Greek which is certainly older than the Hexapla.

56. The Old Latin version. The Syriac version of the OT was translated direct from the Hebrew, not from the Greek, and the other Oriental versions belong to a later period. Hence the Old Latin occupies a unique position, and must be regarded as the chief authority for the restoration of the *καθηρὸν ἐκδοτικὸν* or pre-Hexaplaric LXX. Unfortunately it survives only in fragments, and some of the better preserved forms are the result of revision from Greek texts later than the original translation.

As in the NT the quotations of Cyprian (d. 258) form the standard by which we may classify our texts. Cyprian quotes from nearly all the books of OT and NT and with almost unerring accuracy, so that we may gather from his works a fair idea of the characteristics of the OT in Latin as it was read at Carthage about the middle of the third century. Closely akin to the

¹ Cp. for example, Is 49:14 in \mathfrak{B} and the Hexapla. In Lamentations the names of the Hebrew letters of the alphabet are transliterated in \mathfrak{B} differently from other MSS, 71 being used for γ and $\lambda \gamma$ for ζ (see above, § 43).

² *Luc.*, Judg. 5:7, end.

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Cypric text is that used in *De Pascha Computus*, except in Daniel. A slightly later type is presented by the various Bonast text, such as that found in the extensive quotations of Evagrius, and in the *Gesta* of the 'Cathedral of Hagia Sophia' held in 411 A.D.; among these also must be reckoned the *Lucca Genesius* (Lagarde, *Septuaginta Studien* 247^b), a historical work of purely Latin origin containing a very large number of biblical proper names, all of which are given in pre-Hexaplaric spelling.

Among 'European' texts special mention must be made of Lucifer of Cagliari (d. 471), whose quotations, especially from the historical books, are very full and accurate. The pseudo-Augustinian *Speculum* (Corp. Serp. Eccl. Lat. 202), a collection of biblical extracts somewhat similar to the *Testimonia* of Cypric has a text, possibly Spanish in origin, which contains some elements belonging to the earlier form of the version.

Revised texts, which cannot be used as evidence for the true Old Latin save in exceptional cases, are met with in Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome. Jerome's quotations especially are often taken direct from the Greek and usually agree with **Or** and **Q**. Augustine (to mention only the clearest cases) used Jerome's translation of Job from the *Hexapla*, and in Judg. 5 he agrees with the Hexaplar Codex Constanianus against the true Old Latin as preserved by Vercellensis.¹ Tertullian's curious use of a text of the LXX mixed with Theodotion's in the Book of Ezekiel has been already noticed (see above, col. 5019).

The most complete MS of any part of the Old Latin OT is the *Verna Heptateuch* of the seventh century,

67. MSS. containing most of the Pentateuch, Joshua, and Judges to 20 (ed. by U. Robert, 1881 and 1900). A better text is to be found in the *Freising Palimpsest* now at Munich, of the fifth or sixth century (*Brahestücke einer vorkonstantinischen Übersetzung des Pentateuch* . . . by L. Ziegler, 1883); although this MS shows some marks of literary revision it contains a Cypric element, which in conjunction with the general independence of its text places it in the first rank of LXX authorities.² Its independence is especially noticeable in the latter chapters of Exodus.

Other Old Latin MSS, all of them palimpsests or mere fragments, are—the *Vienna Palimpsest* of Genesis (? Oct.) and the historical books, fifth century, a text which agrees remarkably with that of Lucifer, and only requires to be well edited to take its place among the very best MSS; the two *Wursburg Palimpsests*, one of the Pentateuch, the other of the Prophets, fifth century, both edited by E. Ranke, 1871; the *Wiengarten* MS of the prophets, fifth century, also edited by E. Ranke, 1868-1888. Besides these there are smaller fragments at Quedlinburg, Vienna, and S. Gallen. Of a slightly different character are the two documents edited by Vercellone in his *Corpus Lecturae Vulg. Lat. Bibl. editionis. VI.*, extracts out of Genesis and Exodus from the Codex Ottobonianus, an eighth century MS of the Latin Vulgate, and the various readings written in the margin of a Visigothic MS of the Latin Vulgate at Leon in Spain. These various readings agree very closely with the Latinic text, much closer in fact than any other form of the Old Latin, so the conjecture may be hazarded that they were translated direct from some Greek MS.

A number of Latin Psalters are extant, but none of

¹ Printed in Pirra's *Spicilegium Solisense* and in Vercellone's *Corpus Lecturae*.

² See Ex. 17-14 for the revision. In Ex. 32 the MS has *clipeus* for *calceus* (out of Egypt *ἄγυος*) with Cypric, *Test. 11*. For an instance of its positive value in correcting the Greek see Ex. 40, where in place of *ἀνεστρέψατο τὴν κίβητον* (from *παρρησιον*) *ἔξω καταστρέψατο*, which is the reading of all other LXX authorities, Greek and Latin, and corresponds verbally with the Massoretic text, we find in the Freising MS *et super eam profecturum*; that is, it reads *ἔξω* instead of *ἔξω*, with the Samaritan a of the *1er. Targ.* Thus by Lagarde's canons the Freising MS alone has preserved the true text of the LXX in this passage.

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them represents the earlier stages of the version, as the quotations of Cypric differ widely from them.¹

The OT 'Apocrypha'—i.e., those books of the Greek OT which are not in the Hebrew canon—were left more

68. Apocrypha. or less untouched by Jerome, in these books, therefore, the Old Latin survives in the Vulgate. In fact, the Vulgate text of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus does not differ appreciably from the Cypric standard. It is therefore important to notice the divergence in the arrangement of Ecclesiasticus 30-36 in the Greek and the Latin. In these chapters the Greek order fails to yield a natural sequence, whereas the Latin arrangement, which is also that of the Syriac and Armenian versions, makes excellent sense. Two sections [of the Greek, chap. 30:25-33:14 (ὅτι ἀναρῶ μισοί . . . φιλῶν Ἰακώβ)] and chap. 33:15-36:15 (ἀναρῶ καρδία . . . Ἰακώβος ἠγέρθη) are exchanged places. . . . There can be little doubt that the exemplar from which, so far as is certainly known, all our Greek MSS of this book [Ecclesiasticus] are ultimately derived, the pairs of leaves on which these sections were severally written had been transposed, whereas the Latin translator, working from a MS in which the transposition had not taken place, has preserved the true order. (Swete, *pref. to vol. II of the Cambridge Septuagint*, p. vi f.)² A fact of this kind deserves to be particularly mentioned, as it brings out the exceptional value of the Old Latin for the text of the LXX, and the essential homogeneity of our Greek authorities notwithstanding their numerous variations.³

A conspectus of the biblical quotations of the Latin Fathers together with such Old Latin MSS as were then available, is to be found in the great work of Sobatier (*Bibliotheca Sacrae Latine Editionis Antiquae*, 1741 and 1753).

Jerome's edition of the NT was a simple revision of an existing text; but his version of the OT was wholly new. It is, in fact, a translation of the

69. Vulgate. Hebrew into Latin independent of the LXX, though Jerome frequently adopts renderings from the other Greek editions, particularly that of Symmachus. The great work had been begun at the invitation of Pope Damasus; but that powerful patron died when only the Gospels had been issued (384 A.D.) and Jerome left Rome for Bethlehem. The various parts of the OT were published separately and furnished with prefaces, in which the merits of the Hebrew over the Greek and the methods of translation adopted are vigorously defended.

Thus the Latin church was confronted with a new version of the Bible which had no external authority to recommend it save the well-deserved reputation of Jerome as the most learned scholar of his day. It is not surprising that it met at first with opposition. Its ultimate success is probably due in great measure to Augustine. At first Augustine thought the new version of the OT too revolutionary, and almost to the end of his life clung to a belief in the inspiration of the Seventy. He wrote of Jerome's translation, however, with increasing respect and occasional eulogy (e.g., *De Civitate Dei*, 18.43), and in his *3rd* work—the genuine *Speculum*, a collection of brief extracts, left unfinished at his death in 430—he follows the new version wholly, except when he quotes from memory. In the sixth century Cassiodorus seems to have treated the two versions on an equal

¹ Cf. also the remarks of Augustine (*De Doctr. Christiana*, 2.1 and 1.13).

² The English version, both in AV and RV, follows the Latin here.

³ The Syriac of Ecclesiasticus is not a witness for the LXX, as it was made for the most part direct from the Hebrew. An Armenian text probably follows the Syriac as so often elsewhere. The newly-recovered Hebrew text supports the Latin order, as might be anticipated.

With regard to the Latin text of Ecclesiasticus it has recently been shown by Thielmann that chap. 36 is of the work of another hand; apparently the praise of the Jewish Fathers was originally left out by the Christian translator as superfluous to his obj. (Cp. J. H. A. Hart's edition of the Greek cod. 248).

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footing; but Isidore of Seville in the seventh century uses Jerome's exclusively. From that time it really deserves the name 'Vulgate' now universally applied to it, though as a matter of fact it was not so called before the time of Roger Bacon. In Jerome's own works *Vulgata* means the Old Latin.

The difference between the Vulgate and the Old Latin in the OT is so great that mixed revisions were less readily formed than in the NT, though single passages have suffered corruption from time to time in the MSS. As was remarked above, the Latin church in adopting the new version added to it from the Old Latin those books which formed part of the Hebrew canon and were therefore left untouched by Jerome.

The best MS of the Vulgate is considered to be the Codex Amiatinus (a seventh-century MS of the whole OT and NT, see § 21), the variations of which from the authorised Vulgate text have been not very accurately published by Heise and Tischendorf (in 1870), a valuable collection of readings is brought together in the unfinished *Prime Lectiones* of Verclienne.

The Vulgate is less useful to the textual critic than the Old Latin, just as the later forms of the LXX which contain interpolations and corrections from Hiosdation are not so useful as the earlier forms. That however is because we have access to the Massoretic Hebrew in the original and possess admirable renderings of it into the vernacular. The early forms of the LXX are valuable because by their aid we can correct some errors which have befallen the existing Hebrew text. It should not be forgotten, however, that the LXX is often a bad translation to work from, many passages being quite devoid of sense as they stand, a defect that was sometimes intensified by the further translation of Greek into Latin. The Vulgate, on the other hand, is the work of a competent scholar, and gives the meaning of the Hebrew with comparative accuracy and clearness. It was the great good fortune of the Latin church that so excellent a translator should have been raised up for the work, and it is her great glory that neither the sentimental associations of the old version nor the increasing ignorance of the Dark Ages were able to interfere with her final acceptance of St. Jerome's labours.

III. SYRIAC AND OTHER VERSIONS.

In the OT the Syriac Vulgate, commonly called *Peshitta*, is a translation made direct from the Hebrew. Time and place of translation are alike unknown. It is conjectured that it was made at Edessa, the centre of Syriac literary culture, and it seems to have been the work of Jews rather than Christians.¹ There is no surviving trace of any previous revision of the text; the earliest Syriac Father, Aphraates, who is our chief quarry for pre-Vulgate citations from the Syriac NT, quotes the OT in literal accordance with the Peshitta.

The character of the Peshitta varies in the different books, which has been held as an indication that the version was the work of several hands. The Pentateuch and Job (which in the Syriac follows the Pentateuch) are rendered literally; some of the other books, notably Chronicles, are very freely paraphrased. But the Hebrew underlying the Syriac is in almost all cases simply the Massoretic text.² Here and there,

¹ Cp. especially 1 Ch. 52, where the words 'Et Judah prevalens above his brethren, and of him came the prince' (252) are rendered in the Peshitta 'From Judah shall come forth King Messiah.' Cp. also J. Perles, *Alttestamentliche Peshittawörter* (1873).

² Some of the best MSS supply a striking illustration of the close connection of the Peshitta with the Hebrew by the fact that they contain a note marking the exact place where the half of a book comes in the Massoretic text. Cornill (*Revue bibl.* 1867, 141) brings this forward as a proof that the *Ambrosiana* has been revised from the Hebrew; but the phenomenon is to be found in other MSS of other books, and as far as we know the tendency of the Syrians was to correct from the LXX, not from the Hebrew.

There are a few instances where the Syriac seems to represent

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especially in the Prophets, there are unmistakable traces of the influence of the LXX. No satisfactory explanation of this influence has yet been reached; it is possible that it dates from the establishment of the church in Edessa about the end of the second century.

In addition to the Hebrew canon the Syrians had translations of the OT Apocrypha (in most cases derived from the Greek), but the Syriac Ecclesiasticus is partly a rendering of the Hebrew. The dates of all these translations are quite unknown, but it seems tolerably certain that alterations were made from time to time with a view to harmonising the Syriac text with that of the LXX (Wright's *Syriac Texts*, p. 10), a process which may have begun as early as the episcopate of Paul (about 200 A.D.).

The Peshitta is a firm MSS of considerable antiquity. The oldest known dated MS of any portion of OT or NT in any language is the Cod. Add. 14,488 in the British Museum (containing Gen. 1, 2, 10), transcribed at Mosul in the year 645 A.D. A good text of the whole OT is possessed by the Cod. Ambrosianus of the sixth century, which contains, in addition to the ordinary Apocrypha, the Apocrypha of Baruch and 4 Esdras. This MS has been reproduced in photographic by Ceriani.

The most accessible edition of the OT Peshitta (without the Apocrypha) is that prepared by Lee for the English and Foreign Bible Society in 1821, but its typography, with little exception the text of the London and the Paris Polyglots. In fact all the printed editions go back to the *et. promissa* in the Paris Polyglot, which is a mere transcript of a very late MS now at Basel, and is generally emended by the editor of the Second Edition. For printed purposes, therefore, Ceriani's reproduction of the *Ambrosiana* is the most satisfactory text that has yet appeared.

The earliest attempt at a Syriac version from the LXX seems to have been that called by the name of Philoxenus, made in 508 A.D. (see § 30). Of this version

61. Syriac versions from the Greek. fragments of its survival in a MS in the British Museum edited by Ceriani in *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, v. 1, 141. It seems to have been a free revision of the Peshitta by a Lucianic MS, producing a curious mixed text.

Of far more critical value is the Syriac version corresponding to the Harleian revision of the NT, which was commonly known as the *Syriac Hexaplar*. This was made at Alexandria in 630-642 A.D. by Paul, Bishop of Tella (Assemani, *Receuil*, v. 1, 141). It contains a translation of Origen's text of the LXX with the asterisks and obeli, together with many marginal renderings from the other Greek editions; the style, moreover, of the Syriac translation is so literal that the exact Greek text presented can be recovered with considerable accuracy. The work of Paul of Tella formed Eddi's chief authority in his reconstruction of the Hexapla.

The Syriac Hexaplar version is extant for most books of the OT. The poetical and prophetic books are extant in the Ambrosian Library at Milan which has been preserved in photographic by Ceriani (*Mon. Sacra et Profana*, v. 1, 141). The remains of the Pentateuch and Historical Books are preserved in Lagarde's *Revue biblique*, published in 1867.

At the beginning of the eighth century Jacob of Edessa made a final effort to revise the Peshitta by the means of Greek versions; but his work does not seem to have ever gained any currency. He made use of no materials which we do not possess from other sources.

The whole OT appears to have been translated into the Palestinian dialect (see § 31), but only small fragments now survive. It is a translation from the Greek, certainly post Hexaplaric, and it probably possessed a text

62. Palestinian version. closely akin to the 'Luschnian' edition (§ 22) and the Codex Vaticanus. The fragments of the OT, so far as they have already been published are collected in Eddi's *Anecdota*, vol. iv., in *Anecdota Origeniana* (1858) in the

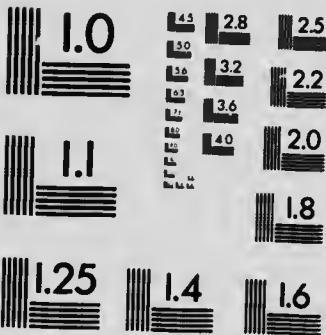
a really different Hebrew, not agreeing with the LXX. In Jude, the Pesh. reads ܩܪܝܢܐ for ܩܪܝܢܐ , so as to make the sentence run 'When Samson had not yet entered the marriage chamber.' Such readings are, as rarely, however, that we must suppose this instance to have been the result of a brilliant guess (cp. chap. 13).

³ See *In Aphraates Collatione to Chronicles in the Peshitta Version* by W. L. Barnes, 1897.



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Series), and in a lectionary edited by Mrs. Lewis (Studia Sinaitica, 6, 1897).

The general history of the Bible in Coptic has been discussed in the section upon Egyptian versions of the NT. The Bohairic version in the OT has the same characteristics as in the New, and 63. Coptic versions. there is every reason to assign it to the same date, viz., the sixth century. It is not even yet edited in full; but the Prophets have been edited by Tattam, the Pentateuch and Psalms by Lagarde, and lately Proverbs by Bonriant.

The Sahidic version from its greater antiquity is of more importance. Of this the Borgian MSS, together with other fragments previously collected, were admirably edited by Ciasca (Rome, 1885-6). The Psalms have been edited by Budge from a seventh-century MS in the British Museum (1898), and now lately again by Rahlfs. There is also a large addition to OT Sahidic texts to be found in Maspero, Mission archéol. franc., tom. 6. The general character of the text resembles that of the first hand of Cod. Marchalianus (Q); that is, it is akin to what we are accustomed to call the Hesychian recension of the LXX (§ 52). Ciasca himself (255) points out that the Minor Prophets show clear signs of revision 'iuxta archetypum hebraicum.' The text of Daniel is that of Theodotion, as in the Greek MSS. The type of Greek text followed by the Sahidic in the Psalms is represented by U, the fragments of a papyrus book in the British Museum (see F. E. Brightman in the Journ. of Theol. Studies, 2275). U is now considered to be of the sixth or the seventh century, and is said to have come from a monastery near Thebes. Doubtless, therefore, it gives us the text of the Psalter as sung in the earliest days of Christian monasticism, and where it is defective it may be reconstructed from the Sahidic as edited by Budge, Rahlfs, and Ciasca.

The chief interest of the Sahidic version centres in the Book of Job. As has been explained above (§ 53), the original Greek translation of Job omitted between three and four hundred lines, or half verses, which were supplied in the Hexapla under asterisk. The Sahidic leaves these lines out, and it is generally supposed that it therein represents the pre-Origenian κοινή ἑλδοσις, like the Old Latin. But apart from the difficulty of assigning to the Sahidic version of Job the high antiquity which would be required for a translation uninfluenced by the Hexapla—we should have to think of the second century, instead of the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth—there are other reasons which are inconsistent with this view. It is far more in accordance with all the facts to regard the Sahidic Job as a translation of Origen's revised text of the LXX, with the passages under asterisk omitted. The Sahidic text, when it is examined closely, cannot claim to preserve even so large a measure of independence as the Greek Cod. A; we may fairly describe it as a text of the κοινή interpolated from the Hexapla, but the Sahidic is Origenian from post to finish.

The importance of this question for the history of the Greek Bible makes it necessary to indicate the chief signs of the dependence of the Sahidic on the Hexapla.

1. Ciasca uses five Sahidic codices for Job. One of these, the Bodleian MS edited by Erman, contains the Hexaplaric additions as an integral part of the text. The 400 half-verses, therefore, were not altogether unknown in Upper Egypt.

2. A few of the lines which are distinctly assigned to Aquila or Theodotion in our Hexaplar authorities are found in the Sahidic. Thus Job 30:26 and 226 (from Theod.) are in their ordinary place; 9:15b (from Aqu.) is inserted after 14.

3. After Job 11:20 f. ὁ θεὸς παρ' αὐτῶν γὰρ σόβια καὶ δίδουαι. Syr. Hex. obdites these words—i.e., they are a genuine part of the text, though not in the Hebrew. They are omitted by BNC and also by the Sahidic, which thus represents here a critically revised text. [See also 3:17 ἔκτανον; 7:11 om. ἀνοέτω.]

4. The original Greek for ἡμεῖς in Job 9:36 appears to have been αὐτῶν or μη ἀνθρώπων (cp. Hex. ad loc.). Symmachus and Theodotion had αὐτῶν ἡμεῖς. In the Hexapla, followed by the Greek MSS, a conflation of the two was made, producing οὐ μὴ ἴν. αὐτῶν ἡμεῖς μη ἀνθρώπων. This conflation is produced in the Sahidic.

5. The clearest case of the dependence of the Sahidic on

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Origen is in Job 28:21 f., which runs thus in the Hexapla, the lines from Theodotion being italicised:

It [viz., Wisdom] is concealed from every man, and from the jaws of the heaven it is hid. Destruction and Death said:

But (86) we have heard the fame thereof.

Omit the italics, and the first person plural in the fourth line is meaningless; it is impossible to suppose that it could have been the original form of the Greek. Yet that is exactly what the Sahidic gives. The true LXX is probably preserved by Clement of Alexandria (Strom. vi. 679) who quotes 27:21 thus: λέγει ὁ θεὸς τῇ ἀνορέῃ ἑδωκεν αὐτῶν οὐκ εἶδομεν φωνὴν δε αὐτῶν ἠκουάμεν (cp. Job 37). This not being an accurate rendering of the Hebrew, it was amended in the Hexapla by the help of Theodotion; but simply to omit the lines here taken from Theodotion, as has been done by the Sahidic, cannot be managed without ruining the sense, and (we may add) revealing to all time the Origenian source of the text.

The Ethiopic version dates from the fourth or the fifth century; but the existing codices are late and seem to have been much revised, some from mediæval Greek or Arabic texts, some from the Hebrew.

64. Other versions. Gen.—Kings has been edited by Dillmann, Psalms by Ludolf (1701), Song by Nisselius (1656), Lamentations by Bachmann (1893). The best critical discussion on this version is to be found in Cornill's Ezechiel, 36-48.

The Armenian version appears to contain in the OT, as in the NT, both Greek and Syriac elements. The best edition is still that of Zohrab, published in 1802. Some Armenian codices have the Hexaplar critical marks ('Scrivener,' ed. 4, 2153).

The Gothic of the sixth, and the Slavonic of the ninth century, both of which are intimately connected in origin with Constantinople, are remarkable for their affinity with the Lucianic text (Lagarde's Lucian, 14, 15). Of the Gothic OT, however, only fragments of Ezra B, chap. 2 and Neh. 5-7 survive, besides a few verses of Gen. 5.

The Arabic versions of the OT are of various character and value. The version printed in the Polyglots is derived from a MS now at Paris (Coll. 500 = de Saey, 1) written in Egypt in the sixteenth century. The Pentateuch is the translation of Sa'adia from the Hebrew; but the Prophets were translated from an old mediaeval MS of Cakin to A (Cornill's Ezechiel, 40-57).

The Targums, or Aramaic paraphrases of the OT prepared for use in the Synagogue, contain elements of various dates. They differ from the versions hitherto considered in having a directly edificatory aim; they are, in fact, paraphrases rather than translations, although the style of some of them is often very literal. They take their rise from the custom, described in Lk. 4:16 f., of giving a short explanation of the sacred Hebrew text in the Aramaic vernacular of Palestine. At first the Targum was a free oral exposition; then it gradually acquired fixed forms, and at last it was reduced to writing.

The written Targum is found in MSS sometimes alone, sometimes verse by verse with the Hebrew text. There are two Targums to the Pentateuch (besides the Samaritan Targum; see SAMARITANS, § 5 a), the official Babylonian Targum, known by the name of the reputed author Onkelos (אֲנְקֵלוֹס), and the Jerusalem Targum, also known as [Pseudo-] Jonathan. 'Jerusalem' (Jerusalimi) means Palestinian; in fact, this Targum gives to a great extent the old popular exegesis, though its extant form dates from after Mohammed. There once existed a 'Jerusalem' Targum to the Prophets; but the Babylonian recension alone has come down to us; it is commonly cited by its reputed author, Jonathan ben Uzziel. The Hagiographa are also preserved in a Babylonian recension; but they are of varied character, being to some extent private literary works, since the Hagiographa were not regularly read through in the Synagogues like the Law and the Prophet. Job is a comparatively literal rendering; Proverbs appears to have been made up from the Peshitt; Esther is extant in two forms, both wildly paraphrastic.

The Targums are to be found in the great rabbinic

1 Onkelos is probably a corruption of אֲנְקֵלוֹס Aquila.

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editions of the OT, e.g., the Bomberg edition of 1517, ed. by Felix Pratensis. Onkelos has been edited by Berliner in 1884, the Propheets and Hagiographa by Lagarde in 1872, 1873.

The Hebrew text from which the Targums were made is practically identical with that of the Massorettes. Their value for us is not so much the text they attest, as the prejudices they display. They show us the atmosphere of thought in which the tradition of the meaning of the OT was preserved, an atmosphere absolutely unliterary and unartistic, and anxious at any cost to remove the anthropomorphism of earlier Hebrew religion (see the amazing list of lections in Cornill's *Ezechiel*, 123). Some of the toning down of old metaphors or reminiscences of ancient heathendom is very ancient; even G does not call God by His personal name but translates אלהים by [ש]אלהים (NAMES, col. 332 ff., and refuses altogether to call him a Rock [Heb. אבן, e.g., Ps. 95:1]. The Targums simply exhibit this tendency in an exaggerated form. The popular exegesis has now and then influenced the Massoretic text. But the Massorettes were too good scholars simply to point the true text wrong; it almost always happens in such cases that there is some corruption in the transmitted consonants, which formed the starting-point for the wrong interpretation. The mode of procedure by which the critic recognises the corruption is somewhat as follows. A grammatical anomaly in MT surprises him; he refers to the Targum and finds it carefully reproduced, perhaps in the midst of quite a free paraphrase. Evidently the anomalous punctuation is intentional, and as the prophets wrote better Hebrew than the Targumists, it is only too likely that the traditional interpretation of the whole passage is wrong. Now and then it is possible to restore the original, to the great gain of literature.

No better instance can be given than Is. 63:1-6. Here we find a series of verbs pointed as jussives instead of with waw consecutive; this arouses suspicion. The same verbs are taken as futures in the Targum, and the reference to future punishments upon the heathen is more pointed than in the Hebrew. Now 63:6 is the only passage in Deutero-Isaiah that contains the name of any of the petty nations of Palestine; in fact the sudden and inartistic mention of 'Edom' has given much trouble to commentators. In the popular Jewish exegesis, however, 'Edom' regularly stands for Rome and the Roman Empire (p. 65, Targum to Lam. 4:21 ff.). It is out of place here,¹ and we should read it with Lagarde (*Proph. Chald.*, p. 1) אֲנִי וְאֵלֵי אֲבוֹתַי בְּמִצְרַיִם for אֲנִי וְאֵלֵי אֲבוֹתַי בְּמִצְרַיִם, so that the sentence runs: 'Who is this that cometh all redheaded, with garments stained in wine? But the gatherer of the vintage?' The corruption of v. 1, which took its rise in popular exegesis, was the excuse for the wrong pointing of the verbs in vv. 3-6 by the Massorettes.

An article like the present ought in strictness to consider what may be the case with the pre-canonical history of the text. It is almost demonstrable that some of the most serious corruptions originated in the documents before they became part of the OT. Such are all the variations which can be traced to confusions arising from the Old Hebrew alphabet. E.g., אבן for the den in Dt. 33:13 corresponds to the more appropriate אבן 'above' in Gen. 49:25, as in both cases the word is contrasted with 'beneath.' But in the older character א is O and ב is X, so the corruption was easily effected. Again, the influence of Hosea 2:17 ('I will take away the names of the Baalim out of her mouth') should be mentioned. This verse was interpreted to mean that the very names of heathen gods were unlawful to be used; accordingly the vowels of *hisheth* ('shame') are substituted for the real vowels in such words as *Tipheth* and *Milch* (also '*Milchah*'). In Amos 5:26 *Kaitan* (i.e., 'Saturn') has been vocalised with the vowels of *Sibbus* (i.e., 'abomin-

¹ This is especially the case with the Babylonian Targum. The Jer. Targum sometimes differs—e.g., in Exod. 40:1 it reads אֲנִי וְאֵלֵי אֲבוֹתַי בְּמִצְרַיִם with the Samaritan and the Old Latin. ² Of this passage cannot be correctly preserved for the constant rendering of 'Edom' in the Prophets is ἡ Ἰδομαία, not (as here) 'Edom.

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ation'), producing the form צִיָּן (*Canaan*, AV). By a more violent change Saul's son 'Zeb-ai-d' ('Baal's-man'), preserved almost intact as *Zebai* in 1 Ch. 8:33, becomes *Ish-bosheth* ('Man-of-Shame') in the more frequently read book of Kings. In later Jewish writings this tendency is carried into original literature; there is no reason of doubt that the name *Abd-nego*, evidently meant for *Abd-nebo* ('Worshipper-of-Nebo'), is the invention of the author of Daniel, not a scribe's blunder. It is in Daniel (12:1) that we find אַבְדֵי שָׁמַיָא (the 'Abomination which maketh desolate'), an intentional perversion of אֲבָל שָׁמַיָא, the title of Zeus *Βεελ-σαυυρ*.

We are now concerned, however, with the corruptions which have befallen the text in the course of transmission, and here, as Wellhausen remarks, the chief agents have been chance and caprice, not deliberate falsification (cp. Well., Bleek, § 295 ff.). Space will only allow of a few examples; but those given below will sufficiently exhibit the commonest kinds of corruption, while at the same time they bring forward the instances where modern scholarship has been most successful in restoring the true reading, whether by means of the ancient versions or by simple conjecture.

Conjecture is not always a mere arbitrary procedure, it may be based on the surest of all exegetical and critical rules, viz., the explanation of passages which are obscure by those which are plain and free from suspicion. Thus we can be quite certain by comparing Zeph. 2:14 with Is. 31:1 that for צָרָה, 'desolation,' we must read עֵרָב, 'raven,' and that the mysterious עֵרָבָא not only contains the name of some bird, but must be a corruption of עֵרָבָא, *yanshoph* or *yansh-ph*, 'the eagle-owl' (see OWL, 4). The translation then runs: 'Both the pelican and the porcupine shall lodge in the chapters thereof; hark to the eagle-owl in the window, the raven on the threshold!'

Although the Massorettes point well where the text is sound, the smallest error is infinitely represented in the consonantal text is sufficient to throw them out. Thus the long final *nun* of צָרָה בְּעֵי הַצֹּאֵן 'woolly the poor of the flock') in Zech. 11:7, was doubtless the cause which prevented the first two words from being run together and vocalised בְּעֵי הַצֹּאֵן *kenalim hayim*—i.e., 'the sheep-dealers.' There are of course a few cases where the restoration of the true text depends on a point of archaeological knowledge which might easily fade from the narrowly grammatical Hebrew tradition. Thus in Jer. 46:15 we should divide אֲנִי וְאֵלֵי אֲבוֹתַי בְּמִצְרַיִם into אֲנִי וְאֵלֵי אֲבוֹתַי בְּמִצְרַיִם and translate with G 'Why has Apis died?' (cp. ARTS). Again, it was not till some progress had been made in Assyrian that Halévy was able to recognise in הַיִּתָּה (Ezek. 27:11) the name Cilicia, the *Hilakku* of the cuneiform monuments.

G—in its original form—often preserves excellent readings which have quite disappeared from our other authorities. Thus 'in 2 K. 15:19 Gratz's clever conjecture (*Gratz, der Juden*, ii, 199) בְּיָדָאָה for the un-Hebraic בְּיָדָאָה is confirmed by Lucian' *de Syria*, quoted in Driver, *TBS*, p. lii (note). Another example is furnished by Dr. Hayman's too little known emendation of Dt. 33:21 (*Proc. Cambridge Philol. Soc.*, 1895, p. 8), the essence of which is the substitution of אֲנִי וְאֵלֵי אֲבוֹתַי בְּמִצְרַיִם for the impossible אֲנִי וְאֵלֵי אֲבוֹתַי בְּמִצְרַיִם. The phrase is then exactly parallel with v. 2. Here also G appears to support the true reading; but *ὅτι ἐὰν ἐλευσῶν ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτῶν συντηγύσων αὐα ἀρχηγῶς ναῶν* is too paraphrastic to suggest the actual change required. The cause of the corruption here in the Massoretic text may have

¹ Nostle, *Z. 17H*, 1894, p. 243; see ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION.

² Translate: 'And [God] saw the first fruits were for him, for there was the allotment of the Lawgiver, and so the chiefs of a people were assembled together.' The reference appears to be to the settlement of Gad on the E. of Jordan (p. No. 32).

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been a transposition, the word having been written at the end of a line in the archetype.

Some corruptions are older than any of the versions, perhaps older than the final redaction of the Pentateuch. Thus all extant authorities give כִּי בָּרַךְ as the end of Nu. 23, generally translated: 'And he [Balaam] went to a level place.' Apart from the grammatical harshness, however, this and every other sense which these letters can be made to bear are alike poor, and Kuenen has suggested that at some period before the development of medial z the letters כִּי had been written once instead of twice over; then by reading the final כִּי as י (or supposing י to have been lost before the following כִּי) we get כִּי־כִּי (יְהוָה כִּי־כִּי), 'he went to his incantations.' This agrees with Nu. 24, where we read that Balaam 'went not, as at other times, to seek for enchantments.'

Equally brilliant is Lagarde's emendation of Ps. 32. For כִּי־כִּי he writes כִּי־כִּי־לֵךְ—i.e., 'כִּי has been written לֵךְ (for כִּי) by some scribe. Translate 'in the time of distress; i.e. sound of the flood of mighty waters shall not come nigh him.' Finally, we may quote Wellhausen's restoration of the original of 2 K. 19.26f. (=Is. 37.27f.). For כִּי־כִּי (27) he writes כִּי־כִּי־כִּי־כִּי־כִּי (27); so that v. 27 begins 'Before me is thy rising up and thy sitting down, and thy going out and coming in I know.' It is worth while pointing out, as a final testimony to the excellence of G in its original form, that this pithy emendation is not without support from G. In Is. 37.27 the כִּי־כִּי of MT is omitted. In 2 K. 19.26 most documents have ἀνίσταται ἐστηκότος for כִּי־כִּי, but the text called G in the Syro-Hexaplar MSS (see col. 504) had ἀνίσταται ἀναστῆσθαι σου—i.e., כִּי־כִּי, the consonantal text suggested by Wellhausen.

In concluding an article of any length on the textual criticism of the Bible it is always wholesome to remind oneself of the comparative soundness of the text. That there are blots, especially in the OT, some of them probably irremovably, must be admitted; but they are not enough seriously to obscure the main features of the narratives related or the ideas expressed. So far as the Pentateuch is concerned we may be especially at our ease. It would have been impossible to separate the documents with the minuteness which modern scholarship has found possible if the text had been much confused by scribal errors. And with regard to the Prophets, though their works are less accurately preserved than the Pentateuch, we can be sure that textual corruption never improves the style or the thought. The fact that so much of the Prophetical Books is—judged by any standard—of the first rank as literature, is the strongest proof that they have not been utterly disfigured in transmission.

Some of the most important bibliographical references have already been indicated above. The best general account of the text and versions of the OT in any

67. Bibliography. Language is Wellhausen's monograph in the fourth edition of Bleek's *Einführung in das Alte Testament*, Berlin, 1873, §§ 275-293; later edd. are arranged on a different plan. Somewhat similar in plan, but more confined to the special books treated of, are the introductions in Driver's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, pp. xxx-xxxix, and in Cornill's *Ézechiel*, 1-160. Klostermann, quoted by Driver, p. lii, says 'Let him who would himself investigate and advance learning, by the side of the other Ancient Versions, acoustum himself above all things to the use of Eiel's *Hexapla*, and Lagarde's edition of the Revision of Lucian.' To these specially valuable authorities the present writer would add any well edited fragment of the Old Latin.

[See also Kittel, *Ueber die Notwendigkeit und Möglichkeit einer neuen Ausgabe der hebr. Bibel: Studien u. Prolegomena* (1890); Cheyne, *Critical Bibliography*, pt. 1 (Isaiah) and Jeremiah]. F. C. B.

THADDÆUS. In Mk. 3:13 Θαδδαιος appears tenth in the list of apostles. Λεββαιος is here a western variant (D a b ff 1 q). In Mt. 10:3 Θαδδαιος is

1. Name. the right reading (MB), but Λεββαιος is found in western texts (D 122 Aug.) and the conflate Λεββ. ὁ ἐπιλεγθεὶς Θαδδ. In the late 'Syrian' text, Θαδδαιος has been derived from the Heb. תְּדַי = Syr. תְּדַי = *thadi* = *thadai*, and Λεββαιος from כְּבִי = *cor*. But Dalman (*Hebr.*

THASSI

L. 24, 40) connects Θαδδαιος with Θεωδῶς and Λεββαιος with τ Ναλαῖαν תְּדַי. With (Λεββ.) I suppose Λεββαιος to be due to an attempt to bring Levi (Mk. 2:14) within the number of the Twelve. But we should have expected Λευεῖς. Λεββαιος Λευεῖς is unparalleled. It seems clear that Λεββαιος is 'Western' gloss of a copyist who connected Θαδδαιος with *thadi* = *thadai*, and wished to substitute a not dissimilar name which should be more appropriate to an apostle, an less undignified. If Λεββαιος can be thus explained as an emendation the difficult Θαδδαιος remains. Dalman's Θαδδαιος = Θεωδῶς is improbable. It is more likely that Θαδδαιος by corruption in Greek or Aramaic, represents an original תְּדַי or תְּדַי. For the θ or θουδαιου [B] = תְּדַי, Neh. 7: 77 (97) or תְּדַי. (see ΠΙΘΑΓΟΡΑ, θουρ [Πιθαγόρας] = תְּדַי, Ezra 10:34 (see UFF, θουε [B] = תְּדַי (Thava), Ezra 8:21; θελαθ [A] = תְּדַי (Helkath) Josh. 21:31; θασιρει [B], θασουρ [A] = תְּדַי, 2 S. 29 (ASHURITI); θασοβαρ [A], μ [L] = תְּדַי (Lebon), Gen. 46:15. The doubled δ and the ending -αιος cp תְּדַי = *thadaios*, De Vogli *Syr. Cent.*, 63.

In Lk. 6:16 Acts 1:13 Ἰουδας Ἰακώβου = Judas, son James, takes the place of Thaddæus. See JUDAS.

2. Identification. It may, therefore, be reasonably conjectured that Judas was the name of the apostle, that Thaddæus is a corruption of Judas, and that Lebbeus is a gloss upon Thaddæus. James, the father of Judas, nothing is known. SYR. CUR. has here Judas Thomas, and SYR. SIN. THOMAS (see THOMAS). The evidence of the Gospels being so confused we not unaturally find great uncertainty in the post-biblical tradition. In Origen (*Uref. ad Rom.*) Thaddæus = Lebbeus = Judas Jacobi. In the *Chron. Pasch.* Thaddæus = Lebbeus = Barsabai, whilst Jud. Jacobi = Simon the Canaanite. In the Algar legend preserved by Eusebius (*HE* 1:13) Thaddæus is distinguished from Judas Jacobi = Thomas. In the *Life of Thomas* Judas Thomas is the Lord's brother. According to the Syrian Ischodab (9th cent.) quoted by Zeller (*Eind. 2:263*) the *Diatesaron* identified James son of Alphaeus with Lebbeus (note that D in Mk. 2:14 has Ἰακώβου for Λευεῖν).

The earliest form of legend connected with Thaddæus is that which represents him as preaching at Edessa. A very exhaustive bibliography of the literature and sources of this tradition may be found in von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 1: 247. In the account given by Eusebius (*HE* 1:13) from Syrian sources, Thaddæus the Apostle, one of the Seventy, was sent by the Apostle Judas Thomas to Algar, king of Edessa, accordance with a promise made by Christ before his death. In the later Syrian legend (*Doctrina Addai*, 4th cent.? ed. Philby) Addai is substituted for Thaddæus. In the Grk. *Ἡράκλειος Θαδδαιου* (Lips. *Acta Apost.* 1:273-275) Lebbeus is identified with Thaddæus, one of the Twelve. For this and the later legends which represent Thaddæus as preaching in Armenia, in Syria and Mesopotamia, and in Persia, see *Life of Christ*, *Biog.*, 1: 20. 'Thaddæus.' W. C. A.

THAHASH, or (RV) TAHASH (תְּהַשׁ), TOXO [A1], a name in the Nahorite genealogy (Gen. 22:24f.).

He is identified by Winckler (*Mittheil. d. Vorderasiat. Mus.* 1890, p. 207) with Tibis, mentioned in the so-called 'Travel' of an Egyptian (*Pap. Anast.*, i. 223; see *RP* 2:111) and elsewhere as in the region of Kadesh on the Orontes (to the N.). Cf. WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 258. But see also TERAB. T. K. C.

THAMAH (תְּמַחַ), ΘΕΜΑ [BA], Ezra 2:53 AV, RV TEMAH (q. v.).

THAMAR (ΘΑΜΑΡ [Ti.WH]), Mt. 13. See TAMAR.

THAMNATHA (ΘΑΜΝΑΘΑ [ANV]), 1 Mac. 9:10. See THAMAH (3).

THANK OFFERING (תְּרוּמָה), 2 Ch. 29:31 etc. See SACRIFICE, § 29 A.

THARA (ΘΑΡΑ [Ti.WH]), Lk. 3:34 AV, RV TEMAR.

THARRA (ΘΑΡΡΑ [BN²AL]), Esth. 12:1. See THARSHISH.

THARSHISH (תְּרַשִׁישׁ), 1 K. 10:2 AV, RV TARSISHIT (q. v.).

THASSI (ΘΑΚΚ[ε] [NV]), 1 Mac. 2:3. See THASSI (1), and MACCABEES, §§ 1, 5.

1 S. 5:3, 3rd. Mt. 10:3 Lk. 6:1; Ps. Lk. 6:16 Acts 1:13.

THEATRE

THEATRE. Although theatres and amphitheatres were erected by the Herods in Jerusalem and other towns of Syria (Jos. Ant. xv. 81, 36, xvi. 51, xix. 75, 82; BJ i. 212, ii. 72) in which magnificent spectacles were exhibited, principally in honour of the Roman emperors, there is no reference to them in the Gospels or Acts. Even in narrating the death of Herod Agrippa (Acts 12:1 f.), whose fatal seizure, according to the Jewish historian, took place in the theatre at Caesarea (Ant. xix. 82), the word does not occur. The word theatre is absent alike from the canonical and from the apocryphal books of the OT, and in NT is found only in Acts 19:29-31 where the theatre of Ephesus is spoken of. It was probably the usual place of meeting for the assembly; and the ruins can still be seen (see EPHESUS, § 3).

1 Cor. contains two probable references to theatrical representations, neither of which is very apparent in EV. The word translated 'spectacle' (1 Cor. 4:6) is θεατρον and the whole passage seems to refer to 'the band of gladiators brought out at last for death, the vast range of an amphitheatre under the open sky well representing the magnitude of vision of all created beings, from men up to angels, gazing on the dreadful death-struggle; and then the contrast of the selfish Corinthians sitting by unmoved at the awful spectacle' (Stanley, Corinthians, 73). Cp Heb. 10:33 'being made a gazing-stock' (θεατρούζωσενος). In 1 Cor. 7:31 'the fashion of this world passeth away' (παράγει τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου), many have seen an allusion to the drama, drawn either from the shifting of the scenes, or the passing across the stage of the gorgeous processions then so common.

Ancient history records the name of at least one Jewish dramatist—Ezekiel, who lived in Alexandria in the second century B.C. and wrote a 'tragedy' or dramatic poem, entitled Ἡ Εὐδία (Ἐξάγωνα), of which considerable fragments are preserved in Clem. Alex. (Strom. 12), Eusebius (Prep. Ev. 15:1 f.) and Eustathius (ad Hev. viii. 25). On the question of a Semitic drama cp CANTICLES, § 7, POETICAL LITERATURE, § 4 (5).

THEBES. See NO-AMON.

THEBEZ (תִּבְזַי), where Abimelech was killed whilst besieging the citadel (Judg. 9:53; ΘΗΒΗΘ [B]), ΘΑΙΒΑΙΘ [A]; 2 S. 11:21 and 22 in Θ. ΘΑΜΑΘ [C] [BA, -ΜΕΘΕΙ [L]), was situated, according to Eusebius and Jerome (OS, 262:4, 157:15), 13 R. m. from Neapolis on the road to Scythopolis. Starting from this, Robinson plausibly identifies Thebez with the mod. Tūbit, a large village on the W. slope of a fruitful valley, 10 m. due NE from Nablus. So Buhl, Pal. 204 and the PEF Survey.

But is this correct? Tibās suggests rather תִּבְזַי. Apart from this, the form of the name is peculiar. We expect some famous fortress to be referred to. From the point of view of Sem. etym., one may naturally think of Zephath (Zarephath); תִּבְזַי might easily be written תִּבְזַי, out of which by transposition would come תִּבְזַי. This seems to give greater vividness to the narrative.

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THECOE (θεκωε [ANV]), 1 Macc. 9:13 AV, RV TIRKATH.

THELASAR (תִּלְסָר), 2 K. 19:12 AV, RV TELASSAR (q. v.).

THELERSAS (θελερσας [B]), 1 Esd. 7:36. See TEL-HARSHA.

THEMAN (θαμαν [BAQF]), Bar. 3:22 f. AV, RV TEFAN.

THEOCANUS (θεωκανου [A], ΘΟΚ. [B]), 1 Esd. 9:14 AV = Ezra 10:15, TIRVAH (q. v.).

THEODOTUS (θεοδοτος [AV]), one of Nicanor's ambassadors to Judas the Maccabee in 161 B.C. (2 Macc. 11:16).

THEOPHANY. The invisibility of God formed no part of early Hebrew belief. Although it was commonly thought that to see God (or indeed to hear his voice) Dt. 4:33 5:23 ff. [20 ff.] was dangerous and even fatal (Ex. 33:20 Judg. 13:22 cp

THEOPHANY

Gen. 16:13¹ Ex. 36:19² Judg. 6:22 f. 1 K. 19:12 f. Is. 6:5), many narratives, including those just cited, record cases in which men saw God or at least perceived through the senses that he was present, and yet lived. The most striking of these is in Ex. 24:10 (B) where it is quite simply related that Moses and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy elders of Israel, having gone up Mt. Sinai, saw the Lord of Israel. The narrator is well aware of the exceptional character of the occasion, for in the next verse he expressly records that God 'hid not his hands' upon them, but he gives no hint that what was seen was anything less than the fullness of the glory and person of the deity or that it was seen in any other way than by ordinary vision. Cp Nu. 12:6-8 (E).

In most cases, however, it is implied that the deity, although he makes his presence known by a physical appearance, does not manifest himself in his fullness to the ordinary human eye. We may conveniently classify the OT theophanies into those in which the appearance is of the human form and those in which it is some other physical phenomenon.

1. Theophanies in human form.—(a) Ex. 24:10 records, as we have seen, a complete exception to the law that the sight of God was fatal.

2. In human form. The nearest parallel to this occurs in Ex. 33:17 f. (J), which relates that Moses saw the back of Yahwe as he passed away, but that even he could not with safety see the face of Yahwe. In other narratives, however, it is just the face of God which is seen—Ex. 33:11 (E), Gen. 32:30 [31] (probably L); in Nu. 12:6-8 it is said that Moses, unlike others (cp Dt. 4:12-15), in his customary and immediate intercourse with Yahwe sees his form or tēmūah (something less distinct than his appearance—cp Joh. 4:16). But these are only typical cases in connection with the present subject, in which looseness and inconsistency of expression correspond to looseness and variety of thought. We are dealing with popular ideas and expressions, not with theological and systematic thought. What is common to the present type of theophany is that the sight of God is partial.

(b) In another type the peculiarity consists in the fact that God is seen in human form indeed, but only by means of dream or vision (cp Nu. 24:1 f.). 3. In vision. So we should probably interpret the experience of Isaiah (Is. 6) and certainly those of Ezekiel (Ezek. 1 etc.) and Daniel (Dan. 7:29). Cp Gen. 28:13-16 (J). (c) But the commonest type of a theophany in human form² was by means of the 'angel of Yahwe' or 'of God' (מַלְאָכֵי יְהוָה, מַלְאָכֵי אֱלֹהִים). Cp ANGEL, § 2; NAME, § 6. The narratives clearly identify the 'Angel of Yahwe' with Yahwe though often in the same narrative a certain differentiation is also implied. Thus in Gen. 16 the angel of Yahwe who appears to Hagar is called 'Yahwe who spoke unto her' (21:13), and Hagar expresses surprise that she still lives after seeing God (cp further 21:10 with 16:11, 124). On the other hand in 21:12 the angel speaks of Yahwe in the third person.

For further illustrations from other narratives of this identification, see Gen. 22:11 f., Ex. 3:2 (angel of Yahwe, 1; 2; Yahwe, 2; 4; 5; 7), Nu. 22:23-35 (especially 23:15 with 24:1), Judg. 2:1-5 (11-24) (angel of Yahwe, 2; 11; 21; 22; 23; 24; 25; 26; 27; 28; 29; 30; 31; 32; 33; 34; 35; 36; 37; 38; 39; 40; 41; 42; 43; 44; 45; 46; 47; 48; 49; 50; 51; 52; 53; 54; 55; 56; 57; 58; 59; 60; 61; 62; 63; 64; 65; 66; 67; 68; 69; 70; 71; 72; 73; 74; 75; 76; 77; 78; 79; 80; 81; 82; 83; 84; 85; 86; 87; 88; 89; 90; 91; 92; 93; 94; 95; 96; 97; 98; 99; 100). See also DISTOVER.

¹ Read 'Have I even seen God and am I still alive?' So Ball in NBT in accordance with a large consensus of critical opinion. See BRUNNENBERG, § 4.

² In Ex. 3:2 the 'angel of Yahwe' exceptionally manifests himself in 'a flame of fire,' presumably not in human form.

³ The Yawehistic narrative in Gen. 18:1-8 presents special peculiarities. Yahwe appears to Abraham (18:1) as three men (6:2) who speak or are addressed sometimes in the singular (18:1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100). Subsequently (16:1) one of the three, who is identified with Yahwe, remains behind with Abraham, the other two, who are described in 19:1

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In brief, the 'angel of Yahwé' is an occasional manifestation of Yahwe in human form, possessing no distinct and permanent personality but speaking and spoken of, at times as Yahwé himself (cp the way in which the word of Yahwe passes over insensibly into the prophetic comment), at times as distinct from him. The danger which attached to the sight of God attached also to the sight of the angel. The two early literary strata of the Hexateuch differ in their detailed accounts of the angel. In J he eats, drinks, and converses with men, and in every respect comports himself as a human being—the narratives of Judg. 6 13 are also in many respects similar; in E there is a tendency to keep even the angel from close contact with men—thus he appears in and speaks from heaven (e.g., Gen. 22 11).

At a later date, theophanies in (human) form were denied (Dt. 4 15) or, as regularly in P, the theophany is referred to in the latest possible terms without any indication of its character—e.g., 'And God [or 'Yahwe'] appeared . . . and spoke (said)' (Gen. 17 1 35 9; cp Ex. 6 3); and thus (after the Exile) the 'angel of Yahwe' was no longer regarded as a theophany but became one of the numerous distinct angelic personalities which thenceforward formed prominent objects of belief (see ANGEL, § 3 f.).

2. *Theophanies in which the manifestation is not in human form.* (a) *Fire*, in one form or another, frequently indicated the divine presence. The most notable illustrations of this are the 'Burning Bush' (Ex. 3) and the 'Pillar of Fire' (Ex. 13 21). In Ex. 14 16b (J) the 'pillar of cloud' = the angel of God, v. 16a (E). For further details see the articles BUSH and PILLAR OF FIRE. But there are a number of other passages where fire or a fiery appearance clearly has the same significance—e.g., Gen. 15 17 Ex. 19 18 24 17 Dt. 4 12 15.

We ought also to compare the part played by fire in the destruction of Nadab and Abihu (Lev. 10), of Korah and his company (Nu. 16 35), of the people at Tallerah (Nu. 11 3), in Elijah's conflict with the priests of Baal (1 K. 18, cp 2 K. 1 10 ff.), in the theophany at Horeb (1 K. 19 1 ff.), where fire is not itself the theophany but an accompaniment of it, in the assumption of Elijah (2 K. 2 1), and generally in the later literary theophanies (see below, § 9), and in similes (e.g., Is. 10 17 'Yahwe is a devouring fire,' 11. 4 24 9). Cp also the Arabic stories of fiery appearances of the jinn; Goldziher, *Abh. zur Arab. Philologie*, 2 5 ff.

Even in the NT we find, in addition to citations from or references to the OT (e.g., Acts 7 30 Heb. 12 18 29), two or three instances of theophanic fire; the fire clearly indicates, or is the accompaniment of, the divine presence in Acts 2 3 2 Thess. 1 8 (of the second coming of Christ) 2 Pet. 3 10-12 Rev. 10 1 (of an angel); perhaps also Mt. 3 11 = Lk. 3 16 should be compared. Generally, however, in NT (as already in Enoch; e.g., 10 13 21 7-10 98 3) fire is the instrument of the divine punishment and does not necessarily or explicitly affirm the divine presence. The transition from the older to the later conception was facilitated by such passages as Am. 5 6 Is. 33 14 (cp 66 24) Mal. 3 2, and is actually seen in certain NT passages—2 Thess. 1 8 2 Pet. 3 10-12 1 Cor. 3 13-15.

(b) The 'glory of Yahwé' (כבוד), which from Isaiah (6 1) onwards (e.g., Nu. 14 21 f. 1 Pt. 5 21 Heb. 12 18 29), Ps. 81 19 2 [196 3] expresses the manifestation of the divine character in nature and history, is used by Ezekiel to express also the fiery appearance which, in his visions, indicates the presence of Yahwe—1 3 10 4 43 2 etc. In P the phrase is invariably used of a fiery theophany—in the first instance of the theophany on Sinai (Ex. 24 15 17) and, subsequently, of that in the tabernacle—Ex. 29 43 40 34 f. 16 7 10 (in 7, 10 restore כבוד, tabernacle, for the redactorial כבוד), Lev. 9 6 23 Nu. 14 10 16 19; cp further, 1 K. 8 10 f., which is dependent on P (Corn. *Einh.* 108). In its last usage

as 'the two angels,' proceed to Sodom; but these in turn are addressed and speak in the singular (17, 19-21), and speak and act as Yahwe himself (17, 21 ff.).

(c) The 'Name' or 'Face' of Yahwé. The former stands in parallelism with the 'glory of Yahwé' in Is. 59 19 Ps. 215. The most strictly theophanic passage in which either occurs is Is. 30 27, and even that is clearly figurative. Cp NAME, § 6. Generally speaking, both terms are used of God as made known to men but rather by some decisive event, or otherwise indirectly than by a physical phenomenon. In Phoenician, on the other hand, 'the face' or 'name of Baal' is a goddess—Baathg. *Beitr.* 56 f. 207 ff. also NAME, § 6; and see Fr. Giesebrecht's monograph *Die Alttestamentliche Schatzung des Gottesnamens und ihre religionsgeschichtliche Grundlage* [1901].

Two remarks are suggested by the preceding survey: (1) The belief that fire, especially the lightning of the storm, was the physical indication of Yahwe's presence may lie at the base of the belief in the danger of beholding Yahwe's face; at the same time, it must be remembered that analogous beliefs occur in other religions. (2) A large proportion of the stories are connected with the Exodus and the subsequent Wanderings. The idea of the 'Angel' or 'Messenger of Yahwé' may well have sprung out of an attempt to reconcile the belief that Yahwe abode in Sinai, and yet that he accompanied Israel to Canaan (cp Ex. 23 20-23). A similar conflict would still have called for reconciliation when Yahwe was regarded as seated in heaven.

In addition to the narratives of theophany, where the theophany is regarded as sober historical fact, we have numerous purely literary theophanies—i.e., descriptions clearly intended by the writers to be metaphorical and imaginative. Some of these are received in the boldest anthropomorphic manner (cp, e.g., the description of Yahwe as a warrior—Is. 63 1-5 59 15 ff.); in others, figures drawn from the storm or other natural phenomena play a large part (cp, e.g., Ps. 18 Hab. 3).

In the NT we have angelophanies (see ANGEL, § 7) but (except as indicated above, § 2a, *ad fin.*) no occasional theophanies such as the OT records. Instead, we have the life of Jesus which, most clearly by the author of the Fourth Gospel but also by other NT writers, is regarded as a prolonged manifestation of God in the flesh (cp especially Jn. 1 1-14, and esp. Rom. 1 1-7 Col. 1 15 ff. 29 Heb. 1 3). In the same way the belief in the *Pavsonia* is tantamount to the expectation of a coming theophany.

Literature.—Ch. J. Trip, *Die Theophanie in den Hebr. Schriftbüchern des AT* (Leiden, 1888); this is primarily a history and discussion of the view that the 'Angel of Yahwé' = 'the face of God.' Koster's, 'De Mal'ach Jahwe' in *Th. T.* 1878, pp. 369-415. See, further, under ANGEL. G. B. G.

THESSALONIANS (EPISTLES TO)

the phrase corresponds closely to the Shekinah of post-biblical Hebrew. The fact that the 'glory of Yahwe, where it indicates a fiery appearance, is so frequently associated with cloud and the similar combination of fire and cloud in the stories of the Pillar of Fire and Cloud (q.v.) may be, in part at least, explained as modified survivals of an old view, which also maintains itself in greater purity in poetical passages (e.g., Ps. 18 29), that Yahwé manifested himself in the thunder storm.

(c) Closely related to the term just discussed, and in some cases almost synonymous with it, are the 'Name' of Yahwé and the 'Face of Yahwé'.

7. 'Name' or 'Face' of Yahwé. The former stands in parallelism with the 'glory of Yahwé' in Is. 59 19 Ps. 215. The most strictly theophanic passage in which either occurs is Is. 30 27, and even that is clearly figurative. Cp NAME, § 6. Generally speaking, both terms are used of God as made known to men but rather by some decisive event, or otherwise indirectly than by a physical phenomenon. In Phoenician, on the other hand, 'the face' or 'name of Baal' is a goddess—Baathg. *Beitr.* 56 f. 207 ff. also NAME, § 6; and see Fr. Giesebrecht's monograph *Die Alttestamentliche Schatzung des Gottesnamens und ihre religionsgeschichtliche Grundlage* [1901].

Two remarks are suggested by the preceding survey: (1) The belief that fire, especially the lightning of the storm, was the physical indication of Yahwe's presence may lie at the base of the belief in the danger of beholding Yahwe's face; at the same time, it must be remembered that analogous beliefs occur in other religions. (2) A large proportion of the stories are connected with the Exodus and the subsequent Wanderings. The idea of the 'Angel' or 'Messenger of Yahwé' may well have sprung out of an attempt to reconcile the belief that Yahwe abode in Sinai, and yet that he accompanied Israel to Canaan (cp Ex. 23 20-23). A similar conflict would still have called for reconciliation when Yahwe was regarded as seated in heaven.

In addition to the narratives of theophany, where the theophany is regarded as sober historical fact, we have numerous purely literary theophanies—i.e., descriptions clearly intended by the writers to be metaphorical and imaginative. Some of these are received in the boldest anthropomorphic manner (cp, e.g., the description of Yahwe as a warrior—Is. 63 1-5 59 15 ff.); in others, figures drawn from the storm or other natural phenomena play a large part (cp, e.g., Ps. 18 Hab. 3).

In the NT we have angelophanies (see ANGEL, § 7) but (except as indicated above, § 2a, *ad fin.*) no occasional theophanies such as the OT records. Instead, we have the life of Jesus which, most clearly by the author of the Fourth Gospel but also by other NT writers, is regarded as a prolonged manifestation of God in the flesh (cp especially Jn. 1 1-14, and esp. Rom. 1 1-7 Col. 1 15 ff. 29 Heb. 1 3). In the same way the belief in the *Pavsonia* is tantamount to the expectation of a coming theophany.

Literature.—Ch. J. Trip, *Die Theophanie in den Hebr. Schriftbüchern des AT* (Leiden, 1888); this is primarily a history and discussion of the view that the 'Angel of Yahwé' = 'the face of God.' Koster's, 'De Mal'ach Jahwe' in *Th. T.* 1878, pp. 369-415. See, further, under ANGEL. G. B. G.

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THEOPHILUS (θεοφιλος [T^h, WH]), the 'most excellent' person to whom the Third Gospel and the Book of Acts are dedicated (Lk. 1 3 Acts 1 1). See GOSPELS, § 37.

THERAS (θερα [BA]), 1 Esd. 8 61 (cp v. 41) = 1 Esd. 8 31, MAVA.

THERMELETH (θερμελεθ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 30 = 1 Esd. 2 59, TEL-MELAI.

THESSALONIANS (EPISTLES TO)

Place and time (§ 1). Its authorship (§ 2). Character of epistles (§ 6). 2 Thess. (§ 4 f.). Thessalonian Christians (§ 7). Its authorship (§§ 9-15). 1 Thess. (§ 2 f.). Bibliography (§ 16).

The two Epistles to the Thessalonians were written

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THESSALONIANS (EPISTLES TO)

not in Athens (ep 1 Thess. 3) as stated in the subscription to the epistles in the *Textus Receptus*, but in Corinth during Paul's first visit there recorded in Acts 18:1 ff. This appears from the following considerations:—

1. Place and time. The names of Silvanus and Timothy are joined with the name of Paul in the salutations of both epistles, and they were with Paul in Corinth during his first visit there, according to Acts 18, which is confirmed by 2 Cor. 1:19. A considerable period had elapsed since Paul left Thessalonica, for the time of the Thessalonian Christians had already spread throughout Macedonia and Achaia (1 Thess. 17 f.), and Paul must have returned at least for some months in Achaia, as may be gathered from the spread of Christianity in that province implied in the same passage. Timothy had been sent back to Thessalonica from Athens, and had had time to return and make his report to the apostle (1 Thess. 3:2), and this report may fairly be identified with the arrival of Silas and Timothy in Corinth, mentioned in Acts 18:5. See Timothy, § 3; pp. 28, 285.

2. On the other hand, the epistles cannot have been written at a time subsequent to Paul's first visit in Corinth, for the first of them was evidently written immediately after the return of Timothy from Thessalonica, whither he had been sent by Paul from Athens (1 Thess. 3:1); the Thessalonian church was apparently still a young church (1 Thess. 1:6), and, finally, there is no sign that Paul and Silvanus and Timothy were together again after the first visit in Corinth; cp SILAS.

The epistles were written probably in the year 48 or 49, or, according to the generally accepted chronology of Paul's life, in 53 or 54.² They are commonly regarded as the earliest of Paul's epistles; but there is good reason for thinking the Epistle to the Galatians still earlier.³ The notable lack in 1 and 2 Thessalonians of the doctrinal element which is so prominent in most of Paul's epistles counts for nothing in the matter of date, for in any case they were written later than the Council of Jerusalem, sixteen years or more after Paul's conversion, and an interval of only some five years separates them from the Epistle to the Romans, and still less from Galatians and Corinthians. As a matter of fact, the simplicity of the Thessalonian epistles and the absence of the great characteristic Pauline doctrines are to be explained, not by the date of the epistles, but by the particular circumstances which called them forth.

Those circumstances are indicated with sufficient clearness in the epistles themselves. Paul had been compelled to leave Thessalonica before he wished to do so, and under circumstances which made him fear for the permanence of his work there (1 Thess. 2:17-31 f.). He had apparently been driven away from the city by a persecution which continued to assail the disciples after his departure. Whether this persecution is to be directly connected with the attack of the Jews upon Paul recorded in Acts 17:5 f. is uncertain. At any rate, if the persecution was begun at the instance of the Jews, it was carried on afterwards by the Gentiles, and it was at their hands that the Christians of Thessalonica chiefly suffered (1 Thess. 2:14).⁴ The persecution was so severe that Paul feared his Thessalonian converts might lose courage and renounce their faith, and he therefore greatly desired to return himself to Thessalonica (1 Thess. 2:17 f.). For some reason, however, possibly because his friends had given bonds for his continued absence (Acts 17:9), he was unable to do so, and he therefore sent Timothy from Athens to encourage and strengthen his converts and to bring him news concerning them (1 Thess. 3:1 f.).⁵

2. 1 Thess. occasion.

It is possible that Timothy also carried a letter from Paul to the Thessalonian church (see Rendel Harris in *J. J. G. O. S. 174*).

¹ According to the chronology of Paul's life adopted by Keim, *Katholik*, 1887, 1:247 f.; O. Holtzmann, *Nitliche Zerg. d. N. T.*, 4; Blass, *Acta Apostolorum* (1895), Harmaek, *Carbond.* (1897), McGiffert, *Hist. Christ. in Apost. Age* (1897), and some others.

² Cp C. G. L. Cameron, *ibid.*, § 72 ff.

³ See McGiffert, *ibid.*, 220 f.; Zahn, *Eind.* 1:132 f.; Bartlet, *1899*, 49, 84; Bacon, *Introd. to N. T.*, 27.

⁴ Zimmer (*Der erste Thessalonikerbrief*, 34, 94 f.) takes the view, but without sufficient warrant.

⁵ On this mission of Timothy to Thessalonica we have nothing in Acts. In fact, there is no hint in Acts that Timothy was with Paul in Athens, as we know from 1 Thess. that he was.

[17:5]; but we have no evidence of such a letter, and the information which Paul gives his readers in 1 Thess. 2:1-3:5 rather argues against an earlier communication to them. But though we have no adequate ground for assuming that Paul sent to Thessalonica another epistle before our 1 Thessalonians, there is some reason for thinking that the Thessalonians sent a letter back to Paul by Timothy (see Harris, *ibid.* 1:273). Harris finds evidence of such a letter in 1 Thess. 1:2; 2:1; 3:1; 3:10, and also in 1:7, where he suggests the alteration of 'they report' (ἀπαγγέλλουσι) to 'you report' (ἀπαγγέλλετε), in order to bring it into line with 2:1; and he gives a tentative reconstruction of the letter on p. 173. 'Also we' (καὶ ἡμεῖς) in 2:1, 'also I' (καὶ ἐγὼ) in 3:5, the conventional epistolary formula 'ye have 2 and read' (ἀναγίνωσκετε αὐτὰς) in 2:15, 'for ye yourselves report concerning us' (καὶ ὑμεῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἀπαγγέλλετε) in 1:6 (to adopt the reading suggested by Harris) may fairly be regarded as pointing to a Thessalonian epistle; but beyond these words we can hardly go. It will not do at any rate to regard the words 'ye know' (οἴδατε) as evidence of such an epistle, for we cannot well suppose that the Thessalonians gave Paul an account of his sufferings in Philippi (2:2).

The report which Timothy brought back from Thessalonica was upon the whole very cheering; but he informed Paul of the existence of certain evils among the Thessalonians which demanded the apostle's attention. The common fleshly impurity of the heathen world, especially prevalent in a great commercial metropolis like Thessalonica, had not been entirely overcome by the Thessalonian Christians (1 Thess. 4:4-7); a spirit of enthusiasm was abroad among them which led them to neglect their ordinary employments and so bring disrepute upon the brotherhood (1 Thess. 4:11-12); and there was on the part of some a tendency, entirely natural where fanaticism had so free play, to disregard the counsel and authority of the leaders of the church (1 Thess. 5:12 f.). On the other hand, in opposition to the common enthusiasm, there were some who 'despised prophesyings' and frowned upon all spiritual manifestations (1 Thess. 5:20). It looks also as if some of the disciples were casting aspersions upon the character and motives of Paul himself, possibly because he had left the city during a time of persecution. At any rate he felt obliged to defend himself in his epistle against various charges, such as covetousness, avarice, selfishness, and personal ambition (1 Thess. 2:1-12). Finally, the Thessalonians had apparently asked the apostle a question touching the fate of Christian brethren dying before the return of Christ (1 Thess. 4:13 f.). Evidently they had believed that Christ would come so soon that they should all be alive to greet him; but as time passed some of their number died and Christ still tarried. The question naturally forced itself upon them, Were such brethren to be deprived of the privilege of seeing the Lord at his coming and sharing his glory? Either Timothy was asked to consult the apostle upon the matter, or the question was raised in the epistle to the Thessalonians referred to just above. It was due to all these circumstances that Paul wrote his first epistle to the Thessalonians.

The epistle has no central theme, nor is it a studied composition constructed upon a well-defined plan. It

3. Contents. is a familiar letter in which expressions of affection and words of exhortation and warning follow one upon another with no attempt at logical arrangement.

After a salutation, in which the names of Silvanus and Timothy are joined with his own (1:1), Paul expresses his gratitude, beginning with the conventional terms of contemporary correspondence (see Harris, *ibid.*), for the faith and steadfastness of the Thessalonians (1:2-8), and reminds them of his own conduct while among them, of his devotion and self-sacrifice which some had evidently called in question (2:1-12), gives utterance to his joy at the reception they had given his message, and at the steadfastness they had shown in the face of persecution (2:13-15), tells them of his anxiety about them while in Athens and of his great desire to see them, which resulted, when he could not do himself, in his sending Timothy to visit them (3:1-5), and which is now fully relieved by the good news brought by him (3:6-10). The commendatory, apologetic, and explanatory portion of the letter is concluded with a benedictory prayer for the readers' growth in grace (3:11-13).

The passage just referred to serves at the same time to introduce the second and hortatory section of the epistle (3:13). After emphasising the importance of purity (1:5), of brotherly love (1:9, 7), and of quietness and diligence in daily business

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(1 f.), the apostle turns to the subject of eschatology and instructs the Thessalonians, first, touching the brethren dying before the return of Christ (4:13-18), and secondly, touching the uncertainty of the time of the Parousia, which makes it necessary to be constantly watchful and zealous (5:1-11).¹ Then follow various exhortations having especial reference to the disciples' association with each other as Christian brethren (5:12-22), and the epistle closes with a petition for their perfect sanctification (24-25), a request for their prayers (25), a salutation, and a benediction (26-28).

The epistle apparently accomplished its purpose, for we hear nothing more of aspersions upon Paul's

4. 2 Thess. character, and the Thessalonians seem to have needed no further instruction as to the resurrection of the dead. But Paul's words touching the Day of the Lord (5:2 f.) evidently led them to believe that the Parousia was imminent, and some of them in their expectation of the immediate return of Christ were greatly excited and were neglecting their ordinary employments (2 Thess. 2:1 f.). It is possible that it was this expectation which had led them to similar fanaticism before Paul wrote his first epistle (1 Thess. 1:1 f.); but if so he cannot have been aware of it, or he would have dealt with the matter in that epistle.

How Paul learned of the existing situation we do not know. It is not impossible that he had received another letter from the Thessalonians in answer to his former one (see Bacon, *loc. cit.* p. 72); but we have no positive evidence of it. At any rate, however the news reached him, it led him to write a second epistle intended to put a stop to such unwarranted fanaticism.²

After commending the patience and faithfulness of the Thessalonians (2 Thess. 1:1-4), as he had done in

5. Its contents. the first epistle, and comforting them with a reference to the recompense which God will render both them and their enemies (1:5-12), he proceeds at once to his main point. When he wrote before, he supposed that an exhortation to go about their daily business with quietness and diligence would suffice to put a stop to their fanatical conduct, and that they needed no special instruction touching the time and the season of the consummation (1 Thess. 5:1). He saw now, however, that it was because they believed that Christ might come at any moment that their minds were disquieted, and so he reminded them that certain events must occur before the consummation. The 'man of sin,' the 'son of perdition,' the 'lawless one' must be revealed as he had told them when he was with them (2 Thess. 2:3); but he cannot be until 'that which now restraineth (2 Thess. 2:6 τὸ κατέχον, τὸ νῦν ὁ κατέχων) has been taken out of the way' (2 Thess. 2:7-10).³

This eschatological passage is followed by renewed commendations, and by exhortations to steadfastness and patience, sobriety and diligence (2:13-3:13), and the epistle concludes with benedictions and with a salutation from Paul's own hand, which he asserts is the token in every letter (3:16-18).

It would seem that those disciples who were insisting that the Parousia was immediately at hand were appealing to a letter bearing Paul's name (2 Thess. 2:1); but as he was not conscious of having written anything to support their opinion, he concluded that they must be making use of a forged document, and so he was careful to call attention to his autograph signature which guaranteed the genuineness of all his letters. It is not likely that Paul's surmise was correct, for it can hardly

be supposed that any one would venture to palm off a forged letter upon the Thessalonians so soon after the apostle's departure, and as a matter of fact the eschatological passage in the first epistle (5:1-11) was of such character that it might easily serve to promote belief in the immediate consummation, though he is not to have realised it.

The Epistles to the Thessalonians are almost wholly personal and ethical and throw very little light upon Paul's theological views,⁴ except in

6. Character of epistles. matter of eschatology to which there are a great many allusions. The

the Parousia of Christ is referred to in 1 Thess. 1:10; 3:13; 4:15 f.; 5:2 f.; 2 Thess. 1:7 f.; 2:1 f.; the judgment in 1 Thess. 1:10; 2 Thess. 1:6 f.; 2:12; the resurrection of believers in 1 Thess. 4:14 f.; their future glory and blessedness in 1 Thess. 1:7; 5:10; 2 Thess. 2:14; and the Kingdom in 1 Thess. 2:12; 2 Thess. 1:5. It is evident that the Thessalonian Christians were much interested in eschatological questions, and it would seem that Paul must have laid considerable stress, while in Thessalonica, at any rate upon the speedy return of Christ and the impending judgment (cp 1 Thess. 1:10; 5:2 f.; 2 Thess. 2:1). Possibly he was led to do so by the great prevalence of vice and immorality in the city. However that may be, the Thessalonians expected the return of Christ very soon, before any of their number had passed away, and Paul had evidently given them some warrant for that expectation, for even when he wrote his First Epistle he looked for the Parousia during his own lifetime (cp 1 Thess. 2:19; 4:15 f.). It was doubtless because of this that Paul had not instructed their touching the resurrection of believers and so was obliged to do so in some length in 1 Thess. 4:13 f. (cp 1 Cor. 15 and see McGiffert, *loc. cit.* p. 248).

The two Epistles to the Thessalonians throw considerable light upon Paul's work in Thessalonica and upon the character and condition

7. The Thessalonian Christians. of his converts there. The Christians addressed were most, if not all, of the

Gentiles (1 Thess. 1:9; 2:14); and, moreover, as appears from the former passage, they had been converted directly from heathenism to Christianity under Paul's preaching. But the account of Paul's work in Thessalonica contained in Acts (17:1 f.) gives a very different picture of the Thessalonian converts. According to that passage, 'Some of them (*i. e.*, of the few who were persuaded and consorted with Paul and Silas, and of the devout Greeks (*i. e.*, Jewish proselytes) a great multitude, and of the chief women not a few.' Of these Jews and Jewish proselytes there is no trace in either of Paul's epistles, and though of course it is quite possible that there were some of them among his converts, it is certain that they must have formed an altogether insignificant minority. It is clear then that the author of Acts, as is frequently the case, has recorded the least important part of Paul's activity in Thessalonica, and that it was not in the synagogue that he did his chief work (the only part of his work mentioned in Acts), but among the heathen population of the city. At the same time there is no reason for doubting that Paul actually did preach to Jews and proselytes in the synagogue of Thessalonica.⁵ But after a brief period spent in that work he must have turned to the Gentiles, instead of leaving the city directly as implied in Acts 17:15, and must have spent at least some months in labour among them, as is clear from 1 Thess. 2:7 f. and Phil. 4:16, and also from the large and permanent results accomplished. The account in Acts is thus very meagre and misleading at this point, and has to be not only supplemented but also corrected by 1 Thess. It is evident that that epistle was not in the hands of the author of Acts when he was writing

¹ On this apocalypse see H. St. John Thackeray, *The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*, 102 f.

² It was formerly maintained by some scholars (*e.g.*, Fw. Schlegel, *Schreiben des Paulus*, 17 f.; Laurent, *NTliche Studien*, 49 f.) that 2 Thess. is earlier than 1 Thess.; but this is excluded by the literary relationship between the two epistles, which clearly points to the secondary character of the second, by the sharper tone of 2 Thess. in dealing with the disorderly (3:6 f.), and by the relation of the apocalyptic passage in 2:2 f. to 1 Thess. 4:13 f.

³ Upon the interpretation of this passage see ANTICHRIST, § 4 f.

⁴ See 1 Thess. 2:12; 3:13; 4:7; 5:10; 12; 2 Thess. 1:11; 2:13; for familiar Pauline ideas.

⁵ See McGiffert, *op. cit.* 245.

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his account of this part of Paul's work, nor was Acts in the hands of the author of 1 Thess.

The Thessalonian epistles bear eloquent testimony to the success of Paul's missionary labours in Thessalonica. He succeeded in founding there a strong and vigorous church, and the faith and patience and brotherly love of his converts were so marked that their fame spread even beyond the provinces of Macedonia and Achaia (1 Thess. 1:7, 8), and their generosity in ministering to the necessities of other churches, even though poor themselves, called forth the apostle's hearty commendation (1 Thess. 4:10; cp 2 Cor. 8:17, and Acts 20:4). To none of his churches was he bound by warmer ties of affection than to the churches of Thessalonica and Philippi, and none of his epistles, except that to the Philippians, is more thoroughly pervaded with joy and confidence and affection than 1 Thess.

It has been assumed throughout this article that both 1 and 2 Thess. are genuine epistles of Paul. So far as the former is concerned its authenticity, denied a couple of generations ago by many scholars, is to-day generally recognised except by those who deny the genuineness of all the Pauline epistles (see PAUL, § 38). As a matter of fact, if one accepts any of Paul's epistles there is no good reason for denying the authenticity of 1 Thess. The argument against its genuineness, drawn from its lack of the doctrinal and polemical material found in the great epistles to the Galatians, the Corinthians, and the Romans, is now universally recognised as fallacious, for the situation in Thessalonica as indicated in the epistle itself fully accounts both for what it contains and for what it omits. Moreover, the style of the epistle, its revelation of the character of its author, its familiar and personal tone, the absence of any doctrinal or polemical interest which would account for pseudonymity, the discrepancies between the epistle and Acts, the use of the three names Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy (the form *Σαῦας* being found uniformly in Acts and *Σαῦανός* only in 1 and 2 Thess. 2:10 and 1 Pet. 5:12) all make for genuineness [cp St. A.]; and the evidence brought by Rendel Harris in the article referred to above (p. 20) that it is part of a correspondence with the Thessalonian church, strengthens the argument, and if that evidence be regarded as conclusive, of course places the genuineness of the epistle beyond all question. Finally, the implication in 4:17 that Christ was to return during the lifetime of the apostle is of itself enough to prove that it was not written after his death.¹

On the other hand, the authenticity of 2 Thessalonians is by no means so clear, nor is it so widely recognised.

9. Of 2 Thess. The tendency to view it as a genuine epistle of Paul has apparently grown somewhat in recent years among scholars of the critical school (e.g., Jülicher, *Einl.* 40 f. [1894]; Harnack, *Christol.* 239 [1898]; Bacon, *Introd. to NT.* 75 f. [1900]; and compare the statement of Holtzmann [*Einl.* 216] that "at the present day the question is not whether the epistle is to be brought down into the post-apostolic age, but whether it does not on the contrary reach up into the lifetime of the apostle, and whether consequently it must not be genuine, and have been written soon after 1 Thess."). Many, however, who accept 1 Thessalonians reject 2 Thessalonians altogether (as, e.g., Lipsius, Hilgenfeld, Holtzmann, Pfleiderer, Schmiedel, Weizsäcker), or regard it as largely interpolated (e.g., P. Schmidt, *Der erste Thessalonicherbrief*, 127 f.).

The first objection urged against the genuineness of 2 Thess. is an interpolation. There is, however, no reason to doubt the genuineness of the passage, though it is quite possible that 2:16 is an interpolation; and the same may be said of 2:23. The latter looks decidedly un-Pauline, and by its omission 2:24 is brought into immediate connection with 2:22 with which it seems to belong.

the epistle is the apocalyptic passage, 2 Thess. 2:1-12.

10. Argument from eschatology. This objection is based chiefly upon the assumption that the passage is inconsistent with 1 Thess. 5:2 f., and since its substance is said to have been imparted to the Thessalonians while Paul was still present with them (2 Thess. 2:5), the inconsistency cannot be explained as due to the further development of Paul's thought after the writing of 1 Thessalonians.

It is to be noticed, however, that though the author indicates in 2 Thess. 2 that certain events must occur, and, consequently, some interval elapse before the final consummation, there is no sign that he regards the interval as long, and that he does not expect to live until the Parousia. Nor is the fact that certain signs are to precede the consummation inconsistent with the exhortation in 1 Thess. 5:2 to be watchful, for the day of the Lord comes as a thief in the night only for those who sleep, the implication being that those who are awake know the signs of its coming and will not be taken unawares. It is quite conceivable that Paul might have told the Thessalonians when he was with them why the Parousia was delayed, and might have spoken of the traditional figure of Antichrist (the *παράκλητος* of 2:3 refers to what precedes, without contradicting his belief or theirs that the consummation was to take place very soon. Only when he found that their expectation of its imminence was leading them into fanaticism would he naturally, in order to show that it could not come immediately, dwell more at length upon the intervening events, and need to still more fully what those events were. Possibly the protection of the Roman pro-consul at Corinth (Acts 18:12) had led him to recognise more clearly than ever before the protecting power of Rome (to which *τὸ κατέχω* and *ὁ κατέχω* [the 'resistancer'] certainly refer), and so, for the first time, to bring this element of the traditional eschatology into prominence as in 2 Thess. 2:5 f.

The further objection brought against the genuineness of 2 Thess. 2:2 f., on the ground of its alleged dependence upon the Apocalypse, or of its acquaintance with the Nero redivivus legend, breaks down completely when the passage is interpreted as it should be in the light of current Jewish eschatology, and the figure of Antichrist is recognised as purely traditional (see ANTI-CHRIST, § 4 f.).

It must be recognised then that there is not sufficient ground in the eschatology of the second epistle for denying its Pauline authorship. If there is good reason for ascribing the remainder of the epistle to Paul, there need be no difficulty in assuming that he wrote the apocalyptic passage, 2:2 f. In fact, we may perhaps go farther and say that that passage, when taken in connection with the remainder of the epistle, can be better understood on the assumption of its authenticity than on that of its pseudonymity. It can hardly be supposed that any one would venture to produce such a pseudonymous epistle during Paul's own lifetime, or that it would find acceptance if he did. On the other hand, if Paul's first epistle gave rise to misunderstandings—as the second epistle, whether genuine or not, seems to show that it did—we should expect those misunderstandings to have arisen immediately, not after an interval of many years, when the expectation expressed in the epistle was already at least partially discredited by Paul's own death. And if the fanatical abuse of his words appointed during his lifetime, it would be strange if he took no notice of it. If it could be supposed that the epistle was written simply to save Paul's reputation and set him right with the Thessalonians after his death, by showing that he had not expected the consummation as soon as 1 Thessalonians seemed to imply, its post-Pauline date would be easy to understand, but there is no sign of such an interest. The sole purpose of the eschatological passage is clearly to put a stop to the fanaticism to which the belief in the speedy consum-

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nation was giving rise. Under these circumstances 2 Thessalonians, so far as the eschatological passage is concerned, seems easier to explain as a letter of Paul's written within a few months of 1 Thessalonians, than as the work of a later time and of another hand.

It has been suggested by some scholars (e.g., Schmidt, *op. cit.* 127) that 2 Thess. 2:12 has been interpolated in a genuine epistle of Paul; but there is no ground for such a hypothesis. The point of the epistle is entirely gone if the apocalyptic passage be omitted, and the difficulties which beset the genuineness of the remainder of the epistle are even greater than those which beset the apocalyptic passage. As a matter of fact, the suggestion of Hausrath (*NTliche Literatur*, 2nd 315) that this passage is the only genuine part of the epistle is much more plausible.

A second objection to the Pauline authorship of 2 Thessalonians is drawn from its language and style.

11. From language and contents. It is true that the epistle contains an uncommonly large number of words and phrases which occur nowhere else in Paul (the Pastoral epistles not being reckoned as Pauline).

Such are: 'growth exceedingly' (ὀπερανθῆναι), 1:3; 'glory' (ἐγκαινισμός), 2:14; 'token' (σημεῖον), 2:14; 'judgment' (κρίσις), 2:14; 'count worthy' (καταξίωσις), 2:14; 'flaming fire' (πυρ φλόγος), 2:14; 'punishment' (δίκαια), 2:14; 'suffer' (παύω), 2:14; 'everlasting destruction' (αἰώνιος ἀλεθρὸς), 2:14; 'from the presence' (ἀπο παρουσίας), 2:14; 'glorify' (ἐδοξάζω), 2:14; 'good pleasure of goodness' (ἀγαθὴ ἀγαθότης), 2:14; 'gather together unto' (ἐπισυναγωγή), 2:14; 'shook' (ἐκλάσει), 2:14; 'troubled' (θρονομαί), 2:14; 'falling away' (ἀποστασία), 2:14; 'object of worship' (σεβάσμα), 2:14; 'deceit of unrighteousness' (ἀπάτη ἀδικίας), 2:14; 'because' (ἀπὸ ὧν), 2:14; 'love of truth' (ἀγάπη ἀληθείας), 2:14; 'a working of error' (ἐργασία πλάνης), 2:14; 'belief of truth' (πίστις ἀληθείας), 2:14; 'chase' (αἰρέσις), 2:14 (occurs once in Phil. 1:22 and Heb. 11:25 in another connection); the common word in Paul, to express the idea, being ἐλεγχω); 'good hope' (ἀπισ ἀγαθῆ), 2:16 (cp. Heb. 7:19; 1 Pet. 1:3); 'unreasonable' (ἀσπου), 3:3; 'busy-bodies' (περιεργάζομαι), 2:14; 'well-being' (καλοποιεῖν), 2:14; 'note' (σημειοῦσθε), 2:14; and the particle 'nor' (ἤτις) in 2:2.

Considerably more than half of these, however, are found in the apocalyptic passages in chaps. 1 and 2, and their presence is sufficiently accounted for by the nature of the subject-matter, and it is now generally recognized that very little weight can be laid in any case upon the mere occurrence of *hapax legomena*.

More striking is the fact that the epistle contains very few words which are found in Paul's epistles but not elsewhere in the NT, except such as it has in common with 1 Thessalonians.

The particle 'if so be' (εἴπερ), 2 Thess. 1:6, and the word 'working' (ἐργασία), 2:14, are found half a dozen times in Paul, the former in Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, the latter in Philippians, Ephesians, and Colossians, and 'goodness' (ἀγαθότης) in Romans, Galatians, and Ephesians, once each. The phrase 'as that' (ὡς οὗτος), 2 Thess. 2:2, occurs only in 2 Cor. 11:21; 'exalteth himself' (ὑπεραυξάνει), 2 Thess. 2:4, only in 2 Cor. 12:7; 'withdraw' (στελλομαι), 2 Thess. 3:1, only in 2 Cor. 8:20; 'keep company with' (συνεταμιλιέσθε), 2 Thess. 3:14, only in 1 Cor. 5:9; 'deceive' (ἕφαρταω), 2 Thess. 2:3, which is found in Romans and 1 and 2 Corinthians, occurs also in the post-Pauline 1 Timothy.

On the whole, the argument from style, so far as it goes, seems to point away from Paul rather than toward him as author; but it must be recognized that no definite conclusion can be drawn from it.

Nor can any conclusion be drawn from the ethical and theological content of the epistle. There are but few characteristically Pauline ideas, e.g., 1:11: 'that our God may count you worthy of [your] calling' (ἵνα ἡμᾶς ἀξιώσῃ τῆς κλήσεως ἡμεῶν ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν; cp. Eph. 4:1; 2:10; 'God who loved us' ὁ θεὸς . . . ὁ ἀγαπήσας ἡμᾶς; cp. Rom. 8:1; Eph. 2:4); 2:13: 'God chose you from the beginning unto salvation' (εἰς ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἰς σωτηρίαν; cp. Eph. 1:4, where the idea is the same but not the language), and no argument can be drawn from any of these. On the other hand, there is nothing in the teaching of the epistle which can be pronounced in any

way in Pauline, except possibly the concept divine recompense and vengeance in 1:6-12. One almost has to tempt, if accepting the epistle as a Pauline work, to regard these verses as an interpolation and to note the τοῦ which end (εἰς τὸ ἵδεναι τὸ δικαίον) 'that ye may be counted worthy' (εἰς τὸ καταξίωσθαι) of 1:5.

Much more serious than the objections to the genuineness of the epistle already mentioned is the objection drawn from its close resemblance to 1 Thessalonians, amounting at times to an almost slavish dependence.

12. From resemblance to 1 Thess. A detailed comparison of the two epistles shows that the only new matter in the second is found in 2:12-15, 3:15-17, 4:13-17.

Even within these passages there is more or less dependence upon 1 Thessalonians. Thus 2 Thess. 1:7 suggests 1 Thess. 2:19-4:3; and 2 Thess. 1:10 suggests 1 Thess. 3:13. The taken with the verses immediately preceding, seems to show influence of 1 Thess. 5:1-6. 2 Thess. 3:1 and 1 Thess. 5:1 have the words, 'brethren, pray for us' (προσεύξασθε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν), which occur nowhere else in Paul, and 2 Thess. 1:11 and 1 Thess. 1:11 have the phrase 'word of the Lord' (ὁ λόγος κυρίου), which is also wanting in Paul's other epistles. 'Word of Christ' (ὁ λόγος Χριστοῦ) is found in Col. 3:1. 2 Thess. 3:15 contains reminiscences of 1 Thess. 5:2-24; 13; 3:1; 2 Thess. 3:15 of 1 Thess. 5:12-14.

The remainder of the epistle, about a third of the whole, is simply a more or less close reproduction of the first epistle.

Thus, in addition to the salutation at the beginning, benediction at the close, which are identical, except for the addition of 'from God the Father and the Lord Jesus' (ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) in 2 Thess. 1:2, 'of all' (πάντων) in 3:15, we find that 2 Thess. 1:1-4 is a close summary of 1 Thess. 1: 2 Thess. 2:1 has the clause we beseech you, brethren' (ἐρωτοῦμεν δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί), which occurs in 1 Thess. 5:12 (p. 11) but nowhere else in Paul, a clause 'touching the Parousia, etc.' (ὅτι περὶ τῆς παρουσίας, which is nearly identical with 1 Thess. 1:2 2:14 4:15 5:2), remainder of the verse suggests 1 Thess. 4:17. 2 Thess. 2:14 contains reminiscences of 1 Thess. 1:2 2:14 (though 'I bound' [ἴδωμαι] is added as in 1:3); of 1 Thess. 4:1 (the beloved of the Lord' [ἀδελφοὶ ἠγαπημένοι ὑπὸ κυρίου]; 'brethren, beloved of God' [ἀδελφοὶ ἠγαπημένοι ὑπὸ θεοῦ]; 1 Thess. 4:7 (though the combination of 'of spirit' [πνεῦμα] with 'sanctification' [ἁγιασμός], and the phrase 'believe in [πιστεύετε ἀληθείας] are new); and of 1 Thess. 5:9. 2 Thess. 2:15 may be compared with 1 Thess. 5:12-14; (notice the coin of the two words, 'comfort' [παρακαλεσθαι] and 'consolation' [σπρησθαι]). 2 Thess. 3:12 is entirely, with the exception of the latter part of v. 10, which is new, a reproduction of 1 Thess. 4:11-12; 7:8 being verbally identical with a part of 1 Thess. 4:11-12 (work in labour and travail might and day that we not burden any of you [ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ κόπῳ καὶ μόχθῳ ἕως οὗ μὴ ἐβραβεύοιτο πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαραῖν ἑαυτοὺς]); and with the first clause of 1 Thess. 3:4 ('for even when we were with you [καὶ γὰρ ὅτε ἦμεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς], the particle 'when' being found nowhere else in either epistle, and 'for even' [καὶ γὰρ] only here in 2 Thessalonians). The passage also contains striking reminiscences of 1 Thess. 1:2 4:1 11 5:14. 2 Thess. 3:16 'now the Lord of peace himself' (αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ κύριος τῆς εἰρήνης) may be compared with 1 Thess. 5:23, 'and the God of himself' (αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης). The following words and phrases, which are common to 1 and 2 Thessalonians, but nowhere else in Paul, may also be referred to: 'work of [ἔργον] πιστεύω), 2 Thess. 1:11; 1 Thess. 1:3; 'obtaining [ποιήσις], 2 Thess. 2:14; 1 Thess. 5:9 (the word is found in Ephesians in a different sense); 'stablish' (στηρίζω) 'heart' (καρτίαν), 2 Thess. 2:17; 1 Thess. 3:14; 'direct' (ὁριεῖται), 2 Thess. 3:5; 1 Thess. 3:11; 'patience of Christ' (ὁμοτιμία Χριστοῦ), 2 Thess. 3:5 (in 1 Thess. 1:2, 'patience of the Lord Jesus Christ' [ὁμοτιμία τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ]); 'disorderly' (ἀτάκτως), 2 Thess. 3:6; 'behave disorderly' (ἀτάκτω), 3:7; 'disorderly' (ἀτάκτως) in 1 Thess. 5:14.

In the light of these many and close resemblances between the two epistles it is clear that the genuineness of the second requires the assumption that Paul had much of the thought and language of the first epistle in his mind when he wrote the second. If it could be supposed that the two were written at a single sitting, or within a few days of each other, as is possible in the case of 1 and 2 Corinthians, the resemblances might be explained, but an interval of at least some months separates the Thessalonians from 1 Thessalonians. The resemblances are altogether too many and too close to be accounted for on the ground that the general

* The words and phrases marked with an asterisk are found nowhere else in the NT.

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tion in Thessalonica and Corinth remained much the same and suggested consequently a similar line of thought. The genuineness of the second epistle can be maintained, in fact, only by assuming that Paul had a copy of 1 Thessalonians in his possession, and that he read it over again shortly before writing 2 Thessalonians, and saturated himself with its thought and language. It seems a little unlikely that Paul should have had a copy of his earlier epistle at hand,¹ but it is not impossible; and if he had, it was not perhaps unnatural that, when the report reached him that Thessalonians were appealing to a letter of his in support of their views touching the Parousia, he should read over the earlier epistle to see if it gave any justification for such an appeal.

This would also serve to explain particularly the relation between 2 Thess 3:6 f. and 1 Thess 5:20 f. In both passages Paul refers in almost identical terms to the fact that he had supported himself with his own hands while in Thessalonica; but in the first epistle he cites the fact as a defence against the charges of his enemies, in the second as an example to the disorderly.

The effect of Spitta (*Zur Gesch. u. Lit. des Christl. Altertums*, I, 317) ; cp. Eitwitt, § 6) to explain the resemblances and divergencies between the two epistles by the ingenious suggestion that the second was written not by Paul but by

14. Not by Paul?

Timothy at Paul's request and in the name of the three fellow-workers, while it might relieve the difficulties, somewhat, is rendered impossible by the use of the first person singular in 2:5 which cannot, occurring as it does without qualification, refer to Timothy, as Spitta assumes, but must refer to Paul. That the Thessalonians should have known from the handwriting that Timothy was the author of the epistle instead of Paul there is no ground for supposing, for it was Paul's custom to dictate his epistles to an amanuensis, and 3:17 must suggest to the readers of 2 Thessalonians that it was written in the same way.

Those who deny the authenticity of 2 Thessalonians explain the striking resemblances between the two epistles by the assumption that the author of the second purposely conformed it to 1 Thessalonians in order to gain Pauline authority for its eschatological teaching, and so to displace the earlier epistle, which was giving rise to so much trouble in the Thessalonian church. Such a procedure is not without parallels, nor can it be regarded as in itself more improbable than the unique self-reputation involved in Pauline authorship. Indeed, while the reproduction of the earlier epistle is at times subtle and of such a character as to suggest that the author wrote with a free hand, it seems quite as easy to suppose that some one familiar with Paul's style produced 2 Thessalonians in conscious imitation of 1 Thessalonians as to suppose that Paul unconsciously repeated himself so slavishly. And if this conscious effort be assumed, the reference to Paul's own signature in 3:17 (cp. 1 Cor. 16:21; Col. 4:18; Gal. 6:11) need constitute no insurmountable obstacle.

15. Conclusion.

At the same time, in view of the considerations urged above in connection with the apocalyptic passage, the present writer is inclined to think that the evidence points rather in the direction of the Pauline authorship of the epistle, but it must be recognized that its genuineness is beset with serious difficulties, and that it is at best very doubtful.

Upon the epistles to the Thessalonians see the various intro-

¹ The common notion that copies of Paul's epistles must have been from the beginning carefully preserved, either by Paul himself or by his companions, rests upon a conception of their dramatic importance which was not shared in Paul's own time, as is sufficiently indicated by the fact that so few of his epistles have come down to the next generation, and that even the author of Acts apparently made no use of them in the composition of his work (see McGiffert, *loc. cit.*, 436).

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ductions to the NT, the history of the apostle's life and lives of Paul, and the special circumstances by which he was surrounded. See also the special literature of St. Paul, etc. (1897), E. S. Smith, *The Apostle Paul to the Thessalonians*, etc. (1900); *Thessalonica*, etc. (1905); *Thessalonica*, etc. (1912). On the general commentaries on the NT special mention may be made of Lemaire (Meyer's *Handbuch*), Bonnet (Meyer's *Handbuch*), and Schindler in Harnack's *Handbuch* (1900), and 1902). On the integrity of the epistles, see especially Thoma, *Die Unhaltbarkeit der Fälschungsthese* (1894), p. 172, and on the text L. Metzger, *Der Text des Thessalonikerbriefes* (1904).

In defence of the genuineness of both epistles, see the NT introductions of Weiss, J. 54-5, and Zahn's *Einleitung in die Briefe des Apostels Paulus*, p. 291 f. and Weiss's *Christl. Archäologie*, p. 211 f. in defence of the second, Köpcke in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* (1872), 403 ff.; August the genuineness of both epistles, see especially Bair, *Der Brief des Paulus an Thessalonica*, p. 17 ff.; S. Lindel, *Das Evangelium des Paulus an Thessalonica*, p. 40 f. For further literature, see H. Reimann, *Thessalonica*, p. 212 ff. and Lindley in *L. P.*, 1898, 2:23 f.

THESSALONICA (ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ)

1. History. The city of Thessalonica was the chief city of the Thessalonian province (Phil. 4:9; 1 Tim. 1:3; *cf.* *Θεσσαλονικία*, Acts 17:7; 20:1; 1 Thess. 2:17; 2 Thess. 1:1) (translated in the three latter passages by the curious synecopated form "Thessalonians," *cf.* 1:1). A large and important city (now *Salonica*) at the head of the Gulf of Salonica, which in ancient times was called the Thermae Gulf, from the city itself—Thessalonica, we are told, was originally named Thermen, from the hot springs found on the coast in its neighbourhood. But Thermen seems to have been a small place in the vicinity, from which, as well as from twenty-two other towns on the gulf, the inhabitants were compelled to migrate in order to create the new city (Strabo, 330, *loc. cit.*; *Plin.*, *loc. cit.*).

The creation of Thessalonica was due, according to the most probable account (that of Strabo, *loc. cit.*; Cassiodorus, who alluded to it after his wife Thessalonica, co-sister of Alexander the Great (Colum. 13:30)). The history of the town he traces therefore with the Macedonian, and its importance in times as yet approach the Roman period. It was the great Macedonian naval station (Livy, 41:6); and when Macedonia was conquered by the Romans and was divided by them into districts, the Thessalonica was made the capital of the second region, *Macedonia Secunda* (468 B.C.; see *Macedonia*). When the whole of Macedonia was reduced to a single province (146 B.C.) Thessalonica became virtually its capital.

Even before the close of the Republican period the natural advantages of Thessalonica had raised it to importance, for it lay upon the great route which connected Rome with the East (cp. Cicero, *De Prov. Cons.*, 2; Thessalonicensis, possit in grœno imperii nostri, about midway between Dyrrhachium on the Adriatic, and the river Hebrus in Thrace). It was the residence of the proconsul; Cicero during his exile found here a refuge, in the quæstor's house (*Pro Prov.*, 40). During the first Civil War the town was the headquarters of the Pompeian party (Dio Cass. 41:17); but in the second war it took the side of Octavian and Antonius (Plut., *Brut.*, 46; Appian, *loc. cit.*), and by way of reward was made a "free city" (*Plin. loc. cit.*). As a free city it was ruled by its own assembly (cp. the use of the word *δημος* in Acts 17:5, in accordance with the actual constitutional facts) and by its own magistrates, who here bore the special title of politarchs (*πολιταρχαί*, Acts 17:6).

¹ Θεσσαλονίκη in Pol. 234; Θεσσαλονικία in Str. 330, *loc. cit.*
² *Θερμαί*, Herod. 7:121, *et. seq.*; Thuc. 1:91, 2:20. *Θερμαί*, *Æschylus, Prometheus*, 29 (Heckert).
³ After 153 B.C., when the right of silver coinage was granted by the Senate, Thessalonica issued silver tetradrachms with the inscription ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΑΓΥΠΕΡΑΣ. See Head, *Hist. Numm.*, 214. Its bronze coins before and during the empire are plentiful, bearing the name of the town, or the emblem in the genitive, often with titles, *ἀρχιστρατός* or *κόμιστας*. The latter title dates from the time of Augustus (see Mommsen, *Monet.*, 1:104).
⁴ To this may allude the word *ἐλευθερία* with female head on some of its coins.
⁵ Cp. Livy, 45:29, where Æmilius Paulus at Amphipolis

The title *politarch* does not occur elsewhere in Greek literature, but its use here is quite accurate, as appears from an inscription (*IG*, 1107) which was engraved on a Roman arch of the *Propylea* gate (perhaps a monument of the victory of Philip) recording its erection by certain persons, whose names are given, were *politarches* of the city (*πολιταρχοὶ τῆς πόλεως*).¹ It is doubtful whether the number of *politarchs* was five or six (see a paper on the *politarch* by Dr. Burton, reprinted from the *Journal of Theol.* [1907], 293, where other inscriptions are cited from Macedonia, and more particularly from Thessalonica, in which the title *πολιταρχία*, or the verb *πολιταρχεῖν*, occurs).

The town flourished greatly. *Strabo* (10, 2, 20) calls it the *metropolis* of the Macedonia of his time, and notes its population (10, 2, 20: *μετὰ τὴν ἑξέλιξιν τῶν ἀλλοτρῶν εὐαθῆς*). To him, in the second century A.D., speaks in similar terms (*Strabo*, 10, 2, 20: *μετὰ τὴν ἑξέλιξιν τῶν ἀλλοτρῶν εὐαθῆς*).

The spread of the Jews after Alexander's death would doubtless affect the city, well placed as it was for controlling the trade of Macedonia. That the Jewish community in Paul's time was fairly large is evident from the fact that it possessed a synagogue here (Acts 17:1; contrast Philip, and compare with Berea, which also, being a commercial town, possesses a synagogue, Acts 17:10). The number of the Jews settled in the town had also produced an appreciable effect upon the Hellenic section of the population, and prepared the way for Paul's work of evangelisation by the creation of a large class of proselytes (cp. Acts 17:1, 'of the devout Greeks a great multitude'; EV: *πῶλον πόνον*). A testimony to the number and influence of the Jews, both in Thessalonica and in all this region of Macedonia, is to be found in the apparent ease with which they excited hostility against Paul. The exact ground of complaint alleged against Paul at Thessalonica should be closely compared with the charge used against him at Philippi, for the difference runs closely parallel with the actual difference of political status between the two towns.

2. NT references.

The charge in Thessalonica is virtually one of political innovation, 'contrary to the decrees of Caesar' (cp. 'another king'), a thing to which the Empire was very sensitive, and one fraught with grave possibilities of undesirable changes for the people of Thessalonica if the imperial authorities were induced to take it seriously. In Philippi, on the other hand, a Roman colony, where there could be no question of loyalty, the charge touches religious innovations (see on this point, Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 224 ff.). The riot itself, though not so represented in the narrative in Acts, would appear to have surpassed that at Philippi in malignity and violence (cp. 1 Thess. 2:14 ff.). The attitude of the magistrates, so far as can be inferred from the short account, would seem to have differed entirely from that of the magistrates at Philippi, and to have been not in harmony with the feelings of the masses of the populace stirred up by the Jews. With the attitude of the *politarchs* and upper classes of Thessalonica we may well compare that of the *Asiarchs* at Ephesus (Acts 19:35). Nevertheless the *politarchs* were obliged in the interests of their own safety to fetter Paul's work effectually by taking sureties of Jason and other prominent Christians of Thessalonica against the repetition of the teaching. Paul was therefore cut off from the city by a barrier more effective than the threat of merely personal danger (1 Thess. 2:15, 'So as to hinder us'). (Cp. Ramsay, *op. cit.*, 230.)

As regards the time spent in the city by Paul, nothing certain can be inferred. Probably, however, it would be an error to confine his work to the limited space mentioned in Acts 17:2 ('three sabbath days'). Not only is a longer sojourn indicated by the expression used in 1 Thess. 1:6 ('For from you sounded out the word of the Lord not only in Macedonia and Achaia'), but such is perhaps proved by the statement in Phil. 4:15 ('For even in Thessalonica ye sent one and again into my necessity').

de lares communium patrum liberos esse inhere Macedonas, habentes iura civitatis aegrosque, integres legibus suis, annuos census magistratibus.

¹ The arch was demolished about 1867, but the inscription is now preserved in the Brit. Mus. (Murray, *Handb. to Greece*, 226). It is remarked as a curious coincidence (Combe and Howson, *Life and Lopp. of St. Paul*, 1: 25) that three of the names on the inscription are identical with those of three of Paul's friends in this region (Sopater, Gaius, and Secundus; cp. Acts 19:29, 20:4). Possibly a later date should be assigned to the arch than is given above (see Lenke and Tafel), but that will hardly invalidate the weight of the inscription as a testimony to the accuracy of Acts in this passage.

Further, the church in Thessalonica would seem to have composed very largely of Gentile converts (whether proselytes or pagans of the time of Paul's teaching is, of course, not decided). At any rate the Jewish Scriptures are not employed in the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, and in 1 Thess. 1:10 members are spoken of as having 'turned to God from idols'. Hence we should infer that much time was spent in the circles, apart from the work among the Jews which is mentioned in the Epistles, in the work among the Gentiles (the length of Paul's stay in Thessalonica derives any support from a consideration of such passages as 1 Thess. 2:13, 2 Thess. 3:1, in which stress is laid upon Paul's self-supporting industry).

Though the name of Thessalonica does not occur in Acts, Paul almost certainly saw the town again, going and returning, on his third missionary journey (Acts 20:1 ff.). On his return two members of the church of Thessalonica accompanied him into Asia (21:1 [see ARISTARCHUS, SECT. 814]). Possibly he was also there after his first imprisonment (cp. Phil. 2:24); the visit to Macedonia recorded in 1 Tim. 1:3 might very well embrace an excursion to Thessalonica.

Of members of the church at Thessalonica we specify Jason (Acts 17:5); possibly identical with Jason of Rom. 16:21; Demas (probably; 2 Tim. 4:10; cp. Acts 19:29); Secundus (Acts 20:4), and above all Aristarchus (Acts 19:29, 20:1, 27:2); he is alluded to in Col. 4:10 and Philem. 24).

Christianity, having been once established in Thessalonica, spread rapidly (1 Thess. 18), and in later times the city was the bulwark of religion in this region of Europe, so much so that it was designated 'The City of the Holy Spirit'. Its name is prominent in the Byzantine historians. It was a safeguard of the Empire during the Gothic invasions, and later during the Seljuq invasions, of which it bore the brunt from the middle of the sixteenth century A.D. onwards. During the Middle Ages the city was thrice captured, by the Saracens, the Normans and the Turks. It is now a flourishing place, the second European Turkey after Constantinople. It is especially rich in remains of Byzantine ecclesiastical architecture, surpassing in this respect any other city in Greece (Lenke).

The most elaborate work is that by Tafel, the first part of which was published in 1835 and afterwards prefixed as *Thessalonica* to his *Die Thessalonica christliche Pflanzstätte* (Geographia (Berlin, 1846)). Especially full in relation to the topography and the Gothic and Seljuq wars. For the history of the *History of Greece* (ed. 1897) may also be consulted. Descriptions of the town and remains are given by all travellers (Clerk (1824) to Leake (1838), and onwards). A good sketch account will be found in Murray's *Handbook to Greece*.

3. Literature.

W. J. W. THESSALY (ΘΕΣΣΑΛΙΑ, Acts 17:13, 19). Thessaly mentioned only in an addition to Acts 17:13 in D, which runs, 'and those who conducted Paul brought him as far as Athens; [and] he passed by Thessalia, for he was prevented from preaching the word unto them.' It is not clear whether at this time Thessaly was included in the province of Achaia, or fell to Macedonia. If the latter was the case, we should naturally expect to find Paul going from Berea to Larissa, the chief town of Thessaly, for his call was to Macedonia (Acts 16:12), and in that case his neglect to visit Thessaly must have been due to divine injunction (as in Acts 16:7). Thessaly fell at that time to Achaia, there was no necessity specifically to mention its omission, many would assume that already Paul felt that he was called to the wider field than Macedonia. It is indeed a strange omission in Acts that nowhere is it indicated where and how this restriction forced itself upon his mind, already in Athens (Acts 17:17) the special call to Macedonia is forgotten in the absorbing self-imposed task of disputing with the Jews and proselytes of that city. Apparently there is no feeling of restriction to a particular province.

As regards the actual attribution of Thessaly, Thessaly assigns it to Macedonia, Strabo to Achaia (cp. 10, 2, 20). The separation may have been the work of Vespa-

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Theudas (Θεΰδας). THE WHITE mentions only in Acts 5: 6, where GAMBEL, in his speech in the synagogues in support of his plea for letting the apostles alone, traces him to the leader of a movement which, notwithstanding its threatening appearance at first, very soon came to nothing. The peculiar interest which attaches to this passage lies in the fact that a quite similar story is found also in Josephus (*Jos.* xv, 10, § 377).

1. Acts and Jos. on Theudas.

As the point to be investigated is whether Lk. has here drawn upon Josephus, it will be convenient to print both passages in close juxtaposition.

Josephus. *Βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπισημῶς ἐκεῖνος τὸν ἄρχοντα ἐπέσειπεν τῶν Ἰουδαίων πῶτα καὶ εἶπε· προδοτικὰ γὰρ ἔργα οὐκ ἔστιν ἔργα, καὶ ταῦτα λέγουσιν πολλοὶ καὶ ἐπισημῶς, καὶ οὐκ ἀποδοτικὰ τῆς ἀφροσύνης ἀλλὰ τῆς φροσύνης, ἀλλὰ ἐπισημῶς οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ ἀποδοτικῶς ἐπισημῶς, πολλοὶ καὶ ἐπισημῶς ἀπαιτοῦσι τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ κατακτείνουσι τὸν ἄρχοντα.* While Theudas was prominent in the eyes of the common people to take their hearts with them and fall upon the river Jordan; for he told them that he was a prophet, and said he would at the word of a command divide the river and give them an easy passage through it; and by these words he deluded many. Fadus, however, did not permit them to go down to the river fully, but sent a regiment of cavalry against them, which, falling upon them unexpectedly, slew many of them and took many alive. Taking Theudas also alive, they cut off his head, and carried it to Jerusalem.

Acts. *— πρὸ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνέστη Θεΰδας, λέγων εἶναι τὸν ἀρχοντα, ὃν προσελάθη ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ ὡς τετακτισμένος, ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς καὶ πάντες οὐκ ἐπίδοτον αὐτῷ δειλότητα καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἐπισημῶς.* For before these days rose up Theudas, saying himself out to be somebody, to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themselves; who was slain, a full as many as they had, were dispersed and came to nothing.

In so far as the differences between the two accounts affect their substance, they are so unimportant as in no way to hinder us from believing that the same fact is intended in both.

Lk. naturally is shorter, for his object is not to tell the history of Theudas, but simply to use an instance appropriate to the purpose of Theophilus's speech. He therefore mentions only the beginning, and the ultimate issue of the movement. Therefore, there is no contradiction with Josephus when Lk. says of the followers of Theudas simply that they were dispersed as if come to nothing. If Theudas gives himself out to be somebody, the meaning can well be what Josephus says, that he called himself a prophet.¹ Lk.'s expression recalls Acts 9, where, almost the same claim is attributed to Simon Magus—an identical claim if "great" (*μεγας*) there be a gloss (see *SIMON MAGUS*, § 1, n.).

The greatest discrepancy is that whilst Lk. is able to give the number of followers of Theudas as about 400 men, Josephus has τῶν πλείστων ἄνδρων. It does not follow from this expression that he intends a substantially larger number.

Kenkel (below, § 8, 170 f.), has collected abundant instances to show that Josephus, in places where we are able to control his statements, often gives much too high figures. On the other hand, we are not precluded from supposing that to Lk.'s 400 men, women and children ought to be added.

That the number must have been a relatively moderate one is evident from Josephus's own statement that an ἄθη (= 200) or so many (some 500 men) was all that was required for the suppression of the rising.

Much more serious is the next difficulty. Lk. goes on to say that after Theudas, Indus of Galilee raised another revolt in the days of the taxing. As he puts it, he does so by means of the definite article τῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς ἀπογραφῆς and in his own Gospel (21 f.) mentions that under Quirinus (in 6 or 7 A. D.) and that alone, he cannot intend any other here; and

1 On the name see next col., n. 2. If Theudas promised his followers to lead them through Jordan, like another Joshua, this will be not the sole purpose he had in view, but probably only a first trial by means of which he hoped to confirm faith in his miraculous power with a view to being afterwards in a position to take up some bolder enterprise.

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It was at the time of the taxing that a revolt broke out in Galilee. Theudas did make his revolt in the year 6 or 7 A. D. (see below). Thus Lk. is in the right in mentioning Theudas long before some other date. According to Josephus, however, the revolt of Theudas was when Quirinus held his province, that is, some time between 41 and about 47 A. D. (see below). We find in the same work of Josephus (Ant. xii, 10, § 45 A. C.) that he is mentioned as a leader of a revolt, but this is not necessarily connected with the revolt of Theudas, but may refer to an occurrence which, at the same time, or at least long before, had happened.

It is only the description of the revolt, if error be Lk., that has often been assumed to be drawn from Josephus.

2. Not two Theudas.

Another Theudas than the one mentioned by Josephus. The fact that the attempt has been made to prove this from Josephus (*Jos.* xv, 10, § 377) might be held to disprove Lk.'s Theudas in the same way, generally, because of Herod the Great's shortly after the death of that monarch having gathered to him a band of ruffians in Perea, and himself chosen to be their king. Lured and plundered by their tactics in Perea, and elsewhere, but finally was defeated in battle by Fadus, an officer of Herod's, put to death and beheaded (*Jos.* x, § 87-89, *Jos.* xvii, 109, § 473-479). That this Simon, however, also bore the name of Theudas is a mere conjecture. (3) Zschliger (below, § 8) identifies Lk.'s Theudas with Theodor, brother of Doras, the first wife of Herod the Great, and mother of his eldest son, Antipater.

After the execution of Herod's third son, Aristobulus (7 A. D.), Theodor's maternal Berenice his widow (*Jos.* x, 224 f.) took. He subsequently engaged in a plot against the life of Herod the Great, which had been set on foot by the Antipater just mentioned. Antipater caused poison to be fetched from Jerusalem through the agency of Antipolus, one of his friends; Antipolus passed it on to Theodor and Theodor to Phloras, the brother of Herod. Phloras handed it over to the charge of his wife. Not long after the death of Phloras (c. 10) and the marriage to the knowledge of Herod; the result was that Antipater was put to death (*Jos.* x, § 85, 271; *Jos.* xvii, 12, § 19-27). It is plain that few, on this Theudas, and the Theudas of Lk., there is not the faintest resemblance, and it is therefore quite useless to enquire whether Theudas could also be called Theodor. In point of fact, Theodor's Theudas could also be called Theudas. Theodor, but with few exceptions a person was known exclusively either by the full or by the abbreviated form of his name, not by both indifferently (*Wiener, Grammatik*, § 166).

(4) Wieseler (below, § 8) discerns the Theudas of Lk. in Matthias the son of Margaloth or Margaloth or Margalos, a teacher of the law who, together with his colleague Judas the son of Sapphirus or Sapphorus, in the last days of Herod the Great, persuaded a number of their pupils to cut down the golden eagle which Herod, in contravention of the law against graven images (Ex 20: 4, Dt. 1: 5-6, 2: 5, 27: 1), had caused to be placed over the great gate of the temple. Herod roused himself from his deathbed and caused Matthias and Judas and their most prominent associates to be burnt to death, and the rest of the forty who had been taken to be executed (*Jos.* x, 332 f., § 647-655; *Jos.* xvii, 62-4, § 149-167).

This story also has but few points of agreement with what we read in Acts. That Matthias gave himself out to be any great person of any kind is neither asserted nor probably to be simply ascribed to the OT command. Not only can he not be said to have taken over a band of followers; for those who joined in his undertaking were from the onset his pupils, and the entire action was an affair of a few hours, since the temple captain intervened at once with armed force. At the same time all those taking part, who were not captured, were dispersed, and it was only afterwards that Matthias and Judas were seized. Further, Judas was as deeply involved as Matthias; in fact, in *Jos.* and in the first two mentions of him in *Ant.* his name is before Matthias, and only afterwards (8-10) does Josephus name Matthias as he because directly before he has spoken of another Matthias; so also xvii, 61, § 26; *Matthias* see *note* *supra*. The only reason Wieseler has for pressing, but in vain, is that the name Matthias here has the same meaning as Theudas. But that Matthias bore this second name also by no means follows.

1 Θεΰδας is one of the names formed with the well-known abbreviation-ending (cp NAMES, § 86, end; LUKE, § 6; *Ant. Jos.*, § 1,

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(d) Other critics, with rather more prudence, attempt no identifications, but nevertheless declare that some Theudas other than the Theudas of Josephus must have come forward before Judas of Galilee. Thus, in the last instance, again Ramsay (below, § 8). 'The scholar who with Ramsay starts from the axiom that Lk. is a historian of the same rank as Thucydides (see GAL. VII, § 12, end) will not readily give up this way of dealing with the difficulty. Those on the other hand who take cognisance of the great untrustworthiness of Lk. in specially historical questions (cp ACTS, §§ 2, 4, 13 f.; HOSPIUS, § 132; LASANTAS) will regard the assertion as rash. Ramsay is certainly right in saying (p. 254) of Josephus that 'he does not allude, or profess to allude, to every little disturbance on the banks of the Jordan.' But it is just as certain that Gamaliel must be supposed to be alluding not to a little but to a great disturbance, if his speech is to be in keeping with the gravity of the occasion. An occurrence which could reasonably be placed side by side with the affair of Judas of Galilee would certainly not have been passed over by Josephus.

Therefore also it is quite irrelevant to urge that the name Theudas was a common one, that the later Theudas was perhaps the son or grandson of the earlier (so Blass), or that Theudas was not his original name but only one which he had afterwards assumed (so Ramsay). As for the frequency with which the name occurs, the evidence—particularly that from the inscriptions—will be found in Schürer (*GH* 172, 147; F. I. 2, 102 f.). That the name was frequent among the Jews, however, is not affirmed, John Lightfoot (on Acts 5, 36) mentions two men named Θεῦδας in rabbinic literature, with regard to whom he himself finds that neither of them can be the person intended in Acts.

Lastly, some critics have asked: If one or other of the two authors must have been mistaken, why not Josephus? 'cui et in historiâ et in chronologia titulari et vagari non insursum?' (so John Lightfoot). Joh. Dav. Michaelis (*Verh. d. Schriften d. Neuen Bundes*,⁴ [1788] p. 62 f.) formulates this position with greater precision thus: Lk. dates Theudas correctly; Josephus correctly remembers (from his childhood) that a revolt occurred under Cuspius Fadus, but is mistaken in thinking that Theudas was the name of the leader on that occasion. Blass is conscious that such a charge against Josephus would be inadmissible, but reaches the same result by the extremely bold assumption (which, however, he introduces only with a *fortasse*) that, in describing the rising under Cuspius Fadus, Josephus wrote either another name than that of Theudas or no name at all, and that his copyists, carelessly identifying this narrative with that of Acts 5, 36, introduced the name of Theudas into his text. This identification would have been occasioned by the circumstance that with both authors the mention of Judas of Galilee immediately follows.

Indeed our problem becomes still more complicated than at first sight it appeared to be, by reason of the fact that Josephus, immediately after the words about Theudas quoted above (§ 1), mentions Tiberius Alexander's succession to Cuspius Fadus in the procuratorship and the famine in Judaea during his term (Acts 11, 28), and then proceeds as follows:—

(*Int. An.* 52, § 102) [N. ber.] πως τοινοῦς δὲ καὶ οἱ παῖδες Ἰουδα

n. 1; *SILAS*, § 7d). Probably it comes from Θεῦδαρος, Θεῦδαρος, or some such form, and thus the meaning does coincide with that of Matthias ('gift of God'); but various other forms such as Θεῦδακτης, Θεῦδαμος and the like could also have produced it. Θεῦδα for Θεῦδα rests upon a contraction met with mostly in the Ionic dialect (Gust. Meyer, *Gr. Et. d. Gram.*,² § 110; Schwitzer, *Gram. der pers. u. ind. Sprachen*, 1892, § 8, 1; Meiserhans, *Gram. der alt. Inschriften*,² § 194). If the accent lies on the first element of the composite name as in the first instances given above (of which Θεῦδαρος is established in Attic inscriptions of about 200 B.C. and Θεῦδαμος—both with Θεῦ—of the period of the empire, whilst Θεῦδαρος is already found in Plato and Θεῦδαμος in Thucydides), it is proper to accentuate the word as Θεῦδας (see *SILAS*, col. 450, n. 2); if such a form as Θεῦδατος is a name met with also in Attic inscriptions of about 150 B.C., it is at the basis of the contraction Θεῦδας will be the correct accentuation.

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τοῦ Γαλιλαίου ἀγριώθησαν [Νίσε, ἀγριώθησαν] τοῦ τὸν Λαίω Ἰουδαίου ἀποστήσαντος Κουρίνιου τῆς Ἰουδαίας τιμηθέντος ἐν ταῖς προ τοῦτων ἐδηλωσάμεν, Ἰακώβος καὶ Σίμων, οὗς σταυρώσαι προστάξεν ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρος: 'Besides all this, the Jews of Galilee were now put to death,—[Ibid.] Judas, who drew away the people from the Romans when Quirinius made census of Judaea; as has been shown in a former part of this work. Their names were James and Simon, whom Alexander commanded to be crucified.'

With this must be carefully compared what is said in Acts 5, 37:

μετὰ τοῦτοι ἀγριώθησαν Ἰουδας ὁ Γαλιλαῖος ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἀπογραφῆς, καὶ ἀπέστησεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ· κακίους ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες ὅσοι ἐπέσιθον αὐτῷ διεσκορπίσθησαν: 'After that rose up Judas of Galilee in the days of the enrolment, drew away [some of the] people after him; he also perished, all, as many as obeyed him, were scattered abroad.'

(a) If Lk. cannot be cleared of the charge of having made a mistake about Theudas it will be exceedingly natural to look for the cause of his mistake in the passage of Josephus, on the assumption that Lk. took the latter part of the passage just quoted from Josephus as referring not to the sons of Judas but to Judas himself. If so, it could indeed appear as if Theudas ought to be placed before Judas as long as Lk. confined attention to the dating of Judas which he found in his own gospel (21, 7.) and left that of Theudas out of consideration (see further, § 7d).

The remarkable collocation, by which the two are mentioned in the same order, has (since Keim) determined most critics and not shirked at the suggestion of an acquaintance of Josephus on the part of Lk. to see here a proof of such acquaintance—aview which it is rather difficult to avoid. Indeed so strong is the proof that it and it alone has led Wendt, who in the seventh edition of Meyer's commentary on Acts had denied the use of Josephus by Lk., to affirm it in the eighth edition (*ibid.*, pp. 350-3); and Blass, who does not admit nevertheless, says: 'non facile obliuiscitur ut casu tribus Theode Judaeque apud utrumque scriptorem junctam memorati-entem, and has no better way of escape than that mentioned in § 3, end.

(B) As for the phraseology; the expression 'to draw away the people' (ἀγὼν ἀποστήσας) in particular is such that the two authors writing independently would not expect to happen upon. Then there is also the mention of the census. In 'obeyed' (ἐπέσιθον) Lk. uses, both in the case of Judas and in that of Theudas, the same verb which Josephus uses in speaking of Theudas (cp *SILAS*, § 7d). It is specially important to mark that of all the five passages of Josephus in which Judas is mentioned (see *JUDAS*) only that which we are now present considering exhibits these agreements with Lk. Theudas's description of himself is introduced in the cases by λέγων, and the participle λέγων which Lk. employs Josephus has in his second passage. The statement that after his capture Theudas had his head cut off was plainly too detailed for Lk.; but he is without reference to him the verb ἀναγρῶν ('was slain') which Josephus applies to the death of the followers of Theudas (ἀνελεν, 'he slew'), and to the sons of Judas in precisely the same aor. pass. (ἀγριώθησαν, 'were slain') as we find in Lk. Any one of these coincidences can appear indecisive, but taken together they turn the scale.

The last of the coincidences enumerated above is, it is true, denied by Blass. (a) Eiselenus (*III*, n. 11) quotes the words of Gamaliel regarding Theudas in indirect narration as follows:—ὡς ἄρα κατὰ τὸν δηλοῦμενον χρόνον ἀπέστη Θεῦδας, λέγων ἐαυτὸν εἶναι τὰς δεκάς καὶ τὰς χίλιας, καὶ πάντες ὅσοι ἐπέσιθον αὐτῷ διεσκορπίσθησαν: 'that at the time specified Theudas arose, giving himself out to be somebody, who was destroyed, and as many as obeyed him, were dispersed.'

Although this quotation is far from being verbal, exact notice ἐπέσιθον and the order of the words ἐαυτὸν εἶναι τὰς δεκάς, Blass, nevertheless, believes that we have a survival of the original text of Lk. in κατὰ τὸν χρόνον, and that we shall be warranted in supposing the insertion of the best authorities to have been first introduced into Lk. by copyists of the Bible, from the text of Josephus.

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(ἀνελεῖν; ἐρ ἀνημέθησαν in his section relating to the sons of Judas), and τὴν τετρατὴν that the name of Theudas was introduced into the text of Josephus also by copyists (above, § 3). Assuredly a bold hypothesis.

(b) Blass considers that some support for this hypothesis can be found in the reading of 13* : οὐ διελεῖθη ἀπὸς δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες ὅσοι ἐπεύχοντο αὐτῷ καὶ ἐγένοντο εἰς οὐδέν.

Not only, however, does this vary greatly from the rendering of Ensebius; it also appears to be the older of the two. This has been recognised by Blass in so far as he takes up into what he maintains to be the first form in which A was written the words αὐτὸς δι' αὐτοῦ (αὐτοῦ) and omits the διελεῖσθαι. It is all the more remarkable to find that he refrains from proceeding to the natural consequence—that of taking the κατελεῖθη of Ensebius as a modification of the διελεῖθη in D which was preferred after the διελεῖσθαι had been introduced from the ordinary text into the text of D. Καταλεῖν will have been selected in the process because it occurs in πρ. 37. The converse, that D or his predecessor changed the κατελεῖθη of the original text put forward by Blass which yet was not followed by any διελεῖσθαι, into διελεῖθη, might be hard to explain.

(c) On the other hand it is nevertheless quite intelligible why Blass should have found difficulty in accepting the text of D entirely, including the διελεῖθη, as the original. For D's text admits very readily of being regarded as modification—not indeed of the primitive text assumed by Blass, yet certainly of the generally received text of the best authorities. The ἀνημέθη καὶ . . . διελεῖσθαι has here been compressed into one verb διελεῖθη.

If this διελεῖσθαι had not lain before the scribe, the single verb διελεῖθη would never have been chosen. It can be applied to a group of men who have been dispersed or to a thing which has been destroyed, but to apply it to one man is not natural. Only καταλεῖν is used (π. 12); but καταλεῖν in view of what has been said above cannot be regarded as the original reading. By the compression of the two verbs above referred to, however, the constant form also has suffered. The subject τοῦ διελεῖσθαι is in D not merely singular also the plural as well, πάντες ὅσοι ἐπεύχοντο αὐτῷ, and this same second subject receives further a verb in the plural; καὶ ἐγένοντο εἰς οὐδέν. The Latin translator of D has seen that this is inadmissible, and has therefore taken occasion to delete the καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ αὐτῷ; (qui interfecit est et omnes perierunt ut tempore et facti sunt nihil); and Hilgenfeld (Ueb. ap. Græc. et Lat. 1700) has found necessary the following punctuation—so completely inconsistent with the genius of the Greek language—as of the words of D which he too regards as those of the true original: οὐ διελεῖθη αὐτὸς, δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες ὅσοι ἐπεύχοντο αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐγένοντο εἰς οὐδέν. The reason for the compression of the two verbs into one (διελεῖθη) can perhaps that the eye of the copyist before it reached ἀνημέθη had already run ahead to διελεῖσθαι. Yet the addition of the words αὐτὸς δι' αὐτοῦ seems to indicate that the alteration, even if in the first instance it was due to an accident of the sort indicated, was nevertheless carried out with full consciousness.

(d) Blass also urges reasons derived from the context for preferring κατελεῖθη to ἀνημέθη. Gamaliel's design is to persuade his hearers to leave the apostles alone (πρ. 37); but if the revolt of Theudas had been quelled by his being put to death, such an instance would tend to show on the contrary that the right policy was to punish the apostles with death. We are willing to believe that it was this argument, whether by itself or taken in connection with the oversight conjectured above under (c), which led to the reading διελεῖθη αὐτὸς δι' αὐτοῦ in D. But the argument is not conclusive.

Wendt (in Meyer's Comment.) has already pointed out that it is not the apostles who are intended to be put in the parallel position to that of Theudas, but Jesus himself as the head of the new movement; Jesus, however, has already suffered the penalty of death, and Gamaliel therefore might all the more assume that his followers were no longer seriously to be feared. At the same time it is by no means indisputable that Lk. was here thinking of Jesus. Had it been so, to have referred expressly to the fact of his death would have been very natural. In point of fact not only is this reference not made, but in speaking of the case of Theudas it is not so much as hinted that his death was the cause of the dispersion of his followers; rather are the facts brought into juxtaposition merely.

Thus the point of the comparison between the movement originated by Theudas and that in which the apostles were engaged will rather be simply that both at first had an apparently threatening character but soon lost it without reference to the manner in which the change is effected. If this view is correct, it must be conceded that the example of Theudas from Josephus

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is not in all its particulars quite apposite, and the attempt of Blass to discover or conjecture another Theudas who was not 'slain' (ἀνημέθη) but only 'broken' (κατελεῖθη) must appear to be called for.

(e) But let us now for a little leave aside all this argumentation and simply ask: What of Judas of Galilee? What avails it to eliminate the death of Theudas by operations on the text if nevertheless that of Judas remains? True, Josephus knows nothing of it; but this does not come into account, for Lk. makes Gamaliel say, 'he also perished': κακῶς ἀπώλετο. Against this Blass can only adduce the Perpignat codex cited in Acts, col. 50, n. 2. This in fact has for ἀπώλετο in the case of Judas, just as for ἀνημέθη in that of Theudas; 'dissolutus est'; but must we believe that the original has been preserved in a solitary Latin translation? Is it not very easily conceivable that the second 'dissolutus est' is due to repetition by a careless copyist? And who was it who introduced the ἀπώλετο in the case of Judas? The ἀνημέθη for Theudas, Blass will have it, is taken from Josephus; but the ἀπώλετο for Judas could not at all have been taken from Josephus by way of correction of a κατελεῖθη originally written by Lk. (according to Blass), for Josephus says nothing at all about the end of Judas.

It thus appears that text-criticism is of no avail in the endeavour to show that Lk. has fallen into no error or

6. Separation of sources.

Josephus. Our next question therefore must be as to whether analysis of the sources can contribute nothing to a solution of the problems of our passage. Most of the source-critics named in Acts, § 11, have no difficulty in attributing the mistake as to Theudas along with the entire speech of Gamaliel to the author of their 'secondary' source, to whom also they trace everything else that is inappropriate or incredible in Acts. The situation is changed somewhat if, as Clemens holds, the two verses about Theudas and Judas of Galilee were introduced into Gamaliel's speech by the final redactor only. Clemens shares the view of Blass as to the inappropriateness of both these instances to the purpose of the speech, and therefore assumes that its purpose had not been recognised with sufficient clearness by that redactor. Lastly, B. Weiss, with whom Fene and Hilgenfeld concur, regards only the instance of Theudas from ἀρεστη in πρ. 36 to ἀναστῆ in πρ. 37 as being due to the final redactor. The motive of the interpolation was, he thinks, because the movement led by Theudas, as being of a more religious character, supplied a better parallel to that led by the apostles than the purely political agitation of Judas of Galilee. Even if this is not very convincing, there is nevertheless this advantage gained by means of Weiss's hypothesis that the literal repetition of ἀρεστη which would seem clumsy if we suppose a single writer, as well as that of πάντες ὅσοι ἐπεύχοντο αὐτῷ, become less inexplicable. All critics who accept separation of sources at all are agreed in admitting the existence of the error in the existing text of Acts; as to acquaintance with Josephus on the part of the author of πρ. 36 they differ in opinion, and this is easily possible, since separation of sources naturally cannot shed any light upon this question.

(a) Thus we must resume the question at the point where we left it in § 4 (c). Lk.'s acquaintance with Josephus was in no case an exact one; in fact

7. Inexact use of Jos. by Lk.

it is sometimes denied even from a standpoint for which the chronological difficulty does not exist. Thus Schurer (below § 8) without holding the priority of Lk. in point of time, says: 'either Lk. took no knowledge of Josephus at all, or if he did he afterwards forgot all that he had read. The first supposition, as the smugler, seems preferable.' With reference to the case before us, he therefore supposes that any knowledge Lk. had regarding Theudas was by hearsay only. In that case, however,

the remarkable degree of coincidence with Josephus must be set down to mere chance—at which explanation even Blass stumbles (above, § 4 a).

(b) It is difficult to see why the following explanation might not serve. Lk. had made notes from Josephus in which occurred the exact words now common to both authors. According to the order of Josephus, Theudas stood in the first place, Judas in the second. Perhaps in his reading Lk. had overlooked the circumstance that Josephus strictly speaking was dealing with the sons of Judas, and thus erroneously took what was said of the fate of these as referring to the father; perhaps, however, on the other hand he read quite correctly, but at the same time made his note only to some such effect as this, that 'Judas of Galilee stirred the people to revolt in the days of the taxing'; because the instance of the father seemed to him better suited for his purpose than that of the sons. If now he had never before heard anything of a trustworthy kind about Theudas, it will certainly be excusable in him if he did not retain in his memory the date of Theudas (which of course he did not require for his actual purpose and therefore did not note), and (especially if the composition of his work did not follow immediately on the making of his notes) took the order of his notes to be also in chronological order, and therefore represented Theudas as appearing before Judas whose date was well known to him. If he assigns to Judas himself the fate which according to Josephus overtook his sons, this admits of being explained, on the first of the assumptions suggested above, from careless reading of the passage; on the second it explains itself. Even Krenkel concedes that Lk., even without literary authority for it, could believe that Judas must have come to the same end as nearly all the insurrectionary leaders of that period (see JUDAS, 10).

An instructive example of careless reading which no one can dispute is to be met with in Eusebius (*HE*, 21), who reproduces verbatim Josephus's account of Theudas, including the mention of Fadus, and nevertheless says that it relates to the same event as Gamaliel refers to in his speech. The mention of Fadus had thus failed to suggest to him the question as to the date to which the event ought to be assigned, and as to whether it could possibly be reconciled with the assumed date of Gamaliel's speech.

(c) The attempt here made to account for the remarkable degree of coincidence between Josephus and Lk. would have to be abandoned only in the event of its being possible to show that Lk. could not have used Josephus. Not to speak, however, of the great number of cases in which his employment of that author is raised to a very high degree of probability indeed, if not to absolute certainty, the non-employment in the strict sense is incapable of being proved. It is not difficult, indeed, to prove that Lk. did not make use of Josephus in the manner in which a modern scholar does; but all the cases in which he diverges from him admit of being arranged under two classes; either he knows some other account besides that of Josephus and prefers it¹ (whether, in our judgment, rightly or no is not the question), or he fails to use statements of Josephus as to the accuracy of which he would have had no doubts, simply because he has forgotten them, unless indeed, perchance, he had never read them (for it is possible that his use of Josephus may have been sporadic only).

(d) Let us suppose, however, the case that a modern scholar has read the whole of Josephus—or most of him. Will he at the end of his reading be in a position to say with confidence, for example, what were the territories included in the tetrarchy of Philip, and particularly whether Ituraea (Lk. 31) was one of them (there are, in all, five passages in Josephus, not all of them in full agreement, to be taken account of here; cf. HEROD, § 11; LYSANIAS, § 1 b), or to recapitulate the facts about Sannas? He will have to refer to his author again. But not only was such an expedient more

¹ For example, on the death of Herod Agrippa I. (Acts 12:20-23); see HEROD, § 12, end.

laborious and time-consuming in those days in the case of a large work not then, as now, divided into chapters and paragraphs or provided with an index; we do not above all, in the least know whether Lk. deemed it necessary, or whether he did not rather acquiesce too willingly in the suggestion that he knew the matter well enough already without verifying it. We do not by any means deny that Lk. often gives way to facts which a careful reading of Josephus on his part would certainly have dispelled; as for example the notion that two men could be high priest at one and the same time (Lk. 32) or that the census under Quirinius which Josephus plainly assigns to 6-7 A.D. could have occurred in date with the birth of Jesus. The question, however, is whether Lk. read Josephus with so much attention as to be able to correct these errors which had already passed into his flesh and blood. If, for example, as has been with probability supposed (see CHRONOLOGICAL § § 20 f.; QUIRINUS), he had already confounded the census under Quirinius with some other, it could of course make any great impression on him if he found it in Josephus mentioned in another connection than that in which he had already in his own mind placed it.

(e) If we are to form any correct judgment as to Lk.'s procedure with reference to sources which in our modern view ought to have been absolutely authoritative for him, it will be our duty to observe the manner in which he uses the Pauline epistles. He leaves so much of their contents unnoticed and contradicts them to so large an extent (cp. ACTS, §§ 4, 7, 14; COUNCIL; RESURRECTION, §§ 16-18, 21, 23, 27 d, etc.; SIMON PETER, § SPIRITUAL GIFTS, § 6 f.) that even some critical theologians have supposed he was entirely unacquainted with them. Yet this, if he wrote about 100-130 A.D., is almost more impossible than it would be on the assumption of his having been a companion of Paul. We could imagine that not every companion of Paul became acquainted with the contents of his epistles before they were dispatched. Yet this is a matter of indifference here; for a companion of Paul became acquainted, from his own observation or from the accounts of eye-witnesses, with facts of which but a small number is known to us from the epistles, yet in sufficient number to show us how far it was from Lk.'s intention to pay serious heed even to these authentic sources in constructing his picture of the apostolic age.

(f) To return once more to Theudas, it is clear that in this case also Lk.'s divergences (above, § 1 c) from the account in Josephus are not decisive against his use of Josephus. It is very easily possible that Lk., as Schürer thinks, knew something about Theudas's hearsay, and indeed that the reported number of his followers reached him in this manner. With this it is not at all irreconcilable that his collocation of Theudas with Judas of Galilee and the chronological error may be due to his use of Josephus. The case is not so simple as it is possible to say that every other explanation is excluded; but the explanation here offered has in spite of fact a probability that presses, and no counter-argument can be brought forward. As against it may be urged, if one chooses, the contradiction, apparently involved, the fact that Lk. is found accurately reproducing certain words of Josephus while yet altering so profoundly the general contents of his statements. This last fact seems to counteract the evidential value of the verbal coincidences. We believe, however, that this difficulty has been obviated by the suggestion that the whole question came from Lk.'s notes of Josephus (above, b).

That Josephus had been used by Lk. was first shown by Hollebaum (*ZIT.*, 1873, pp. 52-93, and especially pp. 177-79, pp. 535-543). See also Hollebaum, *N. T. d. Gesch.*, 2, 4, 1877, pp. 31-33; Keim, *BL*, 5, 1875, pp. 53-57, and *ibid.*, 6, 1876, pp. 1-27, especially 15-21; *Christus im Abendmahl*, 1, 1877, pp. 1-27, especially 15-21; *Christus im Abendmahl*, 1, 1877, pp. 1-27, and *St. K.*, 1877, pp. 213-217; and Krenkel, *Josephus u. Lucas*, 1894, pp. 162-174 (cf. thorough). Lk.'s use of Josephus was denied by Sommer,

THIMNATHAH

Kr. 1857, pp. 22-52; Wieseler, Chronologie, Synopse, 1843, pp. 121-125, and Beitr. zur Würdigung der Evangelien, 1847, p. 101-104; Zuschlag, Theol. Jahrb., 1847; Schürer, ZW, 1874, p. 574-575; Belsler, Theol. Jahrb., 1874; Blass, St. Kr., 1878, p. 430 f., and Acta apost. Iovani, 1878, p. 20; Weidmann, Rom. Jahrb., Leipzig, 1879, p. 161; Acta apostolorum et philolog. et. Göttingen, 1878, p. 106; Ramsay, The Christ born at Bethlehem, 1881, p. 23-29; Leine, Theol. L. u. Bl. 1893, 60 f.; Cross, Exp. T., 1870-1893, pp. 53-540.

THIMNATHAH (תִּמְנַתָּח), Josh. 19:43. See TIMNATH.

THISBE (ΘΙΣΒΗ [BS], ΘΙΒΗ [A]), the native place of Tobit (Tob. 1:2).

It was situated (at the right hand) — i.e., southward — of κεδίων [BS] or κεδίων [A] (Kadsh) in Galilee, and above ασπύνη (Aspn), which adds that it was ἑπτασὺν δυνάμιον ἄλιων, ἑξ ἁριστέριον βόσων.

So far on the hypothesis that we have the Book of Tobit in an approximately original form. There is, however, strong reason to believe that the stories of Daniel (in part), Esther, Judith, and Tobit, have been systematically altered as regards their historical and geographical names (see Cross, B. J.). Thus the addition in ἄ of represents תִּמְנַתָּח, the names Νεβουζαδαν, Καθβάν, Σεφεί in H. Vg. come respectively, (a) from תִּבְיָה, (b) from תִּבְיָה (see REPHAIM), and (c) from תִּבְיָה. These are liable to confusion; the original reading was probably not 'Galilee' but 'Gilead' — i.e., the southern Gilead in the Negeb. 'Naphtali' is a southern district so called, and 'Asher' represents the southern Assur or Ashur. See, however, T. 111, and on another reference to a Thisbe or Tishbe, see THIMNATH.

THISTLE, THISTLES occur in AV as the rendering of the following words: —

1. תִּבְיָה dardar (τρίβολοι, Gen. 3:13 Hos. 10:31), a word also found in Aramaic, Arabic, and Ethiopic, but apparently quite distinct from another word dardar which, in Persian and Arabic, denotes the 'elm tree' (see Low, 93 ff.). Being coupled in both places with תִּבְיָה 'thorns' or 'thorn-bushes,' see TITORS, dardar has been reasonably identified both in ancient and modern times with the τρίβολος of the Greeks — i.e., either a thistle or more probably a spinous plant of the knapweed kind, such as Centaurea Ciliata, L. (Ascherson ap. Löw, 427) or the more formidable C. cretatica (Tristram, VIII, 426). Petermann (Reisen im Orient, 174) reported that the name dardar was still used in Syria for plants of the thistle kind.

2. For תִּבְיָה, ἄβιλος, ῥάβδος, EV 'bramble,' AVWG. offers in Judg. 9:14 the alternative rendering 'thistle.' See BRAMBLE, 1. 3. תִּבְיָה, ἄβιλος, is rendered 'thistle' in 2 K. 14:2 2 Ch. 25:18 Job 31:40, and 'bramble' (AV only) in Is. 34:13, elsewhere and in RVWG. ex. Is. TITORS (q. v.).

4. τριβόλος occurs twice in NT (Mt. 7:15 Heb. 6:8) and the meaning is probably the same as that of OT תִּבְיָה. Thistle-down appears once in AVWG. (Is. 17:13), producing as the result, 'like thistle-down before the whirlwind.' But if a thistle plant is required, one might think rather with W. M. Thomson of the globe-like branches of the wild artichoke (probably Centaurea scaberrima). When ripe and dry in autumn these 'vegetable globes' are carried far and wide by the wind. AV, curiously, gives in the text of Is. (l.c.) 'a rolling thing,' and in the similar passage, Ps. 83:13 (14), 'a whirling thing,' and in the latter passage renders 'like whirling dust.' The analogy of syr. galat, Arab. jil, would, however, rather recommend 'stubble' as the true meaning of תִּבְיָה, galat, in these two passages.

THOCANUS (ΘΟΚΑΝΟΥ [B], ΘΟΟΚ [A]), 1 Esd. 9:14 RV = Ezra 10:15, TIKY MI (q. v.).

THOMAS THE APOSTLE For the order in which the name occurs in the lists in Mt. 10 Mk. 3 Lk. 6

1. The name. Acts 1, see ABOVE, § 1 (col. 261). In the Fourth Gospel the name occurs seven times, three with the addition 'who is called Didymus,' ὁ καλεσθεὶς Διδύμος (11:16 20:16 21:15 21:20 f.). From In. this addition found its way into the Greek and Latin text of Lk. in cod. D. Formerly the name was read also in In. 20:24 by the TK without any Greek attestation and in the Vulgate of this passage.

1 The Land and the Book, 563 = S. Palestine and Jerusalem, 112 f.

THOMAS THE APOSTLE

though none of the MSS collated by Wordsworth-White have it there.

The spelling of the name is without exception Θωμάς, in Latin Thoma (only two MSS of Wordsworth-White have incorrectly Thoma); in Syriac Thoma (ܬܘܡܐ), in Greek Barthelemaus, but the Nestorian vocalisation is Thoma (ܬܘܡܐ), preserving the consonantal character of ḡ as in Hebrew; the Syro-Palestinian writes the Greek ἑσ-ϑωμάς (col. A, Ju. 1116 ܬܘܡܐ), and for Διδύμος ܬܘܡܐ (col. C, 2024 ܬܘܡܐ).

The Syriac appellation for twin is thōmā (Nestorian thōmā), and scarcely enters in pronunciation from the proper name, for which reason the explanation in ἀδελφικός Διδύ, was omitted in all three passages in Syr. Sin. Syr. Cur. is defective in all passages of the Gospels when Thomas occurs in a passage where it is not found in the original Greek, namely Ja. 1:12; instead of ἰσοδύμου ὁ ἑταίρος, Syr. Sin. gives Thoma, Syr. Cur. Thoma; Blass, 204, now Thoma, ἰσοδύμου ἑταίρος. The Greek Διδύμος has been preserved as Didymus in the Latin versions, but rendered as Didymus or didyus in the MSS of Iy and Carpentarius of the Ethiopic version and ein zwilfster in the pre-Lutheran German Bible, as if it were = διδύμος (see LXX, 309). The OS translates the name ἄβυσσος, ἀκαταλήπτου βάθους = Hebrew אֲבֻסָּה (2:77, in Pal. Syr. thōmā), and διδύμος. The meaning 'twin' is certain, but the original form of the Semitic word is much disputed (see, on the one hand, Olshausen, § 187, Lagarde, Uebersicht, 144; Barth, 1876, n. 12; Ges. Bibl., 1:10; on the other hand, Siegfried-Stake, 1:10; K. Aug. 200; Dahman, German, 112, n. 4). The question is whether the Hebrew word be ḥōm (rather than thōm) or thōm in Arabic (see). Still more doubtful is the relation to the corresponding Ethiopic word. The spelling thōm in the Targum is merely due to the pronunciation of ḡ between two vowels. No example of the use of the name as a proper name older than the NT is known to the present writer. There is no Thomas for instance in Josephus, but in Thien. 2:109 in CIS I no. 49, where also Θωμάς Ἀδελφιστοῦ, though the name became very frequent in all parts of Christendom; for modern Syriac instances, see Madden's Dictionary.

From the reading 'Thomas' or 'Judias-Thomas' for 'Judias not Iscariot' in Jn. 14:22, it is apparent that

2. The person. Thomas was identified at a very early date with 'Judias of James' in the lists of Lk. 6 and Acts 1. This is strange enough, since the name Thomas also occurs in these lists. Yet so it is, and this identification has been maintained by Resch (Texte u. Unt. x, 3:14 ff.), who explains 'Judias of James' as brother (and son) of James, and finds the other twin in James the son of Alphaeus, taking Lebbeus-Thaddaeus to be different from 'Judias of James' (see JUDAS, 7, col. 2623). This 'Judias of James' has been identified further with Judas (or Jude) the son of Joseph, the brother of Jesus, and thus Thomas has been made brother of Jesus himself. On the latter identification see especially Th. Zahn, Forschungen, 624 ff., who thinks that it is an invention of the author of the Acts of Thomas. A Syriac origin for these Acts has been maintained by N. deleke and supported lately upon valid grounds by Burkitt (heaven, Theol. Stud. 1:25 ff., 204 ff.). The name Judias-Thomas occurs also in the Syriac Doctrine of Adlai (see Lagarde, Reliquiae Syriacae, p. 42 l. 16 f.; Göt. ep. 64 l. 35; Cureton, Documenta, 33; ed. Phillips, 5; Barhebraeus, Chron. Eccl. 32), and it was doubtless from a Syriac source that Eusebius got his Ἰωδᾶς ὁ καὶ Θωμάς (HE I, 1), where the Syriac text of Eusebius has only Judias Thōmas. Ephrem Syrus, too, called him Judias-Thomas (646 f. of his works, where the Komn edition printed 'Thomas,' see Burkitt, Texts and Studies, ii, 24). Others make Simon Zelotes a brother of Judias or James (see the Armenian Commentary of Ephrem on Acts in Reuel Harris, Four Lectures on the West. Text of Acts, 37), and from this combination the other fact may be explained, that for Lebbeus also Judias Zelotes is found in Latin MSS in Mt. 10, in Minutor's Sahidic version, In. 14:22 (see Lipsius, 363), in the Latin Church of the year 334 (ed. Mommsen, 670, ed. Frick, too, who wrongly presupposes a lacuna between Judias and Zelotes). For the question whether under the 'things

THOMEI

which Judas Thomas wrote from India' (Lagarde, *Reliquie Syr.* 416; Cureton, *Documents*, 32) the epistle of Jude is to be understood, see Lipsius, 3194; Zahn, *Forschungen*, 5116 122 6347, n. 4. The 'Gospel of the Twelve Apostles' (ed. by J. Rendel Harris, 190) makes him a member of the tribe of Benjamin, the 'Book of the Bee' (ed. Budge, 1886) of the tribe of Judah.

The legends that gathered round this apostle are of the most fanciful kind and too intricate to be treated at length here; cp the Greek edition of Bonnet, the Syriac of Wright, and its supplement by F. C. Burkitt in *Studia Sinaitica* 925-44, and the treatment of these Acts in Lipsius, *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*.

In the Clementine Homilies Thomas has a twin brother Eliezer (or, Eleazar, see Lipsius, *Ergebnisgesch.* 24), in another list a twin sister Iysias (*app. ad Chron. pasch.* 2142, ed. Bonn). In the *Apostolic Constitutions*, vi 14 (175, ed. Lagarde) the name Thomas is omitted in the list of the Apostles by the MSS var, supplied between Bartholomew and Matthew by *oyst*.

In the 'Apostolic Church order' or Third book of Clement's *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, as published by T. P. Arendzen (in *J. Theol. Stud.* 300) the order is (7) James, (8) Nathanael, (9) Thomas, (10) Kephas, (11) Bartholomew, and (12) Judas son of James (the Sahidic version has 'brother of James', see Arendzen, 74). In the corresponding text (to be published by Mrs. M. D. Gibson in *Horæ Scimitaræ*, 120) we get (7) James, (8) Judas son of James, with (9) Nathanael, (10) Thomas, (11) Bartholomew, (12) Matthias. A MS in the possession of R. Harris agrees with the text of Arendzen (Gibson, appendix).

In the *History of Mary* (Budge, ET, 105) Thomas is said to have preached to 'the Indians, and the Chinese, and the Cushites, and (the people of) all the islands near and far'. . . . His day in the Western church is the 21st Dec., in the Greek the 6th Oct., in the Syriac the 3rd July (see Nilles, *Kalendarium*). On the 22nd Oct. 304 his coffin was deposited in the great church of Edessa; but this was, probably, only a removal, as other sources tell of his grave at Ephesus at a much earlier time. On the church of the Thomas-sons of Malabar, which refers its origin to the apostle himself, see Germann, *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen* (1877); on the character of the apostle see the Commentaries on the Gospel of John and exegetical and homiletical books. That the legends make him a carpenter and builder may have arisen from his association with Jesus.

E. N.

THOMEI (ΘΟΜΕΙ [A]), 1 Esd. 5:32 RV, AV Thomoi. See TEMAH.

THORN, THORNS, occur in AV as the rendering of many different words. It is in nearly all cases impossible to arrive at a determination of the particular species intended, and indeed most of the words may be presumed to be of somewhat general application.

1. תְּנִינִי, *ṭēnīnī* (see BRAMBLE), is probably some species of Rhamnus. MT in Ps. 58:10 [10] where תְּנִינִי occurs is probably corrupt. [In Cheyne's restoration the 'pois' and 'thorns' disappear in a sentence which may remind us of Job 27:20, *Duhm* here is more conservative. Olshausen's note, however, still deserves consideration.]

2. תְּנִי, *ṭēnī*, is rendered 'brier' in Mic. 7:4 (but cp 6), and 'thorns' in Prov. 15:19. See BAKER, 6.

3. תְּנִי, *ṭēnī* (2 K. 14:9 2 Ch. 25:18 Job 31:40 Prov. 26:9 Cant. 2:15 Is. 34:13 (cp 6) Hos. 9:6), rendered in AV thrice 'thorn,' thrice 'thistle,' and once 'bramble,' is a word which elsewhere denotes a 'hook' (Job 40:26 [41:2] 2 Ch. 33:11); the תְּנִינִי, *ṭēnīnī*, of 1 S. 13:6† is probably a corruption (Dr., *ad loc.*). 6 has in three places *ἀκανθαί* ('thorns') and once *κνέδη* ('nettle'); in 2 K. *ακαν* (accus. *ακανα*[v] but *ακαν* [L]); in 2 Ch. 25:18 the word is merely transliterated. *ὁ χοῦν, τὸν ἀχοιχ* [L], *ὁ οχοῦ, τὸν ἀχ.* [A], *ὁ ἀχαν* [L]. It is usually taken to be a tall and strong thistle, such as *Notobasis striata* (FFP 336), whose 'powerful spines' (*NHB* 424) would explain the connection with the meaning 'hook'; but some other thorny plant may be intended. Arab. and Pers. *hachh* ('peach' or 'plum') is probably quite a different word, and does not justify the rendering 'sloe' adopted by Celsius, 1478 ff. See Low, 147 ff.

4. תְּנִינִי, *ṭēnīnī* (σπήλαιον 1 S. 7:19, στοιβή 2 S. 55:13), is

1 On the reading in 2 Ch. see MASASSEH.
2 This word appears in Dioscorides (412) as the name of a common plant. According to Pliny (21:15, § 54) it had a prickly stalk. Fraas (*Syn. Pl. Pl. Class.* 78) identifies *στοιβή* with

THREE TAVERNS

probably a general name for a prickly plant or bush, and connected with the verb תָּנַן (*ni'an*), to 'prick' or 'prick,' which appears in post-biblical Hebrew (see Barth, *Nominalth.* 213).

5. תְּנִינִי, *ṭēnīnī* (Eccles. 7:6 Is. 34:13 Hos. 2:6 [5] Nah. 1:10†), denotes 'thorns,' 'thorny branches,' or 'thorny bushes.' 6 has in Eccles. *ἀκανθαί*, in 1 S. *ἀκανθαί* (εὐλα (?), and in Hos. *σκολοψ.* (see Nah. its text differs from MT, which is corrupt (see Wellh. *ad loc.*). As the etymology is unknown, no nearer speculation is possible. 1 The form תְּנִינִי, *ṭēnīnī*, in one place denotes 'hooks' (Am. 4:2).

6. תְּנִי, *ṭēnī* (Ezek. 28:24, σκόλοψ) and תְּנִינִי, *ṭēnīnī*, *παροιστρήσουσι*? (Ezek. 2:4). See BAKER.

7. תְּנִי, *ṭēnī* (Job 5:5 Prov. 22:5†) and (8) תְּנִינִי, *ṭēnīnī* (Nu. 33:55 Josh. 23:13†), are also general words for 'thorns.' The former is rendered *τροβόλο* by 6 (in Prov. 22:5); the latter *βολίδες*. The Hebrew words are possibly connected with תְּנִינִי, *ṭēnīnī*, Aram. תְּנִי, Ar. *ṭēnī*, which all mean 'basket.' In Job 5:5 the reading of MT is not supported by 6 and seems suspicious (see Hoffmann, *ad loc.*).

9. תְּנִי, *ṭēnī* (*ἀκανθα*, Gen. 3:18 Ex. 22:5 [Judg. 8:7 16:2 S. 23:15, 118 12 Is. 32:13 33:12 Jer. 4:3 12:13 Ezek. 28:24 Hos. 10:8†), is the commonest OT word for 'thorn' or 'thorns,' but is also (so far as we know) quite general (Löw, 198).

10. תְּנִינִי, *ṭēnīnī* (Prov. 24:31 Is. 34:13 Hos. 9:6). See NEUMAN.

11. תְּנִי, *ṭēnī* (Is. 56:7 23 ff. 9:17 [18] 10:17 27:4), a word which only occurs in Is., is, in all the seven places where it appears, combined with תְּנִי, *ṭēnī*, and is probably of similar meaning (see BAKER, 2). Diétrich (*Abhandl. zur semit. Wortforsch.* 73) proposes a derivation from תְּנִי, *ṭēnī*, 'to be waste,' but this is unlikely.

12. *ῥάκανος* occurs Bar. 6:71 [70]. Cp BRAMBLE.
13. σκόλοψ, 2 Cor. 12:7. See above (3), (6). In Eccles. 43:14 Heb. is תְּנִי. For the meaning of the expression see PALM, § 32. EVE, DISEASES OF, § 4. N. M.—W. T. F. D.

THRACE. A 'Thracian' horseman (τῶν Ἰππέων τῶν Θρακῶν) is incidentally mentioned in 2 Macc. 12:25 as one of the bodyguard of Gorgias, the governor of Idumaea under Antiochus Epiphanes. The opportune arrival of the Thracian saved Gorgias from capture by one Dositheus.

Thrace at this period was the general name for the entire region included between the Strymon and the Danube, embracing a variety of tribes (cp Herod. 5:3). With the death of Lysimachus in 281 B.C., all chance of Thrace becoming an independent kingdom ceased. The country became a recruiting ground for all who needed troops and could pay for them, Thracian troops were chiefly light-armed infantry and irregular horse (*Nen. Anab.* i. 29; *Memor.* iii. 622). Frequent references are made to them as an element in Macedonian, Roman, and other armies; probably the name came to be applied to indicate a certain type of equipment and mode of fighting rather than actual nationality.

[For Θρακων of 6A, however, 6V* reads Θαρρος, and 6C* Θαρρος; and it is, to say the least, quite as likely that the Syrian cavalry was drawn from Cilicia as from Thrace (cp ARMY, § 7). As to the possible identification of Tiras (Gen. 10:2) with Thrace, see TIRAS.] W. J. W.

THRASEAS or (RV) THRASÆUS (ΘΡΑΚΑΙΟΥ [A], ΘΑΡΚΙΟΥ [V*vid.], ΘΑΡΚΕΟΥ [V], *thrasius* [SYR]), father of APOLLONIUS, 2 Macc. 3:5. The name may possibly be another form of Tarsus.

THREAD (לָבַן, etc.), Josh. 2:18 etc. See CORN.

THREE CHILDREN, SONG OF THE. See DANIEL (BOKK), § 22.

THREE-STRINGED INSTRUMENT (שָׁלִישִׁי), 1 S. 18:6 EV*^{ms}. See MUSIC, § 3[4].

THREE TAVERNS (ΤΡΙΩΝ ΤΑΒΕΡΝΩΝ [Ti. WH], Acts 28:15†, AV 'The three taverns,' RV 'The Three Taverns.')

Here Paul was met on the final stage of his journey

Potentium spinosum, a low herb occurring in Syria, the leaves of which terminate in intricate branching spines.

1 *ἀκανθα* in both Greek and Latin writers was undoubtedly *Acinthus spinosus*. The nearly allied *A. syriacus* is abundant in Syria.

THRESHING INSTRUMENT

to Rome by a company of the Roman Christians. It was a station on the Via Appia; evidently, from the order of the names, lying between Rome and Appii Forum. From Cicero (*Ep. ad Att.* 212, 'emereram commodum ex Antiani in Appiam ad Tris Tabernas'), we learn that it stood just where a cross road from Antium on the coast fell into the Appian Way from the W. Tres Tabernae stood therefore very near the northern end of the Pomptine marshes, in the midst of which Appii Forum actually lay (cp Horace, *Sat.* 1, 53 f.). The *It. Itin.* gives 17 R.m. between Aricia and Tres Tabernae, and 10 R.m. from Tres Tabernae to Appii Forum; Aricia stood 16 m. S. of Rome. These distances locate Tres Tabernae at about 3 miles from the modern *Cisterna* on the Appian road. W. J. W.

THRESHING INSTRUMENT (תֹּרֵן), 2 S. 24.22. See AGRICULTURE, § 8.

THRESHOLD. This is the rightful rendering of (1) **שֹׁפַע** (*soph* (some scholars compare Ass. *sapīru*), the more usual term (see DOOR); (2) **מִפְתָּן**, *miphṭān*, is

probably the special term for the threshold of the sanctuary proper (Theniuss, 1 S. 54 f.; Dagon's temple), Zeph. 10 Ezek. 9:10 4:2 17:1 (cp DAGON, § 3). The rendering 'threshold' in AV of 1 Ch. 26:17 needs correction (see ASTEPHIL). We also find the plural **שֹׁפְעִים**, *sippim*, 'thresholds.' So in 1 S. 6:4, 'And the foundations of the thresholds shook at the sound of their voices' (read **שֹׁפְעֵי מִזְבֵּחַ**, and cp Job 38:6). We are probably to suppose the front of the temple divided by one or more pillars into several entrances, as, too, in Am. 9:1, 'Strike the capitals (of the pillars) that the thresholds may tremble.' The temple at Bethel is spoken of. These 'thresholds' had special keepers (EV 'porters'), 1 Ch. 9:22 2 Ch. 23:4. Elsewhere the phrase is 'keeper (or keepers) of the threshold' (but **שֹׁפַע** may be used collectively); so, e.g., Jer. 35:4 2 K. 22:23, etc., for which in Esth. 2:21 **שֹׁפְעֵי** *ἀρχισυναγωγῶν*, taking the Hebrew phrase as synonymous with 'Keeper of the king's head' (1 S. 28:2, **שֹׁפְעֵי** *ἀρχισυναγωγῶν*). In Ps. 84:11 (if the text is correct) a psalmist values even this Levitical office highly (**שֹׁפְעֵי**, but **שֹׁפְעֵי** *παραπρωτοῦθαι*). Gates and thresholds being sacred, it was of course a privilege to guard them. But though it is usual to quote this passage, it is doubtful whether this is critically justified.

Sacrifices for the family were originally at the entrance of the home. According to Hommel, the Ass. *sapīru*, 'prayer,' is a denominative form *sippu*, 'threshold.' In modern Egypt a threshold sacrifice may be offered to welcome the incoming master of the house,¹ and, in ancient times, Herodotus reports that every Egyptian sacrificed a hog to Osiris before the door of his house (2:43). Trumbull makes it probable that, in the narrative of the institution of the Passover, the words 'and he shall take a bunch of hyssop and dip it in the blood that is in the basin' (Ex. 12:22) misrepresent the true meaning. **שֹׁפַע** might in fact mean either 'in the basin' or 'at the threshold,' and Trumbull prefers the latter rendering (**Ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν**, Vg. in *limine*). To set foot on the threshold in a careless manner was probably unlucky; Trumbull reports that even now in Syria 'it is unlucky to tread on a threshold,' and that in Upper Syria the bride is sometimes carried across the threshold of the bridegroom's house by the friends of the bridegroom. In Egypt it is the bridegroom who does this, and in ancient Greece and Rome, also in ancient India, similar customs are well known to have existed. Obscure passages in 1 K. 18:21 and Zeph. 10 can now be understood; also probably the name of the Pesah (EV

¹ So on the arrival of the new Khedive at his palace in 1882 (H. Clay Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant* (1882), 7, quoting *Folk-Lore Journal*, 192).

THRONE

'Passover'). **שֹׁפַע**, *soph*, means 'to leap, to dance.' The Pesah was perhaps so called because the Israelites 'leaped' over the threshold after the special sacramental rite referred to had been performed at the threshold in recognition of its freshly attested sanctity, or performed a ritual dance near it.

In 1 K. 18:21, 'How long hath ye between two opinions' (AV), is admittedly most improbable. The revisers, however, not being allowed to correct the text without an infallible authority, could find nothing that was plainly better. But Klostermann has provided the easy and natural correction **שֹׁפְעֵי** (for **שֹׁפְעֵי** (שֹׁפְעֵי)). It only remains to interpret the reference to the *sippim* oracle. The true explanation seems to be, 'How long will ye leap over both thresholds?' *sippim*, enter with the same suppositions are the sanctuaries of the two rival deities, Yahweh and Baal. And in Zeph. 10 (reading **שֹׁפְעֵי** as in **שֹׁפְעֵי**) we may paraphrase, 'And on that day I will punish those who, though they leap with suppositions awe over the sacred threshold, yet bring with them into Yahweh's house hands stained with cruelty and injustice' (Che. *IQR* 40:50 f. 117 a3; cp Jastrow, *IBL* 17:100 ff. 117:30). See further, *Crit. Bib.* Trumbull has already explained 1 S. 5:1-5 by the light of the same archaeological facts. The explanation in 1 S. 5:5 is of course an uncritical guess akin to that in Gen. 32:32. L. K. C.

THRONE. It will be convenient under this heading

to deal with seats in general, the Hebrew word for throne being applied to all articles of furniture of that description. The terms are:

1. **kissā'** (כִּסֵּא), but **כִּסֵּי** 1 K. 10:19 Job 26:9, is apparently derived from the Ass. *kussā'* 'seat, throne,' the Aram. equivalent *kussā'* (כִּסְיָא Dan. 5:20, etc.; cp Syr. *kūssā'*), from which is borrowed Ar. *kūssā'* 'chair,' being probably an earlier form. Purely colourless are the two terms.
2. **mōšāb** (מוֹשֵׁב, 1 S. 20:12, etc., EV 'seat,' lit. 'place of sitting' from *yōšab*), or **šēbēth** (שֵׁבֶת, Am. 6:3, EV *ib.*, **καθέδρα**; and
3. **šēmināh** (שֵׁמֶנֶה, Job 23:3 'seat,' lit. 'fixed place'), used of the dwelling-place of the Almighty.
4. **βῆμα**, Mt. 23:21 (RVmg. 'judgment-seat'). Properly a raised platform (lat. *tribunal*, cp *ἀνακθιστήριον* which, as Jos. *BJ* 1:11 shows, the *θρονος* (lat. *sedes*) was erected. In Neh. 5:4 *βῆμα* stands for *migdāl*, 'tower'—i.e., an elevated stand or pulpit.
5. **καθέδρα**, Ecclus. 7:4 (Heb. *mōšāb*), cp Mt. 21:12 Mk. 11:5 (seat of the dovesellers).
6. **πρωτοκαθέδρα**, the first or chief seat in a synagogue (Mt. 23: Mk. 12:39, etc.). Cp SYNAΓΩΓΗ, § 6 f.
7. **θρονος** (in **Θ** for **τ** above), Rev. 4:11, etc., a state chair having a foot-stool. This in Col. 1:12 is the name of a class of angels; cp *Test. Lev.* 3, where they appear as in the seventh heaven. See ANGEL, § 1.

Such pieces of furniture as chairs, seats, or stools are unknown to the ordinary tent-dweller, and doubtless the

2. **References.** Hebrews first came to use them after they occupied Canaan (see MEALS, § 36).

It is true that in the representation of Semmacherib's camp before Lachish a kind of seat or bench is to be seen in some of the tents, but this departure from the ordinary custom is doubtless due to the superior culture of the Assyrians (see TENT, fig. 1). As in Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt, seats were no doubt to be found in every house in Canaan, and together with a bed, table, and lamp formed part of the equipment of a well-appointed room (2 K. 4:10; EV 'stool').² The word used in this passage (*kissā'*) elsewhere refers to the seat or throne of Eli the priest (1 S. 10:13 17:1), of the governor 'beyond the River' (Neh. 3:7, see Kyle, *Camb. Bible, ad loc.*), and of the throne of Solomon (1 K. 10:18 ff., 2 Ch. 9:17 ff.).

The reference to Satan's throne at Pergamos (Rev. 2:13, see PERGAMOS, § 2), if the great altar of Zeus is an altar, is associated

¹ According to another view the **ש** in the Aram. forms has been inserted to compensate for the loss of the doubled **א** (for a statement of the views see Bevan, *Daniel*, 194 f.). It is to be noticed that the form with **ש** occurs in the old Aramaic inscription of Bar-rekub (Zeujihi, *Rs*, temp. Tiglath-pileser III.). The same form appears to recur in Phoenician inscriptions from Cyprus of the beginning of the fourth century B.C. (*UZI*, nos. 22, 44, 48), where **שֵׁמֶנֶה** (שֵׁמֶנֶה) **שֵׁמֶנֶה**, 'interpreter of the two thrones,' is perhaps the *ἐμμενερης* (cp Gr. inscr.) between the rulers of Cyprus and Persia (see *UZI* 165).

² But note perhaps that the hostess is said to have been a 'great' woman.

THRONE

with the interesting question of throne-worship. That there is a very close connection between the throne of the deity and his altar appears certain, and it is not improbable that they were originally identical. On the whole subject see Reibel, *Vorbellen, Väter, Götter*, 3 ff. (Vienna, 1907), with Bulle's remarks, *Leop. 1. p. 17*; and Clement-Ganneau, *Rev. d. Arch. Orient.*, 4, 247 ff.

There are three main varieties of seats to be noticed: (a) the seat with neither back nor arms, (b) the seat with straight back, and (c) the straight-backed seat with arms.

3. Description. The three practically correspond to the classical *sella*, *cathedra*, and *thronos* respectively. The first of these is frequently represented upon Assyrian and Babylonian seals,¹ and bears a general close resemblance to the primitive altars and table upon the Assyrian slabs,² in a large number of cases it is shaped like a square stool, often with several cross-bars, though instances are by no means wanting where the legs cross transversely, not unlike the construction of the modern camp-stool.

These shapes are found in the ancient classical world and were probably borrowed from the East. The Greek term for them, *kybos*, is used by Θ to render *bass* in 1 S. 10, 411; 2 K. 4, 19, and in accordance with Gr. usage occurs in 1 S. 28, 23 to render *miffah*. On the use of beds, couches, and divans, cp B&A, § 3.

Representations of the second and third variety are likewise found in Assyria where they are often accompanied with a footstool; cp the analogy of the Gr. *thronos* and its *thronion*.

The OT references to the foot-stool (*chitun*, כִּיטֹן , Θ *ὑποπόδιον*, always metaphorical) would show that the Hebrews were well acquainted with seats of this nature. On *chitot* (כִּיטֹת), 2 Ch. 9, 12, see below, n. 6.

The two last-mentioned varieties lent themselves to decoration and elaboration to a greater extent than the *sella*. They were frequently of the finest workmanship and adorned with gold and plaques of carved ivory (see Ivory, § 2).³ An overspread or baldachino was often added, and a reference to this is perhaps rightly seen in the *Saphir* (Kr., but Kth. סַפִּיר) of Jer. 13, 10.⁴ A common form of ornament was the representation of animals or men, to support the arms or seat.

If Benzinger is correct in his suggestion that Solomon's throne (situated in the Porch of the Throne, 1 K. 7, 7) was the work of Hiram, it is natural to suppose that it was based upon the familiar Egyptian or Assyrian models. The throne was decorated with ivory and gold, and was approached by six steps (cp Is. 61, 'a throne high and lifted up'), at each end of which was the figure of a bull.⁵ The back appears to have been adorned with heads of bulls. The second Targ. on Esther adds many fanciful details which are devoid of value.

On the text of 1 K. 10, 17 ff., 2 Ch. 9, 17 ff., see the *Comm.* of Ki. and Benz. In 1 K. 10, 19 the reading 'rounded top' (heavest) appears obvious, but we should probably read כִּיטֹת 'the heads of bulls' (Θ *προτομαί βοσκῶν*). In 2 Ch. 9, 18 the words have been seriously misunderstood.⁶

The meaning of כִּיטֹת , RV 'stays' (lit. hands, Θ *χεῖρες*, *manus* [K.], *ἀγκύρες*, *brachia* [Ch.]) is not clear. Jos., *Ant.* viii, 3, 2 offers *εὐχλατοί*, which means (a) the slats of the framework of a bed, (b) the rimas of a hubler, and (c) axle plus 1 p 1 K. 7, 12). Following (a) we might think of the slats forming the seat of the throne, but the bilinear 'on either side' (כִּיטֹת), and Θ 's *ἀγκύρες* in Ch. points rather to the arms. Such arms are represented, e.g., upon the throne of Ashurbanipal (Perrot and Chipiez, *Art. in Chald.* 1, 108, fig. 28), and of Sennacherib before Lachish (*ib.*, 2, 105, fig. 47, 1 p Hall, *Light from the East*, 19). What is meant by the 'two lions standing by (near) the stays' is also obscure; the words are omitted by Θ in 1 K. 10, 19, perhaps rightly.

¹ See Menant, *La Chypre, ou l'Orientale*, I, and cp S. I. Curtiss, *Prim. Sem. Rel.* 267-275 (1902).

² Cp the table in 1 S. 1, fig. 1.

³ For details see Perrot and Chipiez, *Art. in Chald.* 2, 313-321.

⁴ See Hoffmann, *Z. ATW.* 1822, p. 68, and on verso, see Field, *ad loc.*

⁵ 1 K. 10, 20 כִּיטֹת elsewhere כִּיטֹת . In a Phoenician inscription from Citium in Cyprus (*CS* 1, no. 16) mention is made of the offering of an altar and two כִּיטֹת -*etc.*, perhaps (on the analogy of our passage) 'lions' (כִּיטֹת).

⁶ כִּיטֹת *כִּיטֹת* (Θ *ὑποπόδιον*, *scabellum*) is for כִּיטֹת , a variant of כִּיטֹת in 1 K. (emended text). See, primarily, Geiger, *Urschr.* 343.

THYATIRA

THRUM (תְּרֹמ), Is. 38, 12 RV⁹⁵. See WLAIVING.

THUMMIM (תֻּמִּים), Ex. 28, 30. See URIM A THUMMIM.

THUNDER (קוֹל), Ps. 77, 19 [13] 813 [2] 104, 7 Job 20, 18, 29, 6; $\beta\rho\upsilon\eta\eta$; also, much more frequently, קוֹל , Ps. 18, 30, 35, cp Jer. 10, 13, plur. קוֹלוֹת , Ex. 9, 23, or קוֹלֵי קוֹלֵי to be in N.F. $\beta\rho\upsilon\eta\eta$ $\beta\rho\upsilon\eta\eta$, Rev. 6, 14, 19, 6 ($\beta\rho\upsilon\eta\eta$), $\beta\rho\upsilon\eta\eta$, $\beta\rho\upsilon\eta\eta$, Rev. 13, 5, 11, 19, etc.

This most sublime of natural phenomena is represented by a poetical echo of primitive myth as the voice of God, Ps. 104, 7 Job 37, 4 f., 10, 9 Ps. 18, 13 [14], especially Ps. 29. In Ps. 24, 7 (cp 75, 50) as his *kan* (see Del. and Che. 75, 6). When, however, in Ex. 10, 10, the sound of the wings of the cherubim is likened, tantologically to 'the voice of El Shaddai (E.V. of Almighty) when he speaketh,' we naturally ask whether this is not some error in the text, and the result interesting, for it opens up a vista of possible ramifications of early mistakes (see SHADDAI). And if we lose the traditional reference in Ezek. 10, 5 (and 12, 4), we have still enough to show that thunder to the ancient Israelites had a special sanctity as the expression of divine omnipotence (Ps. 29, 3), and of the terrible divine vengeance (1 S. 2, 10 Ps. 18, 13 [14] Is. 30, 30). Thunder in summer-time was peculiarly awful (1 S. 12, 17) though perhaps the case mentioned is but a poetical way of stating that with God nothing is impossible; Tinsley (*NHP* 33) says, 'it is unknown in summer.' The wise men of later times, such as the poet of Job, were well aware that thunderstorms did not occur in spring; but were subject to laws appointed by the Creator (Job 28, 26-38, 23, cp Eccles. 43, 17).

'Right-aiming thunderbolts' (Wisd. 5, 21) has been changed RV into 'shafts of lightning' ($\beta\omicron\lambda\lambda\epsilon\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\beta\omicron\iota\varsigma$) with true aim. In Ps. 78, 48 'hot thunderbolts' remains, though קוֹלֵי probably means here 'burning sicknesses' in accordance with the requirements of parallelism. Another peculiar phrase, the secret place of thunder' (קוֹלֵי קוֹלֵי , *ἐν ἀποκρυφῶ κατακρυφῶ*), still remains in the RV of Ps. 117, 16. Duhm explains, 'in it thunder which hides the thunder and at the same time veils it from sight (Job 22, 13, 7). This is no doubt a worthy explanation, but the Hebrew phrase does not appear to suit the parallelism. On the so-called Bath-kol, see V. 61, and on the title *קוֹל* of James and John, and rendered 'sons of thunder,' see BOGERS.

THYATIRA (ΘΥΑΤΕΙΡΑ [Ti.WH]),¹ Rev. 1, 11; Θ *Θυατείριος* [Ti. WH], Rev. 2, 18 and 2, 24; $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omega\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ *Θυατείριω*, Ac. 16, 14).

Thyatira was a town in northern Lydia, so close to the indefinite borderland between Mysia and Lycaonia.

1. Position and histo. y. Some preferred to reckon it to Mysia (Strabo, 625, *ἢν Μυσίαν ἐσχάτην τῆς πελοποννησιακῆς*). It lay east of the Lycus, a tributary of the Phrygians, which river itself falls into the Hermus from the north. Thyatira thus was placed almost exactly midway between the Caicus (N. and E. Hermus (S.)), on the great road which crossed this region going to the SE., into the valley of the Marandax, and geographical position is the key to its historical importance. The watershed in which it lay was, in fact, of the utmost importance strategically, as it was the line of demarcation between the territory of competing sovereigns. For in 301 B.C. Lysimachus, King of Thrace, and Seleucus I. (Nicator), king of Syria, divided partitioned Asia Minor, which they had taken from Antigonus, in such wise that Lysimachus had the western portion, as far as central Phrygia, whilst the remainder fell to Seleucus (see SELUCUS, § 2). When, subsequently (from 283 B.C.), hostilities broke out between the two monarchs, the district in question would be of great military importance; and, still later, when in 277 B.C. the Gauls (Galatia) invaded Asia Minor and formed their robber state in north-eastern Phrygia (cp GALATIA).

¹ Nent. plur., $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ *Θυατείρια*; but the *τῶν* in Rev. 1, 11, Θ *Θυατείριος*, is 'well attested' (WH 2 App. 1, 14). Cp the form *Thyatira* (q.v.). The form *Thyatira* gradually gives place to *Thyatira*. The place is now called *Ak-hissar*, 'a large town of mud houses' (Murray, *Idol.* to *AM* 84).

TIBERIAS

The *θύα* (or *citrus*) *par excellence* was a N. African tree (Theophr. 3.3, § 7; Plin. 13.18, § 20), probably to be identified with *Citrus aurantiaca*, Vahl., which, according to Sprenger (*Erörterungen zum Theophrast*, 208), is a tree resembling the cypress and growing to a height of 24 ft. In accordance with Pliny's statement (*loc. cit.*) it is found in the region of Mt. Atlas. In the days of Roman luxury the citrus was much used in the making of costly furniture; the phrase 'all thyme wood' (Rev. 18.12) probably alludes to the great variety of objects constructed from it.

TIBERIAS (ΤΙΒΕΡΙΔΙΟΝ), on a narrow strip of plain under a hill, on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee, was founded by Herod Antipas, apparently not before 26 A.D., and so was quite a new place at the time of the public life of Jesus in Galilee. Its founder named it in honour of his friend and patron the emperor Tiberius. Though it became the capital of Galilee, it was at first a purely Greek city, which accounts for its not appearing among the scenes of the Galilean ministry. It joined in the war of liberty, but yielded without resistance to Vespasian, and was restored by him to its master Agrippa, on whose death in 100 it fell directly under Roman rule. The place came to be a great seat of Jews and Jewish learning; it was the residence of R. Judah, the editor of the Mishnah; and, though the schools of Palestine were ultimately overshadowed by those of Babylonia, the school of Tiberias was still famous in the time of Jerome. On Jn. 6.123 21 see G. M. H. L. E., SEA OF, §§ 1, 4f.

Half an hour to the S. of the modern *Taboriyeh* (a town of some 4000 inhabitants) are the famous hot baths (now *el-Hammeh*) which are mentioned by Pliny (*HN* 5.13 [71]; Tiberiade aquis calidis salubri) and by Josephus (*τοῖς ἐν Τιβεριάδι θερμοῖς ὕδασι*, *B*/ii. 216). In *Ant.* viii. 2.1, *B*/iv. 13, he alludes to the *θερμὰ* as not far from Tiberias and as being called *Ἀμμαθῖοις*, 'which being interpreted is *θερμὰ*.' It seems to be the Hammath of Josh. 19.35. See HAMMATIL. This Hammath is mentioned in Egyptian records (see PALESTINE, § 15, no. 16). The Talmud of Babylon identifies Tiberias sometimes with the biblical Hamath, sometimes with Kacath (see also Talm. Jerus.), sometimes with Chinnereth. See Neubauer, *Géogr.* 208; Schurer, *GH* 2.240ff.; ET ii. 1143ff.

TIBERIAS, SEA OF ἡ θάλασσα τῆς Τιβεριάδος [Ti. WH 1, Jn. 21]. See GALILEE, SEA OF.

TIBERIUS (ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ [Ti. WH]) is mentioned only in Lk. 3.1, where the commencement of the ministry of John the Baptist is assigned to the fifteen year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar (τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος).

Tiberius Claudius Nero succeeded Augustus as Emperor of Rome in 14 A.D., and reigned until 37 A.D. He was son of Tiberius Claudius Nero and Livia, so that he was only the stepson of Augustus. The two chief authorities for his life are Suetonius, who revels in court scandal, and Tacitus, whose political views marred his historical accuracy. Hence little justice has been done to Tiberius. The *Annals* of Tacitus have been in fact maintained to be 'almost wholly satire' (Merivale, *Hist. of the Romans under the Empire*, ch. 64), and it cannot be denied that the satiric tendency, 'to take extreme acts as typical of the man, and extreme men as typical of the age,' is a conspicuous feature of the book. Consequently, his portraiture of Tiberius, the most elaborate analysis of character in his writings, is most often attacked as untrustworthy. We have in fact, in accepting the picture in Tacitus as historical, this problem before us—to explain how Tiberius, who up to the age of fifty-five (when he became emperor) had shown himself a commander with more than ordinary talent, an orator of no mean calibre, and an administrator of acknowledged sagacity, degenerated from the moment of assuming the purple until he became that monster of cruelty and vice and impotence which perhaps for all time he is in the imagination of mankind. This is not the place in which

TIGLATH-PILESER

to attempt to review either the private life or the public acts of Tiberius. This much is certain, that his life cannot be disposed of in a 'cascade of epigrams' (Beesly, *Catiline, Claudius, and Tiberius*, 115), such as compose the summary in which Tacitus gives his most deliberate judgment on Tiberius (*Ann.* 6.51).

Furneaux, *Annals of Tacitus*, vol. 1, Introd. chaps. 4-8 gives a careful review of the evidence, with an unfavourable verdict. Beesly's *Catiline, Claudius, and Tiberius* is a vigorous defence. Champagny, *Les Césars*, an unmeasured invective. See also Böissier, *L'Opposition sous les Césars*. For the chronological questions in connection with the NT, see Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* and the articles CHRONOLOGY, LYSANIAS, QUIRINUS, etc.

TIBHATH (תִּבְחָת; מֵטָבְחָת [B⁹], ΜΑΤΕΒΕ [A], ΤΑΒΑΘΘ [L]; Pesh. *tebath*, a city of Hadadzer) 1 Ch. 18.8. See TEBATH.

TIBNI (תִּבְנִי, § 79; see below on meaning; cp Ass. *Tabni, Tabn'a*, Phoen. תִּבְנִי, *Tabniith*; ΘΑΜΝΙΕ [B.A], ΘΑΒΕΝΝΕΙ [L]; *Thebni*, b. GINATH, a competitor with Omri for the throne of Israel after the death of Zimri (1 K. 16.21 f.†). See ISRAEL, § 29, OMRI, § 1.

Like so many other successful adventurers, including his rival Omri (= Imri = Jerahmeeli), Tibni seems to have been of Jerahmeelite origin. His name is a gentilic in form, and probably should be read תִּבְנִי (Nehalite) or תִּבְנִי (Nehalite). Cf. 1 Ch. 5.15, where (in the original form of the text; see SHAPHAN, Guni) is a clan-name in the southern Gilead (temp. Jeroboam II.). T. K. C.

TIDAL (תִּדְלָל; ΘΑΡΓΑΛ [E.L], ΘΑΛΓ. [D? and 2 in 59], ΘΑΛΓΑ [A]; Pesh. *dir'il*), 'king of Gōim,' an ally of Chedorloamer (Gen. 14.9). Nothing has yet been made out either as to a king called Tidal (or 'Tar'al') or as to the 'Gōim' or 'nations' over which, according to MT and S, he ruled. The identification of Tidal with a supposed ancient name in a very late cuneiform tablet, in the highest degree precarious (see King, *Letters of Hammurabi*, 1 p. lii; and cp Haupt, note on Gen. 14.9 in Ball's *Genesis*, Heb. text, *SBOT*). Sir H. Rawlinson thought that 'Gōim' was a corruption of Gutium, the situation of which district (see KOA) accords well with the mention of 'Gōim' after Elam. It is certain (see inscription quoted by Rogers, *Outlines of Bab. Hist.* 10) that Gutium was early subject to Babylonian influence. If 'Gōim' comes from 'Gutium,' 'Tar'al' (if we may follow S¹) may conceivably be a Babylonian name. The only word which approaches it, however, seems to be *argal*, 'rudder' (Deluge-story, 97), which is sometimes a title of the god 'Ninip' (see Jensen, *Kosmos*, 422). But 'seductive' as Rawlinson's theory is, it is too hazardous (see Hal. *Rev.* ser. 1804, p. 279) to make *g* correspond to *y* in תִּבְנִי (*lagamar*) and to *y* in תִּדְלָל (= gutium?).

So far we have assumed that MT and S correctly represent the original text. But in the general failure of critical theories based on this assumption, it becomes reasonable to suppose that Tidal and the other names in Gen. 14 are deeply corrupt, that תִּבְנִי (EV Tidal) is a corrupt fragment of יִרְמֵיָהוּ (Jerahmeel) and that תִּדְלָל (Gōim) as often has the same origin. See SHAFAN, 1. T. K. C.

TIGLATH-PILESER (תִּגְלַת פִּלְעֶסֶר) 2 K. 15.29 16.1, 1 Ch. 5.26.

תִּגְלַת פִּלְעֶסֶר, 2 K. 16.7) or **Tilgath-pileser** (תִּגְלַת פִּלְעֶסֶר, 1 Ch. 5.26 2 Ch. 28.20, תִּגְלַת פִּלְעֶסֶר, 1 Ch. 5.26).

S's readings are: in 2 K. 15.29, αὐλαφελλασαρ [BA]; 16.7, θαλαφθ. [B], om. A; 16.10, θαλαφ. [B]; αὐλαφθαλασαρ [A]; θαλαφθαλασαρ [L] throughout; in 1 Ch. 5.26, θαλαβαλασαρ [B]; θαλαθ. θαλασαρ [A]; 5.26, θαγθαφαμασαρ [B]; θαλαθ. θαλασαρ [A]; 2 Ch. 28.20, θαλαφθαλασαρ [B]; θαλαθ. θαλασαρ [A]; θαλαφθαλασαρ [L] throughout.

In the Zenjiri Inscriptions תִּגְלַת פִּלְעֶסֶר and תִּבְנִי, Assy. *Tukulti-špil-šarra*, 'My help is the son of

1. His name. *šarra*, 'šarra, 'the house of the multitude,' was the name of the temple of Ninip, who was therefore called 'the son of šarra.' The strange form in Chronicles is, according to Kaye (*Chron.* Heb. *SBOT* 68), 'merely an accidental corruption of a familiar name at the hands of the Chronicler or of his Midrashic source.'

TIGLATH-PILESER

The biblical Tiglath-pileser was the third of the Assyrian kings of that name, and came to the throne in 745 B.C. Nothing is known of his origin and parentage, but as he is called in the Babylonian Canon Pulu (PUL, 2 K. 1519, etc.), it is thought that he was not of royal race, but was probably a general under Asur-nirari, his predecessor, and that he called himself Tiglath-pileser on coming to the throne on account of the renown attaching to this royal name.

The chief sources of the history of his reign are the inscribed slabs found in the remains of his palace at Calah, and two tablets which appear to have been copied from records on stone similar, in some respects, to the slabs. With regard to the latter, several of them are only known from squeezes now in the British Museum, where also the clay tablets referring to his reign are preserved. The chronology of his reign has been placed beyond a doubt by the Eponym Canon with historical references (*ABO* 212-214), from which it appears that he mounted the throne on the 13th of the month Iyyar (April-May) of the year 745 B.C., as successor to Asur-nirari (II.), in the last year of whose reign there was a rising in Calah; not improbably Tiglath-pileser seized this opportunity to assume the supreme power. Whether the fact that the Eponym for the next year was the governor of Calah supports this supposition or not, is a matter of opinion.

The first campaign of this king, which took place in the year of his accession, is stated to have been 'into the midst of the rivers'—*i. e.*, 'to Babylonia.' His object was, not so much to conquer the country as to break the excessive and dangerous power of the Aramaean tribes. In this he was fully successful, and the Babylonians themselves, who suffered from the tribes in the question, thankfully acknowledged his suzerainty. Owing to this success, he seems to have assumed, from the first, the title of 'king of Samer and Akkad.'

The next year (744 B.C.) Tiglath-pileser turned his attention to the mountainous district on the E. of Assyria, inhabited by wild tribes who had always been troublesome to the Assyrian kings. This district, which was called Namri (cp ZIMRI II.), he wasted with fire and sword, annexing a portion of it to Assyria.

In 743 B.C. affairs in the W. claimed his attention. The state of which ARPAD (*q. v.*) was the capital, supported, to all appearance, by the king of Urartu (ARARAT), seems to have thrown off the Assyrian yoke; it had to be reduced again to submission. This probably gave an opportunity to Sar-durri, king of Urartu, to march towards Assyria. It was therefore necessary to put off the subjection of Arpad, and proceed against the northern foe, who was completely defeated. In 742 operations against Arpad were resumed, and in 741 (to judge from the Eponym-list) the city was taken, though the Assyrian army remained in the same district in 740 B.C. One result was the annexation of Unki (identified by Tomkins¹ with 'Amik), a district which had already felt the Assyrian might.

In 739 B.C. Tiglath-pileser carried on war in Ulluba, on the N., taking several cities and founding another, which he called Asur-ikiša ('Asur has presented'). It was apparently during this period that the Assyrian subject-states in Syria and northern Phœnicia rebelled. The operations into which the Assyrians were thus led resulted in the capture of Kullani—*i. e.* (according to P. Rost), the CALNO (*q. v.*) of Is. 10^a (738 B.C.).

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¹ 'Geography of Northern Syria' in *BOR* 36. For the extent of Unki see Rost, *Tiglath-pileser*, I, p. xxi, n. 1.
² With regard to the identification there given, it may be noted that Kullani would seem from *H. A. I.* ii, 536a to be one of

TIGLATH-PILESER

The question now arises whether AZIAU or IZIAU (Rost)—*i. e.*, Azariah of Judah—came into touch with Tiglath-pileser on this occasion. It must be confessed that the frequent mention of his name in the exceedingly mutilated portion of the annals which seem to refer to this period gives little justification for relying in the affirmative (*B. I.* 230 f.); on the whole question, however, see UZZIALL.

All the princes of middle and northern SYRIA now submitted and paid tribute, including ROSANIM (see REZIN) of Damascus, Menahime (Menahem) of Samaria, HIRMINI (Hiram) of Tyre, and others, including ZIBI (queen of Arabia) (see ORBII and ZILB). There is no statement, so far as the texts are preserved, that the Assyrian king penetrated as far S. as Samaria, but the fact that he received tribute from that country (cp 2 K. 1504 f.) is a sufficient indication that he at least threatened it, and had to be bought off (see MISANIM). The policy of deportation was on this occasion resorted to extensively.

The following year (737 B.C.) the state of affairs on the E. called the Assyrian king to Media (*q. v.* *Media*) and the district, where he set up images of himself, and peace again reigned—at least, as far as the Assyrians were concerned. This left Tiglath-pileser free to march, in 739 B.C., to the foot of the Nal mountains, on the N. of Assyria, where he took a large number of cities, thus preparing the way for the conquest of the land of Urartu, which, in the following year (738), he proceeded to carry out. He penetrated as far as Sar-durri's capital, URU-SPÁ, and though, on account of its naturally advantageous position on the Lake Van, he was unable to take the city, he nevertheless broke the power of the kingdom of Urartu for many years to come.

For the year 734 B.C. the Eponym-list has this entry: 'to the land Philistia'—*i. e.*, 'to Philistia.' Schrader in 1878 (*K. O. F.* 120), in consequence of

considered this to involve a campaign against Judah, Samaria, Phœnicia, etc. Rost, however, thinks differently, contending that the mere reception of tribute from the countries mentioned in *H. A. I.* iv, 11 f., would sufficiently account for the references to the southern districts. As, however, the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser, where they speak of relations with Judah, have no date (the text being defective at the important points), he follows the indications of the Eponym-list, which makes Philistia (*i. e.*, the small states on the shores of the Mediterranean) the chief object of the campaign. In proceeding thither, Tiglath-pileser, like the Assyrian kings in general, would take the coast-road from N. to S. The name of the city which was first threatened is broken away, but Rost conjectures it to have been Ashdod or Ekron. Its prince bought his reinstatement only by means of heavy tribute. It was Haminn of Gaza, however, who was to all appearance more especially aimed at by Tiglath-pileser, and, feeling this, he lost no time in seeking refuge in Egypt.¹ Gaza then fell an easy prey to the Assyrians; its treasure and its gods were carried away, the worship of Asur was introduced, and the royal throne and image set up in the palace of Haminn.

The entry for 733 and 732 B.C. is 'to the land of Dimaška'—*i. e.*, Aram-Damascens. No doubt it was part of the king's plan to subjugate the states of the W., but he was also induced to make this campaign by the appeal of Abaz of Judah for help against REZIN and PEKAI. The appeal was supported by the sending of gifts in acknowledgment of vassalage. It would seem that the allied kings despaired of resisting the advance of the Assyrians, and retreated to their own territories. They thus played into the

the towns along the Taurus, implying an extension of operations in that direction.
¹ For another view see *Wi. Mus.* 5034 f., and cp ISAIAH, BOOK OF, § 12, n. 1; MIZRAIM, § 2 f.

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of 204 is too secure to justify any alteration which (1) 204, 2) would connect *Δαφνίου* with *Τυαθίου*, identifying this town with the Macedonian of the same common name (19.20) from whom in all likelihood the epithet *Δαφνίου* is expressly intended to distinguish him. Cp. Holtmann, *Die Pastoralbriefe*, 65 f. (1890).

The diminished strictness of local Judaism (PHRYGIA, § 3) is betrayed by two features in the Lystra household where Timothy was brought up, his Jewish mother had married a pagan, and their son was allowed to teach manhood uncircumcised. His father, it has been conjectured, died during the boy's early years; this is corroborated at any rate by the absence of all reference to him as well as by the strong influence assigned in reliable tradition to the lad's mother (1 Cor. 4:15) and (maternal?) grandmother, even though we hesitate to lay stress on the slight textual evidence for Eunice's widowhood (Acts 16:1, add *ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ*; *χ* for *ἰουδαία*, *grk* fit.), or even on the tense of *ἐπαρχεῖν* (*μαρτ.* Acts 16:1; *ἐπαρχεῖν* would have been used had he been alive [Hass]). Whether her husband was among 'the men that worship God' (*ἄνθρωποι τῶν θεῶν*) or not, Eunice (Acts 16:1, cp 7:14) seems to have become a Christian at Paul's first visit to Lystra (Acts 14:6 f. 20-22). Later notices, embodying a tradition which there is no reason to suspect, indicate that her mother Lais had assisted her to train the lad in the knowledge and piety of the OT previous to their joint conversion (2 Tim. 3:14 f., cp 1 Tim. 5:4); and it may be inferred that their influence subsequently brought Timothy over to the new faith some time before the return of Paul a couple of years or so later. Passages like 1 Cor. 4:17 (contrast 7:16), 2 Tim. 2:1, etc., refer to kinship of spirit, and Phil. 2:22 expressly identifies Timothy's 'genuine sonship' with his loyal service to Paul, not with parental parentage. At any rate his intimate connection with Paul dates from the latter's second tour with Silas, when he found the young Lystra not a neophyte but a full member (*κατήχητος*) of the local church.

The allusion in 2 Tim. 3:10 f. (a genuine fragment) simply means (i.e. 10) acquaintance with the facts and experiences narrated—an acquaintance involving moral imitation (1 Tim. 4:12)—and does not imply that Timothy accompanied Paul on the journey described in Acts 13:14-14:26. In this fight, according to *Acta Petri et Pauli*, *ed. ed.*, Lips. 1871, pp. 235 f.), Paul is accompanied by Demas, Hermogenes ὁ ἀλεξανδρινός, ἰεροσόλυμος γερμανός, καὶ Ἰβηθημαίος ὁ ἀσίδων ὡς ἀγαπήσαντες αὐτὸν.

The language of Acts 17:1 (*καὶ ἰδοὺ*, cp 17:8, 27, 10, 17) is intended to denote a remarkable and happy episode in the tour (cp Hort, *Christian Evidences*, 178 f.). It seemed providential that another youth was found willing and fit to join Paul's company and enterprise, after the defection of John Mark and Barnabas. Characteristically (cp 6:1, 10:22, 22:12) an excellent reputation is singled out as one essential feature in his moral equipment; Acts 16:2 suggests also, though it does not necessarily imply, that he had already preached in the neighbourhood. However, as his father's nationality was notorious in the locality, Paul had him circumcised. He carried out this long-deferred rite upon the eve of proceeding farther on a tour among the Phrygian churches with their Jewish surroundings and partially Jewish atmosphere, his object being to prevent people taking needless offence either at Timothy's connection with Paul or at his entrance into Jewish circles.

Acts 16:3 is often taken as an editorial gloss (e.g., Clemen, Jungst, Hildebrandt, and Wendt), and on different lines the last-named critic and McGiffert (*Apostolic Acts*, 232-233) have attempted to explain the whole passage as the popular and later misstatement of an actual fact, in opposition to the dominant view (cp Acts, §§ 4, 7) which apart from minor

1 As the nearest synagogue was at Iconium, the religious instruction of the child devolved on Eunice, who probably possessed a copy of some part of the OT scriptures, as well as 'the little parchment roll, specially for the use of a child, containing, e.g., the Shema, the Hallel, the history of Creation down to the Flood, and Lev. 1-8 (Edersheim, *Sketches of Jewish Social Life*, 114-117).

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variations—generally regards the story as an invention of author, introduced in order to illustrate what he conceived or should have been Paul's deliberate and contradictory attitude towards Jewish-Christian scriptures. But the existence of a strong Timothy tradition in the later church makes it hard to believe that a strange story like this could be spread and not after Timothy's death, if it did not correspond to fact. Psychological reasons can be adduced which render the tradition fairly acceptable (cp Renan, *S. Paul*, 125, 131; Haas, *Christ.* 127). Paul, either before or after the conference at Jerusalem, was independent of party scruples against circumcisers, which he probably regarded as among *adiaphora* (1 Cor. 7:12). Particularly in the case of a half-Jew or semi-Jew like Timothy, where no principle was at stake, Paul could not have felt bound to abstain from circumstances that promoted effectiveness, any more than to insist upon uniformity. His liberal views (cp Rom. 2:27, 14:1, 23) left free to act upon his own judgment and to decide any case on its merits, free even to accommodate himself to scruples of his Jews when such accommodation could not fairly (yet cp 13:15) and Romans, *ibid.*, *Corinth.* 10:28, § 2) be misunderstood. Timothy's circumcision was a matter of convenience (no principle), and Paul would make that perfectly clear by permitting his friend to become legally a Jew to save the Jews. Upon the whole, therefore, there is a distinct case to be put out on behalf of the historicity of this paragraph, as also the plausible but somewhat arbitrary view that it requires no make-weight to Gal. 2:17. The case of Titus was a different matter. And it is one thing for a writer to omit an awkward fact, another not a much more serious thing requiring creative and historical justification than can be reasonably brought forward in this case, deliberately to invent a story which hundreds of contemporary Christians (cp Hübner) could have readily refuted. This forms an almost insuperable difficulty in the way of accepting the ordinary hypothesis of criticism upon Acts 16:1; and it seems therefore more than reasonable to regard Paul's action as somewhat exceptional, though it depends on the view taken of the date of Galatians (cp whether we suppose Paul deliberately made this exception afterwards (so Weber, *Abhandlung der Theologie*, 1871, 72 f.) or advanced to a clearer and more consistent line of action).

In sketching at a later date some personal traits of Timothy, the author of the pastoral epistles, either drawing upon Paul's own independent oral tradition, lays down the Jewish story of the questions of good character and reputation as a test for the ministry (e.g., 1 Tim. 3:7), prescribes the names of Paul and Lais (2 Tim. 1:5), suggests timidity and backwardness as qualities of Timothy (2 Tim. 1:7 f.), and refers to various circumstances attending Paul's selection of the younger man. There is no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of notices of or of the tradition that this momentous event (1 Cor. 14:4-14) was due to some local Christians, possibly including Paul himself, who felt themselves inspired in the assembling single out the youth as a fit companion for Paul. The story agrees at any rate with phenomena such as those noted in Acts 17:1, etc., and merely implies that the local prophets and leaders felt themselves divinely guided in selecting Timothy, or at any rate Paul's judgment of a matter which may have also occupied his mind. But ecclesiastical tendency of a later age felt in the further description, throughout these passages elsewhere (e.g., 2 Tim. 1:9, cp Timothy AND TITUS [Hübner] § 7), of a supernatural *χάρισμα* due to solemn induction, although the fact of the laying-on-of-hands at such a time is itself quite credible (cp Acts 13:3, 14:23).

Accompanying Paul and Silas on their Emilian tour (PAUL, § 20), Timothy apparently took a special keen interest in the Macedonian churches which he helped to found at Philippi and Thessalonica, although it is remarkable that the narrative in Acts only mentions his name incidentally (Acts 17:14, 18:5). With the former (cp Phil. 2:20-22) his relations remained singularly close and warm, but it is impossible to see him (with V. 1802, p. 124) in a second-century allusion (1 Tim. 1:3) to *σὺνδύε* (cp SNSZYGUS). His subsequent movement between Berea (BEREA, 3) and Corinth are not quite clear owing to the loose and general statements of Acts at this point. The probability is, however, that in Phil. 3:2 he was parallel to 3:1; Timothy rejoined Paul at Athens, and was sent back (perhaps with a letter from Rendel Harris: *Evangel.* 5th ser., 816 f., 417) to Thessalonica to confirm the local Christians and bring back news of their condition to their anxious apostle. Returning from this errand Timothy, now accompanied by Silas, found that in despair Paul had gone on from Athens to Corinth. Cp THESSALONIANS, § 17.

3. In Macedonia.

1 Zahn (*Einb.* 1470 f.) slyly traces an allusion to the characteristic of Timothy in the basis of Phil. 3:2, which insists on taking (as in v. 17) as a reference to Paul's conduct (Phil. 1:1). See further K. Schmidt's *Ap.-gesch.* 352, 353.

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The 'awkward and badly constructed' (Ramsay, *St. Paul*, 211) narrative of Acts 17:1-34 shows that the author, or the source which he followed here, was ignorant of this Macedonian mission; he offers no explanation of the extraordinary delay which won his own statement transpired between 17:1-3 and 18:1. Whereas it is probable that the visit of Paul's two emissaries extended to Philippi as well as to Thessalonica, and that they conveyed to him the famous church to Paul (2 Cor. 11:9; Phil. 4:15) a gift of money.

At Corinth and throughout Achaia, Timothy, as an 'apostle' (1 Thess. 1:2) in the wider sense of the term (ep. **MINISTRY**, § 17; McDiarmid),

4. At Corinth and elsewhere. *Epistola Ap. 648 f.* shared Paul's pioneering work (ep. 2 Cor. 1:19) and was associated with him in the epistles (epistles) to Thessalonica, which were written in the earlier part of the apostle's stay on the Isthmus—for although the mention of Athens (1 Thess. 1:1) does not exclude the possibility of that city as the place where they were composed (see 1 Cor. 15:12-19), it is plain from other allusions (ep. 1 Thess. 1:1) that they presuppose the apostle's entry into Achaia. From Corinth two years later Timothy seems to have accompanied Paul as far as Ephesus, where he became known to the churches in the neighbourhood of the city and to local individuals (Philom. 1). At Myrtaea (ἐπιτροπή, § 68) towards the close of the two or three years spent by Paul in Ephesus and the surrounding district, Timothy and Erastus (Acts 19:22), as two assistants of Paul upon the spot were despatched to Macedonia and Achaia (possibly, *ἐπὶ ἄλλοις*, 1 Cor. 16:16) in advance of their leader, who intended to follow up his letter to Corinth (despatched by sea after March 5, when navigation became open by a personal visit). It is plain, from 1 Cor. 4:17-18:7, that there was a chance of Timothy failing to arrive until after the letter reached its destination; for Paul bespeaks a courteous reception for his young representative. The absence of any greeting from the letter, and the temporal aorist *ἔγραψα* ('I have sent', 1 Cor. 1:17), show that he had left before the epistle was despatched. His instructions were to return with some other Christians directly (2:2), by the sea-route to Paul at Ephesus (1 Cor. 16:11), after instructing the Corinthians afresh upon Pauline methods and views (1 Cor. 11) and generally consolidating their faith.

The obscurity of the Corinthian episode at this stage (ep. **TITUS**, § 2) renders it difficult to decide whether Paul's silence in 2 Cor. upon the mission of Timothy and any results attending it forms a tacit proof that Timothy did not manage to reach Corinth (see, e.g., Lightfoot, Weiss, and Ramsay), or that he did arrive, and then, failing to cope subsequently with the fresh trouble, returned to Paul or simply sent him word of the crisis. On the last-named hypothesis he may have been either (so Reyschling, Pfeleider, *Act.* (2. Fundlay) in person, or with Paul on the latter's painful visit (2 Cor. 2:13 f.), actually the man insinuated (ἐπιτροπή; 7:12) by the rebels from majority at Corinth. On the whole intricate question see Schmiedel, *HT* 11, 120-223.

Whatever happened to Timothy in the interval, Paul at last met him somewhere among his favourite Macedonian churches (2 Cor. 1:7) whether he had retired from Corinth probably to find a more congenial sphere; unless we are to suppose that he accompanied Paul thither from Ephesus. Evidently he had not been in Achaia lately (2 Cor. 7:5 f. vii). But when Paul went on to Corinth, Timothy accompanied him (Rom. 16:21), and formed a member of the apostle's *entourage* on his return to Asia in the spring of the following year.

Whether he accompanied Paul to Rome or was summoned by him afterwards, the scanty data available do not permit us to determine; the latter conjecture (ep. **TIMOTHY AND TITUS** [EPISTLES], § 12 f.) fits in well with the

1. If the note to Ephesus, incorporated in Rom. 16, extended (as, e.g., Weissaker and McDiarmid suggest) to 7:23, the mention of Timothy in 7:21 would be highly appropriate. But the note in Rom. 16:23 contained rev. 1-23 and no more. (Cf. further, ROSS, § 11.)

2. He, sent for him; if one plausible reconstruction of the period, based on a critical view of 2 Tim. 4:9-11-18:20 f. (see **TIMOTHY AND TITUS** [EPISTLES], § 12), could be established.

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tone of 2 Tim. 1:15-21:222 when that fragment is assigned to a genuine note sent by Paul either late in the Caesarian or early in the Roman imprisonment, urging his friend to join him. At any rate it is clear that Timothy did stay beside him at Rome for a considerable period (of 11 Philom. 1; Phil. 1:1). Later on, however, Paul's concern for the Philippian Christians led him to arrange for the disinterested and zealous Timothy paying them a visit (Phil. 2:19-23) in order to 'release' the apostle's mind by bringing back news of his old friends. Timothy had a good character, by this time and his 'sobriety' for the Philippians had become a second nature ('lightfoot'). That he was not a prisoner, but free to come and go. His journey may have detained him, or he may have proceeded further to Ephesus. At least a genuine fragment preserved in 2 Tim. 1:15-16:22 is shown that at some subsequent period Paul had been forced to abandon his hope of release and now, in view of a martyr's death, wanted to have Timothy beside him again in his isolation. We do not know if the summons was obeyed in time, or at all. A final glimpse of the envoy is afforded, some twenty years later, by a casual remark in an epistle apparently addressed to some Christians at Rome (Heb. 13:23), from which it would appear that Timothy, who was familiar to this circle of readers (ep. Rom. 16:21; Heb. 13:23, § 9), had been recently released from imprisonment somewhere and might possibly revisit Rome in company with his friend the writer.

Apart from a hypothesis, which needs only to be chronicled, that he actually edited the two pastoral epistles bearing his own name, three lines of critical conjecture construct

6. As author. Timothy with authorship either independently or as an amanuensis of Paul, (ii) Least probable of all is Spitta's ingenious attempt to find in him the author of 2 Thess. (*Zur Kritik u. d. lit. des 2. Thessalonians*, 182 f.), an epistle written by him in the name of his companions (2 Thess. 1:1) in view of its somewhat formal and official tone, and saturated with apocalyptic fantasies of Judaism peculiar to himself (ep. Acts 17:2; 1 Tim. 3:14; 1 Tim. 14:17). See **INTRODUCTION**, § 14. (iii) When 2 Tim. 1:16:1-18:20 f. is accepted as part of an interstitial letter to the Roman prisoners (2 Cor. 19), it is natural (Philol. *Die Briefe des Paulus*, 186 f.) though far from necessary to suppose 4 chapters were provided by a pen (no longer extant) of Timothy or by some other companion of Paul in the Roman local church. On this view the *ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ Παύλον* (2 Tim. 1:16) now strikes in to speak alone and in his penitence. It is more plausible the composition of the 'Westminster' Acts has been assigned occasionally to Timothy (e.g., by Königsmann, Ehrlich, Reyschling, de Wetze, Bleek, and P. Weissaker), although the threads of positive proof are extremely slender (ep. Acts, § 9 f.) and the general probabilities point rather to Luke as the diarist. Besides, even if the Bezan reading in Acts 11:27 f. be rejected, a passage like Acts 20:4, (unless we are to suspect a serious dislocation of the Acts 20:4), itself tells against the composition of the journal by Timothy. None, however, has followed a modified form of Mayerhoff's theory in attributing to Timothy the task of editing Acts in its extant shape from (a) a literary sketch of early Christianity in connection with Paul and (b) a rather legendary Petrine source (*Die Entstehung des Ap. Gesch.*, 1890).

The widespread belief of Christian tradition (ep. *Const.* 7:47; Euseb. *HE* 3:4; Phocas, *Bibl.* 254), that Timothy was appointed by Paul as the first bishop of Ephesus,

7. In tradition. is probably nothing better than an inference from the pastoral epistles (1 Tim. 1:3 f.), which, however, may echo some historical relationship. The story is occasionally improved by some circumstantial details: e.g., that he was succeeded in his episcopate by the apostle and the presbyter John, suffering martyrdom (1 Tim. 2, Greek church; Jan. 21, Latin; Sept. 27; Ephesus) during the emperor's exile at Pontus towards the close of the first century A.D. (see Nicophorus in *HE* 3:11). No miracles are narrated of him in the fifth century *Acta Timothei* (ed. Usener, 1877). For these and other legends see further Lipsius, *Apokryph. Ap. Gesch.* (1884), 372-409, and, for the traditional connection of Timothy and Ephesus, Zahn, *Phil.* 1:120 f. His martyrdom

1. If so, this would be the basis for the literary setting adopted by the later author of the pastoral epistles in his third composition (1 Tim. 1:3 f., ep. **TIMOTHY AND TITUS** [EPISTLES], § 11). The casual way in which Timothy's connection with Ephesus is assumed there, may be purely fantasy; but it is more likely that it may reflect some actual tradition of his career after Paul's removal; certainly (although the far from exhaustive or accurate nature of Acts as a record of Paul's later life does not make this an insuperable objection) there is no recorded period in Acts when Paul started for Macedonia leaving Timothy to superintend matters at Ephesus.

TIMOTHY AND TITUS, (EPISTLES)

(1 Tim. 6:12-13) is connected in one tradition with wild orgies in vogue possibly at the local festival of Diana, the mob having clubbed him to death for protesting against their licentiousness.
J. Mc.

TIMOTHY AND TITUS (EPISTLES)

Contents of epistles (§§ 1-3).	Second imprisonment (§ 10).
Period and object (§ 4).	Genesis of pastorals (§ 11).
The erasmists (§ 5).	Critical analysis (§§ 12-14).
Pseudepist (§ 6).	Order of composition (§ 15).
Salutary elements (§ 7).	Author (§ 16).
The faithful sayings (§ 8).	Pseudonymity (§ 17).
Style and diction (§ 9).	Bibliography (§ 18).

These three epistles commonly form a group¹ in the NT canon,² and the general similarity of their diction, aim, and atmosphere makes it convenient to discuss them side by side. Their contents are as follows:

1 Tim. is somewhat loosely knit together; the contents are miscellaneous rather than orderly, as if the writer had had no single topic dominant in his mind. But in spite of this desultory character the general trend of the epistle is not obscure.

After the usual greeting (1:1) the epistle opens by describing the commission already given by Paul to his lieutenant at Ephesus and now urged afresh upon his attention that he may be able to counteract local erasmist and antinomian possibilities. This commission enforces sincerity and moral earnestness, according to the Pauline standard presented as an apostolic trust and tradition to which Timothy is naturally heir (2:11). Here a digression occurs, suggested by the closing words of 2:11; Paul claims to be the staunch though unworthy representative of this evangelical standard, and summons Timothy to unflinching loyalty (2:20) in view of some recent instances of aberration (HUMANISMS and ALEXANDER). The epistle then passes away from polemic and personal allusions into the first of its two sections (2:3). Directions are laid down for the salvation of church-life in general: (a) for whom (2:12) and by whom (8) prayer is to be offered in church—both paragraphs expanding into slight digressions upon the universality³ of salvation in the Pauline gospel (2:7) and upon the subordinate place of women (2:13). The writer then proceeds from Christian worship to the more vital question of (b) organisation, laying

down the moral criteria (see EDUCATION, §§ 16 f.) of *epitaxi* (3:27) and *anagorai* (3:13), incidentally deaconesses are included and closing the whole section⁴ with a lofty stanza or fragment of a primitive confession upon the incarnate Christ (3:14-15).

The second section (4-6), which resumes the tone of polemic is thrown into the form of rules for the personal conduct of the ministry of Tim. in view of serious moral aberrations fostered by the ascetic tendencies of certain Christian teachers; the sophistries and superstitions he is authentically to refute (4:1-3). He is further advised upon his attitude to the practical problems created by differences of age and sex within the membership of the church (5:1-2), and some space is devoted to the maintenance and control of two special classes of officials: widows⁵ (5:1-9) and presbyters (5:17-25). After a word on the relative duties of slaves and masters (6:1-2), the epistle concludes round to help the erasmists, attacking them with considerable vigour for making a trade of religion. Naturally this suggests a warning to Christians in general against the passion for money (6:10), and with an impressive charge addressed to the 'man of God,' the epistle dies away in a doxology (6:17-18).⁶ It is a postscript, some words to rich people are appended, together with a supplementary warning to Timothy against contemporary *ypocritai* (6:7-11).

In 2 Tim., after the greeting, Paul gives thanks for Timothy's inheritance and experience of faith (1:1-5). He then warns his friend against false shame, urging his own life as a model of teaching to the contrary (2:14-18), as well as a further example of energy and faithfulness on the part of an Asiatic Christian called Onesiphorus (2:19-26). Especially for one who like Timothy is heir to the Pauline trust and tradition, endurance for Christ's sake and adherence to the Pauline gospel (of which, indeed, endurance is a note) form a pressing duty: the former is certain of a reward (2:10), whilst the latter is the one useful and honourable course of action open for a Christian teacher (2:4-6) and the heightening temptations of impractical controversy and immorality. After vigorously exposing the principles and methods of these erasmists (3:1-9, see JASNA and JAVIERES), Paul bids Timothy maintain the principles of the Pauline gospel, even when they involve suffering and obloquy, and at the same time adhere to the OT scriptures (3:16-17); then follows a *resumé* containing his final charge and the swansong of his own confession (4:1-8). Data of personal information and private messages close the letter (4:9-22).

After a somewhat elaborate greeting (1:1-3), the epistle to Titus opens by reiterating Paul's intentions with regard to the choice and duties⁷ of his lieutenants.

3. **Titus.** The epistle to Titus opens by reiterating Paul's intentions with regard to the choice and duties⁷ of his lieutenants.

¹ As 'personal' letters (*epistola affectu et dilectione*, Murat. Can.) they usually share with Philemon the last place in the list of Pauline epistles. After the Murat. Canon, where for some reason Tim. precedes the other two, the normal arrangement is 1 Tim., 2 Tim., Titus.

² The allusions and citations in early Christian literature simply prove the existence and (by no means unanimous) acceptance of these epistles during the second and third centuries. Neither their rejection by writers and leaders outside the catholic church, nor their welcome within it, can be supposed to throw independent light upon the question of their actual origin and authorship. Erasmists usually refused to admit what was in more or less plain conflict with their own tenets, and one has always to suspect the bias of moral dislike (Chem. Alex. *Ström.* 2:11) behind their so-called literary verdicts upon authorship. But as little do the employment and the approbation of such writings by church-authors tell in favour of their reputed authorship. Where admitted to the canon as documents bearing Paul's name, they were judged healthy in religious tone, practically serviceable to the church (*in honore ecclesie catholice in ordinatione ecclesiastica discipline sanctificata*, Murat. Can.), and generally congruous with the Pauline tradition and temper. Those who thus stamped them with approval had no independent knowledge of their composition; it was enough that the epistles contained nothing which jarred with what was judged to be apostolic or Pauline; and the early Christian attitude towards 'Hebrews' is abundant evidence of how loose that judgment could be. The modern critic is therefore justified in going behind such ecclesiastical tradition in order to face directly problems of origin and authorship which, in the nature of things, could hardly have been present to the consciousness of those who with sound instinct preserved writings handed down by religious usage from the past. No one would dream of challenging the verdict of the Homeric *yoiponres*, simply because in common with antiquity generally Aristotle (with the same facts before him) found no difficulty in treating the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as products of the same mind. And the identification of canonity or worthiness with direct apostolic authorship, which tacitly controlled nearly all early Christian discussions upon the primitive literature of the church, is a literary convention which it is needless at this time of day to spend space in refuting. Consequently, in the case of the pastoral epistles, there need not be any hesitation in concentrating attention upon their internal evidence when problems such as pseudonymity are raised. This is just one of the instances in which the naive presuppositions of early Christianity imposed limitations upon its judgment, when that judgment was exercised upon the remote literary and historical sources of its treasures.

³ J. Turmel, 'Histoire de l'interprét. de 1 Tim. 2:4' (*Revue d'Hist. et de Litt. Relig.* 1900, Sept.-Oct.).

⁴ The interpolated remark (2:2), if not an aside suggested by 'pure' (*dyros*), may have originally lain between 4:1 and 4:12 and 4:14, from which it has got displaced (instances of this in *Hist. New Test.* 2:19, xxxix 676; also Zahn on *Job*, 8:12 and *Chc.* on *Is.* 38:22). Its insertion after 5:22, which must have taken place very early, would thus be due to a copyist who read the sentence as a qualifying definition of 'pure' (*dyros*). Christian purity being no *Esse*-like abstinence. Epictetus (*Disc.* 3:1) similarly regards bodily health as a necessary part of the true Cynic's religious equipment; 'for if he has the appearance of a consumptive, pale, and thin person, his testimony has not the same weight.' Jülicher and Bacon group 22:22-25 together, and von Soden links 25 to 23, 24 to 22, whilst Calvin plausibly suggested that 22c-23 was a marginal note of the author.

⁵ In particular to teachers who found Christianity a hardy trade (cp *Dial.* 1:1 f., Barn. 10, Ignat. *Ephes.* 7, Tit. 1:1).

⁶ The absence of any greetings to members of the Ephesian church, together with the paucity of personal allusions, suggest that the epistle is not a letter in the strict sense of the word. The author is writing with his eye on the Christian church but not his own day, as the phrases (2 Tim. 4:22 Tit. 3:15 1 Tim. 2:1) prove for all three epistles. In Philemon, the one genuine 'private' note of Paul extant [cp. however, Paul's note of the 'your' (*tyou*) in 7:25 refers to the different persons associated with Philemon in the introduction. Cp also the variant *kyr* (*kyr* = *kyr*; I actm.) in 2 Tim. 3:1. The alternative position of the traditionalists is the gratuitous assumption that passages like 1 Tim. 2:1-3:17, etc., were meant to be communicated by their recipients to wider circles (Zahn); which of course destroys the character of the writings as private letters. Cp 1 Tim. 2:1 (1 Cor. 7:17).

⁷ On the contents of 1 see below (§ 7). But even if Tim. 2:7 referred to Paul and Timothy (which is not absolutely certain) it would simply allude to them as the persons in need of immediate consideration, not as officials. The passage, therefore, does not in itself betray the narrowing of the Spirit to a class; and the contents of the Spirit are distinctly ethically vigorous issuing in love to others and in self-control.

⁸ On 3:13 cp Aristides 6:16 (Wendland, *Rheon. Mus.* 18:4, 49-50).

⁹ The curious antipathy of the writer to second marriages on the part of presbyters, episcopal, diaconi, and 'widows' (cp. see WISDOM), is quite un-Pauline, but corresponds to the general cast of feeling prevalent in the second century throughout

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presbyters or episcopi in Cret. in order to sharply check erroneous teaching and immoral practices on the part of some Judaising propagandists who were upsetting the churches (5:1-2).¹ Tim. is then instructed how to enforce the moral obligations of Christianity upon aged men (2:1-3), aged women² and married women (3:1-5), younger men like himself (6:1), and slaves (1:7). Paul insists on this moral life as an essential of the Christian faith (1:1-11, see PECULIAR POINTS), and urges Tim. to press home the positive duties of obedience to authority and of pure conduct, instead of wasting time over controversialist and sectarian (2:15-3:17; cp. ΕΛΛΟΓΜΕΝΑ ΥΠΟΧΡΩ, § 1; HICKES, § 2). With some brief personal notices (1:2-15) the epistle closes; the mention of the jurist Zenas and the evangelist Apollōs is perhaps intended to suggest that it was conveyed by their hands to its recipient.

The cluster of problems offered by these epistles is intimately connected with the dual nature of their contents. Within a setting and alongside of material which, upon all available criteria of internal evidence, must be pronounced distinctly sub-Pauline,³ the reader meets passages apparently alien which have high claims to be considered as directly due to the apostle whose name the letters bear. The task of criticism is to do justice to both of these elements. The sub-Pauline element is primary, and in view of it any reasonable appreciation of the whole question, not merely of isolated details, leads almost inevitably to the conclusion — one of the best established in NT research — that the three epistles are pseudonymous, composed by a Paulinist in Asia Minor⁴ not earlier than the close of the first century, and not later than the second decade of the second century, based in part upon genuine fragments from the apostle's pen as well as upon more or less reliable oral tradition, and intended to express and instruct the common Christianity⁵ of the day in terms, as far as was possible or useful, of the great Pauline tradition. Substantially they were written and circulated early in the second century, as is evident from their employment in the epistles of Ignatius and Polycarp. During the period 90-120, and during that period alone, they possess a career and object which corresponds to their own

the churches (e.g., Athenagoras, *Leg. pro Christ.* 33, 'respectable adultery, *κατασκευασμένη μοιχεία*, Herm. *Manif.* 4:14; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 3:1). See Jacoby, *Neutest. Ethik* (1896), 378-399.

² The concrete and bitter description of the Cretan character with its prevalent traits of falsehood, avarice, drunkenness, and restless sedition — does not favour the ingenious hypothesis that Cretans in this epistle are an allegorical equivalent for Paulinists (Κρήτες, cp. Κρήτη), whom tradition occasionally commended with the island. There is no evidence for such persecution in the pastorals as would represent the church under the figure of the twelve tribes scattered in the dispersion (Gal. 1:1) and opposed by enemies of the true Israel.

³ In 2:16 *ἀπολογισμοὶ* (RV, 'proofs') is (as Heb. II 13) 'to make public account', especially when called upon (1 Pet. 3:15). The writer's point is, that the errorists made extravagant claims, but that they did not act up to the normal profession of the Christian faith.

⁴ For *πρεσβύτερος* in early Christianity see Achelis, *ZNTW*, 1909, pp. 92 ff.; 'young men' (*νεότεροι*) came to mean 'laymen', as 'presbyters' (*πρεσβύτεροι*) passed into an official term (see MINISTERS, § 43).

⁵ It is only fair to the ascertained results of criticism to adopt this position, although one still meets statements like the following: 'It may be asserted without fear of contradiction that nothing really un-Pauline has been proved in any of the disputed epistles' (Sanday, *Inspiration*, 338 f., 363 f., 372 f., 1906), a discussion characterised by Dr. Hinks of Andover thus: 'General assertion, bolstered up by the opinion of those like-minded, this is not the way in which an intelligent man, who "as solid arguments at his disposal, maintains an imperilled cause".'

⁶ Cf. von Dobschütz, *Die archaischen Gemeinden*, 127-139 (1898); Harnack, *Ausbreit. d. Christ.* 1130a2 *et* 113a.

The motto of the pastorals lies in a sentence like (RV) 'For the grace of God hath appeared, bringing salvation to all men, instructing us' (Tit. 2:11, *φανερώθη χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ σωτηρίας πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μαθησώμεθα ἑαυτοὺς*). In their age Christianity led to fight for its life by a subtle spirit in the air rather than against civil persecution; visionaries and socialists were more deadly than proconsuls and factors. Thanks to the moderation and steady sense of writers like the author of the pastorals, however, ordinary Christians came safely through the struggle with four truths as a secure possession; the unity of the Creator and the Redeemer, the unique and sufficient value of Jesus for redemption and revelation, the vital tie between morals and faith, and the secure future assured to the church of God.

internal evidence as well as to the data afforded by more or less contemporary literature. The latter point is minor though real. Their literary affinities are beyond question with I.k.-Acts, Clem. Rom., Barnabas, and the epistles of Jude and 2 Pet., as well as with the fourth book of the Sibylline oracles (*Asia Minor*, *contra* 80: A 10) which, like 4 Maccabees, reiterates the term 'pious' (*εὐσεβής*). Unlike Paul, the author also makes copious use of the vocabulary of 2 Maccabees, and, at least in Titus and 1 Tim., there are traces of acquaintance with 1 Pet.

The distinctive element, however — i.e., the prominence assigned to Timothy and Titus, is intelligible only upon the supposition that the author had specially in view the ulterior end of vindicating the legitimate evangelic succession of contemporary episcopi and other office-bearers in provinces where this was liable for various reasons to be challenged. The pastorals were composed, says Tertullian, to expound church affairs ('de ecclesiastico statu'). The craving (visible in Clem. Rom.) for continuity of succession as a guarantee of authority in doctrine (and therefore in discipline²) underlies the effort of this Paulinist to show that Timothy and Titus were genuine (*ὑποχρῶτα*) heirs of Paul, who himself (as the author goes out of his way to repeat and assert) was a divinely commissioned herald of the gospel. Intentionally, the successors appointed by Paul's lieutenants possessed the true central deposit of the faith. Conscious of this inheritance, and alive to its value, they are urged even as novices to instruct³ the churches personally upon the faith in a peremptory and positive manner,⁴ instead of allowing converts to be exposed to unreliable teachers or false leaders. Such teachers and leaders abound. Indeed, one note of the age is the flaming confident temper of the errorists (2 Tim. 2:13 f., 3:1 f., 4:1 f.; Gal. 1:6 f.; 1 Tim. 1:7 f., 5:3 f.; Acts 20:29 f.; Jude 23; 1 Pet. 2:14; 2 Tim. 2:17; 3 Tim. 9; Ign. *Ephes.* 7; *Trall.* 6, 110).

Open attempts, as well as cunning intrigues (2 Tim. 3:4-5), are on foot to exploit the principles of the faith, and the new tone of overhearing polemics among other traits, answers to the tradition preserved by Hegesippus (*contra* 170 A. 10-12) that such a phase occurred first of all during Paul's reign (Eus. *HE*:3:32), previously to which the limbo had remained 'a

5. The errorists.

¹ Cf. von Soden, *Theol. Abhandlungen*, 117-118 (1902). A comparison of the pastorals with I.k.-Acts, etc., establishes not then priority or literary filiation, so much as the relatively late period at which all were composed. Diction, ideas, standpoint — all indicate unmistakably the sub-Pauline period, with its stereotyped expressions and current phraseology.

² The concern of the pastorals, less avowed yet none the less real than in Ignatius and Clement, is to vindicate the authority of the elders or bishops over the enthusiasts and ascetics in the church; the second century reveals this perennial struggle going on particularly in Asia Minor. Hence this Paulinist is forward to claim Paul's authority on behalf of the organised discipline of the churches.

³ The prominence given to 'teaching' qualifies shows that one danger of the contemporary churches lay largely in the vagaries and crude speculations of unauthorised teachers (*Did.* 13:1). The author's cure is simple. Better let the *episcopus* himself teach! Better let those in authority themselves be responsible for the instruction of ordinary members! Evidently teaching was not ordinarily or usually (2 Tim. 3:17) a function of the presbyters; but abuses had led by this time, as the *Did.* 13:1 proves, to a need for combining teaching with organised church authority. A contemporary spirit of contempt for young episcopi (Ignat. *Adrom.* 3:16) is answered by the repeated encouragements of Paul in 1 Tim. 2:22 f., Tit. 2:6 f., 1 Tim. 4:12 f., 5:1; these are effective from the writer's standpoint, though such a tone would have been singularly inappropriate from Paul to lieutenants of mature experience. Here, however, they are types of loyalty to the Pauline gospel; that is all.

⁴ Timothy (2 Tim. 4), e.g., is not an evangelist, but he is to do an evangelist's work as part of his full service. See EVANGELIST, MINISTRY, § 30b, and Dieterich in *ZNTW*, 1909, pp. 316-318. The whole evidence from the allusions to ecclesiastical organisation points to the period immediately preceding that of Ignatius (MINISTERS, § 54).

⁵ Also to the statement of Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* 7:17) that Gnostic heresies first became threatening about Hieronym's reign, whilst the apostolic age and teaching ended with Paul's ministry under Nero.

⁶ Emphasis on the visible church as a bulwark of morals

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pure and incorruptible virgin' (*παρθένος καθάρη και ἀδιάβητος*), her seducers lurking somewhere in obscurity (*ἐν ἄβυσσος σκοτεινῆς*). This comparatively virgin purity of the church lasted not merely till the death of the apostles, but till the close of the next generation, 'of those thought worthy to be immediate listeners to the very words of the divine wisdom' (*ταῖς αὐταῖς ἀκούσις τῆς εὐαγγελίας ἐπακούσαι καθηγούμενοι*), when the deceit of teachers of other doctrine (*τῶν ἑτεροδιδασκαλῶν*, cp 1 Tim. 1: 6-7) produced insidious error in the communities. 'Since none of the apostles survived, these *ἑτεροδιδασκαλοὶ* now attempted, unabashed and openly, to preach "so-called gnosis" (*τῆς ψευδῶς ὀνομαζομένης γνώσεως*; cp 1 Tim. 6: 20) in opposition to "the preaching of the truth" (*τῆς ἀληθείας κηρύγματι*; cp 2 Tim. 4: 17 Tit. 1: 3). Of these Marcion¹ was the foremost.

In the pastorals, as in Jude and 2 Peter, this movement in its incipient stage is met by equally frank methods, which seem denunciatory merely because we no longer possess any statement of the other side and are, therefore, prone to forget that such rough and decisive ways are at times the soundest method of conserving truth. Popular applications of gnosticism were, as a rule, brilliant and poisonous fungi. Instead of writing a botanical treatise on their varieties, this writer felt the simpler and more practical plan was to make people either avoid or destroy them. It was a short and easy plan, and probably effective at the time, although its expression in literature runs the natural risk of being reproached for containing more heat than light. Firmness and even ridicule have their own place as ethical weapons of defence, and the opening of the second century offered Christianity some admirable occasions for their use.

The physiognomy of the errorists is indistinct, for several reasons. The author had to preserve the verisimilitude of a Pauline situation, for one thing; and the desire of avoiding undue anachronisms prevented him from being more explicit about the details of errors which had arisen in his own later age. Besides, the errors were familiar to his audience and might be taken for granted on the whole. It is even probable that he abstained purposely from confining his range to any one set of visionaries and opponents, inasmuch as his letters were intended (like 1 Peter, James, and 2 Peter) to be manifestoes to the church in general, rather than homilies for any local audience. The numerous forms of opinion and conduct in and around contemporary Christendom, which by a sound instinct he regarded as a menace to the faith, had certain common features; and to describe these as due to a syncretism of Gnosticism and (Tit. 1: 10 f. 30 1 Tim. 1: 7) Judaism, is to go as far as the evidence of the pastorals warrants.

The environment (as in Rev. 2 f., and the Ignatian epp.) is marked by the incipient phases of what afterwards blossomed out into the Gnosticism of the second century; an amalgam of tendencies towards dualism² and dualism (1 Tim. 2: 3-16, as in 1 In.), the multiplication of media between God and man (1 Tim. 2: 5 f.), a distinction between the God of creation and the God of redemption (1 Tim. 4: 1-5, cp Herm. Pis. 1: 3), a depreciation of the OT (2 Tim. 3: 15-17) and a penchant for magic and superstition (2 Tim. 3: 13; cp Acts 8: 24 19: 11-10 for Ephesus, 13: 6-12 for Cyprus). These tendencies were allied to ascetic pre-

(2 Tim. 2: 19 f. etc.) is accompanied by its elevation to the rank of foundation (*θεμέλιος*), hitherto reserved for Christ (1 Cor. 3: 11), or, at least, for the prophets and apostles (Eph. 2: 20). The church now takes her place in a fairly stable world; the old anxious outlook for an immediate return of Jesus is no longer central. The really pressing questions concern not the next world but the present, and institutions are brought forward as a means of moral discipline and religious settlement.

¹ Marcion's omission of the pastorals from his canon tells heavily against their origin as preserved in tradition. Philémon was accepted by him, though for more of a private note than any of the pastorals; and the presence of elements antagonistic to his own views need not have made him exclude them, since he could have easily excised these passages in this as in other cases.

² Cp von Dobschütz, 120-127, 180.

³ The lack of homogeneity in the description of the errorists prevents this trait from telling against the reference (GENEALOGIES, § 4; Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, 135 f.) of the 'genealogies' (*γενεαλογίαι*) in Tit. 30 1 Tim. 14 to legendary pedigrees of Jewish heroes. But the phrase came to have a conveniently appropriate colour afterwards in view of the interminable series of avatars and emanations developed especially by Gnostic sects like the Valentines. The Jewish legalism of Tit. 1: 14 39 1 Tim. 1: 7 f. recalls Cerinthus decidedly.

dications (like the prohibition of marriage among the Encratites, of marriage and flesh among the Saturninians and the Marcionites), which as usual bordered on antinomian license, to an aristocratic exclusiveness (opposed in non-Pauline fashion, 1 Tim. 2: 4 f. 4: 1), to a semi-philosophic evaporation of primitive beliefs (e.g., on the resurrection) (2 Tim. 2: 18; so Menander and Dios-theus), to indulgence in superficial theories and rhetoric, and so on. To our author's eye these errorists were heterogeneously, 'For there are many insubordinate people, chatterers and cheats, especially those who have come from the circumcision' (Tit. 1: 10). The mischievous feature about them was their presence within the churches and their combination of plausible errors with apparent, even ostentatious, fidelity to the principles of the faith—a trouble elsewhere reflected (Acts 20: 29 f.) in connection with the Ephesian church towards the close of the first century.

Even if the author had any single system of error in mind (which, in view of the contemporary fusion of

6. Paulinism. paganism and Judaism, is unlikely), the vague and somewhat indiscriminate fashion in which he endeavours to confute their pretensions, renders it impossible to reconstruct any coherent picture of his opponents. Several traits suggest influences similar to those which fostered Essenism; others² recall the picture of Cerinthus sketched in later tradition, others again the errorists Carpocrates, Menander, and Dios-theus. The two indisputable facts are, that the collective evidence of the early Christian literature, as well as of later tradition, places the origin of such phenomena (upon any considerable scale) not earlier than the close of the first century, and that their *locus* was primarily Eastern, in Syria and particularly Asia Minor, where we find the pastorals, like the Ignatian epistles, pouring a scattered fire upon manifold forms of antagonistic theosophy.

Against the selective influences of local paganism, with its ethical miasma and religious cravings, the author assumes a moralistic standpoint based upon the popular conception of Paulinism.

No writer after Paul's death could maintain, even when—as in Marcion's case—he happened to sympathise with, the deeper aspects of the apostle's thought, which survived mainly, so far as the subsequent literature was concerned, but in altered form throughout the Fourth Gospel. As a general rule Paulinism was either misunderstood or modified. The sub-Pauline epistles, like the Roman symbol (Kattenbusch, *Das Apostolische Symbol*, 249 f. 256 f. 270-1300), show instances of both attitudes, and the pastorals are a vivid proof of how even a devoted Paulinist had to alter the emphasis at many points of his master's teaching upon religious and practical topics,³ in a restatement of it for some later age—being forced, for example, to meet the common objection to Paul's severe view of the Law, and to admit the high estimate of its value throughout the diaspora as an ethical code and check (1 Tim. 1: 5-11),⁴ as well as to correct abuses and misunderstandings of certain Pauline ideas (e.g., the resurrection, 2 Tim. 2: 18).

The author rightly felt that Paul was essentially anti-Gnostic, and that the tenets of the incipient Gnostic

7. Sub-Pauline elements. theosophy would have been repugnant to the man who had theoretically and

practically attacked its precursors at Colossae. But his own practical bent and prudent sense of the situation prevent him from developing in reply Paul's peculiar theory of gnosis as a special endowment, superior to faith, and mediated by the

¹ This notion is either ultra-spiritualist (cp Jn. 5: 24, qualified carefully by 5: 28 f., etc.) and due to Gnostic tendencies, or philistine—the reign of Christ, eternal life, has already begun; therefore there can be no marrying (Lk. 20: 35 f. 1 Tim. 4: 3).

² If Cerinthus and Carpocrates, really rejected the virgin-birth (Herm. *Afr. her.* 1: 29: 125), it is strange that neither the author of the Fourth Gospel nor the author of the past-orals defended this point. The former, probably, had reasons of his own; but the latter, who had no semi-philosophic character, to state, seems to have omitted the virgin-birth from his rhythmic summary (1 Tim. 3: 16 f.) owing to his genuine Pauline standpoint. This adherence to the older view is all the more remarkable side by side with the eager insistence on it in *1st. Inait.* 11: 22, and Ignat. *ad Eph.* 19 (where a Pauline citation occurs, 1 Cor. 2: 9), both contemporary writings.

³ Note, e.g., the varying proportion of the two currents—one spontaneous and prophetic, the other veering towards order and organisation. The former is in some writings of this age almost wholly subordinated to the latter (Clem. Rom., Past., even Ignat.); in others it is dominant, almost exclusively important (Barnabas, 1 In., Rev., Jude, 2 Pet.).

⁴ Antiphones (*Ἐρασμ. Com. Graec.*). 'He who does no wrong needs no law' (*ὁ μὴ ἔσται ὀπίσθεν δέεται νόμου*).

TIMOTHY AND TITUS (EPISTLES)

spirit. Such methods would not have been appropriate. Popular Christianity had always been wider and more varied than Paulinism, even during Paul's lifetime, and the new period which found Christianity in fresh relations with the wider empire in the generation following Paul's death, stimulated fresh energies and fresh methods of expression, native to the age but more or less an advance upon all previous conceptions. To the author of the pastorals, loyal to the apostolic and especially the Pauline tradition, but none the less free to interpret afresh his Christian consciousness, God appears—in un-Pauline fashion—as a Saviour; Jesus not as the son of God but as a mediator,¹ or rather the mediator; baptism (Tit. 3.5) as almost a sacrament of salvation, the Law simply as a useful code of morals. Anthropomorphism is carefully avoided, as in the Fourth Gospel; God is the Absolute—his unity, awe (1 Tim. 6.16, cp. En. 14.2 f.), and eternity, his universal purpose, but not his fatherly love, being prominent.² The pressing question of religion is the consolidation of the churches rather than the extension of the gospel to those as yet unreachd. We are in the age of the *Ephesians*, when the creative genius has almost disappeared and is yielding place to practical activities which are mainly devoted to conserving ground already gained. The spirit of defensiveness has increased. Christianity is now more self-conscious than ever. Her outlook is not eschatological so much as secular, directed to a useful though troubled career in the world. The church has behind her a sound body of religious truth, which it is her business to teach and enforce; and this is presented by the writer in brief, crystallised phrases and paragraphs, which recall the incipient liturgies and synods of the church.³ Faith consequently is tending to become more than ever *fides que creditur*. It is predominantly the confident apprehension of the truth or the conviction that the gospel-message is authentic, sometimes the virtue of fidelity; but neither the author nor his age has any intelligent sympathy with Paul's characteristic idea of faith as the warm tie between Jesus and the redeemed Christian. Nay more, the old Pauline antithesis of faith and works (like the idea of justification by faith, or of salvation from sin's guilt) is put into the background, evidently as misleading or apt to be misunderstood. 'Piety,' nourished by sound⁴ teaching, is the root out of which all human virtues spring; and the conceptions of reward, a good conscience, and the value of a respectable reputation, come to the front. In effect, this is practically the ethical result of Paulinism. But how differently⁵ the apostle and the later church reached even the same conclusions! Here eternal life is the boon granted to good works, and 'faith' (*πίστις*) is a man's relation to the 'truth' of the teaching.

¹ Sub-Pauline idea (Heb. 8.6, etc.). In *Test. Dan.* 6, the angel of peace is the mediator between God and man.
² The heaping up of predicates, especially in the negative, recalls earlier attempts by Jewish thinkers (e.g., Philo and Josephus) to define God semi-philosophically, as a reaction from the earlier realism and its love of theophanies. Passages like 1 Tim. 1.17 & 16 mark the sub-Pauline transition from this to the later efforts of the Greek spirit, as in the 'Preaching of Peter' and Aristides. The pastoral 'Trinity' corresponds, however, to the apocalyptic (e.g., Rev. 1.4 Lk. 9.26, etc.)—i.e., God, Jesus, and the angels (elect); while Christ's appearing (1 Tim. 6.14 f.) is stated in Pauline terms of subordination, and with the substitution of epiphanies (*ἐπιφανεία*) for the Pauline parousia (*παρουσία*).
³ The pastorals, like Ephesians, are absorbed in an un-Pauline devotion to the church which ignores the local churches. This trait, absent even from Ignatius, significantly illustrates their authorship and real aim as tracts for the officers of the Catholic church. Timothy and Titus are portrayed as receiving instructions and ideals which were to control the contemporary teachers and other office-bearers of the author's age.
⁴ This un-Pauline use of *δύναμις* in *ἐδασκαλία δύναμις* ('sound doctrine') is anticipated in the Philonic phrases 'sound learning' (*δύναμις μαθησις*), and 'sound words' (*ὁ δύναντος λόγος*); it tends occasionally to become almost equivalent to 'rational,' or 'sane.'
⁵ Paul could have written Tit. 2.11-14; but he would have had something to say also about peace with God and re-

conciliation. He 'could no doubt have said all this' (cp. Tit. 3.4-7) also, but 'probably he would have said it otherwise, and not all at a time.' Practically it is the use of such stereotyped and almost formal language which makes it reasonable to say that 'St. Paul was inspired, but the writer of these epistles is sometimes only orthodox' (Deane, *The Death of Christ*, 1892, p. 203).
¹ In 1 Tim. 1.18 & 14, where a symbol is trembling into a sacrament (cp. Acts 20.28, not 13-14 which denotes a commission for some special service), divine inspiration prompts the Christian prophets, of whom Paul is one, to select men for office in the church, and to confer upon them a supernatural charism (*χάρισμα*) by means of the rite of imposition of hands (see HANDS, LAYING ON OF, and SUPERNATURAL GIFTS, also MINISTRY, § 17, b, c). The idea of such a special rite, even in the form of 2 Tim. 1.6 (1 Thess. 3.10 f.), could hardly have come from the man who wrote 1 Cor. 12.4 (diversities of gifts), 11 (dividing to every man), and represents the water-mark of later catholicism; the semi-official tinge lent to a primitive ceremony is palpable (see Gunkel's *Wirkungen des heil. Geist.* 1.2, 7 [1896], and especially Weinel's *Wirk. des Geistes und der Gister*, 140-142, 216-218 [1896], with the conveyancing of influence through physical contact as traced by Volz in *Z. f. N. T.* 21.93 f. [1901]). The other function of the Spirit in the prophets—i.e., prediction of woes and perils (1 Tim. 4.1 f.; 2 Tim. 3.1 f.)—is naturally referred by the sub-apostolic age (Acts 20.29 f. Clem. Rom. 44.1 Jude 17 f.; 2 Pet. 2.1) to the apostles. They foresaw what their successors suffer. Hence the pseudonymous pastoral epistles credit Paul with anticipations of the errors current in their own age.
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⁴ Cp. En. 3.41, 'the paths of righteousness are worthy of acceptance.'
⁵ So 1 (*humans*), 115.

Similarly the church, to this mystical author, is no longer the bride or the body of Christ but God's building, or rather a *familia dei*, quite in the neo-athentic manner. It is beginning to assume the place occupied by the Holy Spirit in Paul's theology, the latter doctrine having become liable to abuses as well as proving too profound for later generations. As in books like the Apocalypse, Jude, and 2 Peter, the Spirit in the pastorals is essentially prophetic; as a means of union between the individual and Jesus, it is almost if not entirely ignored. The exceptions—and they are apparent or partial exceptions—are Tit. 3.6; 2 Tim. 1.14; even the personal relation of the believer to Jesus is not cardinal (2 Tim. 1.12-2.1 f.).

These and other items of the creed, now rapidly crystallising in Ionic and Asia Minor, are conveyed partly in lyrical fragments² which, like those in the Apocalypse of John, spring from the entus of the churches; partly in the shape of aphorisms such as the terse and weighty axioms called the two 'faithful sayings' (cp. Ps. 111 f.). These are like proverbs; they mark a comparatively advanced stage of experience, expressing in concentrated form the outcome of prolonged reflection.
 (i.) 2 Tim. 2.11-14.—Here the 'faithful saying' (*πιστός λόγος*)³ resembles a fragment of some primitive hymn or confession, if it is not like the rhythmical snatches (cp. also Rev. 21.5-22.6, *λόγος πιστός*) in the Apocalypse—an outburst of the Spirit-raptures in the early church (cp. Weinel, *Die Wirk. des Geistes*, 20 f. [1896]). (ii.) Tit. 3.8.—As the phrase implies a condensed and pregnant statement, it seems better in Tit. 3.8 to find its contents in 2.7 rather than in 4.7, which it is sometimes supposed (e.g., by von Soden, Bernard, Weiss) to be repeated. (iii.) 1 Tim. 1.15.—Here the phrase not merely is expanded by the non-Pauline addition⁴ and worthy of all acceptance (*καὶ πάντες ἀποδοχῆς ἀξίος*; as in 4.6), but also precedes its contents which are in this instance introduced by 'that' (*ὅτι*). (iv.) 1 Tim. 3.1.—The use of the phrase in this verse, which of course refers back to 2.15 ('saved in child-bearing'; Chrysost., Erasmus, etc.)—a wife's salvation being worked out in her own sphere of motherhood (despite the associations of Jewish tradition, not in ecclesiastical position—is remarkable for the variant accepted by Zahn, *Ev. l. 1. 2*) 'human' (*ἀνθρώπινος*)⁵ in D^g (Ambrosiast., Beza). In 1.15 as here, 'save' (*σωσθῆναι*) has an indirect eschatological reference. (v.) 1 Tim. 4.9.—In this verse (which Bois and

conciliation. He 'could no doubt have said all this' (cp. Tit. 3.4-7) also, but 'probably he would have said it otherwise, and not all at a time.' Practically it is the use of such stereotyped and almost formal language which makes it reasonable to say that 'St. Paul was inspired, but the writer of these epistles is sometimes only orthodox' (Deane, *The Death of Christ*, 1892, p. 203).

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Baljon delete) the contents of the 'saying' (λόγος) might be either 2. 3 (Chrysost. Weiss. Hilg. Weiss. von Soden. Houton) or 2. 10 (Hengel, Schilleim. Holtm., cp. 'for' [ὑπὸ] and ἀγών, 2 Tim. 2. 11). It is noticeable that of these *sententiae* (6) alone is in thought and style somewhat parallel to Paul,¹ who never associates 'boisrhip' or 'hope' (as Tit. 3. 7.) with 'eternal life' (ζωὴ αἰώνιος). The colomning of (iii.), as of Tit. 3. 5 (2 Tim. 1. 10) 1 Tim. 2. 12 13 Tit. 1. 7. 8) is Johannine, whilst (iv.) contains the pastoral trial of *faith, love, and soberness*, and the *an. Aeg. child's saying*, which is besides an idea generally strange to Paul's mode of thought (particularly if childlike is considered as a means of thought). In (v.) characteristically in-Pauline terms abound (e.g., 'bodily' [σωματικῶς], 'bodily exercise' [γυμνασια], 'profitable' [ὠφελετικῶς], 2. 7. 8; σωτηρία of God, 2. 10). The 'faithful sayings,' therefore, not merely are characteristic of the pastorals, but betray an essentially in-Pauline conception of the *logia* [2. 13].

This difference in ground-work is endorsed by the difference in style and diction between Paul and the author of the pastorals, an argument which forms a cumulative and almost final proof of the sub-Pauline origin of the epistles.

Out of the 176 ἁπαξ λεγόμενα, a proportion two or three times as great as in the Pauline epistles, nearly 50 are in LXX and were therefore consciously neglected by Paul. Favourite Pauline phrases and words are totally wanting (e.g., 'unjust' [ἀδικῶς], 'unlawfulness' [ἀκαθάρτησις], 'adoption' [ἰσοθεοῦται], 'our Father' [πατήρ ἡμῶν], 'covenant' [διαθήκη], 'reveal' [ἠποκαλύπτειν], 'free' [ἀλευθερος] and compounds, 'be operative' [ἐνεργεῖν], 'perform' [κατεργάζεσθαι], 'boast' [καυχῶσθαι], 'folly' [λαωαία], 'hallow' [ἁγιασμοῦ], 'persuade' [πειθεῖν], 'abound' [ἡ περισσεύειν], 'do' [πράσσειν, ποιεῖν, in past.], 'perfect' [τελειοῦται], 'be gracious' [χρηστεύεται], 'think' [ἰσχυροῦται], with 'ordinance' [δογματῶν], 'greater' [μεγίστων], 'small' [μικροῖς], 'body' [σῶμα], 'good' [ἀγαθῶν], etc.; also parallels like 'then' [τότε], 'wherefore' [ὁμοί], 'because' [ὁμοί], 'then' [τότε], 'still' [ἔτι], 'behold' [ἴδε, ἴδου], etc., etc., prepositions like 'with' [σύν = μετά of pastorals], 'instead of' [ἀντὶ], 'until' [ἄχρι], 'before' [ἔμπροσθεν], 'beyond' [πέρα, ἀπὸ, &c.]. Many fresh terms are coined, new compounds, and Latinisms are introduced, whole families of words appear for the first time (cp. those in a privative, διδάσκω, οἶκος, σωφροσύνη, φιλῶ, etc.), and others are used with unwonted frequency (e.g., καλῶ). The extent and significance of this change in vocabulary cannot adequately be explained even when one assigns the fullest possible weight to such factors as change of amanuensis, situation, or topic, lapse of time, literary fertility, or semi-weakness; for the wider evidence of syntax and style, to be left even through a translation, comes in to verify the impression already made by the vocabulary. Particularly where the writer is most himself and least dependent on previous letters (as in 1 Tim.), the idiosyncrasies of his composition appear, neither accidental nor trivial by any means. The comparative absence of rugged fervour, the smoother flow, the heaping up of words, all point to another sign-manual than that of Paul. In short, the relative proportions of likeness and unlikeness (especially to Romans and Philippians) between the style of Paul and the style of these three letters, are explicable only upon the hypothesis that the writer of the pastorals modelled his diction in part upon that of his master, but not slavishly—certainly not to the prejudice of his own originality and cast of thought. These proportions are precisely what we should expect in such a literary relationship. Upon any other hypothesis they do not seem credible or reasonable. Questions of style are proverbially delicate, but the linguistic data of the pastorals and the Pauline epistles may be said to resemble those of the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel; both ratify the conclusion that we have to do with kinship, not identity, of authorship.⁴

¹ Yet 'deny' (ἀπειθεῖσθε) is non-Pauline, and the stanza reads like a popular version of Paul's own words, adapted to the requirements of a martyr-period. See Denney, 202.

² The knowledge of God or of the truth = salvation or eternal life (1m. 17. 2. 17); cp. Jn. 17. 3 with 1 Tim. 2. 5, the same combination of 'theism' as against polytheism, and of Christ's unique and ancient position as against Judaism or Gnosticism, besides (as the *man* Christ Jesus) a Johannine protest against the Gnostic or Docetic tendency to resolve Christ into a phantom of abstract spirit. On the Christology of the epistles (1 Tim. 3. 16), see A. Klappier in *ZNTW* (1902) 330-361.

³ No possible charge of circumlocution could make Paul oblivious (through three separate letters) of God's fatherhood, of the believing man's union with Jesus, of the power and witness of the Spirit, or of reconciling filiation. They might be taken for granted? But surely in enforcing the ethical requirements of the pastorals, Paul would never have demanded the blossom without urgently pressing the need of these spiritual facts as its root!

⁴ There is no ground for the idea that the prosaic tone of the pastorals is due to their preoccupation with the practical steps of organisation, whilst in Paul's earlier letters he had been mainly employed in sketching the ideal of the church. A letter like 1 Cor., to say nothing of passages in the other letters, is enough to refute this explanation and to show how Paul would have dealt with the problems of organisation and church-order, had these met him in any form. It would have been different from the method of this Paulist, for Paul ever came down upon ethical tasks from a spiritual height.

Still further proof in corroboration of their un-Pauline origin flows in from the impossibility of placing the epistles within Paul's lifetime.

10. The second imprisonment.

practical unanimity¹ defenders² of traditional hypothesis abandoned attempts to fix them previous to Paul's Roman imprisonment; but their conjecture of a release, followed by a farther extension of activity and a second imprisonment is quite gratuitous and hardly furnishes a more tenable ground for the pastorals. It is not indeed bound with the acceptance of their Pauline authorship; two positions are independent and may be held separately. But even apart from the evidence of the pastorals (who never mention Spain, nor allude to so momentous a visit to the Western Mediterranean), the evidence for a second imprisonment must be pronounced inadequate (CHRISMOLOGY, § 79 f., PAT. I., § 31), resting mainly on vague rumour (λόγος ἔχει) reported by Eusebius, and allusion in the Muratorian Canon (possibly derived from apocryphal *Acts*) which is simply an expansion of Rom. 15. 24. 25—the devout and imaginative fantasy of a tradition being convinced that because Paul proposed a visit to Spain, he must have carried it out. No such tradition lingered in Spain itself, whilst the express statement of Acts 20. 25. 35 and the significant silence of Clement Romanus imply that the tradition nearest to Paul's knew of no return to Asia Minor. The very passage of Clement Romanus (5), which has been supposed to refer to this western journey, tells against it. Charged with rhetorical feeling, as Baur pointed out, it narrates (in Rom. 15. 10) the sweep of Paul's career from Jerusalem to Rome: 'after teaching righteousness to the whole world, and reaching the limit of the West, and bearing testimony before the authorities, so he left the world; Paul's sun had ended its course (Acts 13. 47). Clement is speaking from the standpoint of his Eastern readers who would naturally take 'the limit of the west'—πέρας τῆς δόσεως) as the Imperial capital (cp. 'east' [ἀνατολῆς] and 'west' [δόσεις] of Syria and Rome Ignat. *Rom.* 2), and incidentally clinches the proof by adding that the Neronic martyrs of 64 were 'gathered unto Paul and Peter,' implying that the latter had already died. Were the 'earlier' chronology adopted which brings Paul to Rome early in the sixties if not even earlier, space would of course be won before the two or three years' interval required by the traditional hypothesis of the 'pastorals' (CHRISMOLOGY, §§ 64-66). Otherwise no time is left, and it is almost incredible that the 'pastorals,' if written after 64, should breathe no hint of the shock produced upon the Christian consciousness of the age, especially at Rome, by Nero's massacre which outraged even the Roman conscience. But even chronological resetting only makes the hypothesis possible; its acceptance or rejection rests on other grounds, and—to put it mildly—these do not seem in any point secure.

The genesis of the pastorals is therefore sub-Pauline. To account for the Pauline, or presumably Pauline character, including not merely phrases and conceptions such as could be gathered from the extant letters of the apostle or from tradition, but also private details and personal matters affecting about sixteen new figures (some of whom are not mere names)—recourse must be had to theories of compilation, whose common feature is the presupposition that the author was in possession of a genuine *reliquiae Paulinae*. No doubt a pseudonymist writer would endeavour to stamp his figures and so not upon the reader's mind by means of circumstances.

11. Genesis of pastorals.

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¹ Bartley, Bowen (*Dates of Pastoral Letters*) and H. C. (Vindicta Sanctorum, 1700) are the chief exceptions.

² Especially Spitta in *Zur Gesch. und Lit. des Neutestaments*, 12-108; also Lightfoot (*Biblical Essays*, 215-223), Zahn (*Urchristentum*, 1. 415 f.), Steinmetz (*Die zweite röm. Gefang. des Apostels Paulus*, 12-27), C. H. Turner (*Illustrations*, DB 1. 421, etc.), and Frey (*Die zweite röm. Gefang. und das Todesjahr des Ap. Paulus*, 1905).

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details, especially when (as in this case) the authentic letters would suggest the introduction of a certain quantum of personal matter—though in the sub-Pauline letters (Eph., Heb., 1 Pet.) this quantum is noticeably small. But, while it is conceivable that this may be sufficient to account for 1 Tim.,¹ it fails to afford an adequate rationale for 2 Tim. The latter is flooded with items which by no means fall under the category of romantic ornament or literary *travaux d'art*, and lift the letters quite above the level of later Pauline romances.

Even when such passages do not part from their context, they suggest to a critical inquirer the advisability of admitting that they are based upon authentic tradition and that they reproduce, with more or less freedom, information still accessible to the immediately sub-Pauline generation. It may be allowed, still further, that genuine notes have been incorporated, although these cannot any longer be deciphered. But the advocates of compilation attempt the subtler task of actually separating original notes from the strata in which they lie embedded,² upon the hypothesis that, whilst the author's direct aim was to instruct and move the church of his own day and not to preserve literary relics, he was able to use certain Pauline notes in the composition of 2 Tim. at least and even Titus. The preservation of such letters is far from incredible.³ Paul was the first 'man of letters' in early Christianity, and the extant canonical collection represents only a part of his actual correspondence. In the nature of things, private notes would be more likely to remain overlooked than others, unless, like the letter of recommendation to Phoebe (Rom. 16:1-2), they were attached by late editors to some larger epistle.

In addition to this, the pastorals have suffered accretion as church documents, and thus three stages of their composition must be distinguished: (i.) the primitive notes from Paul's lifetime; (ii.) the incorporation of these by the author of the pastorals in his epistles, substantially composed about forty years after Paul's death, and (iii.) glosses added to these epistles by subsequent copyists to render them more suitable than ever for the needs of the second century. The last-named process naturally ceased by the time that the letters passed into the canon.

Whether the letters are substantially Pauline and only interpolated by some editor,⁴ or whether—as is highly probable, in the case of 1 Tim. at any rate—the Pauline element, such as it is, has been submerged in later work, cannot be decided till each letter has been separately examined upon the principles of literary morphology. As the amount of presumably authentic material is obviously largest in 2 Tim. and least in 1 Tim., it will be advisable to discuss the epistles in that provisional order.

Second Timothy.—Although the address of 2 Tim.

12. 2 Tim.: (1:1 f.) is fairly⁵ Pauline, the strange emphasis on the fact and purpose or standard of Paul's apostolate ('according to the promise' [*κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν*]) in a letter to one who

¹ 1 Tim. 1:3 f. might be developed from the hint in Philem. 22 (the Asiatic *66* is being shown in the failure to use the companion allusion in Phil. 2:4 to a return visit to Macedonia). The personal matter here is principally meant to furnish a suitable setting for an epistle dealing with general questions of church life and work in the Asiatic provinces, and reflecting that cardinal importance of Ephesus as a centre of early Christianity to which *1850* has rightly but extravagantly called attention (*Roma Vergerina*, 1901). Cf. Harnack, *Ausbeutung*, 333-352-352.

² Perhaps 1 Pet. also contains material worked up from earlier sources; certainly it has incorporated parts of Jude. And the canonical 2 Cor. is a compilation of two separate letters in reverse order. But even were the pastorals, as compilations, without any analogy in the N.T. literature (cp. further, JAMES [Eph. 2:14, § 5], this would not of itself disprove the analytic hypothesis. The pastorals present quite unique features, and it is only reasonable that the complexity of their structure should demand somewhat unique and exceptional methods of treatment.

³ E.g., the correspondence of Cicero and Atticus, the letters of King Arippa II. (Josephus), etc. See Peters, *Der Brief in der römischen Literatur* (1901), 27 f., 73 f., and Wehler, *Untersuch. zur altchristlichen Epistolographie* (Sitt. III; phil.-lit. Klasse, 14, 1901).

⁴ Ménégou, for example (*Le Pêche et la Rédemption*, 5 f.), treats them as authentic, but supposes that copyists under the direction of bishops subsequently added glosses; these, however, affect only questions of discipline and order, leaving the genuinely Pauline spirit unimpaired.

⁵ The insertion of 'mercy' between 'grace' and 'peace' (1:2) is, of course, not Pauline. Delecloux among other phrases Hausrath (*Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, F.T., 1875, 3:100-103) finds a genuine letter to Timothy in 11 f. 15-18 49-50, Sabatier in 1:1-13 46-22.

could hardly have doubted it, at once reveals the real genius of the writing and corroborates the general evidence afforded by all three epistles, especially by 1 Tim. and Titus. They are not private letters at all, not even semi-private and the very form of a private letter is not strictly preserved. They resemble rather 'pastorals' in the modern sense of the term, and find their real audience among people (primarily teachers and officials, it may be) inclined to doubt the validity and misunderstood or misapply the tenets of the Pauline gospel. As even Liddon admits (*Life of St. Paul*, 1867, ad loc.), of Paul's apostolic authority 'Timothy did not require to be reminded; St. Paul has other readers of the epistle—i.e. those false teachers'—in view. Behind 1 Tim. lies a tradition of Timothy's temporary absence (Phil. 2:19 f.) from Paul during his last captivity; but neither here nor elsewhere is it feasible in 1:1-14 to disentangle any written source. On the other hand, 1:15-18 is perhaps a displaced (later 4:1) McGiffert, 4:13 Kuokko,⁶ and at any rate a genuine fragment, probably written from Paul's Roman captivity. So most editors and critics (Lemne,⁷ Hesse,⁸ and Krenkel⁹ omitting rather needlessly 1:15 and 1:20). Again, 2:1 f. hardly seems homogeneous¹⁰ (cp. 2:16 3:13 with 3:9); 2:2 seems a gloss (on Hesse, *Hilg*, ZII f. 1867, pp. 1-86); 2:14 f. is awkwardly introduced, and the thoroughly un-Pauline passage 3:1-9 may well be a later insertion, due to the process of accretion. 3:1-12, however, is an interpolated genuine fragment; its isolated position and contents mark it off from the surrounding context. Furthermore, the bulk, if not the whole, of 4 (6:9-22) is generally allowed to have come directly from Paul's own hand (6:18 f., except 'having love 1 this present world' [*ἀγαπήσας τὸν ἐν κόσμῳ*] 6:19 f.; Balansen,¹¹ 9:15 19-22, Ewald; 10:9-13, Immer; 11:9-11, Pfaff). But it is not homogeneous; evidently 1:12 and 2:14, like 6:3 and 9:15, reflect different situations in Paul's life, and the whole passage offers an admirable proof of the composite character of even the directly Pauline strata in the pastoral epistles. Following the various dates and moods, one can detect approximately in 1:10-13 16-12 16-19 a note (or part of a note) written after Philippians; the situation has become more grim, and Paul pines in loneliness for his younger ally. Again, 4:13-15 21-22 go back to a still earlier period, when

¹ 'Les communautés voudront ce que valent leurs conducteurs; voilà l'idée générale qui se dégage de ses instructions' (J. Reville).

² Cp. *Act. 18*, 320 f. (before 103 A.D.) for the contemporary feeling that an apostasy would precede the latter days, when the disciples of Jesus would desert 'the prophesy of his twelve apostles and their faith' (cp. 1 Tim. 1:19, etc.), and lose all purity (1 Tim. 4:16), and there shall be many seces, etc. (*τῆς ἀποστασίας τῶν δωδεκά ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς πίστεως* [cp. 1 Tim. 1:19, etc.] καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην αὐτῶν, καὶ τὴν ἀγίαν αὐτῶν [1 Tim. 4:12] καὶ ἐσοῦνται αἰρέσεις πολλὰς κ.τ.λ.).

³ *Praktisch-theol. Comm. zu den Past.*, 1827-1828.

⁴ *Das echte Ermahnungsschreiben des Ap. Paulus an Tim.*, 1832.

⁵ *Die Entsteh. der NT. Heilensbriefe*, 1859.

⁶ *Beitrag zur Anbahnung der Gesch. und der Brief. des Ap. Paulus*, 1754-1755.

⁷ Chap. 2 contains two passages paralleled in Epiphanius (*Diss.*, 319, 'God saith to thee, Prove to me whether thou hast contented according to requirement' [*εἰ τοῦτως ἠρώτασαι*]; 1 Tim. 2:3 'good soldier'; and 3:22 where, as the Cynic is in an army arrayed for battle, it is urged that he should not be 'entangled' [*ἐμπεπλεγμένον*] but wholly devoted to God's service [cp. 2 Tim. 2:4] 'entangleth himself' [*ἐμπεπλεται*]), and free from distraction; ἀπερισπάστως, 1 Cor 7:35). Five parallels to the pastorals in Seneca are cited by Lightfoot, *Philippians*, 200.

⁸ Upon the difficulties of geography in 1:17, see CROSCENS, *DALMATIA, GALATIA* § 12. The figurative expression in 2:17 is paralleled by an old proverb that one should 'visit the poor in his affliction and speak of him in the Sultan's presence and do one's diligence to save him from the mouth of the lion' (Kendall Harris, *Story of Ahiqar*, p. lxxij). The occurrence 'Melita' [*Μελίτη*] for 'Miletus' [*Μιλήτη*] is neither probable nor helpful.

⁹ *H. Timotheus* (1876).

¹⁰ *Sieben Sendschreiben* (1876).

¹¹ *Ästhetik des NT.*, 300 (1-77).

¹² These 'commissions and cautions' at least are 'unlike a dying man; the writer is in a hurry for Timothy to come simply because he is old and lonely,' not because he fears his friend will too

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Paul had left Troas on some journey; 4²⁰ (cp. Acts 21:26) seems to belong to Act 1: 3 f., though the historicity of Acts 21:29 is not altogether suspicious (cp. Acts 1: 11; Trophimus); with J. Weiss, *Ueber die Absicht u. d. literar. Charakter der Ap. gesch.*, 30 f. [1897].

A literal analysis of 2 Tim. has been carried through by several critics from Credner onward. Hesse, *o.c.* (pp. 170 f.), regards it as the compilation of a genuine brief letter of recall (1: 1-4 10 f. 18^b 49-224) with a later pseudonymous letter (1: 1-3 5-10 23-24 14-25 31-8 13^b 17 41-5). Hesse's reconstruction of the genuine letter underlying 2 Tim. is even more intricate (see O. Holtzmann's critique, *Zf. N.*, 1883, pp. 45-72) and less convincing (= 1-9 except 'πίστις' [πίστις] 2 30^b 4, and a sound mind' [καὶ σωφροσύνη] 7, 'in Christ Jesus before the world began' [ἐν... αἰώνων] 9, 10, except 'but is now made manifest by the appearing' [ἡμεῖς ἠγγισθῆναι... ἐπιφανῆσαι], 11 except 'and a teacher' [καὶ διδάσκαλος], 12 except 'against that day' [τῆς... ἡμετέρας], 14 except 'that good thing which was committed' [τὴν... φερόμενην] 15a 16 f. 18^b 21 3-5 24 9 f., except 'with eternal glory' [μετὰ δόξης αἰώνιου], 47 f. except ἐν κ. τ. ἡ. 9-22), while Hilgenfeld's analysis of the epistle into two sub-Pauline notes is quite in the air (A = 11 f., except 'according to the promise of life which is in Christ Jesus' [κατ'... ἰησοῦ], 34 5-10, except 'before the world began'; but is now made manifest by the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath abolished death and hath brought life and immortality to light' [πρὸ χρόνων... ἀθάνατον], 11 12a 16-18d 21 3-9 9-12 19-26 31-4 10-12 14 f. 41 f. 108 19-22; B = 1 16 36-4 9-10 12^b 15 19^b 22 26 1-13 35-9 13 17 f. 4 3 5 9-18). More is to be said for M'Giffert's hypothesis that the epistle is a redacted version of one written by Paul towards the close of his Roman imprisonment (1: 1-12 21-11 41 f. 58 10-19 21^b 10 115-18) (so Clemen for 1: 15-18; from Rome 63 A.D.), whilst 2 Tim. 4: 9 11-18 20-214 represents an earlier note written from Macedonia before 2 Cor. which was composed (11) after Timothy had obeyed his summons. Similarly Bacon places 4: 9 11-18 20-214 22^b in the period immediately previous to 2 Cor. 2: 12 f., when Paul was in Macedonia, whilst von Soden takes 1: 15-18 4: 9-19 21^b 22 a note written after Philippians from Paul's Roman captivity, 'Hitzig had already found a letter of Paul written about 58 A.D. from Caesarea in 1: 13 4 13-16 20-22a (so Clemen; 4: 9-18, about 60 A.D.?), and another letter written from Rome about 63 A.D. in 4: 12 19 11-18 422^b; whilst Bartlet recently has distinguished (in 4: 9-13 21-22a) a note written between Ephesians and Philippians, the rest of 2 Tim. being the swan-song of the apostle. Less probably Clemen puts 4: 10-21 into 57 A.D. (from Jerusalem, previous to his imprisonment), dating the epistle as a whole slightly earlier than Titus (circa 100 A.D.), which again preceded 1 Tim. (100-110 A.D. Asia Minor) and the author's interpolations in 2 Tim. (113 f. 214-26 4-8) and Titus (17-11 31-11).

Titus.—The attempts to find in Tit. 1: 1-4 a genuine address interpolated by some redactor are not convincing.

13. Titus: whole is taken as sub-Pauline, 17-9 certainly appears a further gloss (so O. Ritschl, *TLZ.* '85, 609; Knoke; Harnack, *Chron.* 710 f.; Clemen, and M'Giffert). The sudden transition from presbyters to episcopi, and the general contents of the passage, mark it off as the insertion of some later editor who was interested in promoting the monarchical episcopate. Hesse and Clemen carry the gloss on to the end of 11; but, although 10 connects with 9 (which partly explains the insertion of the gloss at this point), 12 would be abrupt after 6, for κακά θ. are not an antithesis to ἀνπ., nor 'slow bellies' (γαστέρες ἀργαί) to 'riot' (ἀσωτίας), much less 'hars' (ψεύσται) to 'faithful' (πίστα which here = believing, not reliable or trustworthy). The passage 7-9, then, was inserted, perhaps from the margin, in the original text which ran: 'unruly, for there are many unruly' (ἀνυπότακτα. Εἰσὶν γὰρ πολλοὶ ἀνυπότακτοι, κ.τ.λ.). No man could discharge a presbyter's duties effectively, if the members of his own family were tainted with the local disease of insubordination and profligacy. 21-14 and 215-37 are somewhat parallel (cp. 25 and 32, 214 and 31); but no analysis of the passage into a Pauline and a later source is plausible. The 'genuinely Pauline ring' of much in 31-7 (M'Giffert) is not very audible, though Sabatier detects genuine material in it and 312-15. The latter passage certainly, 312-13 [14] 15^b, contains an authentic fragment, as is admitted upon almost all hands (e.g., Weiss, Ewald, Krenkel, Knoke, Hesse, von Soden, Clemen, M'Giffert). Hesse (pp. 150 f.) finds further in Titus (1: 1 f. 4-6 12-13 16 31-9 12 f. 13) a complete letter

of Paul, written shortly after he left Crete; it has expanded by the addition of passages which, although rising out of the original text (with the possible exception of 2), are intended as a proviso against heresy. Early M'Giffert regards the canonical epistle as a redaction of some letter (1: 1-6 partly, 31-7 12 f.) written by Titus before Paul reached Corinth in Acts 20: 2, alternative to these dual hypotheses is to recon- (with Krenkel) out of 2 Timothy and Titus three letters of Paul; (a) one written to Titus at Crete, perhaps Illyricum during Paul's second journey to Corinth (20: 1-3) = Tit. 3: 12 2 Tim. 4: 20 Tit. 3: 14; (b) another, his Caesarean imprisonment, to Timothy at or Troas = 2 Tim. 4: 9-18, subsequent to Colossians Philimon; (c) a third = 2 Tim. 4: 10 1: 10 f. 12^b written from his Roman imprisonment to Timothy at Ephesus. The Caesarean date of Colossians, however, is untenable; and otherwise this ingenious resetting of the fragments fails to explain satisfactorily how the notes came into their present curious position.

First Timothy.—In spite of its unwieldy amœbology (cp. Rom. 11: 7) 1 Tim. I is probably a unity as it stands, modelled on Pauline letters and traditions.

14. 1 Tim.: though 17: 12-17 resemble in part so analysis. thing more definite. Certainly 13-11

118-20 hang together. After 11 f. a thanksgiving was naturally followed, in the Pauline manner; but when thanksgiving does come (17: 12-17) it is occasioned not the person addressed but by Paul himself. Even 'therefore' (ὁπρ) of 21, resuming either 13-11 or 12-20, forms a loose transition; but it illustrates zigzag course of the epistle rather than any phenomenon of compilation. Similarly with subsequent passages like 26^b-7, which has a poor connection with its context and only repeats the protestation of 112-17 (so Holtz Hesse, Hilg.), 29 f. (the old juxtaposition of rules prayer with a suavitary regulation for women) 4 which would readily part from its context, and 5 which has suffered accretion towards the close. No fragment of the epistle can be referred, however, to the apostle himself with much confidence. The incidental allusion to Paul's personality (314 f. 413) merely betrays the writer's consciousness that there was a certain awkwardness in such elaborate commissions and instructions upon the commonplace regulations of a Christian community being addressed to one who was not met himself in nature life but *ex hypothesi* separated to his superintendent only for a short time. In such touches we feel the author's literary conscience and tactful attempt to preserve the *semblance* of a situation or to justify the existence and point of such epistle.

As it stands, in fact, 1 Timothy is a free composition it consists of a sub-Pauline letter which has been subsequently enlarged by interpolations, especially in chap. 6: 17-21 is plainly an addition (Harn.), in thought a diction perhaps the least Pauline paragraph in all pastorals; its contents and context are against it as integral part of the letter. The 'antitheses' of 6: 7 are not the casuistic subtleties of dialectic in the Hal. but the tabulated passages from the OT and the dispensations by Marcion to prove the diversity of the two dispensations and the superiority of the later. Such arguments are dismissed as secular and verbose and pseudo-scientific. See 2 Tim. 3: 16, 'every scripture' etc. and the significant collocation of an OT sentence and an evangelic saying in 1 Tim. 5: 18. Another un-Pauline element is of course the connection between eternal life and almsgiving (17: 17-19) as already between salvific and religious work or personal conduct (213 31). Hence, like Tit. 17-9 and some other passages

1 The motive of this section is to throw the glorians into relief against the unworthiness and weakness of its hearers, as in Barn. 5: 2: 'the cause for the preaching of the gospel is his own apostles ὄντας ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀμαρτανῶν ἀνομιάνων. It might show he had not come to call the righteous but sinners.' See Wrede, *Das Messiasgeheimnis* (1901), 107 f.

late (O. A. SIMON, *Épistol.* 7: 10 43-45, finding in Heb. 13 also two commendatory letters).

1 *Philosoph. Dogmatik*, 1145.

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1 Tim. (31-13¹ 517-20?) or even 2 Tim. (220-20?), 6 17-21 shows the process of accretion familiar in documents bearing on church organisation and discipline.

Here again Hesse, admitting (like Suhlert) the irregular course of the epistle, attempts a *sollicitudo* to disentangle an original letter of commission (1:1-10 1:20 4:1-10 6:3 10:20) containing the duties and rights of an episcopus at Ephesus. This is conjectured to have been enlarged by the addition of independent pieces bearing on the work of the episcopus: e.g. 1:11-17 (justifying the apostolate to the gentiles), arrangements for the worship (2:6-7, so Hitzig, and 2:9-10, glosses) and the officials of the church (3:14-15a, a further insertion to justify the author dilating on such topics; 3:15b-17, to connect with 4:1 f.), a general mandate for bishops (5: 5: 6: 1, however, being genuinely Pauline), and extracts (9:13 17:19) from a table of ethical duties. Knöke pushes the epistle much nearer Paul by his hypothesis of two letters from Paul's pen, one an instruction (*παρηγορησια*) written to Timothy by Corinth (1:1 f. 1:20 2:1-10 4:12 5:1-3 4:6 11:15² 19-23 24 f.), another—more doctrinal in character—composed in his Caesarean imprisonment (1:12-17 3:14-16 4:1-11 13-16 2:12-15 5:7 f. 6:17-19 15-11 6:2-10 20 f.). These have been combined with an un-Pauline church-directory (3:1-10 12 f. 2:11 5:9 f. 10:44 6:1 f.), whilst passages like 3:11 and 5:18 are to be regarded as marginal glosses. It is not easy, however, to see adequate psychological motives for this sort of extensive compilation, and the criteria of style are by no means equal to the inferences drawn from them.

Hypothetical and contradictory as such conjectures may appear to be, however, a not inconsiderable agreement prevails even amid the most independent analyses of these epistles. All partition-theories presuppose an editorial function which certainly is unexampled in previous early Christian literature, even in Acts and the Apocalypse. But this is not an insuperable objection; and whilst it is idle to dogmatise upon the particular and original setting of verses, or at every point to distinguish precisely between redactor, author, and source, the composite nature of these epistles and (within general limits) the main strata of their contents have been substantially proved. Such analytic criticism is upon the right lines, and as a working hypothesis it is historically superior to the conjecture which attributes the writings *en bloc* to Paul or as unprincipally set down the Pauline element to vague tradition or the inventiveness of a literary artist.

As the titles formed no part of the original autographs, the early church naturally argued from the internal evidence that 2 Tim., with its reflection of a climax and rich individual references, represented the last phase of the apostle's life, and that 1 Tim. was earlier. But the comparative study of the epistles suggests that 2 Tim. is the earliest, and 1 Tim. the latest production of the author.³

The relative amount of *hapax legomena* (46 in 2 Tim., 68 in 1 Tim., 74 in 1 Tim.), the increasingly sub-apostolic colour of 'faith' (*πίστις*) and 'saviour' (*σωτήρ*), the diminution of freshness and intimate feeling in the allusions to Paul, the predominance of ecclesiastical interests and church organisation in 2 Tim. and 1 Tim.,⁴ the gradual shifting of emphasis from the person-

ality to the sheer authority of the apostle, the gradual increase of severity towards errorists, evident as the epistles proceed—these and other traces form a cumulative and sufficient argument for this order of composition. When the author wrote 2 Tim. he had considerable Pauline material at his disposal. Even in the epistle to Titus, he falls back on genuine tradition, and Pauline material preponderates though to a lesser degree. But in 1 Tim. the situation has become more advanced; he writes more freely and less under the influence of his master, confides to the officers of the church, and elaborates the various ecclesiastical regulations with unimpeded care. The third epistle (1 Tim.) is thus, as Sellermann has been the first to point out, an expansion and in some respects a repetition of the others, further from their Pauline background of reminiscences and tradition, but more characteristic of the writer himself. The superiority of 2 Tim., with its ample personal allusions and less formal tone, is quite obvious; and superiority means here priority. That it comes from the same pen as the others, need not be doubted, although in it the writer is more of an editor than an original author. The general sub-apostolic style and spirit of all three is fairly uniform and affords no adequate evidence for suspecting a plurality of writers.

Like most of the NT writings, the pastorals have a command origin. In them a current of the age becomes articulate, and hence the me-

16. Author. The conspicuous personality of their author¹ cannot be rightly deduced from his writings. It was an age when, as in the days of Haggai, men had to 'fetch wood and build the house,' while others had to encourage and direct their efforts. To furnish such inspiration may not have been a very heroic task, demanding writers of exceptional insight and pioneering ardour like Paul, but it was timely and serviceable; and after all 'edification' (*οικοδομεῖν*) was the criterion and aim of early Christian literature. This Paulist had singular capacities for the labour of instructing the churches of his day. Thoroughly convinced that he had a message for it, or rather that in Paul's teaching and life lay the pattern for true doctrine and godliness, he addressed himself to the duty of curbing and stimulating his contemporaries in the spirit of his master, writing like a shrewd and experienced man of affairs who feels (unlike his contemporary, the prophet who wrote Rev. 2 f.) that the moral plight of the age demanded consolidation—consolidation as opposed to speculation in belief or looseness in organisation. If he lacks the authority of intuition, he at least possesses the intuition of authority. He has much in common with the unconciliatory element in Paul. Unlike the later apologists, he refuses to discuss points of disagreement or to meet objectors on their own ground, but is content with the more congenial method of insisting in a rather dictatorial fashion upon the fixed truths of the faith. In this he is a precursor of Polycarp, yet in all likelihood the majority of his opponents, perhaps even of his readers, were none the worse for being somewhat sharply reminded that the ultimate proofs of religion lay open to faith and the moral sense; there may have been an effectiveness in the resolve of this censor to assert and enlighten, not to argue. The genuine faith is to him a 'tradition' (*παράδοσις*) or a 'deposit' (*παράθηρη*),² involving 'testimony' (*μαρτυρία*), which lays a moral responsibility upon the officials of the church especially. The tone of his instructions to them reminds one often of Butler's famous *Charge to the Clergy* (1751) not to trouble about objections raised by 'men of guile and speculation,' but to endeavour to beget a practical sense 'of religion upon the hearts of the common people.' This task demands moral purity above all things, together with teaching ability in the higher officials. True to his master, this mentor is

120, and the heightening scale of 2 Tim. 2:23 Tit. 3:9 1 Tim. 1:4, of 2 Tim. 1:11 and 1 Tim. 2:7, of 2 Tim. 3:1 and 1 Tim. 4:1 f., of Tit. 1:7 and 1 Tim. 3:2.

¹ The pastorals in fact voice a tendency of popular Christianity rather than any individual writer's cast of thought; cf. Wrede, *über Aufgabe und Methode der sog. NT Theologie*, 35 f. (1897). Authorship is here quite subordinate to function.

² Cf. Herod. 9:45: 'Men of Athens, I leave these words with you as a trust' (*ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παράθηκην ὑμῖν τὰ ἐπεα τὰδε τῷ θεῷ κ.τ.λ.*) with 2 Tim. 1:12 f., etc.

¹ Among the qualifications of the Jewish *šabbāh gabbāh* (שַׁבָּת גַּבְבָּהּ) '228, the man who on any given occasion offered common prayer in the synagogue) were: 'to have many children and no money; . . . to be of sound age, and humble, popular, well-mannered; . . . to be practised in the study of the law, the prophets, and the psalms; able to expound the allegoric meanings, traditions, and histories, etc.' (R. Jehuda, quoted by Selwyn, *Christian Prophets*, 268 f.).

² The difficulty of *παράθηρη* (7: 13) would certainly be eased by the adoption of the attractive conjecture *ἀσθαυοῦσι* (Hitzig, Naber, Baljon, Utemen).

³ See Acts, § 16, and MINISTRY, § 31. Besides Mangold, De Wette, Reuss (*die Bibl.*, 7: 243 f. 307 f.), and some others, the main advocates of this order are denoted by an asterisk in the bibliography at the close of the present article. It is of course possible that the author himself rearranged the epistles in this order, having written them otherwise, as Vergil is said to have composed the various books of the *Aeneid* irregularly (e.g., the third before the second) and subsequently placed them.

⁴ The pronounced element of 'ecclesiasticism' in 1 Tim., which in several passages is simply a matter of church order, betrays its more advanced situation. For some not insignificant details of style, see 'certain men' (*τινὲς ἀρβαντες*) or 'certain' (*τινες*) 17 times in 1 Tim., never in others; 'faith' (*πίστις*) in objective sense 4 times in 1 Tim., once in Tit. 1:4; 'saviour' (*σωτήρ*) of God alone in 1 Tim. (in the second-century piety 'no one could any longer be a God who was not also a soter,' Harnack, *Doctrines*, E.T. 1:118); cp also 2 Tim. 2:17-20 as preceding 1 Tim.

utterly indifferent to the sacerdotal heresy¹ which was already beginning to tinge unhealthily the primitive ideas of the church (MINISTRY, § 59*a*, PRIEST, § 8). In resisting incipient Gnosticism with its attempt to Hellenise the faith into an evaporated intellectualism, the pastorals refuse to employ the tendency, which ultimately secularised the Catholic church, of Hellenising the religion of Jesus by means of a retrograde movement to ritual and priestly conceptions. Indeed the impression made by these letters is revealed in nothing so clearly as in the fact that they came to be cherished by those who more or less unconsciously were either ignoring or modifying or defying their principles under the constraining influence of the Zeitgeist.

Like the authors of Matthew's gospel, Barnabas, Hebrews, the Fourth Gospel and 2 Peter, the author of the pastorals belongs to the great anonymous period of early Christian literature.

17. Pseudonymity.

The religious life of the primitive church, as of ancient Israel, was 'at certain periods very intense, and at these periods the spiritual energy of the nation expressed itself almost impersonally, through men who forgot themselves and were speedily forgotten in name by others' (Dav. Job, lxxiii.). His work, too, was pseudonymous.² To write under Paul's name was, for a Paulinist, quite a legitimate literary artifice; and although pseudonymity in the second century—that period rich in rhetorical forgeries (Jobb, Homer, 87)—ranged from mere fabrications to high-toned compositions, the pastorals, like 2 Peter, belong to the latter class, breathing not a crude endeavour to deceive but self-offacement and deep religious motives. Hence the oblivion in which the writer chose to work and has been allowed to remain. It was due not merely to the necessity of throwing a certain air of mystery round the situation in order to secure the circulation of letters long after their putative author's death, but to a sort of Pythagorean feeling that unselfish piety required a pupil's work to be attributed to his master—a canon of literary ethics not unfamiliar to early Christianity itself (Tertull. adv. Marc. 45). This author wrote from what he conceived to be the standpoint of Paul.³ But it would be unjust to estimate him by the measure of the man whose spirit he endeavoured to propagate and apply in his own way. The correct standard is to be sought in the sub-Pauline literature. And if the author of the pastorals is inferior to the genius who wrote the fourth gospel, even in appreciating some of the more inward aspects of Pauline thought, he is superior in range and penetration to those who wrote Barnabas, Jude, and the Ignatian epistles, the Christian section of Ascensio Isaie, and 2 Peter. The prevailing deference shown to the apostles and to Paul by contemporary and later writers⁴ who disclaim all pretensions to equality with them, as well as the fact that mere literary ambition was utterly foreign to the early Christian consciousness at this period, may serve to guarantee the ethical honour of the pastorals and to corroborate the impression left by themselves that their author⁵ was right in feeling himself not

merely justified but obliged to sanction and support a message by his master's name. Not long before, a 'Paulinist' had composed speeches for Paul were based on oral tradition and yet were indubitably free products of a historian who had skill and sense enough to give fairly faithful transcripts of the situation in question (Acts 13 16-41; 17 22-31; 20 18-35, etc.). But a step from this to the other recognised method of literary impersonation, which chose epistolary rather than historical expression to gain its religious end.

Since Schmidt and Schleiermacher almost a century ago suggested a sub-Pauline date for 1 Tim., a conjecture which has been horn amongst others speedily (1-12) extended to all three epistles, there has been a remarkable continuity of criticism, starting from

18. Literature.

Baur (Die sogenannten Pastoralbriefe, Apostel Paulus, 1845). For the critical work up to 1845 see H. J. Holtzmann, Die Pastoralbriefe kritisch und exegetisch behandelt (1880), a monograph which is far from being settled. Subsequent contributions in general support of Baur and Holtzmann, with modifications and adaptations, have among three main lines:—(a) editions; *H. von Soden (1891); O. Cone (Untersuch. d. A. I., vol. 3, 1892); monographs and essays on—(1) general criticism of epist. (S. Paul, xxiii-ll., Exegese Christ. Ann., cl. 6); *Harnack (Logie, 450-455, 710-711); *Pfleiderer (Paulinismus, ET, 21); *Holtzmann (1888, 823 [1887]); *M. A. Rovers (Text. Letzterkunde, 1888, 823 [6-72]); von Manen (Ost. Lit., Part. 1); *Bruckner (Die Chronol. Reihenfolge der NT, 277-286 [1890]); Prof. E. V. Hincks, JBL, 1894, 117; Réville (Les origines de l'épiscopat, 122-124, n. NT introductions by Hilgenfeld (1875); H. J. Holtzmann (1892-3); *S. Davidson, 175 [1894]; B. W. (187-139 [1894]); Ballou, Geschichts v. d. Bib. d. NT, 150-174; *Jülicher (1891-1895, 1895); and Salomon (Pastorales, Encyc. Sciences rel., 10 250 f. (2) textual for Henri Bois, JPT (1888) 145-150 'sur Exegese der Pastoralbriefe'; *Clemen, Einleit. d. paul. Briefe, 142-176; P. Ewald, Probabilia ltr. d. Text des 1 Tim. (1892) Discussions on special phenomena of epist. 1-1) ecclesiastical organisation: See under MINISTRY and add to the defences of conservative standpoint in Hort, Christian E. (1892), 139-217, and J. W. Falkner From Apostle to Bishop (1894-1895) against Küll (Die Gemeinde-Organisation, Pastoralbriefe, 1885) see Hilgenfeld (ZWT, 1886, pp. 437 and on their connection with Apostol. Constitutions, Hist. Text. und Unters. II, 543 f. (iii) the errorists; Hill (ZWT, 1880, pp. 445-454); Havet, Le Christianisme origines, 437-470 (1881); and Bourquin, Étude critique sur les épîtres, 51-64 (1892); (iii) general setting and text-standpoint; H. Ach (ZWT, articles 'Paul' and 'Pastoralbriefe', Neutest. Theol. (ET, 1895), 250-257; Holtzmann, Neutest. Theol. 2259-281 (1897); O. Cone (Gesch. lund its. prelation, 327-338 [1891]); W. Mackintosh (Var. Hist. of Rel. 405-450 [1894]); Weiss, Das Apost. Zeitalter, 219-215 222 f.; *A. C. McGiffert, The Apostolic Age, (1897); E. P. Gould, Bibl. Theol. of NT, 142-150 (1897); Harnack, Dogmengeschichte (ET) 150-172 189-192 215 f. and Werble, Die Anfänge unserer Religion, 347-368, 381 f.

Although the general critical position, outlined in these tributions, is unquestionable, it is unhappily not unquested. The traditional view survives, with more or less hesitation, far from uniform presentment, in the editions of Külling (1887); on 1 Tim., Weiss (Meyer, 691-801, also Die Paulin. I. 16 f., 604-622 [1890]), Riggenbach-Zwickler (1897), and St. Godei, Zahn, and Heiser; so still most English commentaries (Elliott, Plummer, J. H. Bernard, Horton, J. P. I. writers on NT introduction (Salmon, Glog, and Adeney others, e.g., G. G. F. Hurlay (appendix to ET of S. Paul, Epist. Paul, 341-402 [1881], Hastings' DB 3 714-717; Rams. Church, 248 f., Epist. 4th ser. 8110 f., etc.); Bertrand (Essai critique sur l'authenticité des épîtres, 1892); Knecht (The Schrift. und Geschichte, 59-8 [1892]; Die Briefe des ap. Paulus und die Kolon. des Herrn Ios 202); G. H. Gilbert's Life of Paul, 225-232 (1899); and Purves, Christianity in Apostolic Age, 17-177 (1899) (published since this article was written) Locks still Hastings' DB 4 on the epistles. J. V.

TIN

τίμιος, *timios*, lit. 'that which is separated' [precious metal], see 1s, 125, where render 'alloy' [TRV see (C)]; κασσιτερος (4 times), *castiteus* [twice], *castiteus* [twice], 22 18-20 (Israel to be cast into the furnace like one of the metals), 27 12 (exported from Tarshish), Ze h, 4 16 (fragments of silver, κασσιτερος), Nu. 31 22 (cleansed by passing in fire).

method so much as for employing it to promote notions of the common sense of the church reflected in partially altered faith. Pseudo-Pauline epistles (written ad huc in Macedonia were widely circulated during the second century; the super of the pastorals to all such is a difference of degree rather than kind.

¹ Lowy, *Het ontstaan van het Pseudonymisme in de Christelijke Kerk*, 12 f. 62 f. 79 f. 110-126 (1899).

² See LITERATURE, § 4; MINISTRY, 35 d; and to the literature cited in *Hist. New Test.*, 507 f., 613-624, 303 W. Christ, *Philologische Studien zu Christ. Lit.*, 30-39 (1893), and for the pseudonymity, mainly Gnostic, of the 2nd cent., etc.) Liekehaan in ZATW, 1902, Heft 3-4.

³ He is least successful in reproducing what would have been Paul's tone and temper to colleagues like Timothy and Titus. The cut, general instructions put into the apostle's mouth are often incongruous with the character of their primitive recipients as well as with the situation presupposed by the epistles in question.

⁴ E.g., Ignat. *Kom.* 4, 'I do not order you, as did Peter and Paul; they were apostles, I am a convict'; also *Acta Phoc.* 4, οὐκ ἀναυτομολῶ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπαρτίας.

⁵ His success, undoubtedly deserved, becomes all the more remarkable where failure was so easy. The Asiatic presbyter who had a century later composed the *Acts of Paul and Thekla* no doubt acted with a sincerity equal to his affection (*ad se amore Pauli fessis*), but failed to appreciate the vital element of Paulinism and was deposed—not for using an illegitimate

TINKLING ORNAMENTS

Being a component of bronze, tin was used as a metal from a very early date (see COPPER). A ring from a tomb at Dalshur (dated about the third dynasty) contains 8.2 per cent of tin; a vase of sixth dynasty 5.68 per cent of tin. When the unalloyed metal was first introduced cannot be ascertained with certainty. All we know is that about the first century the Greek word *κασίτερος* designated tin, and that tin was imported from Cornwall into Italy after, if not before, the invasion of Britain by Julius Caesar. From what Pliny says (*HN* 34.16-339), it appears that the Romans in his time did not fully realise the distinction between tin and lead; the former was called *plumbum album* or *caudatum* to distinguish it from *plumbum nigrum* (lead proper).¹ The word *stannum* definitely assumed its present meaning in the fourth century. (See Jer. on *Isch. 1.10*.)

TINKLING ORNAMENTS (תִּפְסָה), Is. 3:13 AV, RV ANKLETS (*gr. v.*).

TIPHSAH (תִּפְסָה); wanting in the true **G** but **רַפְּעִי** [B] in 1 K. 2:45 f.; **ΘΑΨΑ** [A]; *tāphis*—i.e., Talp-anthes [Fesh.]; *thapha* [Vg.].

1. A place in the Eber-han-nahar (see EBER) mentioned as the NE. boundary of Solomon's empire (1 K. 4:4 [54]), corresponding to Gaza in the SW. It is generally held that Tiphisah is the ancient Thapsacus, and that Solomon's occupation of this place was connected with his commercial enterprises, Thapsacus being the great Zeugma, or place of passage, of the river Euphrates alike for caravans and for invading armies.

It was there that the Ten Thousand first learned the real object of the expedition of Cyrus the Younger, and crossed the stream (*Xen. Anab. 1.41*). There too, Darius Codomanus crossed after the fatal battle of Issus, and Alexander after him. In the sixth century A.D. it passed out of knowledge.

The true site was identified about the same time by I. P. Peters (*Nation*, May 23, 1889) and B. Moritz (*Ber. der Berl. Akad.*, July 25, 1889) with *Kal'at Dibse*, a small ruin at the bend of the stream where it changes from a southerly to an easterly course, 8 m. below Meskene, and 6 below the ancient Barbalissus. Among other points in which the situation of Dibse agrees with the statements of Xenophon and Strabo is the existence of a camel-ford at this very spot. There is no philological objection to this combination, but excavations still wait to be made (cp Peters, *Nippur*, 1:107 f.).

At the same time, there are good reasons for testing this theory afresh. The realm of Solomon was not as extensive as a tradition based on the true readings of the text has represented (see *Synonymy*, § 9). Tiphisah and Azah are most probably places on the frontier of Solomon's dominion in the Negeb. The former may come from Tappuah (= Nephthah), the latter may perhaps represent the strong city Zarephath. These points are doubtful.

2. A town in Ephraim which opposed the pretensions of Menahem, and was punished by him (2 K. 15:16 f.), identified by Conder with *Kh. Tafsih*, on an old site 6 m. SW of Shechem (*PEF. Mem.*, 2:169). The 'Tiphisah' of MT is as much conjecture as the 'Tirzah' (*θερσα*) of **G** (*θαψα* [A]). The right reading, as many think, is that of **G**—*zēz*. **TAPPUAH** (ταψωα). So Theinens, Klostermann, Renan (*Hist.*, 2:350), Köhler (*Bibl. Gesch.*, 3:362), Guthe. There were at least three places called Tappuah (or Nephthah). Whether this Tiphisah or Tappuah was really in the neighbourhood of Shechem, and not rather in the Negeb (cp 1), is one of the most recent critical problems. See *Crit. Bib.* on 2 K. 15:16.

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TIRAS (תִּירָס); **Θ[ε]ΤΡΑΣ** [BADEL], son of Japheth, mentioned after Gomer, Migog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, and Ieshech, Gen. 10:2 (P), 1 Ch. 1:5. It is usually assumed that he must be the representative of a northern folk. The older commentators mostly think

¹ So in **G** the distinction between *κασίτερος* and *μόλιβδος* is maintained.

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of the Thracians (Θηράκ; *Jos. Ant.* 4:61). But after removing the Gk. noun suffix *α*, we get a form which has no similarity to Tiras. Hence Tuch, Noldke (*BB*, 5:107 f.), and W. Max Müller (*Is. u. Euz.*, 382 f.) think of the Tyrseni, who are spoken of not only as Etruscans but also as pirates on the Aegean Sea (cp **TARSUS**-II, § 6, and note quotation from E. Meyer on the probable distinction between the Etruscan Tyrseni and the Tyrsi of the Egyptian inscriptions). This is certainly plausible, and has suggested to the present writer that after correcting **תִּירָס** in 7:2 into **תִּירַש**, the latter word should be substituted for **תִּירָס** in 7:4. The order of the names in 7:2 seemed to favour this, and granting that 'Tarshish' is the Hebrew name for Tartessus or S. Spain, no better course seems to be open, for one cannot expect Tartessus to be included between Elishah (i.e., S. Italy and Sicily [Lang. D.], Kan. J.), and Kittim (i.e., Cyprus). The Tyrseni, however, might naturally enough be so grouped. How easily Tiras (or Tures?) and Tarshish might be confounded is suggested by the fact that in Judith 2:23 [Vg. actually gives *Abas Tharis* where Vet. Lat. gives *Abas Thiras et Abas*. Cp Rosin. A better view, however, can possibly be found (see § 2).

Jensen connects Tiras with the Hittite Tiras = Tarzi (so Shalmaneser II.) = Tarsus (Jensen, *VZ*, 4th Feb. 1899, col. 79), but see **TARSUS**-I, § 6.

The increasing evidence (see *Crit. Bib.*) that many parts of the OT, which came down to the late editor or editors in a corrupt form, have been manipulated by him in accordance with incorrect views of geography and history, compels us to consider, as we pass through the Table of Nations, what may have been the original form of each ethnic or place-name that we find there. It has already been suggested by others (see JAPHET) that Japheth in the original legend meant either the Phoenicians or the Philistines. It may be added here that there is great reason to doubt whether either the P. portions or the P. portions of Gen. 10 in their original form extended their range beyond Palestine and Arabia.

2. A corruption of Asshur?

It is a characteristic of P's lists (and to P 77:24, according to the critical analysis, belong) that he in naive ignorance repeats the same name in different corrupt and independent forms. Thus 'Tiras' in 7:2 is admittedly the same as 'Tarshish' in 7:4; 'Gomer,' 'Migog,' 'Madai,' 'Javan,' and 'Togarmah' are all most probably corrupt and independent forms of 'Jerahmeel,' 'Tubal' (cp P 10:1), as the combination in which the name occurs in Ezek. 38:2 ought sufficiently to show, is a Palestinian or rather a N. Arabian name.) 'Meshech' (מֶשֶׁךְ) should be 'Cushim' (כּוּשִׁים)—i.e., the N. Arabian Cush (see **CUSH**, 2). 'Elishah' in 7:4 should be 'Ishmael'; 'Kittim' probably comes from 'Rehobothim'; 'Dodanim' should be 'Dodanim'. If these emendations are in the main right—and the evidence referred to above would seem to make this a reasonable contention—it follows that 'Tiras' as well as 'Tarshish' (see **TARSUS**-I, 2), is most probably a corruption and distortion of the N. Arabian ethnic name Ashur or Ashur (= Geshur). Cp **GESHUR**, 2.

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TIRATHITES (תִּירָתִיטִים), 1 Ch. 2:35. See JABEZ.

TIRE. 1. תִּירוֹנִים, *tīrōnīm*, Is. 3:15 Judg. 8:21 26 RV 'crossants'. See NECKLACE, 2.

2. תִּירָס, *tīras*, Ezek. 24:2 (AV), 23 (V) see **TURAS**, 2.

3. תִּירָס, *tīras*, Ezek. 16:16 RVmg. translates 'in tire (of) fine linen'. A headtire seems to be meant. See **TURAS**, 2.

4. תִּירָס, *tīras*, 1 Ch. 5:2 (AV) see 'mitre' Bar. 5:2 (1 V 'diadem'). See **DIADEM**.

TIRHAKAH (תִּירְחָקָה); **ΘΑΡΑΚΑ** [A in 2 K., B in Is.], **ΘΑΡΘΑΚ** [L], **תַּר** [B in 2 K.], **תַּרְחָה** [SAQ in Is.]. Vg. *Thirahca*. According to Is. 37:9

1. Name. Is. 37:9, the Assyrian general (rab-shakeh) had heard that Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia (G of [the] Ethiopians), was coming forth to fight against the Assyrian armies occupying Judah before the siege of Jerusalem (701 B.C.) in order to assist Hezekiah.

This is the third king of the twenty-fifth (or Ethiopian) dynasty of Egypt (Egypt, § 66*b*). His name is written

¹ 'Elam' of course should be 'Jerahmeel' (as probably always in OD), and most probably (if not certainly) 'Zidonians' should be 'Miserites.'

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in Hieroglyphic signs *Ti-h-r-u-k-k*.¹ The vowels (a and u) are written quite constantly, although they appear to us unrecognizable and useless. The cuneiform transcription is *Tarkû*. Manetho gives *Tarkos* or *Tarakos*, Strabo, i, 321, *Tarko* (the strangely makes the king a great conqueror, who reached the pillars of Hercules); cp Megasthenes, *Fragn* 20, in Strabo, 680). The biblical rendering would seem to need a transposition; *Tiharko*, *Teharka* (תִּהַרְקָה).

The king seems to have been an usurper,² who legalised his crown afterwards by marriage with the widow of king Shabako. When the usurpation took place, can be determined with certainty (see So). Tihakah reigned, according to a stele of the Serapeum, twenty-six complete years; according to Assyrian sources he died in 668/67;³ consequently his accession to the throne was in 694/93 B.C. This shows at once that in the biblical account there is an impossible conjunction of facts. Either the original form of the text did not give the name of the 'king of Ethiopia' referred to later scholars would then attempt to identify the king and insert Tihakah-Taharko instead of Shabako who reigned in 701 (see, however, So on the improbability of Shabako's attacking the Assyrians)—or Taharko was mentioned as the Ethiopian governor of Lower Egypt, and the later recension made him a king. Otherwise, we should have to acknowledge a confusion of the events of 701 with others of the time between 693 and 676 B.C. The first expedition of the Assyrians against Egypt, in 676, was in all probability caused by such a provocation as military aid from Egypt to Palestinian rebels against Assyria. Esarhaddon mentions indeed that Ba'al, the king of Tyre, was induced to rebellion by Tarkû. This may have occurred earlier; but 693 is, as has been said, for Tihakah the superior chronological limit.

Tihakah, however, could not really play the part of an aggressor in Syria. The difficulty of maintaining Egypt and keeping the nomarchs in subjection must as a rule have absorbed his whole strength. An Assyrian army penetrated into Egypt in 676 and seems to have occupied a considerable portion of it, but in 675 was annihilated.⁴ In his tenth year, 671, king Esarhaddon secured the road to Egypt by an expedition against the Arabs, invaded (then, or by another army?) Egypt by way of a city in the desert called *Magdali* or *Migdol* (see *Migdol*), and met and defeated the forces of Taharko near a place called *Ishupri*. The Ethiopian king had finally, after losing the third battle, to withdraw from Egypt. The Assyrians marched as far as Thebes, which capitulated and was mildly dealt with. The country was divided among twenty nomarchs, descendants of Libyan generals. Some of these may have called in the Assyrians to free them from the Ethiopian yoke, and submitted to the Assyrian supremacy without resistance. Nevertheless we read of a conspiracy with Taharko against the Assyrians by the three most influential leaders (Nikh-Necho I. of Sais and Memphis, Surludari of Tanis and Pakruru of *Pisaptu*). Evidently, they felt too weak to resist the Ethiopians when these threatened to invade Egypt again, and therefore tried to maintain good relations with them. In point of fact Taharko invaded Egypt again in 669. Esarhaddon hurried to the rescue of his vassals, and died on the expedition. His army, nevertheless, entered Egypt, defeated Taharko's army, coming from Memphis, at

Karban (near Canopus?), and forced him to retire far as Thebes. The cities Sais, Mendes, and were cruelly punished for joining the Ethiopians. Necho, however, when sent to Nineveh as a prisoner obtained a pardon and his dominion. Evidently Assyrians needed his influence. They even gave city of Hathribis to his son Psametik and thus laid the rise of the next dynasty (the Saite). Taharko meantime, fortified a camp near Thebes and, while Assyrian troops were engaged in the Delta, forced city to surrender. At first, the prince of Thebes seems to have closed the door to the fugitive Ethiopian. Preparing for a new invasion of northern Egypt, Tihakah died there. His step-son Tentawat-A (Landamann of the Assyrian reports), son of Shabako became king, and made the last attempt to expel Assyrians (668/67).¹

On the Egyptian monuments, nothing of this activity of the king can be observed. Tihakah has many buildings and restorations, especially in his residence Napata (Gebel-Barkal) and at Thebes. N

of Thebes, the difficulties caused him by the nomarchs seem to have prevented him from building much. Inscriptions bearing his name have been found at Thebes and at Memphis his name is represented at the bull in an Apis bull in his tenth and twenty-fourth year (directly before the Assyrian conquest?). Nominally, also, two years following 668/7 seem to have been devoted to him in Egypt, so at least later by Psammetichus. At Thebes, the nomarch Mont(u)-m-he't was in the of the Assyrian invasion practically independent, built considerably at Karnak and does not seem have always been faithful to his suzerain in Napata (above).

A (rather conventionalised) portrait of Tihakah is given elsewhere (ETHIOPIA, fig. 1, right-hand picture). The Negro blood is more strongly indicated in several other portraits; the full Negro type on the Zinj stele of Esarhaddon is therefore no caricature. [The view expressed elsewhere (SENNACHERIB, p. 100) as to the possibility of a confusion between an Assyrian and an Asshurite (S. Arabian) invasion of Judah possibly require a reinvestigation of the meaning of the word 'Cush' in 2 K. 19:9=Is. 37:9. 'Cush' may be Ethiopia, but a region in N. Arabia (see UTHI). If so, תִּהַרְקָה (Tihakah) will have to be admitted to the group of personal names which have (according to the new theory) been modified by redactors to suit their own limited historical knowledge. See *Crit. Bib.* 2 K. 19:9 and other parts of 2 K.] W. M. S.

TIRHANAH (תִּרְחָנָה); ΘΑΡΑΝΑ [B], ΘΑΡΧΑΝΑ [L], ΘΑΡΑΝΑ [L]), a son of Caleb by his concubine Maacah (1 Ch. 2:48).

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TIRSHATHA (תִּרְשָׁתָה); either = *tarshat*, partic. = 'feared' [Meyer, Ryssel, and most scholars], or an official title from Old Pers. *antare-kshathra*, representative in the province, Lag. *Symmetri*, ΔΑΡΑΘΑΘΑC [generally], a title like 'Your Excellency' (Meyer), or an official title (Lag., Stade) of the Persian governor of Judah, or perhaps a corrupt form of a personal name, or of a gentile, of Semitic origin. The article is always prefixed.

(a) Ezra 2:63 (αθηρσαα [B], σαθα [A], σαθα [L])=Neh. 7:65 (αθηρσαα [B], αθηρ, [A])=1 Esd. 5:40 (see next small c).

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1 So far after Winckler's arrangement, *KAT* 30:909.

2 See Maspero, *Histoire*, 3:161, on this point. The words of the inscription of Tanis (de Rougé in *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne*, 121, etc.) 'he went to the Delta at the age of twenty years' do not point, however, to a revolution necessarily.

3 Cp Winckler in *KAT* 30:91. Why he places (p. 87 and *AOE* 1:42) his accession to the throne in 691, does not appear.

4 See *KAT* 30:88, for the report of the 'Babylonian Chronicles.'

TIRSHATHA

Karban (near Canopus?), and forced him to retire far as Thebes. The cities Sais, Mendes, and were cruelly punished for joining the Ethiopians. Necho, however, when sent to Nineveh as a prisoner obtained a pardon and his dominion. Evidently Assyrians needed his influence. They even gave city of Hathribis to his son Psametik and thus laid the rise of the next dynasty (the Saite). Taharko meantime, fortified a camp near Thebes and, while Assyrian troops were engaged in the Delta, forced city to surrender. At first, the prince of Thebes seems to have closed the door to the fugitive Ethiopian. Preparing for a new invasion of northern Egypt, Tihakah died there. His step-son Tentawat-A (Landamann of the Assyrian reports), son of Shabako became king, and made the last attempt to expel Assyrians (668/67).¹

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TIRZAH

with Zerubbabel, the Tirshatha will of course be Zerub-
babel, to Koster, however, it is a list of post-exilic
residents in Judah and Jerusalem, and the Tirshatha is
Nehemiah.

The 1 Esd. 7:4 (1 Esd. 7:4), where we find ε [9] καὶ ἀρχαῖος
(P.V., ἀρχαῖος [10], ΑΥΘΑΡΙΑΣ, RV ΑΥΘΑΡΙΑΣ)

In (c) Neh. 8:2 (1 Esd. 9:4) and (d) Neh. 10:1 [2],
Nehemiah is mentioned by name as the Tirshatha, but
it is certain that the text is correct? Glinne (SBL)
points out that 1 Esd. 9:4 (= Neh. 8:2) gives simply καὶ
ἀρχαῖος ἀρχαῖος [10], ἀρχαῖος [11], ἀρχαῖος [12],
ΑΥΘΑΡΙΑΣ - ε, ε, 'and the Tirshatha said,' and
infers that ἀρχαῖος is a gloss. Simund, however (J. J. 19,
13), prefers to omit 'that is, the Tirshatha' (see
[10X] in Neh.), whilst Meyer (Erdst. 200) omits both
'Nehemiah' and 'Tirshatha.' In (d) Glinne (SBL)
and Wellhausen (GGV, 1865, p. 177) omit 'the Tir-
shatha,' because it separates the proper name from the
patronymic (ΑΥΘΑ, but not ΑΥ), supports this. Very
possibly here as well as in (c) both 'Nehemiah' and
'Tirshatha' are intrusive (cp Marq. Fund. 34). The
two laymen, Nehemiah and Zedekiah, are very isolated
just before the names of priestly classes (see ZIEGLER).
Nehemiah's usual title is ἄρχων, 'governor.' It is not
certain that Nehemiah had yet returned. To this it
may be replied that Nehemiah's change of title may be
connected with a limitation of his jurisdiction during
his second period of office to matters connected with
a religious reformation. For the grounds of this hypo-
thesis see NEHEMIAH. On the name see, further, Crit.
Bib.

TIRZAH (צִרְזָה) 'agreeable,' § 102; Θερζα [BAL];
but in Josh. 12:24 θερζα [BE], θερμα [A], in 1 K. 14:17 γῆν σαριρα
[A]; see ZAKI THAN, in 2 K. 15:14 θερσιλα [B], θερσιλα [A], in
Cont. 6:4 εὐδοκία [BMA], in Targ. מרצ'רז).

1. An ancient city of Mt. Ephraim (see below) which
had a king of its own before the Isaehtish conquest
(Josh. 12:24), and was the residence of the N. Israelitish
kings from Jeroboam to Omri (1 K. 17:15-21; 16:6 ff.
15:17-21). According to Klostermann emendation of
has-Serēdah in 1 K. 11:26 (and of the σαριρα of 1
K. 12:1, Jeroboam was a native not of 'Zeredah' but
of Tirzah, which place he fortified while still nominally
in the service of Solomon (see JEROBOAM, 1, ZAKI THAN,
§ 2). Shortly afterwards we read (1 K. 12:24 f.) that
on Jeroboam's return from Egypt he built a castle
(ἑστράδα = סרצ'רז) at Sarina. Whether Klostermann is
right in holding Tirzah to be the original form of the
name of Jeroboam's city, will be considered later; at
any rate, we may follow him in his statement that
Zeredah (צִרְזָה), or has-Serēdah, σαριρα, and Tirzah are
fundamentally the same. The next fact recorded of
Tirzah is that, when, after a reign of seven days, Zimri
saw that he could not hold Tirzah, he burned the
citadel, and himself perished in the flames (1 K.
16:17-18); the usurper Omri then took up his abode in
Tirzah. Even after Samaria had supplanted Tirzah as
the capital, it continued to be a fortress of strategic
importance. Menahem b. Gadi won Tirzah first and
then Samaria, when he slew Shallum b. Jabesh and
mounted the throne of Israel. From the context (on
2 K. 15:16 see TIBHSAID) Tirzah appears to have been
not far from Tappuah (in Ephraim, but on the border
of Manasseh). In the Book of Judges too there is one
more reference in the narratives, which, if based on fact,
should come first in chronological order. Nor must we
omit a famous poetical reference in the ordinary text,
but not in 64, as given by MT (6, however, has εὐδοκία),
we find the Shulammitte compared to Tirzah. But
whether a methodical criticism can accept this reading,
is doubtful (see CANTICLES, § 14, and cp ROSE). We
need not therefore discuss the question whether Tirzah
really was as beautifully situated as the ordinary text of
Cont. 6:4 seems to imply. It is enough to find out where
this northern city lay.

TITHES

There are three current identifications: (1) Robinson
and Van de Velde thought of Talluzi, a picturesque
village on a hill 2000 ft. above the sea-level E. of
Samaria, and slightly N. of Mt. Ebal. The phonetic
resemblance, however, is but slight, and the description
of Thersa quoted by Robinson from Bezaudius on a
high mountain, three leagues from Samaria to the E.
suits Tulkos (Theloz) better than Talluzi. (2) The
Mishnah represents Tirzah as Tir or (cp CANTICLES,
§ 11 note) a of the Targum as Tiritha. Hence Bald
(1877: 203) suggests that Tirithana, a village close to
Vietnam (loc. cit. xvii, 10), may be intended, and
he (doubtfully) identifies this with Tirith, on the W.
side of the plain of Miklinch. But this is not a
sufficiently important site. (3) Glinne (SBL 2206)
suggests the village Tevash, 11 m. N. of Shechem and
12 m. E. of Samaria (see ASHER, 21). The site appears
not insuitable; but nothing can be traced on the name.
But is the name Tirzah really the correct form? Is it likely
to have been corrupted into Zeredah or has-Serēdah? And is it
the most natural name for an important fortress? Add (4) this
that another corrupted form of the same original may be Zedek-
(1885: 19, 7). The problem is a hard one, out of which all these
forms can have been corrupted. Such a name is צִרְזָה 'Beth-
zah' (see col. 2495); such a name, too, is צִרְזָה 'Zerephath.' If
so happens that all the OT passages referred to above most prob-
ably, in their original form, referred to the Negbath, most of
course is excluded. It will therefore be safer to pronounce in
favour of Zerephath.

2. One of the five daughters of ZERUBBABEL: the fifth (Nu.
26:13; 27:1; 1 Sam. 1:1; Josh. 17:9), or the second (2 Sam. 1:1;
Nu. 36:1), perhaps - Zerephath.

TISHBEH OF GILEAD (תִּשְׁבֵי נְלָר); ΕΚ ΘΕΣΒΕΩΝ
THE T. [B.V.]; ΕΚ ΘΕΣΣΕΒΩΝ ΤΗΣ Γ. [L.]; 1 K. 17:
RV¹⁹⁰², AV 'inhabitants of Gilead,' RV 'sojourners of
Gilead.' See TISHBETH, and toff.

TISHBITE (תִּשְׁבִי); ΘΕΣΒΕΙΤΗΣ; Thobites, i. e.,
a native of Tishbeh, 1 K. 17:1; 21:17; 23:2 K. 1:3; 9:9.
See EIJONIM, § 1, and n. 1; JAMESI, § 1; and especially
PROUTER, § 6, and Crit. Bib., where it is conjectured
that Elijah and Elisha both came from Tishbath in
the Negeb, then perhaps the extreme limit of the
southern dominions of N. Israel. Cp TISHUI.

TITHES (תְּשֻׁבֹת, pl. תְּשֻׁבוֹת; ΔΕΚΑΤΗ; decima).
1. Terms; or religious, is found among many ancient
peoples.

See Rysell, PRF² 1742 ff., and for the Greeks, Paus-
anias, Real-Encycl. 4242 ff.; Romans, ib., 299 ff.; Cartho-
gians, Diol. Sic. 20:14; Justin, 187; Egyptians, Mispere,
Struggle of Virtues, 112 (capital of war, tribute, etc., to Amou);
Syrians, 1 Mac. 10:11; 15; Sabaeans, Plin., VI:12:1; Lydians,
Herod. 1:99; Nic. Damasc. fig. 24 (1163: 371); Babylonians,
Jastrow, Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, 602; Chinese,
Legge, Chinese Classics, 1:19, etc.

The oldest use of the word seems to have been
secular, designating a tax or tribute in kind levied by a
ruler on a subject or vassal people, or from his own
countrymen. The obligatory offerings to the gods were
ἀπαρχαί, primitiv. Heb. rē'ith, bikkurim. When
these offerings came to be regarded as a tribute due to
the deity as the ruler or the proprietor of the land, the
name 'tithes' was applied to them also. The deduc-
tion of a tithe of the spoils of war, an early and wide-
spread custom, may have contributed to this extension
of the use of the term.

The 'tenth,' doubtless, originally roughly expressed
the proportion exacted; and in later times also, for
example in Sicily under Roman rule (Pausanias,
423:7 ff.), was the actual rate of taxation; but fre-
quently the notion of tax or tribute predominated, so
that the term 'tithe' might be used in cases where the

1 Probably the Tarlusa of the Talmud (Neub. Gloss. 23).
2 S. Song (Exp. l. 12:3; 1:1004) explains 'in the field: the
pl. name תְּשֻׁבוֹת as a radical (ע. תְּשֻׁבוֹת).
3 A. om. in 1 K. 17:1, BAL. om. 1 K. 21:28; 6 has θεσβ(ε)της
also in 1 K. 18:27 [BAL], 29 [L.]; Mal. 4:4 [3:23] [BAGOT].
4 The tithe in relation to other sacred dues is discussed else-
where (see TAXATION; see esp. §§ 9 ff., to which the present
article is supplementary).

rate was different—as in Moslem law the 'tithe' is sometimes $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ —or where there was no fixed per cent. Thus in the religious sphere $\delta\omega\alpha\rho\lambda\alpha\iota$ and $\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\rho\alpha\iota$ are often synonymous, so, e.g., in Dion. Halic. 1.17, cp *Deacrates*, II, 24 for the payment of a vow of firstlings; so Philo calls the tithe which was to be paid the priests out of the Levites' tithe, $\delta\omega\alpha\rho\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \delta\omega\alpha\rho\lambda\acute{\eta}$ (*De mult. v. m.*, 162, Mangey).

Similarly in the OT, to exact a tithe from the grain-fields, vineyards, and flocks is a royal prerogative (I S. 8.13.17). The oldest laws prescribe that the apartment (*tabernacle*) of the first fruits of the land shall be brought to the house of Yahwe (Ex. 34.26; cp Dt. 18.2, 26.1, 26.17, 44.18). The term 'tithe' was in use, however, in the northern kingdom in the eighth century for religious dues (Am. 4, cp Gen. 28.22, 1.3). In Dt. the word occurs repeatedly (12.17, 11.22 ff. 23, 26.12 ff. 1); the tithe of grain and wine and oil is to be brought to Jerusalem and—as in Amos—used for a feast, in the third year, however, a tithe is to be reserved for charity (see LXXVIII, § 3.1). Together with the tithe Dt. 12.17 names the *téramah* (*téramah valka*); 1 V 'heave offering'; more accurately 'reserved portion'), by which it is commonly thought that the first fruits are intended (see Dillm. *in loc.*), but this is doubtful; more probably the terms are to be taken as synonymous; cp Nu. 18.3. In Ezekiel we find *térah* and *téramah* (20.4), which are assigned to the priests for their support (11.13); but no mention of tithes. There is nothing on the subject of tithing in II.

It seems probable, therefore, that the name 'tithe' was employed at some sanctuaries in the period of the kingdoms, while elsewhere other names were in use. It is not improbable, moreover, that the nature and quantity of the obligatory offerings, and the use made of them, differed at different places as well as times. When the fragmentary remains of old sacred laws were brought together with later rules (P) in one code, these various terms were treated as so many different dues, and combined in one system of religious taxation. The critic, on the other hand, sometimes falls into the hardly less serious error of assuming that all the laws lie in one serial development.

Until the *aparche* were offered to God, the crop might not be used by men in any way (see, e.g., Lev. 23.14).

2. Use of the tithe. The presentation was the natural occasion of a feast at the holy place. This is the use of the tithe in Dt. (12.14-15).

The portion dedicated to the deity may at some time have been actually consumed upon the altar; or, as in the case of the voluntary *nashah*, a representative part may have been thus consumed; but in the rituals we possess the offering is symbolical (cp the wave sheaf and the two loaves, I. 230 ff. 15 ff.); God ceded his share to the priest (I. 18.11). At the feast given by the offeror the priest had a place by custom; and thus from early times the offerings of first-fruits or tithes indirectly contributed to the support of the clergy. The poor, also, shared in the feasts by a religious guest-right.

The deuteronomic reformers foresaw that the suppression of the village high-places would deprive both the country priests and the poor of the community of no small part of their living. They provided, therefore, that every third year the land-owner, instead of taking his tithe to Jerusalem, should set it aside for charity at his own home. Here, again, it is not improbable that they found a precedent in earlier custom; there are many examples, e.g., among the Arabs—of sacrifices left wholly to the poor, this being a work of superior piety.

The new model of Ezekiel provides for the support of public worship, including the feasts at the great seasons, by the prince, out of the proceeds of a general tax (*téramah*, 45.13 ff.) at a fixed rate. The old *térah* *bikkurim* and *téramah* are all assigned to the priests

¹ Ex. 23.19 is brought over by a redactor from 34.26

for their support (11.3). Ezekiel's programme never put into operation, but in the Persian period tithe seems to have been converted to the use of temple (Mal. 3.2-3). Some such provision must have been provided necessary, not only for the support of the Levites but also for the maintenance of public worship.

In P all sacred dues, under whatever name the support of the ministry (Nu. 18.2-5); the 'tithe' specifically the portion of the Levites (Lev. 22.23-24); they in turn make over a tithe to the priests (Lev. 22.26). See NUMBERS, § 41. According to Neh. 10.38 (Homicler), the plan was for the Levites to collect tithe in all the cities and villages, under the supervision of a priest, and then deliver the tithe of the tithe to the storehouse in the temple for the priests. There is no mention, however, that the tithes were not paid, so the Levites had to support themselves (Neh. 10.38).

It is impossible to say whether this system was actually worked. It is often inferred that Neh. 10 represents the practice of the Homicler's own time, but it is quite as likely that it is one of the many *desiderata* which he projects into his 'history' as it is to have been. The fortunes of the Levites in the post-exilic centuries are involved in dense obscurity (see LXXVIII, § 71). What is certain is that at the beginning of the Christian era the tithes were collected by the priests themselves (Jos. Vita, 12.15; Ant. vi. 8.2). The departure from the law is recognised in the Talmud (Eru. 17a) took the tithe away from the Levites because few of them were willing to return to Palestine (A. S. 17a; *ibid.*, 20a; *ibid.*, 86a b; Hullin, 131b, etc.).

The deuteronomic laws name grain, wine, and oil as subject to tithe (12.17, cp 11.22 Nu. 18.27; Lev. 27.32).

3. Things tithed. is more general; 'all the tithe of the seed of the ground or of the fruit of the tree, is Yahwe's.'

The general rule of the Mishna is: 'Everything that is eaten or drunk and grows out of the ground is liable to tithe' (*M. Mishnah*, 1.1). The scrupulosity of the Pharisees in matter of garden herbs—mint, anise, cummin—is commented on in the NT (Mt. 23.23, 23.24); the Mishna and the Palestinian Talmud give minute details and discussions of what should be tithed and when, and how. The tithe of agricultural produce paid to the Levites or to the priests, is called by Jewish writers on the law 'the first tithe.'

Lev. 27.32 ff. puts by the side of the tithe of seed and fruit (27.30 ff.) a tithe of animals of the flock or herds every tenth one, as the flock is counted, shall belong to Yahwe. The complete parallel between 27.30 ff. and 27.32 ff. naturally suggests two inferences: first, that the increase of the year that is to be tithed (see *ibid.*, 27.31 ff., etc.); and, second, that the tithed cattle, like that of the fruits of the earth, was to be given to the priests. This is the view of Philo (*De prov. 1.1*, § 2, 2.23, Mangey; *De carit.* § 16, 2.23, so also Tob. 16.10, 11) and—what seems not to have been noted—Jubilees, 32.15 (on Gen. 28.22): 'all tithed neat cattle and sheep shall be holy to God and belong to his priests, who eat them year by year before the Lord. On the other hand, the legal authorities in ancient times take the whole passage, Lev. 27.30-33, to refer to 'second tithe'; the animals were sacrificed by the owners as thank offerings (*todah*), or as 'joyous peace offerings' (*shalmé leshah*) at the feasts.¹ Modern expositors generally assume that the chapter is a late supplement to the 'Priests' Code,' and that the tithe is therefore to be understood in accordance with Nu. 18.21 ff. But as it is more probable, it be a supplement to a local law which included Dt., the rabbinical interpretation is equally possible (cp 27.3-13). There can be no doubt that the Mishna and Siphre represent in this part of the practice of the first century. And it is not difficult

¹ *Siphre*, Dt. § 62; *M. Hagg. 12*, 14; *M. Mev. 12*, 1, etc. See Schürer, *GH* 2.251 n. So also Maimonides, *Kat. 10.1*, etc.

TITLE

to conceive that the claim of the priests to all the firstlings—once the accompaniment of the tithes of corn and wine and oil (Dt 12b, etc.)—made it necessary to make some other provision for the sacrificial tithes, the tithes of cattle is a natural form for this provision to take. It is, therefore, not so certain as has sometimes been thought, that 1 *Cor.* 27 *ff.* is the last monstrous demand of a greedy priesthood or the fiction of an imaginative scribe.

On the basis of the Pentateuch as a whole, the system included three tithes: the 'first tithe,' a tax of one-tenth of all edible vegetable products collected by the ministry for its own support (Nu 1821-4); the 'second tithe' of the same products, which, together with the cattle tithe (1 *Ev.* 27 *ff.*), furnished a feast for the owner and his guests at Jerusalem (Dt 1422-27); and the 'poor tithe' set apart every third year for charity (Dt 1128 *f.*, 2612).

The last, in the original intention of the law, was probably only a particular use of the tithe every third year, was in later times made, at least by some, a 'third tithe' falling twice in every seven years in the third and sixth years of the Sabbatical cycle (Erbart, 17 *f.*, *Jos. Ant.* iv, 822; *Ev. Jer.* Dt 2612 *f.*; see Geiger, *Urschrift*, 179 *ff.*; Schürer, *GH* 522 *f.*).

Spencer, *De legibus veteribus*, lib. 3, diss. 13, cap. 104; Selden, *History of Tithe*; Rehd. *Antiquitates sacrae*, lib. 2, cap. 6, reprinted with extensive notes by the edit. of Ughelli *Thesaurus*, 2102 *ff.*; J. C. Heusinger, *De decimis Hebraeorum*, also in Ughelli *Thesaurus*, 2024-400 (valuable for its Rabbinical erudition); Riehm, *HHB*, art. 'Zehnten'; Rysell, 'Zehnten bei den Hebräern', *PKB* 20, 17, 428 *ff.*, lit. 16, 441; A. S. Peake, 'Tithe' in Hastings' *DBI* 790 *ff.*; W. R. Smith, *R. L. Sem.*, 244 *f.*; Nowack and Benzinger, *HL*, 1; Schürer, *GH* 522 *ff.* G. F. M.

TITLE 1. *ἰῆς*, *ἰῆων*, 2 K 2317 RV 'monument.' See MASSEREAU, § 1 (c).

2. *τίτος*, Ju. 1310 *f.* See CROSS, § 4.

TITUS (*τίτος*): on the accentuation see Winer-Schmiedel *Gramm.* Th. i., § 62) is the name of a rather common vitium or figure in the apostolic age, who is known as a countryman from Paul's allusions to him (in Gal. and 2 *Cor.*) as a friend and trusty lieutenant. He is not associated with Paul in the address of any extant epistle, and nothing is known of his birthplace, age, or nationality, except that he was a pagan by birth (Εἰσὶν ἄσθενοι) and apparently a native of Asia Minor (ep Gal. 21-3).

Later tradition (Tit. 14) may be correct in limiting that he was brought over to Christianity by Paul himself. At any rate he appears at an early stage of the apostle's public career (possibly in 49 A.D.; ep CIRCUMLOCUTIO, § 74; PAUL, § 191) as a private individual who accompanied Paul and Barnabas (ep Acts 152) at the former's request upon their visit to Jerusalem, evidently to represent the success of the Pauline gospel outside Judaism. The burning question at the conference of Jerusalem was the value and validity of Christian faith if unaccompanied by circumcision, and (as Paul had for seen) the case of Titus inevitably came up for discussion. Whether it was made a test case or not, it led to bitter feeling between the conservative party and their challengers. Paul and Barnabas, however, stood their ground against the orthodox centre and repudiated any compromise involving their companion; 'not even Titus,' says Paul triumphantly, 'was obliged to get circumcised'—much less (as the Judaising Christians appear to have insisted) Gentile Christians in general, who were not (like Titus) in direct daily touch with a circumcised Christian. Nothing is said of what Titus himself thought and felt. His attitude is passive. The natural inference, however, is that he left himself in Paul's hands, sharing, or at least sympathising, with that 'inward impulse' of Paul's spiritual nature, which 'went straight to the results of its principles . . . and thus carried him past a form of Christianity which was simply another form of Judaism' (Bar.). Cp COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, §§ 4, 7.

TITUS

The textual problem raised by the omission of Titus (1 *Cor.* 2) in some western MSS is not serious (cp Lightfoot, *Gal.* 121 *f.*, and Kluge, *Stud. in Pauline Epist.*, 106, 111, 113, 114, 115) unless, even without the external evidence more considerable and more abundant than the above, the matter lay undisturbed. The curious silence of Acts upon this notorious controversy (Acts, § 13) due to the neglect of the agency of the author or of the sources which he utilized at the period of his writing. Even if he did not know of Pauline Titus, some one may have been familiar to him, so familiar at any rate as a vocal of the name, figure, whether across his path, and he probably deemed it prudent to pass by all such which might have displeased any eyes better left untroubled. Some such explanation is distinctly preferable to Ramsay's hypothesis that the Acts in Luke omitted the name of Titus because he was his relative (CP, *Faith*, 112 *f.*). Further, the dislocation of reports so far, credible and unobjectionable as that of the local dispute at Corinth, and only left to the omission of any later reference to Titus, which had the intention to be smoothed to the special aims and interest of the last but not of the early church.

Three or four years elapse before Titus reappears in connection with the Corinthian church. His lack of circumcision would naturally prevent

2. **At Corinth.** Titus would naturally prevent him from being a suitable companion during Paul's second tour (ep 2 *Cor.* 121) which embraced no rule—for so much is visible even under the religious pragmatism of Acts—in initial attempt upon the strategies in almost every city. But, since Titus is found at Paul's disposal in Ephesus, it is possible that the apostle took him from Antioch, after the dispute with Peter (Gal. 211-20), upon his third tour through Galatia and the Phrygian highlands as far as the Asianic metropolis—a carefully planned stroke of policy, according to Ramsay, which effectually answered the major deductions drawn by Judaisers in favour of Judaic Christianity from Timothy's circumcision previous to his promotion. Be that as it may, the keenest interest shown by Titus in the Asianic Christians, an interest only equalled by that of Paul himself (2 *Cor.* 819), who stamped him as 'my comrade and fellow-worker in your interest' (2 *Cor.* 821), 'my brother' (2 *Cor.* 121), and a colleague actuated by the same high motives (2 *Cor.* 121), an estimate borne out by the record of what transpired during the Corinthian episode, where Titus joined himself a prudent, active, and reliable co-missioner of Paul. His connection with the Asianic Christians appears to have begun upon the occasion of a visit paid either at the despatch of 1 *Cor.* (which he may have carried, as one of 'the brothers' (1 *Cor.* 161); ep 2 *Cor.* 121) or shortly afterwards, when he set on foot arrangements for a local contribution to the great collection (ep Rendell, *Epist.*, § 86-116, and E. Lombard, *Rev. d. Théol. et Philos.*, 1902, p. 113 *f.*) on behalf of the Judean Christians which Paul was negotiating throughout the Gentile churches, partly as a timely act of charity, partly as a tangible evidence of sympathy between the two branches of the church, and partly to show his own belief and interest in their unity. Acquainted with the instructions already given by Paul to the Galatians in this matter of the *Agria* (1 *Cor.* 161), Titus was well adapted for this financial work, which began in the year previous to that in which 2 *Cor.* 819-192 were written.

1 On the movements of Titus and Timothy at this period see especially and variously Lightfoot (*Phil.*, 123 *f.*), Schmiedel (*Heil.*, 122-227-228), Heimich (*Über die Reise Pauli nach Kor.*, [Meyer, 1881, 435]), and A. Robertson (Hastings' *DBI* 1302-4 *f.*). The scantiness of the available data renders any outline rather hypothetical or more than one point upon the whole the most satisfactory view of the episode in general and of its extant literary evidence seems to lie somewhere among those which are based upon an acceptance of 2 *Cor.* 10-13 as the 'intermediate letter' (literature in Monod's *Hist. Nove Testamenti*, 1901, p. 124 *f.*).

2 In describing the collection of temple tribute among the Jews, a custom which no doubt suggested to Paul the idea or at least the form of this collection Philo notices the periodical assignment of the funds in each district 'to men of good standing whose duty it is to convey them to Jerusalem.' For this purpose it is always men of the highest rank who are chosen, as a kind of guarantee that what forms the hope of every Jew will reach the Holy City unimpeded with (*De monachia*, § 2, cited by Schürer, *Hist.* ii, 280c). Evidence for such collections in Egypt is displayed by Wilcken, *Griech. Ostraka* (1890), 125 *f.*, 135 *f.* See DISPERSTON, § 10, and Hanck's *Ausbreitung*, 135-135.

As the context implies (2 Cor. 12:13-17), 2 Cor. 12:17 f. (ἐπιλο-
νεύματα) refers to the collection; neither in person, nor by my
agents (Paul retorts), did I overreach you. In view of this it
seems inadequate to deny (with Zahn, *Ephl.* 1244 f.) that the
collection is the topic of 2 Cor. 8. As Titus had previously
made a beginning (προεργασάμενος) with this bounty, so (Paul urges)
let him complete it now in addition to (καὶ) the other local tasks
—such as that of acting for Paul during the estrangement—
which, as 2 Cor. 1:9 implies, he had brought to a happy issue.

Then and there he won the esteem of the Corinthians.
Along with some other agent, he supported himself as
Paul had done, thereby putting his disinterested zeal
beyond suspicion; as Paul's language indicates (2 Cor.
12:18), he was evidently the last man in the world whom
the Corinthians would have dreamed of accusing (cp
J. H. Kennedy, *The Second and Third Epistles of Paul
to the Corinthians*, 1900, p. 119). The business of the
collection prospered famously (2 Cor. 9:1 f.). But it was
ruledly interrupted by the painful, discreditable, and con-
temptible affair which led to a rupture between Paul and
the Corinthian church. At this outbreak of bad feeling
Titus in all likelihood returned to Ephesus, although
this is one of several details which are far from luminous
or coherent. It is possible that he contented himself
with simply reporting the crisis. At any rate, he seems
to have borne somewhat later to Corinth from Ephesus
the vehement, severe letter (preserved in whole or part
in 2 Cor. 10:13 ff.) which Paul precipitately wrote with
caustic and passionate indignation, his aim being to test
their loyalty and bring them to their senses (2 Cor. 2:13
76 f., 13 f.). The misgivings and apprehensions¹ of
Titus on this errand proved happily unfounded. He
was received and obeyed heartily by the majority, and
eventually found himself able to rejoin Paul with good
news of the Corinthians' repentance and affection. Some
delay occurred, however, and meantime the outbreak at
Ephesus (PACL, § 25) had driven the apostle to Troas.
Dismayed to hear at Corinth of the grief produced by
his sharp letter (2 Cor. 7:8), he felt driven by restless
eagerness for further news across to Macedonia. There
at last he met his friend returning by land, and in an
access of delight and relief at his favorable report com-
posed 2 Cor. 1:1-9 (3:11-13), which he concludes by planning
to have the collection resumed and completed under
charge of Titus accompanied by two anonyms but
able subordinates. The former was not only willing
but eager to return to Corinth (2 Cor. 8:16-23), so satisfied
had he been with his recent experience of the church's
temper (2 Cor. 7:6 f., 13-15). Thus Titus disappears from
the scene. He probably returned with the letter to
Corinth and reorganised the λογία or voluntary assess-
ment throughout Achaia. For although no Corinthian
deputies are mentioned among those named in Acts 20:4,
it is evident from Rom. 15:26 that the long-promised
liberality of the Corinthians (2 Cor. 9:5) had not been
withheld, and that the financial labours of Titus (2 Cor.
8:6-12) were crowned with success. Curiously enough,
among the virtues of the Corinthian church celebrated
some forty years later, liberality (ἡδίων διδόντες ἢ λαμ-
βάνοντες) is reckoned as one of its leading and traditional
characteristics (Clem. Rom. 1:21).

The genuine fragment incorporated in Tit. 3:12 f. (cp CURSUS-
OLIVAE, §§ 62 f., TIMOTHY AND TITUS [EPISTLES], § 1) probably
belongs to the period after the composition of
2 Cor. 1:9, written either from Macedonia (see
NICOLOUS, § 3) when Paul was on his way to
Corinth or on his way back (Acts 20:3). How
the connection with Crete arose, and whether Titus managed to
rejoin him or not, it is impossible to say. The only light thrown

¹ As a personal friend of Paul and as a Gentile Christian over
whom no animosities feud had been already waged (Gal. 2:14),
Titus cannot have felt comfortable at the prospect of confronting
the Jewish Christian intriguers who were busy at Corinth. Prob-
ably it was dislike of them, if not their active malice, that had
driven him away. At the same time his diplomatic qualities, no
less than his organising capacity, made him evidently a more
capable man than Timothy to deal with a difficult situation of
this kind, and Paul's generous confidence in the sterling qualities
of the Corinthian church (2 Cor. 7:14), as well as his sagacity in
the choice of a new envoy, must have been amply justified by
events.

upon his subsequent movements is afforded by a remark (v
later in a genuine Pauline fragment preserved in 2 T
from which it appears that Titus, who must have tur-
ning Paul's captivity in Rome, had left (on a missio-
DALMATIA (q. v.)). The trustworthiness of this notice
is doubted, although the phrase 'this present world'
αἰῶνα, cp 1 Tim. 6:17) is un-Pauline. Nor is a statement
to be denied to the tradition (reflected in Tit. 1:5) that
Cretan Christianity to Titus at any rate (whatever
thought of the allusion to Paul), although the tender
object of the sub-Pauline author is naturally to suggest
anarchic condition of the local Christians 'was one cause
of the evidently low moral condition to which the
sunk' (Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, 176), and characteristi-
lay stress upon organisation as a safeguard.

Titus has been occasionally, but unconvincingly, regard-
the author of the 'We-Journal' in Acts (ACTS, § 96)-
Kreukel, Kneucker, Seufert, Jacobsen, O. Holtzmann
1889, p. 499), and Barlet (*Apoc. App.*, 69, 100 1900),
all that the curious silence of Acts enables us to deduce in
of such a conjecture is the wholly inadequate fact that Ti-
a companion of Paul, possibly—though only possibly—
part of the time covered by the diary in question. His
is significant that no writing, canonical or extra-canonical
assigned to him in tradition, which is content to elabo-
connection with Crete and—by a strange shift of fortune
the Venetian régime—with Venice. The meagre allu-
Crete which happens to occur in the Epistle to Titus, may
well rest upon a nucleus of historical fact; but the im-
fancy of later generations proceeded among other develop-
to make him the first bishop appointed by Paul over Crete
Const. 74, Kiesel, *HE* 34, Theod., Theophylact, Jerome
dying indeed at Caesarea, as archbishop of Gortyna, in his
fourth year (Fabric. *Cod. Apoc.*, 27 281 f.). Cp
Islands of the Aegean, 65 f. In the Roman legends of the
ἡρώεις Παύλου, Titus is connected with Paul, and play-along
take a rôle in the *Passio sancti Pauli Apostoli* and *Martyr
Pauli*, 114-117 (cp Lips. *Acta Apost. Apocryph.*, 1891, 1
Like Timothy he is of course reckoned among the se-
disciples by Chron. Pasch. 420 (ed. Bonn), and, accord-
Acta Pauli et Theole, 2 f., he gives information regard-
to Onesiphorus at Iconium. One of the epistles of the p-
Dionysius Areopagita is addressed to Titus as bishop of
The rather slight contents of the *Acta Titi* (see Lips.
Apocryph. 3901-400) are as legendary as the panegyric on
pronounced by Andreas of Crete (ed. Paris, 1644).

Like Timothy, Titus also has had some aid in preserving
individuality, but it seems needless to do more than ch-
even the attempts made to identify him (see Wieseler) with
Titus (ΤΙΤΩΣ [RE]) JUSTUS of Acts 18:7 or with Silas (Silva)
against the latter as advocated especially by Zimmer, see
conclusive statement of Jülicher, *JPT*, 1882, pp. 528-531;
SILAS, § 5 f.

TITUS (EPISTLE). See TIMOTHY AND TITUS (EPISTLES).

TITUS JUSTUS (ΤΙΤΩΣ ΙΟΥΣΤΟΣ [Ti. W.] Acts 18:7 RV, AV JUSTUS (q. v., ii.).

TITUS MANLIUS, RV Titus Manlius (Ti. MANLIC), 2 Macc. 11:34. See MANLIUS.

TIZITE (תִּזְיִת; תִּזְיִת) [BNS], תִּזְיִת [L]; *Thasites* [Vg.], all presupposing the
אֲשֵׁרִי (תִּזְיִת); a gentile attached to the name JOIA (1
11:45). David's warriors were presumably, like him
from the Negeb. 'Shimri', the name of Joia's father
also favours this. If TIRZAH (q. v.) was really a place
in the Negeb, we might suppose corruption from a
'Tirzathite.' t. k. c.

TOAH (תּוֹא), 1 Ch. 6:34 [19]; in 1 S. 11, TOBI.

TOB (טוֹב; טוב) [BAL], a region in which Jehu
'the Gileadite' took refuge (Judg. 11:35), and where
the Ammonites obtained allies in their war against
David (2 S. 10:6 B, RV; cp ISH-TOB). Saayc plans
identifies it with Tubi, a place conquered by Tho-
III., and mentioned a little before Astrath—i. e.,
'Asterā (*RJ* 23 545; cp Maspero, *AZ*, 1881, p. 124).
It does not, however, suit the original story which under-
Judg. 11:33 (see JEPHTHAH); a district of Ham-
is not to be expected here. Tubi is much more
appropriate (see TIBATHI); this very ancient city
probably in the Leb-lanon district, NW. of Damas-
The identification also suits the mention of Tob in 2
10:68 in connection with ZORAH (q. v.). The sa-
region may be meant by the land of TUBIAS (AV TOBI
טוֹבִיָּא) in 1 Macc. 5:13, the people of which ap-
to be called TUBIENI (2 Macc. 12:17; see CHARACAI

TOB-ADONIJAH

i.e., the men of Tub or Tob. These identifications, however, only suit a fairly conservative view of the MT. If the Gilead originally meant in Judg. II and in 1 Macc. 5 be a southern Gilead in the Negeb, and if the Zoba originally meant in 2 S. 10 be Zarephath in the Negeb, we must consider whether מִבּוֹ may not be a mutilated form of תּוֹב (see TUBAL).

The מ in the Gk. and Syr. forms (τοῦβειρος [A], τοῦβειρος [V], τῶβειρος) is clearly not radical. See GASin. I/6 587, n. 5, who agrees, it may be added, with Coe (Heb and Arab, 170) in identifying Tob with mod. cf. Fayyitich, N.E. of Pellos.

TOB-ADONIJAH טוֹב אֲדוֹנִיָּה (טוֹב אֲדוֹנִיָּה) [A], τῶββαδωβετα [B]. אֲדוֹנִיָּה [A], a Levite temp. Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 17:8). Note that Pesh. omits the name and that of the preceding Adonijah and Tobijah; B¹ omits the second. If not a corruption (e.g., עֲבָרָה or עֲבָרָה and עֲבָרָה are very similar in Samaritan script) the name should probably be omitted; a scribe may have begun to re-write מִבּוֹ and then invented the most suitable name he could think of. [But cp Crit. Bib., ad loc.]

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TOBIAH (טוֹבִיָּה), Ezra 2:6; see TOBIJAH, 2.

TCIAS (τῶβ[ε]ταc—i.e., טוֹבִיָּה, 1. The son of TOBI (q.v.).

2. The father of HYRCANUS (q.v.).

TOBIE (τοῦβιου [ANV]), 1 Macc. 5:13. AV, RV. TUBIAS. See TOBI.

TOBIEI (τῶβιαι [BAA])—i.e., טוֹבִיָּה; cp Tabeel, the father of TOUTI (Tob. 1:1). Cp TOUTI VII.

TOBIJAH (טוֹבִיָּה), once טוֹבִיָּה, 'Yahwé is good,' § 28, but ultimately, like TOUTEL, perhaps from Tubali, 'a man of TUBAL'; τῶβιαc [A.M.].

1. A Levite temp. Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 17:8; טוֹבִיָּה; om. BA). All the associated names in 2 Ch. (i.e.) admit of being traced to Nebethu's or gentiles.

2. EV TOBIJA, a post-exilic family, unable to trace its pedigree: Ezra 2:60 (τῶβια [B], τῶβια [D]). Neh. 7:62 (τῶβια [BA]) = 1 Est. 5:17 where the name is corrupted to BAZ, RVING. BAZAN (שֶׁבַע [B], BAZ [M]), and he appears as the father of Ladau (see IDEFALIA). See GENERAL INDEX, § 4, and the place-names in Ezra 2:59. Neh. 7:61 = 1 Est. 5:17 (e.g., TEL-MEAL, TEL-BARNA), all of which may plausibly be viewed as Nebethu-names.

3. One of a party of Jews from Babylon (?), temp. Zerubbabel (Zech. 6:10-14; B translates ἀρχιερεῖς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς [טוֹבִיָּה]). See ZERUBBABEL.

4. EV TOBIJA (the form τῶβ[ε]τα is a constantly recurring form for no. 4 instead of τῶβια). The form τῶβια [N] occurs in Neh. 4:1[9]. An 'Ammonite,' one of the chief opponents of the fortification of Jerusalem by Nehemiah (Neh. 2:10, etc.). Whether 'Ammonite' is a race-name (cp. AMMON, § 8) or means 'native of Chephar-Ammoni' (see BETHORON, § 4) is uncertain. The latter view is superficially plausible through Tobiah's connection with leading Judeans (Neh. 6:17-19), from one of whom—the priest Eliashib—he received a chamber in the temple formerly used by the Levites, for his own special purposes. But we incline to think that 'Ammonite,' as often, = 'Jerahmeelite'; a connection between nobles of Judah and Jerahmeelites is historically probable.

The title 'the servant' given him in Neh. 2:10 ('the servant, the Ammonite'), but nowhere else, is explained as meaning 'the officer of the government' (Ryssel), or, 'one who had formerly been a slave' (Rawlinson). Both explanations are far-fetched. טוֹבִיָּה is almost certainly corrupted from תּוֹבִיָּה, 'the Arabian,' which the scribe in Neh. 2:10 (B¹) omits. Tobias (together) wrote as a gloss on תּוֹבִיָּה, 'the Ammonite.' From this passage it made its way into Neh. 2:10 (through the harmonising of an editor), most probably also into Neh. 4:1[7]; if תּוֹבִיָּה (regarded) as an addition of the Chronicler, or a later gloss, is omitted for תּוֹבִיָּה in Neh. 2:10 the senseless תּוֹבִיָּה תּוֹבִיָּה in 4:1[7] (as we have seen) it went through another transformation. Later, in 4:1, תּוֹבִיָּה (not in B¹) was added, not an ill-timed reminiscence of Neh. 13:21, but (reading תּוֹבִיָּה, 'the Asshurite'), as a second gloss on תּוֹבִיָּה. Here, as in Neh. (i.e.), not Ashdod, but Asshur (Ashbu), the name of a N. Arabian district, is most probably referred to. Cp Che. Da. Relig. Leben nach dem Exile (by Stocks), appended note.

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TOBIT

TOBIT

- Various recensions (§ 1).
I. Interpolations (§§ 2-10).
Ahiqar additions (§ 2).
Hist. of Ahiqar story (§ 3).
Various forms (§ 4).
Common matter (§ 5).
Stages of growth (§ 6).
Story foreign (§ 7).
Ultimately myth. (§ 8).
Tubal-Adonijah (§ 9).
Samaritan (§ 10).
II. Unintended loss (§ 11).
Not of original text (§ 12).
How related (§ 13).

- III. Conjectural reconstruction (§ 14).
Reconstruction (§ 15).
Hist.; time of greatest value (§ 16).
IV. Ultimate sources (§§ 17-20).
Final redactor (§ 18).
His work (§ 19).
Basis in folk-tale (§ 17).
Archaic form (§ 18).
Feature common (§ 19).
Final origin (§ 20).
Bibliog. by (§ 21).

Tobit (טוֹבִיָּת [BA], τῶβιου [N]; Tobias) is one of the books of the Old Testament (q.v.). In the first sentence of the work itself it is called 'Book of the doings'; see CITATIONS, § 1 of Tobit, son of, etc. (τῶβιου λόγων τῶβιου [BA; N; see]). More than in the case of the other apocryphal writings of the OT the investigation is complicated by our having various groups of texts.

1. To begin with, there are three Greek forms: (a) that of B¹ which the Syriac [Syr.] follows down to 7:9; (b) that of B², which is for the most part that followed by the Venus Latina [Vet. Lat.]; and (c) that of the Vulgate [Vulg.]. From 1:1 to 1:10 the text of these codices agrees with the continuation of the Syriac version (from 7:10 onwards) coincides with it exactly.

2. Jerome's version is independent of all these; he tells us that he made it from an Aramaic original (Pref. in Ezra, lib. Tob.). Here it is noteworthy that the whole story of Tobit is told in the third person.

3. The same is the case with an extant Aramaic text edited by Neubauer. This text, however, to judge by its language, would appear to be recent and cannot therefore be identified with the MS used by Jerome, but is to be classed with three Hebrew versions which have also extant, as productions of a later date.

The recent essay by Margarete Plath 'Zum Buche Tobit' (in NZ. KZ., 1901, pp. 377-414), which gives an analysis of the book with special reference to its stylistic peculiarities, will be found singularly helpful towards a right understanding of Tobit. As, however, it simply takes B¹ for its basis without any discussion of the originality of that text, this essay, which otherwise might be regarded as final on the stylistic features of the book, as a matter of fact is valid only for one of the traditional forms in which it has reached us. Before entering upon an analysis of style, therefore, it will be necessary to go into the question as to the original form of the book. In the first place we must examine the versions and seek to ascertain the form of text to which they carry us back; next, this form will have to be examined with a view to testing whether it be original or whether rather it does not show traces of having been worked over; the approximately original form will then have to be analysed; and finally the ultimate source of the materials will have to be considered.

I. INTERPOLATIONS

In the first place we may be sure that the Ahiqar-episodes do not belong to the original form of the book.

(a) In 1:20 we are told that all Tobit's goods were forcibly taken away and there was nothing left to him save his wife Anna and his son Tobias. In 2:1, however, we read that on his return home these two were restored to him. The contradiction is manifest, but becomes explicable if we consider how it arose: this good deed also had been attributed to Tobit's protector; and the supplementer has betrayed himself by his incorporation of the Ahiqar-episode. The original sequence in 1:20, though it has been smoothed down in B¹, is observed in B²: 'And Sacerdotes, his son, reigned in his stead—and in the reign of king Sacerdotes I returned to my home.'

2. Ahiqar-additions. 2:1, however, we read that on his return home these two were restored to him. The contradiction is manifest, but becomes explicable if we consider how it arose: this good deed also had been attributed to Tobit's protector; and the supplementer has betrayed himself by his incorporation of the Ahiqar-episode. The original sequence in 1:20, though it has been smoothed down in B¹, is observed in B²: 'And Sacerdotes, his son, reigned in his stead—and in the reign of king Sacerdotes I returned to my home.'

1 The Book of Tobit, a Chaldean Text from a unique MS in the Bodleian Library, ed. by Neubauer, Oxford, 1878.
2 See Dalman, Gramm. des jüd. paläst. Sprachwortsch., 27-29.
3 [On some special points relative to the original form of the text of Tobit, see Crit. Bib., and cp TUBAL.]

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Underlying this we have the truly oriental idea that a new accession generally, an accession after a revolution always, brings with it a complete change of system. By **S**, Ahikar is represented as having been cupbearer and keeper of the signet, steward and overseer of the accounts, as early as in the time of Sennacherim (Sennacherib, 705-682), whilst **G^A** and **G^B** have it that he first received his appointments from Saeherdonos (Esarhaddon, 682-669). **S** has the older reading; that it is the older is shown by the whole structure of the sentence. In the other Greek text the statement that Ahikar was, even in the reign of Sennacherim, the most influential person in the kingdom has been deleted so as to avoid making Ahikar in any way responsible for the expedition against Judaea and the resultant cruelties of the Assyrian against Ahikar's own people. Thus we perceive that the original story of Ahikar needed a rectifying hand in order to connect it with the story of Tobit with as little inconsistency as possible; again a proof that it was not from the first an integral part of it. Our opinion of the text offered by Jerome may be a poor one, yet when we note that to all appearance the story of Ahikar seems to have had no place in the authority that lay before him, we may perhaps venture to say that, even if it has been greatly manipulated, Jerome's text still points back to a form of the text which had not yet passed through the hands of the supplementer.

(2) Ahikar, the protector, afterwards becomes the supporter of the blind Tobit. Here the episode is brought in to lead up to an effective climax; first a relative takes care of the unfortunate man, afterwards his wife has to support him by doing work for strangers. In **S** even the duration of this period is given; it is two years. In the same text, all his brethren are represented as sorrowing for Tobit, though to judge by the scorn shown by the neighbours at his burying of the dead we should rather expect the opposite. In fact, the original story itself seems to have been so constructed as to exclude the notion of compassion by outsiders. His toiling wife is the blind man's only support, and when even she turns against him he longs for death. This Ahikar feature also is wanting in Jerome.

It ought not to surprise us if even so secondary an authority should still be able to show us something original. In other cases as well as in that of the present book it will gradually come to be recognised that we must emancipate ourselves from the gratuitous assumption that all forms of an extant text can always ultimately be traced back to one of these which must accordingly be regarded as the original.

(3) Ahikar appears again in II 18, this time as a wedding-guest along with his nephew Nasbas. **S** mentions Ahikar and Nahad as Tobit's nephews. That some wedding-guests should be specified ought not to seem strange in a book that deals so lavishly in names; and if we consider how insecure the tradition of names is, we cannot lay much stress on the fact that one of the wedding-guests bears the same name as Tobit's quondam protector and supporter. Moreover, Jerome gives Achior, like Syr. (124. *ܐܫܝܘܪ*). Perhaps, therefore, the mention of two wedding-guests by name may be original, one of them, however, having been transformed into that of Tobit's patron and supporter.

(4) Lastly, the story of Ahikar is introduced in order to give Tobias an example of what compassion can accomplish. So **G^A** Syr. and Vet. Lat. adduce it as showing the depravity prevalent at the time in Nineveh. **S** has it in both connections. One sees from this that uncertainty was felt as to the purpose of the story in Tobit's discourse to his son, and that various conjectures were made. The story was, therefore, no original part of the organism. Here again Jerome supports our inference.

The wording of his version leads to the conclusion that possibly it goes back to a form of the text which bore no traces of the work of the Ahikar supplementer. If we arrange the text recensions by reference to their attitude towards these inter-

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polations, we shall find that Jerome's original stands in contrast with that of all the others. The latter already has the interpolations. Whilst the paths by which A and B on the one hand, and Syr. and Vet. Lat. on the other, were reached quite independent, **S** seems to represent a union of the different forms of the text at a certain stage of the development.

The introduction of the Ahikar episodes shows that his story was widely known; it was possible to refer to it with weight to an admonition by a reformer to what had happened to him.

3. History of Ahikar-story.

The present writer has elsewhere¹ endeavoured to show among the Jews of the exile there gradually arose a cycle of exilic legends. The individual legends belonging to this cycle have reached us not in original but in revised form; the figures in them who of old maintained their fidelity amid most trying circumstances are exhibited by the various forms to the people of their own time, in circumstances of real distress, as conspicuous examples of Jewish piety and of patriotism. Our attitude indeed may well be sceptical regarding the sources again and again cited—in Eusebius' chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia, in Tobit the hero of the wonderful experiences in 1250—but we are not justified in refusing to believe in the existence of widely circulated collections of legends from which the present texts had their origin, especially when we bear in mind the passion for which characterised those times.

4. Its various forms.

The peculiar way in which the stories of Tobit and Ahikar are worked together points also in the same direction. The supplementer has brought out two men to have been men, this was all the easier as himself is represented as having once upon a time an important position at the Assyrian court. So Ahikar, the son of Anael, is represented as already bearer, keeper of the signet, steward and overseer of accounts under Sennacherim, and confirmed in offices by Saeherdonos. **S** makes mention of journey to Elymais (Elam); A and B, which Tobit go there himself, present an unwarranted addition of the text, and, we may be pretty certain, hardly to be corrected in conformity with Vet. Lat., which they otherwise in these episodes have but affinity. Perhaps the circumstance may be taken as an indication that both forms of the text come from a region where the adhesions to Ahikar would have been negligible, his story being unknown. The chief events of Ahikar's life is touched on in chap. 14 10. It will interest to place in juxtaposition the various forms in which it is given.

Syr.	Vet. Lat.	B (A)	S
So, my son, after thou hast buried me and thy mother, do thou leave Nineveh, for there are many unrighteous persons there.	But now, my son, do thou leave Nineveh, and tarry no longer here, but on the day that thou hast buried thy mother beside me tarry no longer within her territory; for I see that there is much unrighteousness there; for much evil is brought into the world, and how he that is practised, and her people will not be moved into the earth. And Akab descended into darkness, and Akikar went forth into light.	Bury me decently, thy mother with me, and dwell ye no longer in Nineveh. Behold, my child, what Adan (Haman) did to Achicharus that nourished him, how out of light he brought him into darkness, and how he requited him; and indeed, he saved (there) saved) my child, and that other Achikarus had nourished him; and he went down into darkness.	And now thou shalt bury me, and tarry here. On the day thou hast buried me, on the same day no longer her term; for I see that there is much unrighteousness in the world, and how he that is practised, and her people will not be moved into the earth. And Akab descended into darkness, and Akikar went forth into light.

¹ Die Parimase in der Bibel; Untersuchungen über das Buch Ester und der Estersage verwandte Sagen des jüdischen Altertums (1880), 45-59.

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SUR.	VET. LAT.	B (A)	■
'Akab had set for him, and this one went down into the earth.	brought down alive to the earth. But God requited that man's wickedness before his own face, and Ahikar went forth into light, but Nadab went down into eternal darkness, he held what Nadab sought to kill Ahikar.	Manasseh practised mercy and escaped the snare of death which he had set for him, and Adam (Haman) fell into the snare and perished. And now, my children, see what mercy does, and what upright compassness does, for it kills.	into the earth? And God requited his iniquity to his face; and Ahikarus ascended into light, and Nadab descended into eternal darkness, because he had tried to kill Ahikarus. Since he showed mercy to me, he escaped the snare of death which Nadab had set for him, and Nadab fell into the snare of death, and he (death) destroyed him. And now, my children, see what mercy does, and what upright compassness does, for it kills.

The various recensions agree in the following points: Ahikar brings up a youth who, however, drives him down into the earth (darkness). Ahikar in the end is saved, and the other has to suffer the fate he had contrived for his benefactor. The young man's name is given variously: 'Akab, Nabad, Nadab, Adam, Haman. A and B unexpectedly call Ahikar Manasseh. 'Akab is probably a corruption of Nakab and may perhaps go back to one or other of the forms Nabad, Nadab, as also may Adam. On the other hand the names Manasseh and Haman point to a separate tradition which, to all appearance, first came out in A and B. In this the introduction of the story of Ahikar has its motive in the reference to the value of mercy. The characteristic phrase of this variant is: 'the snare of death which was set.' This phrase must have had a definite meaning in the narrative as well as that which occurs in the first: 'he was brought to the earth (darkness).' This is shown by the fact that, doubtless independently of A and B, the other variant has also found its way into S; this becomes evident if we consider that here it is plainly not original. It has already been brought into connection with the story of Tobit; what is accentuated is that the showing of compassion has brought deliverance to Tobit. Moreover, the original names have given place to those which we now find. Along with this variant the new motive for referring to the Ahikar episode has made its way into the S text. Accordingly we shall have to imagine the steps in the process of interpolation somewhat as follows. With the formula: 'Behold, my child! he a supplementer introduces a Nineveh story with which he is acquainted. Afterwards it is endeavoured to bring it into connection with the book of Tobit, first by means of the moral it supplies 'Such wickednesses are done in Nineveh,' and next (with the view of securing a still closer connection) by introducing a variant which lays stress upon the virtue of compassion.

Whilst the first variant deals with the ungrateful youth and with the punishment of his ingratitude, what is emphasised by the other is that an act of compassion saves him who is lost. The two are not mutually exclusive; both may have their origin in one and the same

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story though in different aspects of it. The important thing to observe is that they are taken from different forms of this story, and in point of fact, as the introduction of the various separate elements occurred at different dates, we are thus enabled to gain an insight into the history of the story amongst the Jews. First we find the story which tells of Ahikar and Nadab. The names are, to all appearance, foreign, and show at once that this material had been appropriated by Judaism comparatively recently. Next, the names, and especially that of the hero, give place to Jewish ones, and so the process of appropriation is completed. Nor are the new names insignificant or chosen at random; Manasseh is the name of the husband of the brave heroine of the Book of Judith, Haman is that of the notorious enemy of the Jewish race. By the alteration of the names of the chief actors the story of Ahikar itself received a new stamp of nationality, and so became an integral part of the cycle of exilic legends.

That the story of Ahikar is not native to Jewish soil is shown by its wide diffusion (cp the literature of this subject in *The Story of Ahikar* by F. C. Conybeare, J. Kandel Harris, and A. Smith-Lewis, London, 1898).

7. Ahikar-story of foreign origin. It is found in Syriac, Armenian, Arabic, Greek, and Slavonic recensions, and is to be met with in the *Diogeni Nights* and in the fables of Esop (cp ACHTARHARUS). It runs somewhat as follows:—

The vizier and privy councillor of the Assyrian king Sennacherib, Ahikar by name, having no child of his own, brings up his nephew Nadab and receives from the king the assurance that Nadab will be his successor in the offices that he holds so advantageously for the kingdom. Nadab receives from his uncle in wise discourse the ripe fruits of a rich experience. Sober, however, he begins to abandon himself to a loose and dissipated life, so that Ahikar finds himself compelled, with the king's permission, to disinherit him. Nadab then begins to intrigue for the overthrow of his uncle, and at last with success; by means of forged letters Ahikar is made to appear a betrayer of his country. The deluded Sennacherib condemns his faithful vizier to death and charges an executioner to carry out the sentence in front of Ahikar's own house. But with the help of his devoted wife the vizier is able to induce the executioner, who is grateful for a former act of kindness, to spare him, and to substitute a criminal slave in his place. He himself is hidden in a cavity beneath the door of his house, and secretly fed by the executioner and his own wife, whilst overhead his fugitive nephew begins a reckless life. At this juncture the king of Egypt sends a letter to Sennacherib in which he challenges him to solve a problem. In the event of his succeeding, the king of Egypt will pay him tribute; should he fail, Assyria is to become tributary to Pharaoh. Sennacherib is to get a pylon high up in the air built for him in Egypt (the same motive is found also among the Sneheli in a story of Amnawas).¹ In Assyria everyone is helpless; if only Ahikar were still alive! Whereupon the executioner comes forward and tells the king the truth. Sennacherib is overjoyed. Ahikar is fetched from his den and brought before the king; his unshorn, unkempt hair reached down to his shoulders, and his beard to his breast. His nails were like eagle's claws, and his body had become withered and disfigured. The fashion of his countenance was changed, and was like ashes (cp Dan. 4.3). Carefully tended he is speedily restored, takes the problem in hand, and sets out for Egypt, where he is able to meet cunning with cunning and Pharaoh is compelled to acknowledge defeat. Crowned with glory the hero returns home, and now condign punishment overtakes Nadab. First he is scourged, and next he is thrown into a foul den near his uncle's door, and as often as Ahikar went in and out, he railed at him, his words of chastisement still taking proverbial form. 'As Nadab heard these words, in that same moment he became inflated like a leather bottle, all his members and bones swelled, and he split open and burst.' Thus he came to his end and died (cp also the manner of death the account of Marduk's triumph over Tiamat in the Babylonian creation-myth; Jensen, *Ass.-bab. Mythen u. Epen*, Berlin, 1900, p. 26 ff.).

The manner in which the story is told in the Book of Tobit points very clearly beyond the legendary form in which it has been handed down to an original which exhibited mythological motives. Some one is delivered from the snare of death—so a legend says. This is the latest shape the material receives; it is at the same time also a new interpretation and explanation. We meet with

¹ *Fabeln und Geschichte der Sneheli*, transl. and introd. by Büttner, Berlin, 1804, p. 89 ff.

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the characteristic colouring of myth, however, when we read of someone being brought down from light into darkness, how he reascends to light, and how his adversary is plunged into eternal night. These are characteristic features of the original form which first are gradually smoothed down and then continue to be carried along as a metaphorical manner of speaking for a considerable length of time, but finally the bold myth is toned down till it becomes a mere illustration of a popular proverb: 'He who digs a pit for others falls into it himself,' or: 'Behold, what mercy does, and how righteousness delivers,' or: 'Mercy delivers from death, and will not suffer him who practises it to go into darkness.'

The appropriation of this story by Judaism through a change of names, depends on a primary affinity of material which made it possible and easy. Manasseh in the Book of Judith, who is struck down by a burning wind in the days of the barley-harvest, and so deeply lamented by his widow (Judith 82 f.), and Haman the persecutor of the Jews are both of them figures which Judaism found and appropriated in foreign lands. They afterwards became typical figures for the whole cycle of exile legends; but originally it was between mythical figures that the struggle lay as to which should thrust the other down into everlasting darkness.

From the fact that the Book of Tobit contains references to the story of Ahikar, we must not, with M. Plath, draw the inference that the Tobit material is the later: 'The story of Tobit is set forth in full detail whilst the other may be taken for granted as known already.' On the contrary we here see in operation the natural desire to bring the characters of legend into relation with each other and with contemporary life. In this way Judaism is exhibited, even by its legends dating from those days of oppression which had become classical for subsequent post-exilic times, as a close and mutually coherent community in which each individual helps his neighbour. It is in a similar manner that, on German soil, the figures of Siegfried and Dietrich have been brought into relation with each other in the 'Great Rosen-garden.' But whilst the Jews help one another the German heroes are at war. The former sort of legend circulates among a people that finds itself in adversity, the later in a nation that finds its delight in battle and tournament.

There can be no doubt that the didactic portions of Tobit have also received interpolations; this is evident from the extant texts.

9. Didactic additions.

Chap. 4, which contains Tobit's exhortations to his son before his departure, is shortest in α , fuller in Jerome, most copious in A, B, and Vet. Lat. Whilst in Jerome there is prefixed an exhortation to attend to what is about to be said, and lay it to heart, in the other MSS Tobit, starting from the actual situation, begins with an admonition to Tobias to attend to his father's burial and care suitably for his widowed mother. This admonition is all the more effective, and *eo ipso* shows itself to be an integral portion of the story, because shortly before the blind old man has had to listen to bitter reproaches which almost drove him to a pair from the very wife whom he now so thoughtfully remembers. Natural, too, in like manner is the admonition, generalising as it were the fundamental thought of what precedes, to be pious and to keep God's commandments. The prospect of a happy life is held out as a reward for such conduct.

The climax of the exhortation having thus been reached, the conclusion we expect is 'Remember these commandments, and suffer them not to be effaced from thy heart!' Only α , however, closes thus; assuredly it represents the original rounded form. We cannot suppose any omission or shortening; for elsewhere α is much the more detailed and copious.

The other texts have forcibly introduced into this rounded text manifold pieces of good advice: (1) Practise compassion, for this will give the best results; (2) Live chastely and marry within your own people as the patriarchs did, for this brings great blessing in its train; (3) Be not proud, above all not to any of your own people; pride brings ruin; (4) Give the hireling his wages; be well-bred in all your actions, and refrain from doing to others what would be displeasing to yourself; (5) Beware of drunkenness; be compassionate; (6) Walk with the righteous and the wise.

Jerome has a like number of separate counsels, but they

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are more concisely worded, and it is noteworthy that the words 'to marry within one's own kin' is absent.

Thus there has been a gradual interpolation of apparently favourite chapter of the Book of Tobit. People liked to read how the old man instructed his youth. More and more words were put into his mouth of the sort which the various redactors would impress upon the minds of readers. It is interesting to see that the Ahikar story also exhibits the same mixture of the epic and the didactic styles. Certain of the words too in the rules of wisdom it contains echo of Tobit. The following examples are among the most noticeable:—

ARABIC STORY.	VET. LAT.	JEROME.	A and B.
My son, pour out thy wine on the tombs of the just, rather than drink it with the wicked and base people.	Pour out (funde) thy wine and thy bread on the tombs of the just, and give it (illud) not to sinners.	Place thy wine and thy bread upon the tomb of the just; but give eat and drink to sinners.	Disperse freely thy bread upon the tomb of the just; but give not of it with sinners.

The original meaning of this saying, which has since been used for libations at sepulchres, has gradually been toned down until at last what has come out of it is an exhortation to prepare a funeral repast. Thus we clearly see that the counsels which by degrees find their way into Tobit's exhortation have in part already been taken from the general oriental stock of proverbs. On the other hand the accentuation of didactic Jewish precepts of morality is deliberate. The form from which their introduction dates, loved to include them at every possible opportunity. Apparently it was every need to do so.

The peculiar circumstance that the advice to 'not within one's kin is wanting in α and Jer. raises the question, whether this element, upon which much weight is sought to be laid in the history itself, be original.

There is the further fact that in 616 [g] Azariah mentions Tobit of it, although the admonition itself has not been previously recorded in this form of the text. The verse in question must therefore have been introduced by way of correction of the other forms of the text. We are confirmed in this view when we observe that Jerome makes no mention of Azariah's reminder. But as in the dialogue between Azariah and Tobias, he deviates much from the other MSS, his evidence would not be so weighty as it is if we did not read in the Greek recension simply these words: 'Hast thou not remembered all thy father's commandments?' thus without express allusion to the particular exhortation now in question.

Further, the statement that Tobias is related to Raguel disturbs the whole structure of the story. If Raguel indeed became by the Mosaic law guilty of death should he be his daughter to any other than Tobias,—an assertion of angels which in point of fact is not correct,—then it becomes inconceivable how the narrator could possibly have found excuse for his having already previously betrothed her to suitors in succession. Sara herself, before abandoning her to despair, must surely have had some thought of the possibility of escape from her sad predicament—that, namely, being married by the man whom the law required. Her promise must have been that God should send her this deliverer. It is possible that Tobit in receiving his daughter-in-law into his house, could have failed to recall the ties of kinship that united them. Raguel himself must have given thanks to God, merely for having had mercy upon two only children, who would also have had every reason for pointing out how a fulfilment of the law had found its reward.

Finally, the scene which above all others must determine the relationship between the two families, that namely in which Tobias enters the house of Raguel, is not always rendered the same way. According to one version of the story the travellers first meet with Sara and are afterwards led by her to the house, and according to another they first find Raguel himself sitting at his house door, and are hospitably welcomed by him; according to the one Tobit's loss of sight is attributed to those in Raguel's house, whilst according to the other they first hear of it from the travellers. Also, α shows a much greater interest than A and B in the relationship (cp. 616 [g] 710), although it does not contain the exhortation mentioned above. The editor therefore, we may be quite certain, would not have omitted it if he had found it lying before him.

This want of agreement shows clearly the smoothing

touches of later hands. It is plausible to conjecture that without all arriving at one and the same result they all sought to incorporate the discovery by Raguel and his family that their new arrival was their nearest kinsman. This addition, intended to exhibit in concrete form by means of the story of Tobit the blessing which such marriages of kinsfolk bring, must have been made in a time which was trying to set aside this ancient Jewish custom. People 'turned away with haughty minds from the sons and the daughters of their own nation, nor took their wives from amongst them' (4:1 [A]). 'In pride—such was the teaching of this addition—lies destruction and much confusion.' On the other hand the progeny of those who are true to the customs of their forefathers 'inherits the land.' We see that political and religious hopes were believed to be affected by such deviations from traditional practice.

If we take a comprehensive survey of the work that has been expended upon the Book of Tobit, so far as can be judged from the extant forms of the text, it becomes plain that the introduction of certain episodes points to a heightening of the didactic character of the story, and to a desire to give it more and more the character of a family tale. In other respects, though the various MSS vary from each other in many ways, they never do so to such an extent that the course of events is changed. But copyists and translators seem to have treated their text with a good deal of arbitrariness; they might almost be called redactors. They have fully exercised what they deemed their own proprietary rights in copy or translation. The various forms of text thus produced were again compared at a distinctly later period, and here and there we find unmistakable attempts to harmonise them. It is therefore difficult to define in any brief formula the nature of their mutual relationship. We can do so, however, quite definitely so far as their attitude towards the Ahikar episode is concerned.

II. UNINTERPOLATED TEXT

At this stage there arises at once the question whether the text to which the various extant MSS go back presents us with the original form of the Book of Tobit. In the

11. Not original. Various indications go to show that what it offers us is a redaction of a story previously fixed in writing.

In the speech in which the angel makes himself known he declares the part he has taken in the events in the life of Tobit (12:12 ff.). He it was who brought the memorial of his prayer before God; who was by his side when he buried the dead; likewise when he did not delay to rise up and leave his dinner in order to go and cover the 'dead' (sing. in R, pl. in A). The allusion to Tobit's activity in burying the dead in the times of oppression caused by Sennacherib is abrupt; to say the least it stands in the wrong place, the events being enumerated in reverse order of their occurrence. It has the appearance of being an element that has been introduced at a late stage into the text with the effect in 7:13 of making 'the dead man' into 'the dead' (pl.). If this impression be correct, the originality of the introduction would then come into question. And in the first person whilst everywhere else the book is written in the third person. At a very early date this difficulty was felt. Jerome and the Aramaic (ed. Neubauer) give the introduction in the third person. M. Plath indeed points to the similar change between the first and the third person in the Aramaic version of the story of Ahikar. In the latter case, however, it would seem as if we had to deal with an oversight or slip of the Chronicler rather than with a peculiarity of style. 'If the editor of the Book of Acts, skilled in literature as he was, placed in immediate juxtaposition the *he*-passages and those written in the third person,' his intention was that the impression of dependence on ancient sources which gives his narrative the stamp of authenticity might be left unimpaired. Thus M. Plath's reference to Acts goes rather to prove the opposite of what is intended; the inference is that here also as well as in the Book of Acts the manner in which the subject is presented enables us to discern the traces of a second hand.

Again, the mention of the various Assyrian kings, and the references to the history of that period altogether are quite misplaced so far as the remainder of the narrative is concerned. Only at the very close of the narrative are similar allusions at

all met with; but here too the various versions do not agree (see, as to the ages of the persons).

Once more, Tobit's loss of sight is given as the sole reason for his impoverishment. After the return from the flight before Sennacherib he can afford to have a rich meal prepared; thus his poverty is not the consequence of the confiscation of his goods by Sennacherib.

Lastly, it is left wholly unexplained why it is that the neighbours say on the burial of the dead man at the feast of Pentecost that Tobit 'was no more afraid to be put to death for this matter.' No mention has previously been made that the Jew referred to had been slain by King Sennacherib. The corpse is lying in the market place; but the Jews put to death by Sennacherib are not, it need hardly be said, left lying in the middle of the town; they are thrown outside the walls of Nineveh. The saying of the neighbours just cited, therefore, being irreconcilable with the narrative itself, and presupposing impossible conditions, cannot be original. If not original, the things to which it alludes, the Sennacherib story, are also brought into question.

We shall be safe, therefore, in excluding from the original text of the Book of Tobit, both this Sennacherib story and the reference to the burials of the dead. What we have here is simply a later reduplication of one and the same motive—viz., that of the burial of the dead man—just as in the story of Esther the feast is reduplicated. In Esther the object is to interweave the Mordecai episodes by means of which the book read at the Purim festival was brought into harmony with the spirit of the age; we may well suppose a similar motive to have been at work in the case of the Book of Tobit. Press¹ has placed its date in the middle of the second century A.D., that is to say, immediately after the suppression of the Jewish revolt, and the annihilation of all their national hopes. If now we endeavour to represent to ourselves what it was that the redactor of the original text of the book of Tobit (possibly written in Hebrew) aimed at and has accomplished we shall arrive at some such conclusion as the following:—

The story, such as the redactor found it already reduced to writing, as an edifying tale of family life,

12. How redacted. was laid in the Assyrian tones. The redactor shows himself to be, for his time, a man possessed of a certain degree of historical knowledge. He was acquainted with the almost legendary story of Sennacherib's fruitless expedition against Judah; and this he blended with the story of Tobit, perhaps after having first put it into a Greek dress. With the adoption of so free a treatment is explained also the stylistic character of the Greek text, which led Noldeke to maintain its originality.² The redactor had along with his contemporaries passed through the bitter experiences of the suppression of the Jewish revolt against Rome. It had been a life-and-death struggle. 'In this conflict of races, that ended in 135 with the complete subjugation of the Jews, the fields were strown with dead bodies; nay (as Graetz has it) "the whole Jewish nation lay like one huge corpse on the gory fields of its native land" and in Media alone was scarce any more to be found' (Dreiss). These ghastly experiences were introduced by the redactor into an old tale of family life. He threw them back into the Assyrian time; and thus the old book with its limited horizon, with its personages who are 'no heroes in deeds, but heroes in suffering' (M. Plath) was adapted to the times for which he wrote.

Tobit who, braving the wrath of the King, buries the slaughtered brethren, thus receives a touch of the heroic valour of the fighters of Bar Kochba's time; but, at the same time, by his resignation and by his quiet patience and persistent hopefulness he could also become a conspicuous example to the Jews of those days, disheartened as they were by the failure of their effort to shake off the Roman yoke. As they read the new introduction to the old book, their hearts were captivated by this bold kindred spirit, to be guided by him forthwith along the only road on which they could possibly find healing for their grievous wounds. Perhaps therefore it was psychologically a very skilful touch on the part of the redactor to introduce this man at the outset as speaking *in propria persona*. Possibly he allowed himself here to be guided by his own feeling. In any case his intervention has impaired the compactness of the older narrative.

¹ 'Zum Buche Tobit' in *ZHT*, 1885, pp. 24 ff.
² *JBR*, 1879, pp. 45 ff.

The introduction of passages from general history into such a tale as this, dealing with events so domestic and private, strikes us as out of place; we instinctively feel that here some extraneous element has been imported into an already completed unity, that we have to do with the work of some editor, that a local and temporary interest is at work which has no universality in its appeal.

Our account of the redactor's interference with the older narrative is not yet finished. In 120 the angel, when taking his departure, bids Tobit commit to writing all that has happened. The reader notes that the matter is exhausted, and what he expects next to hear is that Raphael's command has been carried out. Perhaps afterwards the deaths of Tobit and Anna might have been added, and the removal of Tobias into Media,—a removal that considered in itself seems quite natural when we remember that his wife's relations live in Ecbatana and are possessors of great wealth which Sara and her husband are destined one day to inherit. But instead of any such natural conclusion as this we have in the first instance a thanksgiving prayer of Tobit's, of which we are told in A and B that it was put into writing by Tobit himself. The Syriac version has the same prayer in a shorter form. The other versions, however, make Tobit's discourse rise to a climax in an apocalyptic prophecy of the rebuilding of the heavenly Jerusalem. According to this discourse God's tabernacle in Jerusalem is for the present destroyed, and thus the city taken away from the nation and from its God.

Tobit appears of course to speak from his own proper standpoint, which has in view the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. It need hardly be said, however, that in reality the prophecy relates to the time of the author. Now it might not be impossible to think of the oppression of Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes. The glowing colours, however, with which the rebuilding of the holy city is depicted suggest a period when a speedy natural restoration of the city and its worship was hardly to be expected. At such a period, when it is plainly seen that self-help is of no avail, men cling to the hope of some miraculous intervention. Heavenly powers shall build up Jerusalem (1310) 'with sapphires, and emeralds, and precious stones; her walls and towers and battlements with pure gold; and her streets shall be paved with heryl and carbuncle and stones of Ophir.' A joyful expectation of this sort takes us beyond the times of the Maccabees. And as the opening of the book most probably emanates from one who had lived through the struggles of the second century A.D. it will be to him that we ought most probably to attribute not only the placing of the story in a similar historical background, but also the introduction into it of those ardent wishes and hopes regarding the future which at the time of writing were stirring his own heart. By this supposition we are best able to understand on the one hand the interest shown in events in the far East in the introduction, and on the other in the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the restoration of its worship at the close. For a contemporary of the Maccabean struggles Palestine alone could have come into consideration.

The interest felt at one and the same time in the far East and in the city of Jerusalem finally reaches pointed expression in the parting speech of Tobit to his son (chap. 11). 'For a time' Jerusalem shall be desolate and God's worship be suspended there. During this period 'in Media there shall rather be peace for a season.' But at last the fulness of time shall be accomplished, the Jews shall be restored, and the gentiles turn from their idolatries. Jerusalem shall rise in glory and with her the house of God, 'but not like unto the first.' This prophecy clearly refers to the last times. The temple, which is to be built anew, will not be the production of human hands, but in contrast to the first will be God's own workmanship. Jerusalem will be the splendid city of the latter days, the heavenly

Jerusalem, the temple of God's glorious building, be likened to any building of former times, not even that of a Herod. It is therefore a mistake to attempt to determine from this passage the historical standpoint of the writer as if he had lived sometime within the period between the post-exilic building of Zerubbabel and the work of Herod (so Schürer in *PRAB*).¹ Rather are all temples of former times brought into contrast with this splendid structure destined to be raised in the end of the ages. The writer's prophecy discloses himself by his simultaneous interest in the far East and in the West. A characteristic of the tale that he takes pains to make out the events of the time as fulfilment of prophetic prediction. We can perceive from this how important the time in which he lived must have been for the text of our prophetic books. In particular we must attribute to it a large share in the enlargement by way of commentary of our book of Jeremiah, the Hebrew text of which is much more copious than that of the Greek translation.¹

This peculiar method, of filling out the ancient tales with the prophecies, hopes, and interests of a later time, strikes the reader just as much as does the introduction of universal history into a tale of family life, a mixture of styles resulting from this combination of neither elegant nor pleasing. Beautiful or attractive can have been only to an age which found reflected in its own expectations and wishes. Here once more we come to the conclusion that a redactor has been at work whose inherent weaknesses escaped notice for a short time. The moment the interest which has directed the procedure relaxes, we inevitably perceive the vicissitudes it has done to the ancient story by the improbable which it has forced upon it.

III. CONJECTURAL RECONSTRUCTION

If we pursue our inquiry as to the original form of the book of Tobit which lay before the redactor and was operated on by him, we shall find the story to be somewhat as follows:—

In Nineveh there lives a pious man, Tobit by name; his wife is Anna, and his son Tobias. He is one of the Jewish exiles. On a certain occasion, at Pentecost, just before sitting down to eat, he sends out his son to invite any needy one from among his brethren. Tobias returns with the news that a Jew who has strangled is lying dead in the market-place. Tobit buries the body, and as incidental to this loses his eyesight. He then comes dependent on his wife; on one occasion a misunderstanding arises between them and she casts his alms and his riches into the sea. Deeply stirred, he falls into great grief and prays for death. In Ecbatana, Sara the daughter of Rabsaris is cherishing the same wish. An evil spirit, Asmodeus, has slain seven successive husbands of hers on the wedding-night. Her father's maid-servants reproach her with having herself been her husband's death. In answer to the prayers of Tobias, Sara God sends forth the angel Raphael to cure Tobit of his blindness, and bring about a union between Tobias and Sara; thus deliver the virgin wife from the evil spirit.

Such, in brief outline, is the scheme of the story as the scene is laid at Nineveh and Ecbatana, and the thread of the deliverance from misdeeds and misfortune of families living in these two places. The solution is brought about by the direct intervention of God through Raphael, the powers of the celestial world.

The occurrences in Nineveh are related at some length, only one scene is devoted to the story of Sara. At Nineveh she is first of all introduced to the pious, benevolent Tobit, whose benevolence leads him to show an act of mercy to a stranger, and this act of mercy in turn becomes the cause of ruin to himself. The development of this scene indicates that Tobias's misfortune is wholly undeserved. A pious man such as this cannot possibly remain unhappy, if there is a righteous God. In the second scene we see how poverty comes on the wife, misfortune. Tobias's wife becomes dependent for her own and her husband's support upon the kindness of aliens. And so it is to say to the benevolent Tobit who now finds himself in the same position as those whom he has so often formerly helped. There never occurs the thought of any possibility that his kindnesses may now be requited to himself, and to his help to the good Tobit, after the misunderstanding with his

¹ Cp. Erb, *Jeremia und seine Zeit*, 1902, and see *JBL* vii., § 21.

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finds himself completely isolated. Where is he to look for either comfort or support? The good deed which has been the outward occasion of his misfortune is cast in his teeth. Must he remain an innocent sufferer throughout all the rest of his life? His prayer is the answer to either question; it is thus of vital importance for the course of the narrative. Forsaken by men, Tobit turns to God from whom alone comfort and help can come. He prays that death may come to his rescue. We are deeply moved by the spectacle of the aged sufferer. Any other man would have prayed for recovery. Thus our feelings are kept in tension. In what way will God intervene?

The composition of the two scenes at Nineveh can almost be characterised as faultless. We are greatly moved as we see this pious man brought to mistakingly by an act of kindness. In the train of the original calamity comes poverty. It is the indirect cause of a misunderstanding between Tobit and his loyal wife. A venial fault leaves the old man absolutely friendless; it instantly brings its own punishment, but at the same time drives him into the arms of Him who alone can help. For the time being we are reassured, and free to turn our attention to the other scene of action.

Sara scourges her maids, whether with reason or without, we are not told, nor does it matter. Her maids know how to avenge themselves on her passionate temper. They reproach her with her undeserved misfortune. Mistreatment, scorn, and open contempt; we are touched by the maiden's fate. She would fain lay down life's burden; another proof of her passionate nature. The aged man hears his troubles quietly; only when they pass the limits of endurance does he pray to God to take away his life. For a moment Sara thinks of ending her troubles with her own hand; but it is only for a moment; she is too good a daughter; she remembers her father. In the one case, Tobit's difference with his wife throws him into the arms of God; in the other case, the same effect is wrought by the daughter's reflection on what would be the sorrow of her father.

The narrator relieves the fatiguing similarity of the two scenes by contrasting the motives. Sara's prayer is framed after the same model as Tobit's; invocation and adoration; petition for deliverance from distress. Whilst, however, the prayer of the old man moves quietly towards its climax, Sara's emotion is manifest throughout. Thus her prayer is much more concrete. She had just been on the verge of suicide, and now she implores God to let her die. But again the image of her father rises before her eyes. The love of life breaks in once more upon this passionate nature, the secret, unuttered wish that God may help her in some other way.

Thus the narrator has still further prepared us for the divine intervention. The scene that follows is laid in heaven—God sends down Raphael to deliver the two petitioners out of their distress. The reader at once perceives how the business is to end. Our story is no drama that gradually unfolds itself before the eyes of the spectator; the various personages henceforth lose their dramatic interest, for we know what the end must be. All that remains still unknown is merely the working out of the details. With disclosure of the final issue the question is at the same time started as to how God will bring it about. To this the reader is intended to give his undivided attention. God's wisdom has to show itself in the skill with which the result is effected; from this point onward the story will be an illustration of the wisdom of divine providence. And the illustration being so naive, our interest in it is but small. The art of the narrator, which we were able to admire in the opening chapters, seems to leave him. This, however, is only because he has attempted too ambitious a task and not kept within the bounds of his limited abilities. He laboriously seeks to keep up our interest by a succession of minor artifices.

Tobit sets his house in order before his death to which he is looking forward. At Rages in Media he has deposited a sum of money with Gabael, and Tobias must go and fetch it. We are not now able to say whether this element figured in the original form of the Book of Tobit. In the present text we have word of it as early as in 14. To Rages the way lies through Ecbatana; we are thus able to divine that God is about

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to make use of the journey of Tobias for fulfilment of his plans. But we must have patience.

First the father has to give wise instructions to his son; they are, he may well believe, the last words he will ever speak to Tobias. We for our part know that Tobit is to be rendered happy once more by this journey, and thus, touched by the old man's love, we are told over the delay in the action. Next, the father provides for the safety of his son as best he can; he chooses for him the most trustworthy travelling companion he can find. Again the narrator discloses too much. The companion is no other than Azaria, the angel Raphael in human shape. It is touching to read how strictly Tobit is to his zeal. With our minds fixed on the blind father and his angel—indeed, we again forget that we are being detained. At last an agreement is come to, even in the matter of wages. A start can be made at last. The father gives his blessing, and wishes that the angel of God may go with his son. We smile at ourselves, knowing that the father's prayer is already fulfilled. With the narrator, the religious interest, that of showing his readers how God guides the destinies of men beyond all human thinking, predominates over the aesthetic interest which should have taught him not to relieve the tension prematurely. At the parting, there are tears; the blind old man has faith in God and remains calm, but not so the mother, whose one thought is that her only child is leaving, and when she reflects that some sacrifice has to be made if the money is to be recovered, she deems the present one too great. 'We have enough to live on.' Has the narrator forgotten that Tobit is reduced to poverty? Or is it his intention to touch us still more deeply by putting into Anna's mouth the sentiment that she would rather go on with her present life of care and toil, if only her dear son might stay at home? Tobit attempts to divert his wife from her sorrow by 'gently trying to excite her pity for himself; thine eyes shall see him! He himself is blind; even should he survive till his son's return, still he will not see him!' (M. Plath).

We see how the author's main endeavour is to keep up the reader's interest by touching his heart. He tries to reach his audience where it is most susceptible; it is one of the artifices he employs to maintain the life of a narrative which has lost the element of suspense.

The departure in its various scenes—the decision, the parting instructions, the choice of a companion, the farewell—occurs in Nineveh. The next scenes, describing the journey, naturally are laid in a variety of places; the most important are the encampment by the Tigris, and the stay at Raguel's house, so important that the original object of the journey, the recovery of the money entrusted to Gabael at Rages, becomes a mere episode, appended to the scene in Ecbatana. We know beforehand the real providential purpose of the journey, and thus are not surprised at the turn it takes. What it is in the end the angel, not Tobias, should fetch the money, seems a small but charming variation; 'things fall out quite differently from what we imagine' (M. Plath).

Before going to sleep one night young Tobias bathes in the Tigris. A fish leaps out upon him and snaps at his foot. A and B have aggravated the natural situation, in order to make the story as marvellous as possible. With them the fish threatens to swallow the youth. And yet, at the angel's bidding, he is forthwith able to seize hold of it and to cast it on the bank so that there is no real danger. At Raphael's request he takes with him the heart, the liver, and the gall of the fish. The pair continue their journey and draw near to Media, the true goal pre-determined by God.

The decisive stay at the house of Raguel is led up to by two preparatory scenes—conversations between the angel and Tobias in the course of their journey—and is followed by two others relating to the recovery of the money from Gabael, and the arrival of the latter at Ecbatana. The two dialogues, on the borders of Media, before Ecbatana is reached, are intended to shorten the long story of the journey and to relieve the reader. Again the artist deprives us of all the pleasure of suspense by elaborately describing beforehand everything that is going to happen.

Tobias himself gives occasion for this before Media is entered (so A and B less effectively have substituted Ecbatana) by his question as to the object in carrying with them the heart, gall, and liver of the fish they had killed on the evening of their first day's journey. When we learn that an evil-spirit can be driven away by the fumes of this liver and heart, we at once perceive exactly how it is that Sara is to be

delivered. All that remains in doubt is as to whether Tobias will make up his mind to marry her, and whether Raguel is going to give him his daughter in marriage. That the son, however, should not think at once of his blind father when he hears that with the gall the malady Tobias is suffering from can be cured, astonishes us, especially when we see later how mindful Tobias is of his father: 'My father counts the days!' are the words with which he sends the angel to Gabael. Nor does he linger with his parents-in-law an hour beyond the exact time he had promised. Clearly the narrator took no special interest in the characterisation of his various personages; his main interest is in exhibiting and proving the wise governance of God: 'God rules supreme and rules all things well' is his central theme.

The way having been prepared by an explanation of the healing virtues of the various parts of the fish, the angel proceeds to disclose his plans. They are now before the gates of Ecbatana (A and B again read, wrongly, Rages). Their next lodging-place is to be Raguel's house. He has but one child, a daughter, who is fair and wise. Azaria will speak to her father that she may be given in marriage to Tobias. The wedding will be held after the return from Rages. ('Afterwards things turn out differently from what had been thought.')

To Tobias, more than to any other, does the right of inheritance belong. This proposition, which doubtless originally simply meant that Tobias, the son of a poor but pious father, was the husband chosen for the girl by the wise counsel of God ('she is appointed unto thee from the beginning,' B 18) was only at a later date thought out in the manner of commentary to the effect that the two were nearly related, and their marriage as near relations would be well-pleasing to God and to the Jewish nation.

Had Tobias known nothing of Sara's misfortune, he would now have consented on the spot. As it is, he pleads that, being the only son of his parents, he dare not lightly risk his life. In itself considered the plan which the angel unfolds is not to be rejected.

He is already strongly prepossessed in favour of it. The young man's love for his parents is most touching. He thinks only of their sorrow, and does not fear the evil spirit except on their account. That Sara's story should be known even in Nineveh, presupposes a lively intercourse between the two places. And such there may have been, not only in the narrator's own time but also in former days; we must not fall into the error of underestimating the trade of antiquity.

To repel his scruples, the angel reminds the youth of his father's injunctions. Unquestionably his reference at present is to the one injunction which had him marry a woman of his own kindred. Originally, perhaps, no such reminiscence may have stood in this place.

Or possibly, as is also supported by tradition, the reference may have been simply to the father's injunctions generally. In that case we shall perhaps have to think of some such precepts as those in *g*: 'They who practise sincerity, shall be blessed in their works; and to all that work righteousness, God shall give good counsel.' In this case the angel will have seen an act of righteousness in the deliverance of Sara. To the present writer this explanation seems the best.

The argument brought forward by the angel constitutes the main point to which the whole dialogue leads up; the means exist, by which the evil spirit can be driven away.

Once more we get a description of the virtue that lies in the heart and liver of the fish. The narrator tries to make it interesting by giving Tobias at the same time precise directions as to the manner in which the remedy is to be applied. Tobias now changes his mind; he is in love with Sara, or, we should say, he finds the proposed marriage with the fair and wise daughter of the rich man most acceptable. Such sentiments to the ancient conception furnish foundation enough for a happy union.

The second scene before the stay at Ecbatana represents a dialogue of persuasion, the first one of instruction. Judged from our aesthetic standpoint the whole of the preliminary scene ought to have been given in the form of a single dialogue of persuasion. The narrator's tendency is to break up the action into as many scenes as possible. In the discussion as to the derivation of the material, we shall have to keep this consideration in mind (§ 16).

There is no agreement in the rendering of the principal scene, that at Ecbatana. All that can be clearly seen

from the varying versions of it is the emphasis everywhere laid on Raguel's hospitality. In the betrothal comes about as planned by the angel.

Here again, according to A and B, which may represent the oldest reading, Azaria takes the most important part, as it is he who communicates to Raguel the wish of Tobias. In *g*, where, exceptionally, in these scenes the ship between Sara and Tobias is particularly dwelt upon, Raguel overhears the young man talking to the angel of marriage, and is at once captivated by the idea.

A marriage contract is drawn up in writing, upon Edna prepares the bridal chamber for the daughter. Again tears are shed; the intention to move the heart of the reader; there is something pathetic about the lot of the maid who has buried seven spouses. The effect of the scene, however, has been destroyed from the outset as we already saw in the impending happy issue. In the bridal chamber Tobias, at last, makes use of the angel's presence. The fumes put the demon to flight. That he is to be fettered by the angel in Upper Egypt is something we were not prepared for. From all we have told so far, we should have expected the mere mention to suffice for complete deliverance from the evil spirit. The prayer the young man now offers is strictly Jewish. In arrangement it resembles those previously recorded.

Meanwhile Raguel is digging a grave for his daughter who is betrothed. The bridal is to be in secret; the urban man dreads his neighbours' evil tongues. The preceding shows that Sara's latest betrothal does not in any way from those which preceded it. No relationship, therefore, between the couple is presupposed. For the rest, we are at a loss to understand the feelings of the actors now before us who with cold hearts dig graves out of fear of their neighbours, who send their maidservant quickly into the bridal chamber to see whether the grave shall be needed; nor yet the feelings of the readers who felt edified by the prayer of the young man giving offered immediately afterwards by the digger of the grave. Instead of a funeral there is now a wedding. In the end it is the angel who has to collect the bride for the happy bridegroom. Gabael himself comes to Ecbatana to the wedding. It is probable that here the more original text; in A and B the phrase is so curt as to be almost unintelligible.

Gradually the story draws to an end. Two readers waiting. He takes us first to Nineveh. The old people are awaiting their son's return in Nineveh. Whilst Tobias is patiently resigned, the mother's anguish spends her nights in weeping and her days in watching the road along which her son had passed. At Ecbatana, on the other hand, the son amid a crowd of happiness has not forgotten his lonely parents. Raguel does the hospitable Raguel press him to tarry, and the blessings of his new relations Tobias take with him on his departure along with his wife and the angel. After he has given his blessing, the father reminds his daughter of her duty to her parents-in-law. The mother, on the other hand, urges her son-in-law to be kind to his parents.

Shortly before Nineveh is reached the angel again more takes the part of a faithful adviser; again he gives instructions to Tobias how to heal his blind father. In a touching way the narrator brings before our eyes the helplessness of the blind old man before he is healed. The cure accomplished, Tobit praises God, and to the great astonishment of the neighbours, himself goes to bring his daughter-in-law home. A seven-day wedding follows. At this point, now that the angel has brought Tobias safely back, rescued his wife, covered his money, and healed his father, his task is done, and we expect him to take his leave. But he must carry out his rôle as travelling companion to the end. As trusty guide he must receive his wages. Tobias proposes to share equally with him the wages he has acquired. Now at last the angel reveals to

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his true nature. In a long discourse which, as M. Plath has observed, recalls the style of the psalms and of Sirach, he makes himself known after declaring that he had been a witness to the burial of the dead. They are bidden praise God and commit everything to writing. After the angel's command to write in a book all the things that have happened, what we expect to read is: And they wrote everything down, and here is the book' (M. Plath).

14. History of story: time of greatest vogue.

(a) On a survey of the book and its history, it becomes clear in the first place that it must have greatly interested the reading world. This is shown by the varying MSS. Each individual possessor, copyist, and translator has by the introduction of certain turns and small alterations which commended themselves to him, given expression to his sympathy with the lot of those pious people who are the subjects of our story.

(b) Next we are carried back to a time in which this material was read with peculiar eagerness; the time, namely, about 150 A.D. The failure of the Jewish rebellion presented a temptation to abandon Jewish peculiarities and the ancient manner of life altogether. It was at this time that the pious exhortations of Tobit were amplified, and the duty of cohesiveness was insisted upon since pride towards one's own brethren brings only confusion. Quite recently these days of woe had been made to throw their dark shadows on the very pages of the book. Tobit the faithful Jew of the unhappy Assyrian days, the pious sufferer in evil times, was the man to speak an earnest word to those of the Jews who had escaped the oppression of the revolt. At the same time he could also give them a word of comfort, by telling them about the Jerusalem of the final future. In such manner was the original form of the book modified so as to adapt it to the needs of the time.

(c) The original form must at one time have had a separate existence—perhaps in a collection of legends, since it represents a complete story, artfully constructed.

IV. ULTIMATE SOURCES

The form of a book depends on three factors: the character of the material, the personality of him who gives it shape, and the wants of him who reads. There must have been a public to welcome it if we find here a melting story, with characters doomed

to suffer and to bear, to whom angels from heaven are familiar beings, whose lives are spent in prayer and pious contemplations. The readers rejoice over those who are compassionate, but only heaven can reward them. The story is not written for the rich but for the poor. These do not undertake long journeys; but they like to hear about them. They know well what anxiety a son's journey can cause to a father and mother. To be sure, everyone has heard of people who have travelled; these will be welcome as companions should necessity for travelling arise. Such things as these are not the staple in stories that circulate among traders and merchants. In those stay-at-home circles there is belief in magical medicaments such as are supposed to be found in foreign lands. In the great rivers of distant lands swim fish whose heart and liver can exorcise evil spirits, whose gall can heal blindness (cp § 6). Such readers are at the same time rigorously exacting. Each marriage has to be preceded by a written contract; money is not handed over without a document. A reading public of this sort could have been found in Palestine, but in Egypt, as also in Babylonia, the Jews were doubtless, for the most part, engaged in trade. Moreover, the knowledge of the regions of Mesopotamia is by no means exact, and we read that the evil spirit is chained in Upper Egypt. Only a writer living sufficiently far off could think of that country as the battlefield for

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contending spirits. Yet the men address their wives as 'sister,' in the Egyptian manner. Thus the flourishing period of Palestinian history under the rule of the Ptolemies about 300 B.C., and the influence they wielded, must have previously made itself felt. The year 200 B.C., therefore, may be suggested as the approximate date of the original form of our book.

In the analysis given above (§ 13) allusion has already been made to the tendencies shown by the individual who gave its final shape to the material before him. He is fond of breaking up the story into short separate scenes, of sharp contrasts, of elaborating particular scenes. Let us now try, on the basis of these observations, to ascertain what was the nature of his work upon the material handed down to him, and so to obtain approximately some idea of the story as it was when he found it.

First of all then, our attention is claimed by the artistic composition of the opening of the story. A popular legend does not deal in so

16. His work.

complicated a manner with two separate scenes of action. The artful parallel composition of the scenes in Nineveh and in Ecbatana is the narrator's own work. The elaborate painting scenes in which we see the old man giving wise advice, the young man looking out for a travelling companion, the anxious father, the weeping mother, cannot be imagined otherwise than as a narrative definitely fixed in writing; it is impossible to regard it as a tale popularly handed down by word of mouth. The dialogues between the two travellers are also highly artificial compositions. The waiting parents as contrasted with Raguel hospitably pressing his guests to tarry, seem also to have been introduced by the narrator. There remain, accordingly, only the following elements (which perhaps, however, might be still further reduced) to be noted as appertaining to the material upon which the narrator has operated. (1) The burial of a dead body, and the blinding of a head of a family; (2) impoverishment, so that the blind man's wife has to work for their living; (3) a son, accompanied by a stranger, makes a journey to recover money; (4) on the way they have an adventure with important consequences; (5) a marriage with a rich heiress, whose lot has been made intolerable by the jealousy of an evil spirit who will not suffer her husband to live; (6) the healing of the blind father; (7) the stranger declines to accept the acknowledgement offered to him (half of the entire estate) in order at last to disclose himself to be an angel who has been a witness of the burial of the dead.

Since the appearance of Simrock's work *Der gute Gerhard und die dankbaren Tollen* (Bonn, 1856)

17. Basis in folk-lore.

zealous efforts have continuously been made to trace back the raw material of the Book of Tobit to a widely-spread story of the gratitude of a departed spirit, of which several versions are collected by Simrock. A similar Armenian story has also been unearthed (originally published by A. v. Haxthausen in his *Trankaukasien*, Leipzig, 1831 ff., and recently again by M. Plath). In dealing with the question whether the story of Tobit goes back to a tale of this sort, we have to bear in mind that all the kindred stories hitherto brought forward, whether from Germany, Holland, France, Italy, Denmark, or Armenia, have in every case passed through a long development. They have been current in many lands, and been told in many tongues.

The Armenian tale knows nothing of the father of the hero. The hero pays the dead man's debts with a view to his burial and finally is himself reduced to poverty. Here the impoverishment is not so well accounted for as in the Book of Tobit. Just as in our tale the Armenian hero also wins a rich but unfortunate heiress in marriage. He is aided in this by a man who afterwards makes himself known as the spirit of the dead man whom he had buried. To him, too, half of the estate is assigned;

but, full of gratitude, he declines to accept the gift. Here, plainly, the tale is essentially simpler. There is no journey. This last feature may have been introduced by preference in places where people liked to hear about such journeys into foreign countries. Elsewhere this feature of the story came to be forgotten. In the Armenian tale the inner connection of the parts is not so close; oral tradition is not so strict about details as one who writes down his stories. The spirit fights with his sword against a serpent that on the wedding night comes out of the bride's mouth and seeks to kill the bridegroom. The serpent, we may safely take it, represents an evil being. A reminiscence of a similar struggle is found also in the Book of Tobit; Raphael binds the evil spirit. We are therefore led to the conclusion that two variations can be shown; in the one the hero wins the bride by conflict with an evil spirit, in the other it is by a magical charm. The interest in magical effects was particularly strong among the Babylonian Jews.¹ Possibly the tale may have acquired this feature in the course of its journey westwards from the regions of the Euphrates. A third variation, of a specially Jewish character, tells of the hero's effective prayer on the night after his wedding. This variation, the most important from the Jewish point of view, has not been able to supplant the other two in the Book of Tobit. In the Armenian tale the blind father is forgotten. Popular tradition has thought only of the hero, whilst in the Book of Tobit the narrator who, we might almost say, is constantly occupied with the endeavour to find a motive for each separate incident in the narrative, has endeavoured also to account for the father's loss of sight; possibly it was he who gave to the story the turn by which the father who buries the dead man is made to become blind. In that case we must suppose him to have attributed the meritorious work of burial to the old man. The son it is, indeed, who obtains the reward, but the old man recovers his sight, and, according to a truly Jewish notion, is rewarded in his son. An important element may have been lost in transit—the payment of the dead man's debts. But M. Flah is right in pointing out that the Jews, who were painfully punctilious about such things, may have found themselves unable to take any special interest in this feature of the story. Thus the Jewish narrator may willingly have dropped the point, seeking instead to explain the hero's impoverishment in another way—namely, as caused by his loss of sight.

The stories collected by Sinrock have one more feature in common; the hero runs the risk of losing his newly-won wife. She is restored to him by the aid of the spirit. What we have here is simply a favourite method of amplifying stories by repetition of the same motive. People listened with such interest to the story of the manner in which a wife was won, that they were eager to hear it again and again. Hence the hero has to be in danger of nearly losing his wife; by some one—often a previous suitor, or several of them (here we find the circumstance still preserved that the maid had many suitors)—the attempt is made to kill the hero, drown, wound, burn him. Frequently it is only at the crisis of these perils that the grateful deceased is brought into action, and helps in restoring the lost wife to the hero by whom she has previously been won single-handed. To the first successful effort to win the maid there was added another, and it was sought to make the repetition attractive by introducing variations. In doing so, no hesitation was felt in omitting the spirit's share in the exploit if this was thought desirable. The influence of Christianity also occasionally makes itself felt.

In one form of the story the rebuilding of a ruined church of St. Nicholas takes the place of pious burial of the dead. The

¹ See *Jüdisch-Babylonische Zaubertexte*, ed. Stübli (Halle, 1895).

spirit afterwards pays the part usually assigned to the spirit.

In many forms of these stories the aged father-hero is retained, only he does not come so much in front as in the Book of Tobit. It is he who sends his son forth on a journey.

Also the trait which represents the old man and recovering his sight by the skill of the spirit, occurs in one of the stories. We might conjecture this point to have been a characteristic in the old story. As the adventures of the spirit added, the father easily fell more and more in the background; the same interest was no longer kept; he became a secondary character, and finally disappeared altogether in many variations. In Tobit the development has tended in the opposite direction. The wife reduced to strangers is also a favourite figure in these stories; it is the wife of the hero, often represented as a widow to poverty in winning her.

Finally, the spirit of the departed does not appear in human shape; some of the stories in which it appears as a mere ghost. In one of them it supports the hero, in another a tiny, wrinkled man in a third a bird, in a fourth a raven, in a fifth a sixth a talking wolf. In the Book of Tobit the rescuer appears in human shape; there are, however, which might seem to indicate that another form appeared in one of the variations.

A dog follows the youth on his journey to and from in a meaningless way, one might almost say. Surely it is exaggeration at least to call this, as M. Flah does, 'a touch of naive miniature-painting.' We should at least on the homeward journey, that the dog would go to make known the traveller's return. It was only in a later form that this natural expectation was gratified (so S. Herk.). Now, as in the account of the maiden's rescue, the evil spirit traces are to be found of an older tradition possible that here also we have a trace of the same sort of dog which accompanies the hero when he starts—may have one of the variations of the tale the spirit of the dead man, another, which has a more historical air, there survive a feeble recollection of this feature, to which afterwards the importance came once more to be attached.

If we choose to lay stress on the fact that the story bears the name of Asmodeus, which comes from Persian Aeshma daeva, we might find further confirmation of the conjecture just offered when it is reflected that the Persians a certain power over evil spirits was ascribed to the dog. Thus we get four variations in the story: (a) the winning of the maiden, somewhat as follows:—(a) The myth of the fight of a radiant heavenly being with a demon (cp on Persian soil the Sraosha's combat against Aeshma daeva); (b) the story of a dog faithful protector and travelling companion (cp the story in Sinrock); (c) the story of the magic remedy against the impure spirit; (d) the edifying tale of the pious prayer on the wedding-night. Cp ZOROASTRIANISM, § 2.

We shall therefore have to attribute to the story a foreign origin. Nor shall we be going to the point if we suppose that abroad numerous variations were already afloat. In the story as it spreads by word of mouth separate features get displaced; many are forgotten; new things are added. One idea, however, is held: the idea, namely, that to have pay on the buried dead is a meritorious work; it is sure to reward; and the buried one is grateful. The history of the Book of Tobit shows us how even in remote times nations learned from each other, and how they worked up the material they had thus acquired, each in its own way. The Jewish nation also, which we are erroneous in the habit of regarding as so exclusive, takes up foreign legend, goes on repeating it until it has got into fixed oral form, in order next to pass it on to the story-writer who is able to shape it into an edifying household tale, capable, in subsequent adaptations, to be suited to the requirements of each successive time ministering comfort to many succeeding generations.

TOCHEN

The most important modern commentaries are those of Egen, Die Geschichte Iob's...

21. Literature. Ouyon and Ouyon, Syria, etc., 1865; Fritzsche in KAT., 1871; Wace in Sp. Akad. Com., 1888; and Zuckler in KAT., 1891. On the subject...

TOCHEN (תֹּכֵן; תּוֹכָא [B], תּוֹכָא [A], תּוֹכָא [C]) [תֹּכֵן] and תּוֹכָא, perhaps a doublet, [L], a village in Judah assigned to SIMON (Jud. 14:14).

In Josh. (12:2) insert תּוֹכָא (var. in cursives תּוֹכָא, תּוֹכָא) - i.e. Tochen, before (12:2) Ephraim, Benjamin (12:2).

TOGARMAH (תּוֹגַרְמָה, Gen. 10:3 [2], elsewhere תּוֹגַרְמָה; Θοργμα [BQ/D/E/L], Θοργμα [B] in Ezek. 38:6; but Θοργμα in 27:14; Q in Ezek. and A everywhere except 1 Ch. 1:10; Θοργμα; Thogarmah in Gm., elsewhere Thogoma, Pesh. Tugoma).

Togarmah appears in Gen. 10:3 1 Ch. 1:10 as third son of Gomer, son of Japheth; also (as Beth-Togarmah) in Ezek. 27:14 as a people trading with Tyre in horses and mules, and in 38:6 as representing the far north, and forming part, with Gomer, of the army of Gog. Josephus thought of the Phrygians, who were famous for their horses (Hom. Il. 3:24); the Armenians, however, in later times claimed Hak the son of Thorgan for their ancestor. The name has been identified by Dehtsch and Halévy independently with Tel-gammim, a city mentioned by Sargon and Sennacherib situated on the border of Tabal (see TUBAL). That T(s) had become o in the document from which P drew, surprises Schrader (A. 177² 85), nor can we blame him. The truth probably is that here, as elsewhere in Gen. 10, corruption and reconstruction are jointly the causes of the present form of the Table of Nations. 'Gomer' is one of the current corruptions of 'Jerahmeel'; Ashkenaz is a combination of Asshur and Kenaz; Riphath is a corruption of Zarephath (the southern Zarephath), and Togarmah represents either Gomer simply or Beth-gomer (=Beth-jerahmeel). This throws light on Ezek. 27:14 38:6. See Crit. Bib.

See Del. Par. 246; Calver Bib. Lex. 96; Hal. RT¹ 133; Lag. Aramäische Studien, § 205.

TOHU (תּוֹהוּ), b. Zaph, a name in the genealogy of Samuel (1 S. 11, תּוֹהוּ [B], תּוֹהוּ [A], תּוֹהוּ [C]), corresponding to NARAATH (נָרָאָת; ΚΑΙΝΑΘ [B], ΚΑΝΑΘ [A], ΝΑΑΘ [L]); nahath [Pesh. b] in 1 Ch. 6:26 [1], and to TOAH (תּוֹאָה; תּוֹאָה [B], תּוֹאָה [A], ΝΑΑΘ [L]); Thohu [Vg.] as in Sam. 1 in 7:34 [16]. The second of these forms (תּוֹהוּ) may have arisen out of תּוֹהוּ by a scribe's error. But this is not certain, for Nahath, in Gen. 30:15, is the son of Reuel=Jerahmeel (Ch. b. Most (c. 7, Klost., Dr., Bu., Ki.) adopt the form Tohu; but, on the assumption that Zaph is really an Ephraimite place-name, some prefer תּוֹהוּ or תּוֹהוּ (cp We. Pesh. 122; Marq. Fund. 12, and see TATHATH, EPHRAIM, § 12).

[The subject, though small, is intricate, and the correct reading of the text can only be decided as a part of a larger inquiry, which includes the question whether Samuel was not really of a Jerahmeelite family, belonging perhaps to Benjaminite territory in the Negeb. Textual criticism, too, has to be practised comprehensively. Cp KAMATHAM-ZOPHIM.—T. K. C.]

TOI (תּוֹי, תּוֹי or תּוֹי [B], תּוֹי [A], 2 S. 8:9 f.), or תּוֹי, תּוֹי, תּוֹי [B], תּוֹי [A], תּוֹי [L]; Pul, king of the men of Antioch [Pesh.], 1 Ch. 18:9 f.), king of Hamath, who sent his son Joram (or, as Ch., HADRAM)

TOLA

to 'salute' David (i.e., to recognise his sovereignty) and to offer presents of silver, gold, and bronze, after David's victory over Hadorzer. R. the best is correct, for Hamath cannot be the great Syrian city of Hamath, whose king was too powerful to mind David, and indeed was not one of David's neighbours, but a second Hamath, on the W. of Zoloh, which formed a state on the same minute scale as Hamath (=Sham). So Winkler (Z. 20: 7 f.). More probably, however, both here and wherever a Hamath is spoken of as on the border of Israel, תּוֹי (Mt. Hamath) should be תּוֹי (Mamath).

It is, to say the least, an error which in the two places is intended here (see MYCINK). The Hadorzer depicted by David may have been king of Zarephath (cp Zoraim). In this case Mamath may be another name for the territory of Rimmon (cp 2 S. 17:24) perhaps be a corruption of תּוֹי, תּוֹי (cp 2 S. 17:24) cp, however, Pesh. and Pesh. 17:24 on 2 S. 17:24.

TOKHATH (תּוֹכָת, 2 Ch. 31:22, see TOKATH).

TOLA (תּוֹלָה, תּוֹלָה [B/D/L], b. Pula, b. Dodo, an Issacharite, a deliverer of Israel, who dwelt and finally was buried at Shimon (=mount Ephraim) Judg. 10:1 f.); the name also occurs with Pula, Job (cp Judg. 10:1); and Shimon as a clan name of Issachar (Gen. 49:14; תּוֹלָה [L], Nu 26: 13 h. 7 f.; תּוֹלָה, תּוֹלָה, תּוֹלָה [B], cp Tolaite, Nu. 26: 13 h. 7 f.; תּוֹלָה [B/L]). On these 'minor judges' in general, see JUDGES, § 9; and on the difficulties arising out of (1) the designation 'son of Dodo,' (2) the description of Tola's home as in Mt. Ephraim, and (3) the reading קאפּה or קאפּה in eight instances which are, with one exception, without the reference to Issachar, see ISSACHAR, §§ 2, 7; lastly, on the coincidence between 'Tola, (=crimson worm, cochineal), and Pula (=עֵץ, a plant from which a red dye was obtained, see Moore, Judg. 273 (cp NAMES, § 68). All these questions are still open.

The problems may seem small; but they are not insignificant. To understand 'Tola' we must revise our notions respecting Amichai, Jair, and Jephthah, between whom 'Tola, b. Pula, b. Dodo' is introduced. In reality the three former heroes all belong to the Jerahmeelite Negeb, Mámeh to Cushan (see SHUBAN), Jair and Jephthah to 'Ephraim' or 'Jerahmeel'. The personal names too have suffered change; hence the alteration was on a great extent caused by the wearing down of their names in the mouth of the people. 'Amichai', which superficially regarded, appears to mean 'the heavenly god is father,' may be a modification of 'Arab-jerahmeel'; 'Jair of Jetho', 'Jephthah' of 'Naphthali';¹ 'the number of these and similar restorations, we are methodically bound to read thus in Judg. 10:1, 'Eshbaol, b. Ephraim, b. Dodo, b. Jerahmeel, Zarlath, b. Dodo in SUVAK (7:7) in the highlands of Jerahmeel'. The last obvious of these restorations is אֶשְׁבָּאֵל (Eshbaol) for תּוֹלָה (Tola). The emendation, which is at any rate plausible, is suggested by the combination of Zerah and Shaul in Nu. 26:13 (Gen. 46:1, Eshbaol = i.e., virtually Shaul—is, in fact, N. Arabian language of the Negeb;² indeed, in 1 Ch. 2:53 the Eshbaolites are expressly connected with Kirjath-jearim = i.e., Gibeon (cp We. Kirjath-jerahmeel. קאפּה or קאפּה should, according to sound method, represent קארה (Kareah or Korah), and this is probably the explanation of a fragment of Jerahmeel, which can be adopted as the name of one of the Jerahmeelite clans. That Shimon is a N. Arabian clan-name could easily be shown at length, but is plain enough from the combination of names in 2 Ch. 21:20 (K. 12:24). That there is a southern Ephraim (=Jerahmeel) has been repeatedly maintained by the present writer (cp Nu. vii, 31). As to the historical kernel of Judg. 10:1 f., it is enough to remark that, though genuine historical events are wanting, it is at any rate probable that king Saul was not the first monarch of the Southern clan to strike an effective blow for Israel, and that the chief achievements of this clan were not in Benjamin but in the Negeb. The same emendation (תּוֹי or תּוֹי) should, possibly, be made in Judg. 5:15 (see Crit. Bib.).

¹ 'Kamon' in Judg. 10:2, which is one form of 'Mamath' (cp KAMATH), but also from 'Jerahmeel' (which is moreover the probable original of 'Malamath' and 'Kamath'). See also in 12:7, and finally in the present state of inquiry be regarded otherwise than as a corruption of תּוֹי 8:9. There seems to the present writer to be evidence of a southern Gileadite name for Jerahmeel.

² Cp, תּוֹי, תּוֹי, Naphthali (cp Naphthali) is a modification of Jephthah; cp Nathan and Ethan. ³ 'Eshbaol' is probably a modification of the clan-name Shaul; the t is a transition-consonant—i.e., it facilitates the transition from one articulation to another (cp Kón., Lehrs. 2:1, p. 472).

TOLAD (תולד), 1 Ch. 4:29; in Josh. 15:35 1 TOLAD.

TOLBANES (תולבאנע [BA]), 1 Est. 9:25 = Ezra 10:26, TOLBAN.

TOLL (תולל), Ezra 1:2; תולל, Ezra 1:17:24. See TAXATION, § 7 n.; cp TRADE, § 83 (7.) (2).

TOLMAN (תולמאן [A]), 1 Est. 5:28 RV = Ezra 2:42, TALMON.

TOMBS. As already observed (see DEAD, § 1, col. 1041), the regular practice of the Hebrews was to bury their dead, the instances in which they burned them being exceptional and extraordinary.² The explanation is to be sought in the idea that the human soul remained even after death in some kind of connection with the body; in the case of unburied persons, as long as the body found no resting-place, the soul also had none. The spirits of such departed ones wander restlessly about, and even in the world of the dead, in Sheol, must hide themselves in holes and corners (Ezek. 32:23 Is. 14:9, etc.).

1. Religious conceptions.

These views being held, one would expect to find the Hebrews not only attaching great importance to burial but also giving special care to making their tombs as splendid and artistic as possible. It was by similar views, in point of fact, that the Egyptians were led not only to preserve—*one might almost say, for ever*—the bodies of their dead by embalming them, but also to build magnificent resting-places for them, dwellings resembling those of the living, and furnished with everything in which the soul when in life took most delight. Thus it was in the construction and adornment of its tombs that the art of Egypt found its most welcome tasks and the widest field for its development. With the Israelites, however, the case was quite different. With them, apart from cases where Greek or Roman influences interfered, the places of sepulture were always of the simplest description, without any resort to the arts of the painter or the sculptor. The cause of this is, naturally, to be sought in the first instance in the Hebrews' notorious deficiency in artistic endowment; in none of the fine arts did they ever make any important contribution of their own. Cp COLOURS, § 1. In the present case, however, we ought probably to take account also of the operation of a religious motive which prevented the Israelites, while borrowing from the Phœnicians in other respects, to imitate them in the architectural beauty and monumental grandeur of their tombs. The religion of Yahwè from the outset set itself against every kind of worship of the dead with the utmost emphasis.

However we may explain it, the fact is undeniable that Yahwism had at times to contend with a very strong inclination towards this form of worship. This could not fail to have its influence on the outward form given to places of burial. Everything that was fitted to promote worship of the dead in any form must have been antipathetic to Yahwism. And as the worship of the dead on the one hand led directly to the sumptuous adornment of the places where they lay, so on the other hand beauty and luxury displayed in these could not fail to promote that form of worship.

It was entirely in accordance with the spirit of Yahwism that the graves of the dead—though with all reverent piety towards the dead, and notwithstanding the existence of the view stated above—were kept as plain and simple as possible.

The whole of Palestine is rich in ancient burying-places. It would be natural, therefore, to expect full and accurate information as to the ancient Hebrew practice. This expectation, however, is not fulfilled; those which are known to us are far from having been sufficiently examined with respect to their origin and

2. Subterranean sepulchres.

For the various Hebrew and Greek terms, see below, § 9.

[Recent investigations at Gezer seem to show that cremation was regular among the earliest inhabitants of that district at least. But it is impossible to speak more decidedly until the excavations are completed; see *PEFQ*, 1902, pp. 347 ff.]

date, so that we are often unable (for example) to distinguish Christian from Jewish tombs. It is in the very nature of the case that there is difficulty in dating these; by reason of their simplicity they show no very characteristic forms by which their period could be ascertained. Descriptions, too, are almost wholly wanting, and it is possible therefore to describe the sepulchral structures of various ages in the order of successive periods. It is other words to sketch the development and progress of this department of art. We must rest content with describing the ancient sepulchres still extant, and then according to the differences they show arising from these the characteristic features of the structure in the Hebrew domain.

The first generalisation which presents itself is that they are all of them rock-tombs, that is to say, they are cut out of the living rock. Nowhere do we find any of built sepulchres. Of tombs above the level of the ground—mansoleums in which the sarcophagi were placed—no trace has reached us from ancient times. We do hear of any such, any more than we do of sarcophagi or coffins. With the Phœnician tombs above the surface are the exception, not only in Syria but they are frequent in Syria in the Hellenistic period (cp, for example, the sepulchral towers of Paphos). In so far as tombs above the surface occur in Palestine, at all, they belong to the Hellenistic period; and then the characteristic examples of this type of sepulchre are not buildings, but are hewn out of solid rock. The same holds good of the subterranean tombs. Nor does the OT contain any hint of sepulchres though this has often been supposed. It is connected with the physical character of the country, the soft limestone of the mountains of Palestine presented many natural caverns which in the early days were used in the first instance as burial-places below. In particular, it was easily wrought, and the excavation of vaults and chambers in it proved no difficulty too great for the technical skill of the Israelites to overcome.

There are indeed in Palestine (as already indicated) some examples of tombs above the surface. The most known are those of the Valley of Kedron; the so-called Tomb of Absalom and the Pyramid of Zachariah. These two, however, show quite clearly in their ornamentation the influence of Greek and late-Egyptian art; moreover, they too have been carved out of the living rock, and their arrangement is so analogous to that of the subterranean tombs as to make it quite clear that it has been copied from these.

A solitary exception would seem to be the so-called monument of Silvan which, according to the unanimous judgment of archaeologists, dates back to the pre-exilic period. The great rock 'dial' of 6.10 metres in length, 5.60 in breadth, and about 4 in height is also cut out of the living rock. It shows no trace of Egyptian influence, but on the other hand it is evidence of the Greek style. Petrot and Chipiez, however (*op. cit. in Ind. 1887*), question for weighty reasons whether this monument really was originally and from the first intended as a tomb; more probably its purpose was formerly, as a chamber (perhaps to serve as site for an altar) and the chambers and niches within must have been excavated later.

3. Phœnician models.

The model which served for the Hebrew tomb was unmistakably the Phœnician not the Egyptian type, alike as regards single sepulchres and collective groups. Here also a leading characteristic of Phœnician architecture comes clearly into the foreground (cp PHœNICIA, § 10). The great part which is assigned to the perpendicular rock-wall. The individual tombs as well as the larger burial places were hewn by preference in steep rock faces where nature offered these. For this purpose ready use was made of the walls of the caverns which are of such frequent occurrence in Palestine and which already furnish natural sepulchres (see below). For example the hollow under the Harem of Hebron

¹ On Joh 3:15, see below, § 9:1.

TOMBS

which has not as yet been explored with any detail—is a cave sepulchre. The finest example of a system of rock-hewn sepulchres of the type indicated is supplied by Heira, the 'City of Tombs'. There can be seen the most magnificent tombs, series upon series with sumptuous portals, hewn at almost inaccessible heights in the perpendicular wall. These tombs, it is true, belong all of them to the later period, but thus they bear witness merely to the persistent survival of the practice. If no natural rock wall was available then such a wall was artificially made by excavating from the surface downwards in a rocky bed a rectangular space with perpendicular walls. A quite characteristic example of this kind of burying-place is to be seen in the so-called 'Sepulchres of the Kings' at Jerusalem (fig. 1), though these also belong to the later period (1st cent. A.D.). Here we find a great enclosure (28 x 27.3 metres) excavated to a depth of 8 metres in the solid rock, and reached from the surface by a wide stair. The portal to the place of graves, properly so-called, is on the western wall (see below).

On the other hand, no example has yet been found in Palestine of the shaft tombs (tombs reached by a narrow perpendicular shaft),¹ so frequently met with in Egypt and so characteristic for this branch of architecture there. Yet it does not follow, of course, that this type of tomb was wholly unknown in Palestine in the older time.

As regards the form of sepulchre proper in Palestine, the Phœnician type is closely followed. The extant examples fall into four classes: (1) Pigeon-hole tombs, usually called *kôkim*,² rectangular recesses driven into the wall at right angles to the face, and measuring about 5.5 ft. in length by 1½ ft. in breadth and depth. Into these the body was thrust lengthways. (2) Sunken tombs which like

4. Form of tombs.

troughs hewn out of the perpendicular rock wall, 1½ ft. wide and of the length of the body, some 2½ ft. above the level of the floor. These also are invariably niched, they thus represent a combination of the shelf tomb with the sunken tomb—a shelf tomb is hewn into the rock wall and in this shelf a sunken tomb or mould like a coffin is hewn out.

TOMBS

The observed departures from these four types are unimportant and in no case alter the fundamental type but relate principally to the measurements. In the *kôkim* double resting places are met with, that is to say, *kôkim* of twice the ordinary width in which two bodies could be laid side by side, down the middle runs a little channel-like hollow about a handbreadth wide separating the two resting places (see fig. 11); there are instances also of double benches for the reception of two bodies, though these are of later occurrence (see fig. 10a).

In the trough-tomb class an interesting peculiarity is seen in a tomb near Heira. Here the trough-tombs are, as is usually the case, like shelf tombs hewn out in the rock wall, but like *kôkim* at right angles to its surface. In this case double resting-places of corresponding width *kôkim* are arranged side by side, each pair of these is connected lengthways by a semicircular arch.

The tombs just described were not simply hewn out of the rock without further preparation. Even when it was but one grave for a single person that was in question, it was not the practice to excavate in the rock surface a shallow like the graves we use; a preference a little subterranean chamber was made, and the grave was made in the floor or in the wall as the case might be. At first sight we might feel inclined to connect this general preference for subterranean sepulchral chambers with the original custom of using caves for purposes of burial. There was yet another element, however, which contributed to this result, namely the desire to keep the dead members of a family, or clan, still united even in the grave. In such a sepulchral chamber many graves of all the different kinds could easily be brought together. Subsequent stages were the adding of a second chamber to the first, or several chambers might be connected by passages, or great subterranean constructions made.

Thus the places of burial fall into three distinct classes: (1) simple chambers for one body only which is buried in a sunken tomb in the floor. These burial chambers are frequently unenclosed. (2) Single chambers with several graves of the different sorts mentioned, particularly *kôkim* and shelf tombs. (3) Larger complexes embracing several chambers. Examples of all three classes are numerous in Palestine. To the first class, that of single chambers with only one grave, belong

5. Form of sepulchral chambers and groups of chambers.

our modern graves were hewn out on the upper surface of the rock and closed with a flat stone. (3) Shelf tombs, that is to say benches or shelves on which the bodies were laid. These shelves either ran at a height of about 2 ft. round one or more walls of a sepulchral chamber, or else were hewn lengthways as niches in the rock wall (about 1½ ft. square, and of the length required for the body); in the latter case they were as a rule provided with an arch above. (4) Trough tombs,

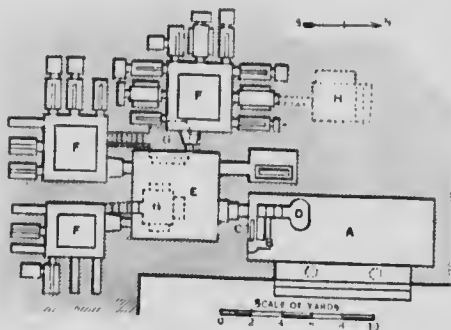


FIG. 1.—Plan of the tombs of the kings.

many of the tombs on the southern slope of the Valley of Hinnom. In agreement with the purpose they serve, these chambers are for the most part rather small. Amongst these, on the side of the Hill of Evil Counsel, are also some belonging to the second class: single chambers with several graves. For a fuller account of these see *Talbot* (1907), § 21 (below). Very instructive examples of the third class of larger complexes are found in the so-called Sepulchres of the Kings and of the Judges in Jerusalem. Both examples indeed are of late date, but the Hellenistic influence (so far as it

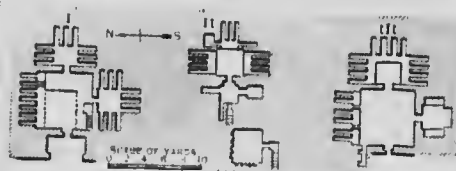


FIG. 2.—Plan of the tombs of the judges.

¹ Two examples of the shaft-type, however, have been found at Tell el-Judeideh. A cylindrical shaft over 2 metres deep is hewn in the rock, and at the bottom a small doorway leads to an irregular chamber about 1.80 metres by 1.50 (Bliss and McAulister, *PEF Excavations*, 1898-1900, p. 177 f. (1900).)

² With the post-biblical *קִבּוּץ* (Halban *קִבּוּץ*), are connected the *קִבּוּץ* and *קִבּוּץ* of Nabatean and Palmyrene inscriptions, respectively; ultimately the word seems to come from the Ass. *kimidlu*. For a discussion of other Nabatean terms, see De Vogüé, 'Notes d'Épigraphie araméenne,' II 75 ff., *J. As. (extrait)*, 1896.]

appears at all) is shown only in the ornamentation, particularly in the portal, not in the arrangement of the complex as a whole. The Sepulchres of the Kings display best the quite regular type. From the porch with a portal in Greek style a quite low narrow passage which was closed by a disk of stone leads into the approximately cubical antechamber which has no graves. Opening out of this on three sides are the three sepulchral chambers proper—also approximately cubical, with shelf and shaft tombs. Each of these chambers has a side-chamber also; of these two (fig. 1 and 2) at a lower level and partly go under the principal chamber—plainly on account of the configuration of the site,

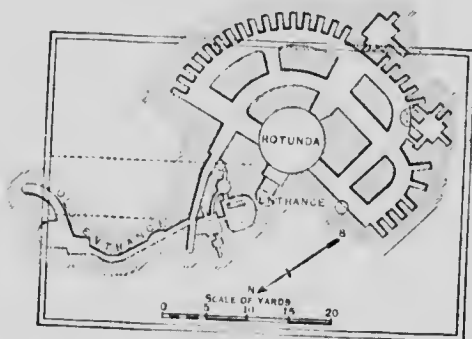


FIG. 3.—Plan of the tombs of the prophets.

This difference of level in the various chambers is the characteristic feature of the sepulchres of the Judges. These (see fig. 2) are on two different levels and, besides, in the upper sepulchral chamber, above the graves on the ground level at a height of about 3 ft. from the surface, there is a second set of chambers and graves.

A complete departure from this regularity is shown in a very interesting way by the so-called Sepulchres of the Prophets on the Mount of Olives, which hitherto are quite unique among the tombs of Palestine. They belong to the ancient (that is to say, at least pre-Grecian) period, and exhibit no trace of Hellenistic influence. Their original feature (see fig. 3) is that instead of various chambers, of square or rectangular plan opening into each other, two semi-circular passages round a rotunda are hewn out of the rock, and connected with one another and with the rotunda by means of ray-like passages radiating from the rotunda. In the wall of the outermost passage are 27 *kokim* arranged in ray-fashion, hewn out of the solid rock. Connected with this passage moreover are two side-chambers, also with *kokim*.

The principal difference between single tombs and family sepulchres is to be sought not so much in comparative size (for even the single tomb can have its antechamber, etc., as well as its chamber proper) as rather in the number and description of the separate resting places.

6. Age of these forms.

So far as we are at present in a position to judge, the single tombs *etc.*, tombs with room for one or at most two occupants have either shelf or trough tombs, and according to the pretty generally accepted opinion of Tobler, Mommsen, and others, such tombs are to be regarded as ancient Jewish. On the other hand, according to the same authorities the single burying-place with grave hollowed in the ground is not to be dated earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. No instances are known of sepulchral chambers with only one or two *kokim*. This is easily accounted for: the use of this description of tomb, which demanded the smallest amount of space, was only desirable or necessary where the problem was to provide a relatively large number of resting places within the same sepulchre. In the case of a single tomb even the simplest sepulchral chamber was always able to furnish room for a trough or shelf tomb (or alternatively a sunken tomb). *Kokim* are thus peculiar to family sepulchres, which in other

respects have the same characteristics as single tombs. The sunken tomb is also, in the case of family sepulchres for the most part regarded as a sign of a relatively late date. Until, however, all the known tombs have been systematically examined, this question cannot be regarded as definitely settled. So all other questions as to the age of the shelf, niche, shaft-tombs, and the frequency of their occurrence respectively at the different periods remain open.

Of one form only, namely of the *kokim*, can we definitely affirm that it was already extensively in the older period, as we can also say that the chambers mentioned above under § 5 (2) are shown the excavations to be, properly speaking, the oldest at all times the most usual type of tomb among the Israelites. These *kokim* placed at right angles to the wall surface, take up least room and permit the direction of a large number of bodies into one chamber.

This arrangement appears as that most commonly in the Mishna also, where it alone is mentioned and precise conditions are laid down as to its size and the like (*Baba Bathra*). The sepulchral chamber (עֲרֵב, *ma'irah*, see CAVES) has 4 cubits in breadth and 6 in length; the entrance is to be on the short side; the other short side is to have two *kokim*, on the longer sides three, making eight in all. It need not, however, cause any surprise to discover that the sepulchres which have been explored do not accurately answer these prescriptions, and another on the Hill of Evil Counsel; practical necessities were stronger than prescriptions, and, in particular, the number of resting-places in each tomb greatly varies. In reality this is observable, but complete freedom prevails, as in the instance already cited.

That we may safely assume for the older period the employment of large complexes is made evident by the fact that the kings of Judah had two great burial places of this description. In the first and oldest of these were buried the kings down to Hezekiah's time; Manasse appears to have prepared a new sepulchre of the kind (2 K. 21). We may safely suppose these tombs have been of great extent, yet simpler than those of a later date, and without much elaboration of ornamentation.

Not each separate resting-place was closed, but the entrance to the sepulchral chamber. The single tombs on the surface of the ground were doubtless as a rule covered with a flat stone, but the *kokim* on the other hand were often left open. At the same time there was no special difficulty in this case also in closing the entrance with a stone, and this may frequently have been done. In the case of bench tombs, however, shutting up was impossible, for there the bodies were enveloped only in grave-clothes—coffins were not used—was simply laid upon the shelf. All the more carefully therefore in these circumstances must the sepulchral chambers have been closed and protected against the entrance of wild beasts. The passages to the chambers are therefore for the most part very low and narrow, so that in entering one has to creep rather than walk. Even in the case of great sepulchres with large porches, as for example in the Sepulchre of the Kings (see fig. 1), the accesses are of this narrow sort. The external opening in such cases was closed either by a regular stone door turning on hinges, or— the more frequent case—by a round stone disk which could be rolled and placed before the entrance. Such a disk closed for example the entrance to the Sepulchres of the Kings and is still preserved. For this purpose, naturally large and heavy stones were employed, such as one (see plate alone could hardly move (cp. Mt. 27.6): 'he rolled a great stone'). In order to ensure against slipping, another large stone, and doubtless also an underpinning was frequently placed against the stone that properly constituted the door (*ZDPV*, 1878, pp. 11 f., 112, 1890, p. 177).

Such a method of closing served to guard the tomb against the ravages of wild beasts, but not against human visitants. This last protection, however, was

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quite as necessary as the other. For nothing was so much dreaded as the desecration of the tomb by wild violators—a dread which is easily explained from what has been said above (§ 1). And yet, it was not mere plundering of the graves, which often contained things of more or less value, or yet injury to the bodies or their disturbance (Jer. 8: 1; 2 K. 23: 17) or even the total destruction of the tomb, that was feared. For the Hebrews it was already a great and wicked outrage if a corpse not belonging to it was laid in a grave, the dead body of one who did not belong to the family. Against such desecration at human hands full protection was certainly difficult. In some cases it was possible to hew out the sepulchre at an inaccessible height on the steep rock wall (Is. 22: 16). But generally speaking it was found necessary to rely simply on the power of established custom which condemned any such wickedness in the strongest possible way. In another direction protection was sought by means of an inscription invoking the severest curses on any who should disturb the repose of the sleeper or introduce a strange body into the grave.¹

With the Phœnicians it was a frequent custom to mark the site of a subterranean tomb by the erection of a memorial above ground. Various

8. Monuments. very interesting Phœnician monuments of the kind are still extant. On the other hand we have none that date from Old Hebrew times, and nowhere in the O.T. is any such practice indicated. The custom existed indeed of piling a heap of stones over the body in cases where it had been simply covered with earth, the purpose of this, however, was merely to protect from wild beasts (cp. 2 S. 18: 17). The pillar in the Valley of Kedron which Absalom raised for himself in his lifetime to keep his name in remembrance (2 S. 18: 18) was not strictly speaking a monument but rather a pillar (*mayyiblah*) having a religious purpose.² The memorial also at the grave of the anonymous prophet spoken of in 2 K. 23: 17 may also have the same meaning. That the Hebrews at a later date adopted foreign customs in this respect also is shown by what we read of the magnificent mausoleum of the Maccabees at Modin (1 Macc. 13: 27 ff.). See MOUÏN, § 3.

Hitherto little account has been taken of the notices of the subject contained in the O.T. These also leave us quite in the dark as to the form and description of the sepulchres of the Hebrews.

9. Biblical data. The following Hebrew and Greek terms require mention:—

1. *keber*, קֶבֶר, EV 'grave,' the commonest term, Gen. 23: 4, et. c. (Is. 22: 16 with 227, presupposing a rock-hewn sepulchre) HANICRAÏN, § 11; cp. KIBOR (KEBAY) AVAH.
2. *kebarah*, קִבְרָה, EV 'grave,' Gen. 35: 2, et. c.
3. *gabai*, גַּבֵּי, Job 21: 32 (see RHU; σαρκοφ.)
4. *memot*, מִמּוֹת, in Is. 65: 4 AV 'monuments,' Σ σαρκοφάγοι, 542: 21; church cave, but RV 'secret places' is preferable.
5. *anaboth*, אַנְבוֹת, Job 3: 15 f., 'desolate' (RV 'vacant') 'places.' Che. (*Exp. T.*, Apr. 1890) reads קִבְרֹת, following Hutz, Badde, Dahm, etc., who see an allusion to the treasures or royal sepulchres. The view that the pyramids in particular are referred to is maintained by Badde and Dahm, but controverted by Che. in *Exp. T.*, 1897, 4, 407. Ol. and Talmudic Heb. read קִבְרֹת, 'palaces.' But the reference seems to be to the splendour of the Sepulchre of the Kings (so at least Badde, Che., et. c., but not Dh. Davidson).
6. *zabot* (in Ecclus. 30: 19) = 227, a stone placed over a grave, Mt. 23: 29 AV 'tomb' (RV 'sepulchre,' and so EV in 21: 22), etc.
7. *nequr*, מְקוּר, Mk. 5: 18, S. 27.
8. *nequron*, Mt. 23: 29, RV (AV 'sepulchre'), 27: 52 f. (AV 'tomb'), Is. 65: 4 (in 65: 4 AV 'sepulchre').

¹ Cp. for example, the inscription in the Eschnazar sepulchre, *Leb.* and various Nabataean inscriptions (Pflügel, *Nabatäische Inschriften aus Arabien* (Berlin, 1883), no. 3); or the inscription of Darius Hystaspes. Unfortunately no ancient Hebrew tomb inscriptions have come down to us.

² For *massibeh* (in Ph. 'gravestone') see col. 2075, and for *tybban* (22), 2 K. 23: 17, etc. (RV 'monument'), col. 2078, 1.

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Nos. 6, 8 are frequently used by D indiscriminately to translate *keber* and *kebarah*.

The data supplied establish before aught else the great importance that was attached to having the members of the same family united even after death in a common tomb.

(Cp. Gen. 49: 28, 17: 2; 1 K. 4: 15; 22: 21; 1 K. 15: 9, and often.) Barabbas lies to the side of the grave of his father and mother (2 S. 18: 17); David in his magnanimity cause, the bones of Saul to be buried in the tomb of Saul's father, Kish (2 S. 21: 14). Nehemiah gives it as his reason for wishing to go to Jerusalem that the fathers are buried there (Neh. 2: 3). Jacob and Joseph lay upon their descendants an oath that they will bring their bones to the sepulchre of their fathers in the cave of Machpelah at Hebron (Gen. 49: 29 f., 49: 26 f., 48: 8). Hence P's constantly repeated phrase 'to be gathered to one's fathers' (Gen. 25: 8; 35: 9; Num. 27: 13; 1 K. 11: 32), with the corresponding expression of Kings 'to be slept with his fathers' (1 K. 11: 43; 22: 42; 2 K. 13: 13), etc., expressions both in the first instance to be understood literally of their being gathered to the sepulchre of their ancestors.

Not to be buried with one's ancestors is a great hardship, a punishment with which conspicuous offenders are threatened by God, as witness the case of the disobedient prophet (1 K. 13: 24), of Ahaz (1 K. 21: 24), and others. Poor people, indeed, who had not the means to procure family graves of their own, strangers from a distance—pilgrims, for example—as also criminals, had to be content to find a last resting place in the common public burial-place (2 K. 23: 18; Jer. 26: 23; Mt. 27: 7). In family tombs naturally none but members of the family came to be laid; to bury in it a stranger who had no title to the privilege was equivalent to desecrating it (see above). At the same time, on this point the views of a later age seem to have grown laxer, and instances are not wanting in which a stranger was admitted to the family tomb. But it is always a great sacrifice and a token of special esteem or regard for the deceased or for his people that is implied (Gen. 23: 6; 1 K. 13: 24 ff.; 2 Ch. 21: 16; Mt. 27: 6).

These family tombs were made in the oldest times on the family property in the vicinity of the family abode, an arrangement which is easy to understand in view of the fact that community of family life was held to continue after death.

Thus Samuel is buried beside his house in Ramah (1 S. 25: 6), Jacob in his own house in the wilderness of Beulah (1 K. 2: 11). The sepulchres of the Kings of Judah lay quite close to the palace within the citadel in the immediate neighbourhood of the temple, as we see from Ezekiel's sharp rebuke (Ezek. 43: 7). From Manasseh onwards, the Kings were buried in the 'Garden of Uzza' (see UZZA); the old burying-place was gradually filled, but of course the new one was made not far from the old. The 'Garden of Uzza' (of Uzza, Aarid) may well have been a garden laid out by that king within the citadel, and thus the allusion may be to a palace built by Manasseh in the garden of Uzza, in or near which he also prepared his burial-place.

It will be readily understood, however, that this very soon became an impossibility in the towns, and that for practical reasons the sepulchres had to be placed outside the walls.

10. Impurity of tombs. This became the case all the more as with a later age the idea of the impurity of sepulchres came into increasing prominence. The law of Phœnicians that everyone who has come into contact with a dead body or with a bone of a man, or even with a grave, shall be unclean for a period of seven days (Nu. 19: 16). Since, as remarked above (§ 8), the underground tombs of the Israelites were for the most part not marked out by means of monuments above ground, and it was not altogether easy at once to recognise from a safe distance a sepulchre or the entrance to one, the custom arose of white washing at least the stone at the door every spring. In this manner a grave was made recognisable from afar, and the passer by could guard himself against defilement (Mt. 23: 29).

Descriptions of particular tombs are to be met with in almost all books of travel in Palestine. Of researches of so much value the most important will be found in the works named below: Titus Tobler, *Geographie*, 1851, and *Zwei Bücher Topographie von Jerusalem*, esp. 222 ff.; Robinson, *BR*; Sepp, *Jerusalem und das heilige Land*, 1873, esp. 223 ff.; Karl Mummert,

TONGS

Golgotha und das heilige Grab zu Jerusalem (1900); The Survey of Western Palestine, 1881 ff. Copious material is also supplied by the journals devoted to Palestine exploration: F.F.Q.S. (1873 ff.), ZDPV (1878 ff.), Mittheilungen u. Nachrichten d. Deutschen Pal.-Vereins (1895 ff.), Revue biblique trimestrielle (1882 ff.). For description of the more important individual tombs see further Baedeker-Benzinger, Pal. (p. cxi.), and for Phœnician and Syrian tombs de Vogüé, Syrie centrale (1865), 110-110 270-97. I. B.

TONGS (תְּלָחִים, melkähšyim, Is. 66, etc., EV rightly. See COOKING UTENSILS, § 4, and CANDLESTICK, § 2. (2) מַלְאִיפִיד, ma'äp'id, Is. 44:12, AV wrongly. See AXE.

TONGUES, CONFUSION OF. See BABEL, [TOWER OF].

TONGUES, GIFT OF. See SPIRITUAL GIFTS.

TOPARCHY (τοπαρχία [ANQ=V]). 1 Macc. 11:28 AV, RV PROVINCE (q.v.).

TOPAZ (פְּטָרָה, TOPAZION). The precious stone called pītāh occurs in the list of stones on the high priest's breastplate (Ex. 28:17 ff. = 39:10 ff.); also in the list (derived by an interpolator from that in Exodus) of the gems with which the king of Tyre (צָר) or perhaps Miššur (מִשְׁשׁוּר; see PARADISE, § 3) is said in a prophetic poem to have been adorned in Eden (Ezek. 28:13). Lastly, a τῶπαζιον (EV 'topaz') is represented as one of the foundation-stones of the wall of the New Jerusalem (Rev. 21:20).

Strabo (16:770) describes the topaz as diaphanous and emitting a gold-like light (λίθος . . . διαφανής χρυσοειδής ἀποστύλων φέγγος, not easily seen in the daytime for it is outshone only in the Ophiodes island off the Troglodytic coast of the Red Sea, about the latitude of Berenice. The monopoly was carefully guarded by the Ptolemies. Pliny (II:378, ep 6:34) describes the stone as green, meaning doubtless olive green (e viridi genere), and calls the island Cytis or Topazus. This agrees with the Targum's rendering צָרָה יְהוּדָה, 'yellow-green gem,' in Job 28:19, and with the phrase פְּטָרָה בְּנֵי אֲרָבָה, 'pītāh of Ethiopia,' in the (traditional) Hebrew text of this passage.

The stone intended by the Greek geographers was almost certainly the transparent variety of olivine now generally known as peridot, which is usually some shade of olive-pistachio or leek-green (on the yellow variety see CHRYSOLITE, TARSHISH [STONE]). The topaz of modern mineralogists (yellow, blue, or colourless) was unknown to the ancients.

This may no doubt be a correct identification of the τῶπαζιον of Rev. 21:20. It is much less certain whether 'topaz' (explained as above) is the right rendering of pītāh. Is the theory more than a superficial conjecture, based on the metathesis of ρ and τ? Can we give any satisfactory philological account of pītāh? A Sanskrit etymology (pīti, yellowish, pale; von Bohlen) is still to be found in some books of reference; but for such a case there is no sure analogy (בְּרִיקָה is surely not a Sanskr. loan-word; see EMERAD), and no tradition mentions India as the home either of the τῶπαζιον or of the pītāh. Experience leads us to suspect that there may be a transcriptional error, and if so it is reasonable to look to Assyria for a word out of which פְּטָרָה may have been corrupted. Using this key we may very plausibly

2. Assyrian hipindu in OT.

1 Cp. Diel., Sic. 330: λίθος διαφανόμενος ἐπιερπής, βάλαω παρειφερής καὶ θινιασθητή ἐγγύρσον προσομιε παρεχόμενος—'a stone of a pleasing diaphanous [?] glowing,' see L. and S.] character, somewhat like glass, and presenting a wonderful golden appearance.'

2 Precisely such a guess led to the rendering of פְּטָרָה by τῶπαζιον in 2 Pe. 1:19:127, unless indeed τῶπαζιον there is a corruption of τῶπαζιον. But in Cant. 5:11, τῶπαζιον is transliterated as φάσ.

TORMAH

assume that פְּטָרָה is an early corruption of hipindu, or perhaps of *hipitdu (whence hipindu).

This is the name of a precious stone referred to in inscriptions (see Del. and Muss-Arnolt, i.c.), and there by aban iādi—i.e., not literally 'a stone of fire flashing stone'—אֲבָן מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם, 'aben 'ish, in Ezek. 28:14 (i.e. 'precious stone,' v. 13). Not only in Exodus and also in Gen. 2:12 (in the penultimate form of the Nu. 11:7, and in Is. 54:12 a thorough textual criticism to restore the word תְּפִינִדוּ (Ass. hipindu). In the first passages, the statement, 'there is bdellium and the onyx certainly misrepresents the writer's meaning. As the at a comparatively early period it must have referred the hipindu and the šham. In the second passage bound to hold that the appearance (שֵׁנִי) of the likened, not to any resinous substance like bdellium but to something which would at once strike the imagination and we may plausibly adopt the view of that intended; the transparency of rock-crystal (see CRYSTAL make it an appropriate comparison. In the third, hardly rest 'satisfied with the purely conjectural 'carbuncles' for אֲבָן מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם; experience of corruption e leads one to extend the first of these words into תְּפִינִדוּ (disregarding the second as a corruption of a ditto תְּפִינִדוּ (see v. 12a). Read, therefore, in Is. 54:12, תְּפִינִדוּ and thy gates of hipindu.' It only remains to be id in Job 28:19, פְּטָרָה בְּנֵי אֲרָבָה, also probably preterea two cor—i.e., not only has פְּטָרָה come out of תְּפִינִדוּ, but בְּנֵי אֲרָבָה is a corrupt form of אֲרָבָה (אֲרָבָה) 'and halmiz (see TA STONE OF), where halmiz may perhaps be the white s. a suitable stone to be combined with the hipindu seems to be the rock-crystal (see above). If this co be accepted, together with the correction of v. 12a give TARSHISH [STONE], § 3, it will be plausible to identify 'Edomite stone' mentioned in v. 18a with the hipindu referred to in v. 19a. It is also at any rate possible t hipindu-stone should displace the very questionable 'ap peacocks' in 1 K. 10:22 (see OPHIR).

RVine: 'topaz' for τῶπαζιον in Cant. 5:14 can hardly be j except as a warning of the Revisers not to be sure that t rightly rendered 'beryl.' See BERYL, TARSHISH (STONE).

TOPHEL (תֹּפֶל; ΤΟΦΟΛ [BAL]), a locality the wilderness, mentioned with Laban, Hazereth Di-zahab (Dt. 1:14). See SUPH, WANDERINGS, § 7.

TOPHET, TOPHETH (תֹּפֶת), Is. 30:33 Jer. 7 The Aramaic connection (see MOLECH, § 3), re by Delitzsch (Isaiah, ET, 2:40) has been brill defended by Robertson Smith (in RS² 377 n.). must not, however, lay too much stress on the sup description of a Topheth (תֹּפֶת) becomes in 'Topheth') in Is. 30:33, for, as well as its context (not incurably) corrupt; see Crit. Bib., ad loc. ancient etymologies (from תָּה, 'tynqanum' or 'aperuit') need only bare mention. Cp MOLECH. T. K.

TORCH (לָפִיד, lappid; ΛΑΜΠΑC), Nah. 2:4[5], 126 Jn. 18:3 (ΛΑΜΠΑC). Cp LAMP. The militar of torches was common in ancient warfare; cp St. Theb. iv. 6.

On פְּרִיחָה, p'ladith, Nah. 2:3[4], see IRON, § 2.

TORMAH (תֹּרְמָה; for Ⓞ see ARUMAH, and Moore, 'Judges,' SBOT [Heb.], mentioned in the of ABIMELECH (q.v.), Judg. 9:31 EY=mg. Moore Budde identify it with ARUMAH (q.v.).

Very possibly both אֲרָמָה (Arumah) and Tormah (תֹּרְמָה) corruptions of אֲרָמָה. Underlying the present story of G who was of Ophrah near Shechem (so Moore), there seen have been an earlier tale with different geography. The triets of Ophrah and Usnah-jerahmeel were among t which the 'children of the East' (or rather [col. 17:12, n. 4 Amalekites) devastated, and which Gideon set free from

1 See CHEKUB, col. 742, n. 2. The same transition 'burning' to 'flashing' occurs in the use of halmiz, (1)1 (2)10 Bash. Cp halmiz, 'bright, shining.' See Del. l. 10. 2 For the most probable original form of the text, see I. DIEB., § 5.

3 Read אֲבָן מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם אֲבָן מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם. Cp GOLD, § 1; ONAX. Ⓞ is true, gives אֲבָן מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם, perhaps reading אֲבָן מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם instead of אֲבָן מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם. I.e., for אֲבָן מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם read אֲבָן מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם.

ruption of **הַפְּתִיחַ**—i.e.,
(whence **hipiddu*,

referred to in the Ass.
s.c.), and explained
a stone of fire, but 'a
Ezek. 28 14 (וְיִקְרָא
Exodus and Ezekiel,
form of the text)² in
ual criticism permits us
In the first of these
nt and the onyx-stone,
ing. As the text stood
have referred rather to
econd passage, we are
y) of the mima was
like BOFELIUM (q.v.),
strike the imagination,
satisfies this condition
of **Ⲑ** that crystal is
(see CRYSTAL) would
n the third, we can
conjectural rendering
of corruption elsewhere
s into **Ⲑ** (hipindu),
n of a ditto-graphed
s. 54 12, **Ⲑ** (hipindu),
ains to be added that
etis two corruptions
but **Ⲑ** is a mutilated
mit (see TARSISU,
e white sapphir,
the *hipindu*, which
If this correction
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MAP OF TRACHONITIS, ETC.

INDEX TO NAMES IN MAP (A-G)

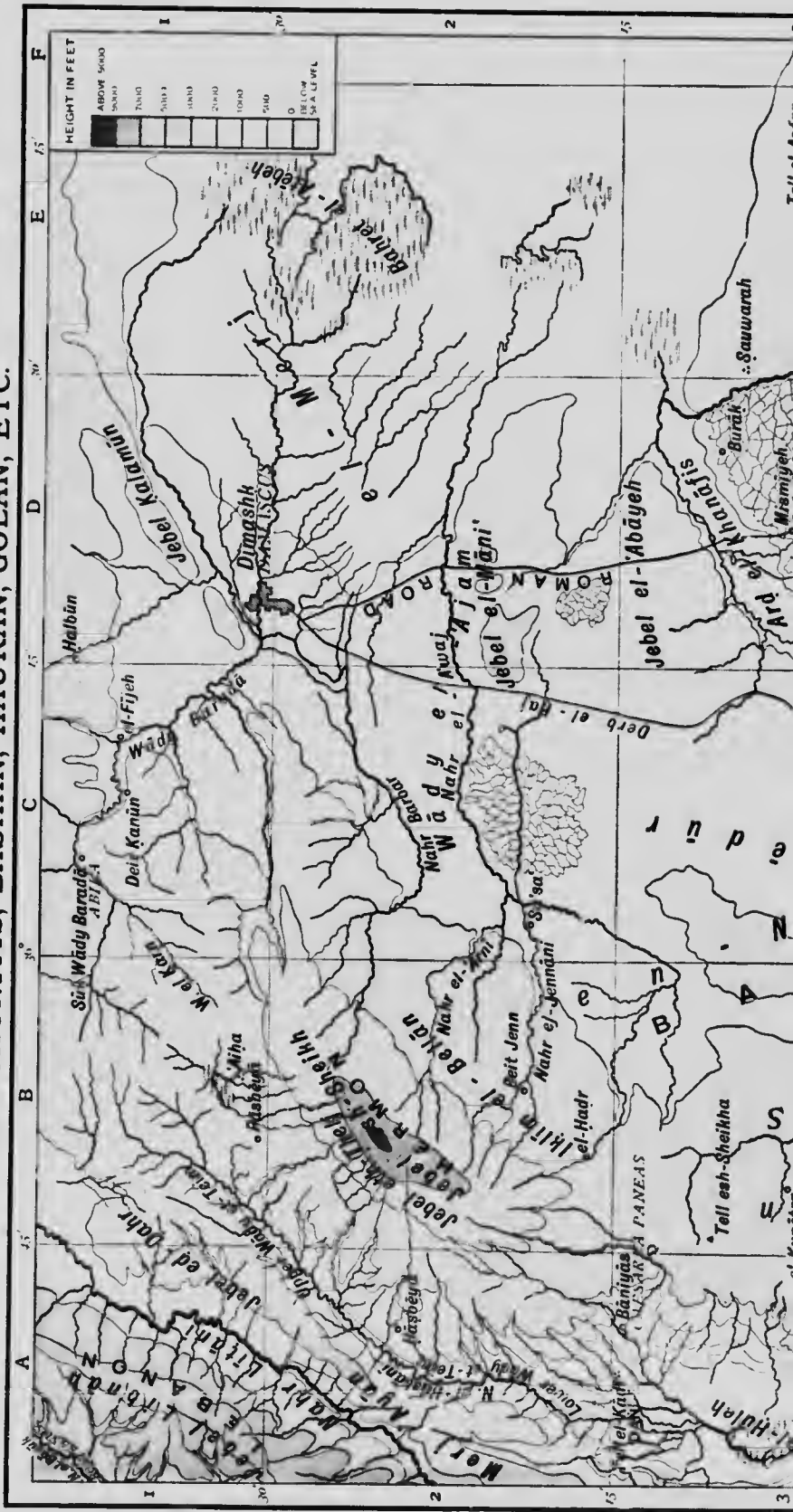
Parentheses indicating articles that refer to the place-names are in certain cases added to non-biblical names having no biblical equivalent. The alphabetical arrangement usually ignores prefixes: arq ('land'), bahret ('lake'), bait ('house'), belid ('trains'), derb ('road'), dir ('monastery'), ed., ej., er., es., ev., 'river'), sheri'at ('watering place'), suk ('market'), tell ('mound'), tulud ('mother'), umm ('mother'), W. ('wady, valley').

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|---------------------------------------|---|--|--|
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| nahr el-'Arni, BC2 (PHARPAR) | | | |

For continuation see back of other half of Map.

TRACHONITIS, BASHAN, HAURAN, GOLAN, ETC.

TRACHONITIS, BASHAN, HAURAN, GOLAN, ETC.



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TORTOISE

raids, and Mt. Jerahmeel (not Gilboa, see SAUL, § 4) was the place where the hero encamped. Cushan-Jerahmeel was the city of which Abimelech made himself king, and Jerahmeel (or rather, no doubt, some popular shortened form of it) was the name of the place (in the Jerahmeelite region) where Abimelech resided when Zeluz sent word to him of Gai's intrigues. Cp. SMITHAM.

It is important to notice (1) that P knows of Gideon as a Benjamite name (Nu. 111, etc.), (2) that the list of David's heroes (2 S. 23:27) contains the name of Abiezer the Anathothite, and (3) that an Ophrah is known to have existed in the land of Benjamin; Gideon was, upon this theory, a hero of S. Palestine. Cp. MICHAELIS, MOREU.

TORTOISE (צִבְיָה, *šibb*): Ο ΚΡΟΚΟΔΕΙΛΟΣ Ο ΧΕΡΠΑΙΟΣ; *crocodilus*. The Heb. word thus rendered by the AV in Lev. 11:29, has been supposed by some to mean a kind of crocodile (cp. צִבְיָה, etc.), whilst, according to the Talmudists, it denoted a 'tortoise.' Most, however, take the word, like its Ar. equivalent *šibb*, to mean some kind of LIZARD (q.v.); RV renders GREAT LIZARD.

The tortoise, which AV preferred, belongs to that group of the Reptilia called the Chelonia, which is represented in Palestine by two species of land tortoise, and several aquatic. *Testudo ibera*, the Mauritanian tortoise, is the commonest species; it is widely distributed independent of soil, and is found from Mogador to Persia. In S. Palestine its place is taken by *T. testudin*, which prefers a sandy soil. The terrapins, *Clemmys caspica*, var. *reticulata*, are frequent in the streams and pools of Palestine, and *Emys orbicularis*, a synonym for *E. europæa*, is found in the lakes of Gennesaret and Hüleh. The Egyptian soft tortoise, *Trionyx triunguis* = *T. scriptus*, an African species, has been taken in the Lajani and the Nahr-el-Kelb.

A. L. S.—S. A. C.

TORTURE (ΕΤΥΜΠΑΝΙΘΗΘΑΝ), Heb. 11:35. See MYCABEES (SECOND), § 8.

TOU (תֹּהוּ), 1 Ch. 18:9 f.; in 2 S. 8:9 Tol.

TOW. (1) תִּשְׁתַּח, *pištah*, Is. 13:17, RV FLAX. (2) תִּשְׁתַּח, *pištah*, Judg. 10:9 Is. 13:17; √ תִּשְׁתַּח, 'to shake,' so 'that which is shaken off' from the flax (see B+D).

TOWER. The psalmists compare God to a lofty, impregnable tower or fort; מִגְדָּל, *miḡḡāl*, and מִצְדָּה, *mišḡadāh*, occur in combination, 183[2], also separately. *Miḡḡāl* conveys the idea of height; *Miḡḡādāh* that of ambush (David's מִצְדָּה, EV 'hold,' may have suggested the application of the term¹). But the ordinary word for 'tower' is מִגְדָּל, *miḡḡāl*, an old Canaanitish term, also found as a loan-word in Egyptian² (see MICHAELIS, and cp. NAMES, § 106). Towers were used both for the defence of cities (see FORTRESS, § 5) and for the protection of flocks and vineyards (see CATTLE, § 1, and cp. tower of the watchmen,³ 2 K. 17:9; 'tower of the flock,' Mic. 4:8, cp. EDER). These protecting towers were probably adjoined by the rude houses of peasants, and out of these groups of dwellings larger places would arise.

The towers of Babel (Gen. 11:4), Penuel (Judg. 8:17), Shechem (Judg. 9:1, 2), and Siloam (Is. 18:4, מִצְדָּה), are especially mentioned; also in AV of 2 K. 5:24, a tower which, from 7:5, we might believe to be that of Samaria. But though מִגְדָּל, *miḡḡāl*, will bear the meaning 'tower' in Is. 38:14 (מִגְדָּל), the primary sense of the word is 'hill' (lit. 'swelling'). Hence RV renders 'hill.' The versions all render as if they read מִצְדָּה, *mišḡadāh* (cp. Tg. יְצִירָה, 'to a secret place'; מִצְדָּה, *mišḡadāh*). Pesh., however, implies מִצְדָּה, *mišḡadāh*. Cp. OPHRAH. We also hear of a 'tower of David' (Cant. 4:4), which may be a slip for 'tower of Solomon' (cp. 1 K. 7:2), and, at least in the EV, of the 'tower' of SYENK (q.v.), and cp. MICHAELIS.

¹ In 1 Ch. 11:7, 12:13, we find מִצְדָּה (EV 'hold,' except in 11:7, where AV 'castle,' RV 'stronghold'); the 'city of David' is mentioned, for which 2 S. 5:7 has מִצְדָּה (EV 'strong hold').

² It also exists in Lihyan (an offshoot of Sakhani), and in MI; but there is no trace of it in Assyrian.

³ The difficult phrase rendered in EV 'as a besieged city' (1 K. 16) means rather, as Hitz. and Ges. (*Phoen.*) suggest, 'a wall-tower' (מִצְדָּה מִצְדָּה, *mišḡadāh mišḡadāh*). Nearly so thinks Duhm. But this has no solid basis. Perhaps we should read מִצְדָּה מִצְדָּה, 'a forsaken city,' or the like (see 'Isaiah,' *SBOT* (Addenda).

TRACHONITIS

A third word for 'tower' is מִצְדָּה, *mišḡadāh*, Is. 38:14 (RV 'wall-tower'), or מִצְדָּה (Kr. מִצְדָּה), Is. 23:13 (of siege-towers), and a fourth is מִצְדָּה, *mišḡadāh*, which unites the meanings of 'fortress' and 'refuge' (Is. 27:1, 31:5 [4], etc.); see Del. on Ps. 31:5 [4].

TOWN in EV sometimes corresponds to (1) עִיר, *ir* (see CIVIL) *ir*, in 'walled town' (1n. 35 RVms. 'country town'; Esth. 9:15), or 'town [RV city] in the country' 1 S. 27:5 (עִירָהּ, *irāhā*); also to four of the terms (2), (3), (4), (5) also rendered VII. vii. (q.v.).

TOWNCLERK (ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ), Acts 19:35. See EUTHYSES, § 2.

TRACHONITIS. The name of the region surrounding and including the 'Trachon,' a remarkable

1. **Name.** volcanic formation, beginning about 25 m. S. of Damascus, and 40 m. E. of the Sea of Galilee, mentioned in the Bible only once, 1 K. 31 (7:8) 'Τροπαιῖα καὶ Τραχωνιτιδὸς χώρας', as part of the 'tetrarchy' of Philip, one of the sons of Herod the Great (see vol. 2 col. 2033 f., 2041 f.). The word itself is a derivative of Τράχων, the name given by the Greeks to the 'rough' and rugged areas, formed by lava deposits, which are characteristic of the region S. and E. of Damascus (see Fischer's Map of this district in *ZDPV* 12 [1889] II. 4). Strabo (lvi. 250) speaks of two 'hills' called Τραχωνες beyond Damascus ἐπέκεινται δ' αὐτῆς διὰ λεγόμενοι λόφοι Τραχωνες; the more remote and easternmost of these is the rugged basaltic area, bare and uninhabited, now called *Lalul es-Safī* ('the hills of stone'), 55 m. SE. of Damascus; the other is the nearer and better known 'Trachonitis' of Philip, corresponding to the modern *Leja* (i.e., *Lajlah*, refuge, retreat), so called because, from its physical character, it forms a natural fortress or retreat, where bandits could feel themselves secure, or which could be held by a small body of defenders against even a determined invader.²

The entire region S. and SE. of Damascus was once actively volcanic, and the SE. corner of the *Leja* is

2. **Descrip-** contiguous to the NW. end of the *Jebel*
tion. *Hauran* range—called also now, from its having been largely colonised by Druses

migrating from Lebanon, the *Jebel el-Druze*—with its many conical peaks 11 S. 68-16 f. [15 f.], the craters of extinct volcanoes; and it is to the streams of basaltic lava, emitted in particular by the *Gharānāt el-Kib-lawāh*, and the neighbouring *Tell Sakhīn* (see view in Merrill, 15), at the NW. end of this range, that the *Leja* owes its origin. In shape, the *Leja* resembles roughly a pear; it is about 25 m. long from N. to S. and 19 m. broad from E. to W.; and it embraces an area of some 350 sq. m. It rises to a height of from 20 to 40 ft. above the surrounding plain, so that it looks from a distance like a rocky coast; its surface is rugged, and intersected by innumerable crevices and fissures. In its outline or edge the bed is far from being regular, but sends out at a multitude of points, black promontories of rock into the surrounding plain. Through this rugged shore there are a few openings into the interior, but for the most part it is impassable, and roads had to be excavated to the towns situated within it. The appearance of the *Leja* is very strange. Its surface is black, and has the appearance of the sea when it is in motion beneath a dark cloudy sky, and when the waves are of good size, but without any white crests of foam. But this sea of lava is motionless, and its great waves are petrified. In the process of cooling the lava cracked, and in some cases the layers of great basalt blocks look as if they had been prepared and placed where they are by artificial means. In other

¹ See Weitzstein, *Hauran*, 6 ff.; Porter, *Damascus*, 2, 122 f.; Burton and De Lacy O'Leary, *Travels in Syria* (1879), 1207-2507 v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Pers. Golf* (1899), 1229-33 (with photographs).

² In 1835, 6000 Druses defended it successfully against Ibrahim Pasha, who lost 25,000 men in the attempt to force it.

Zeulun, B5
jebel ez-Zumlich, C5, 6 (BASHAM, § 1)

Sumam, A5
es-Sanamān, C3

kefr el-Mā, B4 (ALEXA)

beit Jenn, B2 (PHARPAR)
nahr el-Jennāni, B2 (PHARPAR)

teir el-Lōz, F5

TRACHONITIS

cases, the hillocks have split lengthwise, or sometimes into separate portions; and thus seams have been opened, forming great fissures and chasms which cannot be crossed. Elsewhere again the lava bed has not been broken into such small hillocks, but has more the appearance of what we call a rolling prairie. There are between the hillocks, and also in the rolling parts, many intervals of soil, free from stones, which are of surprising fertility' (Merrill, *E. of Jordan*, 11 f.). The soil in these depressions is still cultivated in parts, and affords pasture for flocks: remains of ancient vineyards have also been found in them. At many points (*ibid.* 14) there are copious springs, though not, apparently (Rindfleisch, 15), in the interior. Besides the seams and fissures that have been spoken of, there are also many caves, which have been occupied as dwellings. Bands of robbers lurk in them at the present day (cp how Porter was attacked, *Damascus*,⁽²⁾ 273 ff.). Outlaws from the settled portions of the country flee hither, and are comparatively safe. In the vicinity of Dāmā (the highest point in the Leja) 'so rough and rugged is the country, so deep the gullies and ravines, and so lofty the overhanging rocks, that the whole is a labyrinth which none but the Arabs can penetrate' (Porter, 283).¹

It is worthy of note how closely these descriptions agree with Josephus. He says, in connection with the order given by Augustus (see below, § 4) to check the depredations of the Trachonites, how difficult it was to do this:—

'For they possessed neither cities nor fields, but lived together with their cattle in subterranean retreats and caves. They had however, constructed reservoirs for water, and granaries for corn, and being invisible could long resist a foe. The entrances to the caves are narrow even for persons entering one at a time, whilst within they are incredibly large and made spacious. The ground above the dwellings is not high, but as it were a plain. The rocks are everywhere rugged and difficult to find a way among, except when a guide points out the paths; for even these are not straight, but have many windings' (*Ant.* xv. 101).

But, though this was the character of the population of the Leja in Josephus' time, before long it changed

3. Cities and civilisation.

(see § 5): civilisation entered, and cities were built, the remains of which are in many cases standing to the present day. Thus on the N., just within the Leja, we have Burāk (Porter,⁽²⁾ 164 f.); then (going southwards) on, or a little outside, the E. edge, es-Suwārah (P. 169), el-Hazm, and (inside the Leja) Sahr (Heber-Percy, 31-30, 43 f.; p. 32 'the track to Sahr winds amongst the fissures, gaps, holes, and waves of the lava, that now extends in an undulating unbroken sheet for a few yards, and then is cracked and broken up into every conceivable form. Even the semblance of a track soon faded away'), Dēr Nīleh (HP 47), and Shubbah, between the Leja and J. Haurān (P. 100 ff.; HP 59 ff.); on the S., Nejrān and Buṣr el-Harīn (P. 266 ff.); on the SW, Ezra' (P. 271; Merrill, 26 ff.); on the W., Kīrāteh, Mijēdel, Khībāb (Chaleb), and Kureim (P. 279 ff.; M. 24-32); on the NW., Mismiyeḥ (M. 16-22, with illustration of temple: the ruins, according to Porter, 284, are 3 m. in circuit, and contain many buildings of considerable size and beauty); and in the heart of the Leja, Dāma (or Dāmet el-'Alā, Wetstein, 25), the largest town in the interior, with about 300 houses, mostly in good preservation (Burchk. 110).²

Mismiyeḥ (the ancient *Phama*) is interesting on account of an inscription found there by Burchhardt in 1810 (*Travels in Syria*, 1822, p. 117; also Merrill, p. 20, and Waddington, No. 2524), which demonstrates the identity of the Leja with the Trachon. Julius Saturninus, consular legate of Syria, under Alex. Severus, issues a public notice informing the inhabitants

TRACHONITIS

that, there being temporary barracks in the plain, are not liable to have soldiers billeted upon them. The inscription begins: 'Ἰούλιος Σατοῦρνίνος θεομητροκωμία του Τράχωνος χάλκιν. Τῶν μετροκωμιαίων, or capital cities, of the Trachon known, viz. *Βουρεχάθ*, now Bureikeh (Wadd. and Zorava, now Ezra' (Wadd. 2480, cp 2479).

It must not, however, be supposed that such are peculiar to the Leja. The entire region, in the slopes of the J. Harān, and the plains below on the Leja, is studded with deserted towns, and testifying to a once flourishing and prosperous nation. Thus we have Hit, Heyat, Buthēneh, (Shakkā, Σακκαία, E. of the Leja; Sulcim, Κ. Si' (with an inscription on a statue erected to the Great; Wadd. 2364), 'Atīl, Suwādā, 'Ire, Kureiyeḥ, and Sāḥad, with its great castle SALCAB, on the W. and SW. slopes of J. I. the important city and fortress of Bosrā, 20 m. from the Leja,¹ described by Porter (173-189, 200, 230, 248 ff.) and Merrill (32-58); Derāt (see 20 m. SW. of it; as well as many other places Wetstein says there are 300 on the E. and S. of J. Haurān alone). The general character of a deserted places is the same: the Leja supplies building material; and this determined the style of architecture. The dwellings are constructed of well-hewn blocks of black basaltic lava, with doors moving on pivots, outside staircases, gabled mud roofs, all of the same material (see the description just quoted, and the photographs in Heber's frontispiece, 41, 46, 61, 65, 69, etc.). Many of these cities are in such a good state of preservation as Wetstein observes (49), it is difficult for a traveller not to believe that they are inhabited, except, as he walks along the streets, to see men moving about the houses. The architecture of deserted sites (which include temples, theatres, ducts, reservoirs, churches, etc.) is of the Graeco-Roman period, and is such as to show that, between the sixth and the seventh century A. D., they were the home of a thriving and wealthy population.

The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, followed by moderns (as Porter, Merrill, and Heber-Percy), identify the 'region of Argob' (Dt. 84 13 f. 1 K. 4 13). See this view, ARGOB and BASHAN (col. 497), above; also L. Dt. 34 5, and 'Argob' in Hastings' *DB*.

Trachon, or the Trachonitis,² is mentioned frequently by Josephus, chiefly in connection with the practices of its inhabitants. In

4. History.

one Zenodorus, a bandit-chief, he paid tribute to Cleopatra, the former daughter of Lysanias (see col. 2841); and he, to increase his revenues, so encouraged the lawless Trachonites in their raids upon the people of Damascus, that they appealed to Varro, the governor of Syria, to take case before Augustus. Augustus sent back orders that this 'robbers' nest' (*Ἀσθηριον*) should be destroyed, and Varro accordingly made an expedition against them. Afterwards, in order more permanently to reduce them to order, Augustus placed the entire region under the control of Herod the Great, who, with the help of skilful guides, successfully invaded it, and secured, at least for the time, 'peace and quietness to the neighbouring people' (*Ant.* xvi. 101 cp 33, briefly, *BJ* 204). The Trachonites, however, not satisfied with being obliged to 'till the ground a little quietly,' and finding also that it rewarded their labour but meagrely, took advantage of Herod's absence from Rome (about 9 B. C.) to revolt, and resumed their depredations upon the more fertile territory of their neighbours. Herod's generals inflicted a defeat upon them, but about forty of the robber-chiefs escaped into

¹ The soil of Haurān outside the Leja, it should be remarked, is singularly rich and fertile (cp BA-HAN, § 2).

² See further the list of places in Haurān (including the Leja), with explanatory remarks in *ZDPV*, 1889, p. 278 ff.

¹ Both Esau. (*OS* 268 a/g 258) and the Talm. (see *Sepher* 1357, ⁽²⁾ 1426) speak of Trachon as in the neighbourhood bordering on, Bosrā.

² Josephus uses both terms.

s in the place, they
ed upon them; and
τοιρηνος φαινησιος
ληρι. Two other
Trachon are also
ch (Wadd, 2396),
o, cp 2479).
ed that such cities
re region, including
the plains bordering
towns and villages,
prosperous civilisa-
Butheneh, Shuka
Suleim, Kanawât,
e erected to Herod
Suwêlâ, Hebrân,
its great castle (see
pes of J. Haurân;
Hosrâ, 20 m. S. of
189, 200 ff., 218-
Derât (see EDREI)
other places (Wetz-
and S. slopes of
character of all these
Leja supplied the
ed the style of the
structed of massive
lava, with heavy
taircases, galleries,
see the descriptions
in Heber-Percy,
etc.). Many of
of preservation that
difficult for the
inhabited, and to
ets, to see persons
chitecture of these
s, theatres, aque-
between the Greco-Roman
The first
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an, followed by some
rey), identify Trachon
K. 413). See, against
above; also Driver on

mentioned frequently
with the predatory
ants. In 23 B.C.
dit-chief, held, on
former domain of
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101; cp 3; more
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their neighbours,
upon them; but
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alm. (see Schürer, 2
neighbourhood of, of

TRACHONITIS

(i.e. Nabatea, S. of Haurân), whence they raided both Judea and Coele-Syria. Herod, upon his return to Syria, finding himself unable to reach the robbers themselves, invaded Trachon and slew many of their relations there, in retaliation for which they still more harassed and pillaged his territory (*Ant.* xvi. 91). In the end, Herod threw 2000 Idumaeans into Trachonitis (*ib.* 2), and placed a Babylonian Jew named Zannaris, a leader of mercenaries, in command of the surrounding districts. Zannaris built fortresses, and a village called Bathyra, and protected the Jews coming up from Babylon to attend the feasts in Jerusalem against the Trachonite robbers. The consequence was that, till the end of Herod's reign, the country around Trachonitis enjoyed tranquillity (*Ant.* xvii. 21-2).

Upon Herod's death, his son Philip (4 B.C.-34 A.D.) received, by his father's will, the 'tetrarchy' of Gaulanitis (Jaulân), Bitanæa (the 'Bashan' of the OT), *Trachonitis*, and Auranitis ('Haurân'), as well as a part of the former domain of Zenodorus (*Ant.* xvii. 8; 114; cp xviii. 46 54 B/xi. 63). Under Philip's just and gentle rule (*Ant.* xviii. 16) the same tranquillity was no doubt maintained; for Strabo, writing about 25 A.D., says (xvi. 220) that since the robber bands under Zenodorus had been put down, the country round had, through the good government of the Romans, and as a result of the security afforded by the garrisons stationed in Syria, suffered far less from the raids of the barbarians. After Philip's death (34 A.D.), as he left no sons, his tetrarchy was attached by Tiberius to the province of Syria (*Ant.* xviii. 46). In 37 A.D., however, Caligula bestowed it upon Herod Agrippa I. (*Ant.* xviii. 6 to end; B/ii. 96), who held it—as an inscription commemorating his safe return from Rome (41 A.D.), found at el-Mushennef, shows (Wadd. 2211)—as far as the E. slopes of the Jebel ed-Drûz. The rule of Agrippa seems to mark the beginning of a new stage in the civilisation of the entire district; Greek inscriptions now begin to multiply, and we have many records in stone of the building of public edifices. Agrippa I. died (Acts 12:23) in 44 A.D., and, as his son was still a minor, Trachon and the neighbouring parts were administered by a procurator under the governor of Syria. From 53 to 100 the old tetrarchy of Philip

TRADE AND COMMERCE

formed part of the kingdom of Herod Agrippa II. (Acts 25:13 ff.), inscriptions and buildings dating from whose reign are numerous both in the Leja itself and in other parts of Haurân. The most important step in the history of the civilisation of this entire district, however, was taken in 106, when Trajan created it into the new province of 'Arabia', with Bostra as its capital. Trajan's agent in accomplishing this was Cornelius Palma, governor of Syria from 104 to 108, whose work in bringing an aqueduct into Kanata (now Kerak) is commemorated in an inscription found at el-Mueh (Wadd. 2206-2297; cp 2301, 2305). It does not fall within the scope of the present article to pursue the history further; it may therefore suffice to remark generally that the direct influence of the Romans began almost immediately to make itself felt: roads and aqueducts were constructed; during the second and third centuries basilicas, temples, theatres, and other buildings rapidly multiplied; inscriptions, sepulchral, dedicatory, architectural, become more abundant; and a new and unique civilisation, externally Roman, but including within it a strange combination of Greek and Sinitic elements, is the result (see further details and references in G.A.S.M. *II*: 624 ff.). A Roman road, it may be added, starting from Damascus, runs through the Leja, passing Mismiyeh in the N., and Bureikeh in the S.; and going on to Bosra, Philadelphia (Kablath Annon), Moab, etc. (cp Rindfleisch, 24).

Burkhardt, as cited above, 51 ff. (Haurân), 110 ff. (the Leja); J. G. Wetstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran u. die Trachonen*, 1860 (epoch-making), especially pp. 25 ff.; Porter (= P., § 3), *Five Years in Damascus*; Merrill (= M., § 3), *E. of Jordan*, and Heber-Percy (= H.P., § 3), *A Visit to Bashan and Ayoob*, 1896, 38 referred to above; the account of Stübel's 'Reise,' with map, in *ZDPV*, 1880, pp. 225-32 (important); Kindfleisch, 'Die Landschaft Haurân in römischer Zeit u. in der Gegenwart,' in *ZDPV*, 1863, pp. 1-58 (on the Leja, 37-44; 17-24 45); v. Oppenheim, *op. cit.* 187 ff. (chaps. 3-5 on Haurân generally; chap. 4 on the Drûzes). The standard authority on the architecture of Haurân is de Vogüé's fine work, *Syrie Centrale, Architecture Civile et Religieuse du IV^e au VII^e siècle* (1898), containing 150 plates, with explanatory descriptions (though little relating specifically to the Leja); see more briefly G.A.S.M. *II*: 629 ff.

For inscriptions (from Haurân generally, as well as the Leja) see the works cited under BASHAN, § 5; and add Burton and Drake, *op. cit.* 2379-308.
S. R. D.

TRADE AND COMMERCE WITH TRADE ROUTES CONTENTS

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in Egypt or Babylonia, repeat themselves in Israel; indeed at some periods they are the only evidence we

¹ For a list of inscriptions naming Herodian kings, see Wadd. 2365 end.
² See also the map of Haurân and Jebel ed-Drûz, accompanying Schumacher's 'Das südliche Basan' in *ZDPV* 20 (1897) 67-227. In both these maps, however, there is an error in lat. and long.; Damascus is placed correctly; but by a fault in the triangulation the whole of Haurân and surrounding parts are

TRADE AND COMMERCE

have of the presence of commerce as a factor in the national life. It is, therefore, necessary to review the rise, progress, and fashions of trade in W. Asia—with its relations to religion—down till the end of the second millennium B. C., or just as Israelite commerce began to develop.

I. TRADE IN WESTERN ASIA

From the most remote epochs there were present throughout W. Asia the conditions not only of local exchange, but also of a wide international commerce, viz.: (a) the

2. Conditions of trade.

great differences of soil, fertility, and animal and vegetable products (§§ 3-6); (b) the unequal distribution of stones and metals (§ 7); (c) the rise, at the two extremes of the region, of empires of vast wealth and culture (§§ 8-11); (d) the specialisation of commerce by particular tribes and nations (§§ 12-16); (e) the central position of W. Asia between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean—India and Europe (§ 17); (f) the existence of natural lines of traffic both by land and by sea (§§ 6, 28 ff.); (g) the development of the means of carriage (§ 19); and (h) the rise of common standards of value (§ 20). To our survey of these it is necessary to add some consideration of (i) the relation of commerce to religion (§§ 21-24); as well as a sketch of (k) those political movements which so powerfully influenced the trade of Syria just before Israel settled in Palestine (§§ 25-27).

(a) W. Asia is unsurpassed in any quarter of the globe for its extraordinary contrasts of soil and fertility:

3. Soil and fertility.

between the Syrian and the Arabian desert on the one hand, and the river-valleys and deltas of Babylonia and Egypt, with the garden lands of Syria and S. Arabia, on the other; whilst in st of the ordinary contrasts—between sea-coast and 'Hinterland,' lowlands and highlands, with very different temperatures and soils, pastoral and arable regions—were also present throughout. All these formed different grades and necessities of human life, between which the currents of commerce were as inevitable as the winds which pass between spheres of differing temperature in the world's atmosphere. The various populations of W. Asia were dependent on each other for some of the barest necessities of life, as well as for most of its simpler comforts and embellishments, and such dependence was the beginning of trade. At the same time, we must be careful not to exaggerate either the amount of the trade, or its influence on the minds of men at so early a period. Had commerce then been a dominant feature of human life, we should have found more traces of its influence on religion than we shall be able to discover (§ 21).

The elements of early commerce between the deserts and the fertile lands are easily determined from the conditions of to-day. There are still

4. Elements of commerce.

nomads who live for months or even years on milk and flesh (Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*), varied by dates from the oases in the centre of Arabia (DeGhly, *Le Des., passim*). From the earliest times, however, the need of cereal foods must have drawn the Bedouins into commerce with the agricultural populations; and this need would increase with the settlement of nomads from the interior of Arabia on the borders of fertility. From Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt the nomads would seek grain, fruit (e.g., almonds), cloth, oil, and (after its invention) pottery,¹ with (in course of time) weapons.²

shifted unduly S. and W., so that Bosra is 32° 30' S. N., and 36° 20' E., instead of, as it ought to be, 32° 33' N. and 30° 32' E. (see *MNDP*, 1900, pp. 12-14). This error has been corrected in Fischer's *Handkarte von Pal.*, 1900, and also in the map in the present article (which is based upon the three maps named).

¹ As they do now from Gaza and Damascus.

² To the early Egyptians the nomads were the people of the boomerang. But the story of Senohyt proves that during the

TRADE AND COMMERCE

In exchange they would give dates,¹ curdled wool, occasionally cattle, honey, salt, alkali (from the ashes of the Kilu and other plants),² balsam (BALSAM), and other medicinal herbs, merce between Syria and Egypt included oil (BALM), wool, etc. (EGYPT, § 8), and (later) manufactures; whilst traffic between Babylon and Egypt was frequent even in pre-historic times (§ 43). Trade in SALT (q.v.) was not only led from the salt pans N. of Fehsinn, in el-Jof, a where, or from the deposits at the S. end of the Sea;—probably also rock-salt was exported to a as to-day; e.g., from W. Kaseem in Arabia (*P. Contr. and E. Arab.*, 180 [ed. 1883]).

The most isolated of the fertile lands of W. Asia on the S. of Arabia under the monsoon rains.

5. The incense country.

Felix (Ar. 'el-Yemen'—i.e. south) has ever been famous for its fertility, and was the seat of Mianan and Sabean civilisation (below, § 1, chief repute, however, was for frankincense (see INCENSE, where its late appearance in the OT is noted and its probably earlier use in Egypt). Erman calls this was common under the Old Empire. Strabo calls the incense-country 'the heart of the commercial world' (*Geog. Alt. Arab.*, 299). The Bent (*Nineteenth Cent.*, Oct. 1895, pp. 595 ff.) describes 'the actual libaniferous country,' Dhofar, as 'not now much larger than the Isle of Wight,' probably in ancient days not much more extensive. It lies on the coast some 800 m. N.E. from about half-way to Muscat, 6000 cwt. of the gum exported annually to Boudlay. Other products are cocoanuts and coconut fibre (no yet identified by any ancient Semitic name), myrrh, ghee, fruit, and vegetables. Pasturage is rich. Dates and wheat are imported. There is a fine harbour, Moscha of the *Periplus* (§ 32), and numerous remains. Camels are the animals used for carrying purposes; horses are unknown. Cf. SETTAN, another incense country see § 5.

At times primitive commerce in the necessities of life must have been enhanced by local families, in the less settled conditions of early history these result not so much in increased trade as in migration of tribes. Such migrations, however, would also have late trade by communicating across the region a knowledge of its remoter parts, as well as familiarity with the various routes thither. We shall see that of the great trading tribes had been immigrant districts which became the centres of their flourishing commerce.

The early distribution of woodland in W. Asia is uncertain; but from Syria into Egypt, as well as the wooded districts of Palestine

6. Distribution of timber.

only to the treeless desert borders of Babylonia, there was some traffic in timber. Cedar was brought from West to Babylonia in the reigns of Sargon and Gilgamesh (4th millennium), and rails of other woods not descended the Euphrates and the Tigris.⁴ Roman

Middle Empire the Egyptian weaponsmiths carried their on asses among the Asiatic nomads; *WMM*, 1881, 1, p. 2.

¹ Still imported from Arabian oases to Baghdad. De G. and Yemen (Palgrave, *Centr. and East. Arabia* [ed. 47, 140, 164]; also from oases in Turkish Arabia to See Consular Report on Trade and Commerce of the Gulf in 1901 by Lt.-Col. Kennell. Foaies (*With the Tent and Town*, 116 [1902]) describes caravans from Kaf taking wheat and barley to be bartered for salt at He reports among the industries of the Jof saddle-bags, abbas and other clothing; cp 146; imports—coffee, urensils, clothing from Damascus, etc.

² Cp *PT*, 20, 90 for present export of alkali from steeps of Hauran to the soap factories of Sidon.

³ *Life in Anc. Eg.* (tr. by Tirard, 1904), p. 507.

⁴ E.g., under Ur-nina of Lagash (BABYLONIA, § Radau, *Early Baby. Hist.* [1900], and Howorth, *Eng.*

es,¹ curdled milk, salt, alkali (obtained from plants),² Mesopotamian herbs, Combed oil, mastic and (later) Syrian en Babylonian and historic times (A. not only local—as in el-Jof, and else- S. end of the Dead ported to a distance Arabia (Palgrave,).

oods of W. Asia lies on rain. Arabia men'—i.e., 'the been famous for the seat of the below, § 14). Its cense (see FRANK- in the OT is noted, pt). Erman³ says Empire. Sprenger of the commerce of .299). Theodore p. 595 ff.) describes scholar, as 'perhaps le of Wigh' and h more extensive.' NE. from Aden, of the gum are other products are ter identified under ghee, fruits, and sites and weapons harbour, perhaps numerous Sabean used for carrying Cp SEPHAR. On

the necessities of al families, though history these would e as in migrations, would also stim- the region a better well as familiarity shall see that most immigrants to the of their flourishing

nd in W. Asia as pt, as well as h in s of Palestine, not desert borders, but there was always brought from 'the of Sargon I and r woods must have agris.⁴ Romul the

s carried their c. VMM, *ib. n. l.*

Baghdad, Dano, s, *Arabia* led. in h Arabia to Bus- merce of the Persian (*With the Arabi- aravans from Ha- red for salt and res- saddle-legs, carpa- oris—coffee, cork, &*

alkali from stepp- .

. P. 597. BYLONIA, § 44); Cp Howorth, *Eng. Hist.*

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Persian Gulf there is said to be no timber for ship- building. For the period between the Old and the Middle Empire in Egypt see Erman, *op. cit.* 452

(5) The distribution of useful stones and metals through W. Asia is now tolerably clear. The marble and alabaster found in early Babylonian

7. Of stones and metals. deposits came from the Assyrian hills, the diorite from Arabia (BABYLONIA, §§ 18, 21).¹ The basalt of Hauran must always, as to-day, have been used for millstones for all Syria. Egypt was without copper, which it brought from Sinai and the Lebanon (COPPER). Gudea imported copper from Kimaš in N. Arabia (Hommel in Hastings' *BD* 1225; cp Gen. 1023, and see *Eng. Hist. Rev.* 17221). Cyprus was a later source; on bronze see below, § 17. Iron, copper, and lead were found in the hills W. of Nineveh (see ASSYRIA, § 6), and iron in parts of Syria and Central and S. Arabia (Doughty, *Jr. Trav.*). Iron, however, except in Babylonia, does not appear till the close of our period (see IRON). There was a little gold in the desert E. of Egypt and in Nubia (see EGYPT, § 50); but its chief sources were in Arabia, on the E. of Sinai, and on the far S. coast² (see GOLD, OPIUM). Silver, which was rare in Egypt till 1600 B.C., came from Asia (EGYPT, § 38). Precious stones (turquoises, etc.) were found in Sinai. Cp STONES. The love of ornament is one of the earliest motives to barrier among primitive peoples, and we may assume that traffic in metals and jewels had begun in W. Asia even before the rise of the great civilisations in Egypt and Mesopotamia.

(6) It is, however, in the growth and organisation of these great civilisations that we must seek for the most powerful of the factors of ancient commerce. Trade always advances by leaps and bounds when two great states face each other (cp the sudden increase between the Hittites and Egypt after their treaty in the reign of Ramses II. [Erman, 537]).

By the end of the fifth millennium B.C., both Babylonia and Egypt possessed a developed civilisation, for the growth of which we must assume many centuries if not some millennia (see BABYLONIA, § 49); both had elaborate systems of writing, always a proof of and a help to commerce. That between them there were close communications, is proved by the strong Babylonian elements in pre-historic Egyptian culture (see EGYPT, § 43). The rapid rise of their wealth, doubtless largely due to discoveries of new sources of the precious metals, must have increased trade throughout W. Asia, and complicated it beyond previous conditions. The monument discovered at Susa by De Morgan of Mani- turra, ruler of Kiš (4th mill. B.C.), records his purchases of linen, gram, wool, oil, copper, asses, and slaves, which were paid for in silver; and among the officials mentioned are 'a narmer,' 'scribe,' 'surveyors,' 'miller,' 'jeweller,' and 'merchant' (*Dankir*).³ The growth of wealth hastens the demand, not only for articles of luxury, but also for better qualities of food-stuffs. For example, both the Nile and the Euphrates valley produce dates; but if then, as at the present day, the Arabian oases, including Sinai, produced a special quality of dates,⁴ these would be imported into Egypt and Babylonia then as now (see above, § 4, third note). The records of the kings of Lagas (BABYLONIA, § 44) report

Rev. 177. For Gudea's imports see *PSB* 111, *KT* 2 275 ff., and Rogers' *Hist.* 1379.

¹ The diorite of Gudea and Ur-Nin was brought from Magan on the NE. coast of Arabia (Aminad, *op. cit.* 2 15 n. takes it to be Sinai); but see note to *Eng. Hist. Rev.* 17 221 for another source.

² Burton, *Jour. of Midian*, 2 Ch. 8, speaks of 'gold of 2000', which Glaser (*Skizze*, 247) identifies with el-Farwari mentioned by Hamdāni; cp Sprenger, *Alt. Arab.* 4063. Gudea brought gold dust from NW. Arabia and K'āsh Sh. of Media (Hommel in Hastings' *BD* 1225; *Eng. Hist. Rev.* 17221).

³ Howorth, *Eng. Hist. Rev.* 17 11 ff.

⁴ The fine dates of el-Hasa (E. Arabia) are still exported—to Mezul, Bombay and Zanzibar, *Palgr. Cent. and E. Arab.*, ed. 1883, pp. 364, 383.

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the building of storhouses beside the temples and the construction of canals.

With the increase of wealth came the expansion and consolidation of empire. It is not always possible to decide whether objects of foreign origin found in early Egyptian or Babylonian remains were fruits of conquest (spoil or tribute), or of trade, though probably they are mostly due to trade, even where the records boast of tribute this is really the fruit of latter.¹ Even if any of the early expeditions from Egypt and Babylonia were for conquest (which is very doubtful, see note), they found their motives in a previous trade; and they would open up routes and increase commerce. The expeditions of Sargon I. and Gudea to 'the west' for timber, and to Arabia for stone and metal (above § 67.) were repeated by other monarchs (see BABYLONIA, § 152); and the various conquests of, and immigrations into, Babylonia by fresh tribes must have powerfully developed trade. To the NE. by Elam, a seat of culture by the fourth millennium B.C., with avenues of traffic into central and eastern Asia; and Elam overran Babylonia. Again, the Canaanite supremacy synchronised with a growth of commerce especially under Hammurabi (see BABYLONIA, § 542); though there was an increase of trade preceding this, at Ur, § 509; while the rapid subjection of the Canaanite dynasty to a Kassite is proof of the luxury consequent on commerce under the former power. From Egypt expeditions were sent in the earliest times to scum the copper and turquoise mines of Sinai—e.g., Dyn. III., Zoser (EGYPT, § 44), Dyn. IV., Snefru (845; about 3000 B.C.; but acc. to L. Petrie, 3098-3090 B.C.), and Hufu (Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, 143; Dyn. VI., Pepy I.—the founder of Memphis proper' (EGYPT, § 47). There were also early expeditions to Nubia for gold, to the Sudan, the W. coast, and above all down the Red Sea to Punt—either Somali land, or the coast between Suakin and Massowah.² Erman *op. cit.* 507) mentions the picture of a native of Punt as early as Hufu (Dyn. IV.); but the earliest recorded expedition to Punt was under Assa, Dyn. V. (EGYPT, § 48, El. Petrie, 100); Pepy I. (Dyn. VI.) sent to the Sudan and farther (EGYPT, § 47); Sank-ka-ik' (Dyn. XI.) by Koptos, Koser, and the Red Sea to Punt; and several kings of Dyn. XII., the Amenemhats and Useratesens, to Nubia, the Sudan, and Punt. Under this dynasty (2800 El. Petrie, 2100 WMM) trade flourished exceedingly. The Hyksos migration and conquest of Egypt must have developed her Asiatic commerce; but this, especially with Syria, reached its height after the conquests of the New Empire. For lists of the many Syrian products introduced, see WMM, *As. u. Eur.* (chaps. 1, etc.) and Erman (516 ff.), who remarks: 'we almost feel inclined to maintain that really there was scarcely anything

¹ See the instance given by Erman, 512; and cp Naville, *Deir el Bahari* (Eg. Expl. Fund), Pt. III., 10. Referring to the same expedition to Punt, W. E. Crum (Hastings' *DB* 1603) says: 'Queen Hatshepsut's "fleet had, like its predecessors from the 6th dynasty onwards, solely a commercial object." See, too, Budge, *Hist. of Eg.* (1902), 111-144 188. Similarly in Babylonia under Gudea, who according to Hommel (Hastings' *DB* 1225), did not conquer the distant regions, but by treaties secured passage for his caravans with their products.

² En-annatum I. of Lagas imported cedar 'from the mountain'; Radan, 72.

³ See also L. W. King, *Letters and Inscr. of Hammurabi* about B.C., 2200, I. Intro. and Text, iii. Translation; and G. Nagel 'Die Briefe H. s an Sin-linnam' in *Beitr. z. Assy.*, 341 ff. with notes by F. Delitzsch 483 ff.

⁴ On the favourable position of Ur for commerce, on the Euphrates, near the W. Kummeh (which connected it with Central Arabia) and with a road to Sinai, see Rogers, *Hist. of Bab. and Ass.* 1371 ff.

⁵ So Naville (*Deir el Bahari*, Pt. III. 11; Eg. Expl. Fund), who says that in any case Punt lay N. of the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb: 'not a dennite territory,' but a vague geographical definition. Some include under the name both sides of the Red Sea.

⁶ The region which produces frankincense is situated in the projecting part of Eubopia and lies inland (i.e., from Adulis on the Red Sea) but is washed by the ocean on the other side'; Cosmas, *Christ. Topog.* Bk. II. ET by M'Crimdale, 51.

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which the Egyptians of this period did not import from Syria.' Syrian slaves were a constant subject of traffic (Erman, 517 f., WMM, *At u. Eur.*). The New Empire also opened up Nubia, and elaborated the trade with Punt and that with Cyprus (see EGYPT, §§ 53-61). For the trade of Ramses III. with fleets on the Mediterranean and Red Sea see the Harris Papyrus (end) and the summary in Budge, *Hist. of L.* 5139 ff.

From the third millennium there is evidence of a royal service of despatches into Asia (WMM, *At u. Eur.*

9. Security of travel.

17); the regulation of imports by the Egyptian government; the making of roads; and the supply of desert routes—e.g., that between Koptos on the Nile and the Red Sea (below, § 20)—with water (by Mentuhotep, Dyn. XI. [Erman, 506]).¹ It was easy and safe for even individuals to travel to tribes as far as Edom and the 'Arabah'; witness the tale of Sennehyt, which, whether historical or not (see EGYPT, col. 12, 17), must have been founded on a knowledge of the actual conditions of travel.² In short, by the third millennium travel must have been frequent and tolerably secure (of course with interruptions) from the mouth of the Red Sea and the Sudin to the Euphrates; and the commercial activity and wealth of Babylonia in at least the second half of that millennium, can hardly have failed to create similar conditions for much of the rest of W. Asia. Cp § 26, end.

We must not suppose, however, that all this produced, even for intervals, anything like a parallel to what prevails in modern times, or even to what was achieved under the Roman Empire. The roads of W. Asia were never so secure as under the Pax Romana, nor were they so well laid down. In the period with which we deal there were frequent interregna; the nomads of Arabia often burst the frontiers of civilisation; and even in peaceful times the well-developed halats of traffic cannot have produced such order or sense of safety as we find at the beginning of the Christian era.

Before we pass from the influence of the great empires on commerce, three other phenomena require

10. Trade and political power.

to be noticed. One is the effect of the exigencies of commerce in the transfer of political power within the empires from one site to another, and the rapid growth of new capitals. Of this both Egypt and Babylonia furnish instances. The centre of government in Egypt came down the Nile, from positions commanding the highways to the S. and the Red Sea, to Memphis³ at the neck of the Delta, where great trade-routes converge from all quarters. We find a similar case under the New Empire, when the increase of trade on the Syrian frontier drew, for a time, the centre of the political power from Thebes into the Eastern Delta.⁴ On the Euphrates and Tigris the same causes worked in an opposite direction—upstream. The central position of Ur with regard to commerce is well known; how elaborate that commerce was is proved by the titles of the third dynasty of Ur, and the number of contract tablets from their time.⁵ The transference of power from the lower Babylonian cities to Babylon itself and the independence of that great centre from about 2500 B.C., was probably assisted by commercial influences. For Babylon proved its fitness as a centre for trade by the extraordinary persistence of its commerce and wealth, in spite of frequent political disasters, for

¹ Also 'it is probable that Seti I. caused a series of water stations to be established from the Nile to Berenice' (Budge, *HE* 311); and Ramses III. built a fortified well between Mt. Casius and Raphia (*ibid.* 150); on Ramses IV. *ibid.* 127.

² Under Dyn. XII.; cp 'Travels of an Egyptian' under Dyn. XIX., 88. Cf. in *RP* 2102 ff.

³ Under Menes, 4500 or 4000 B.C., and his successors; EGYPT, §§ 44, 47; MEMPHIS. See also Fl. Petrie, *HE*, vol. 1.

⁴ Cp Erman, 516.

⁵ Cp for references Rogers, *Hist. of Bab. and Assyria*, 1377.

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nearly 2000 years (cp L. 17); and it is possible memory of the city's early fame as a place for men of all tongues may lie behind the story of the founding of Babel (Gen. 11). Only to look at the map to see how much more largely Babylonia lies for the trade through Persia, than do the cities which preceded her. The rise of Assyria was doubtless aided by inland, closer than that of Babylonia, over the trade to the W.; the transference of the capital from Assur to Calah and Nineveh was one from a less to a more suitable centre for both with N. and W. These are but instances which will doubtless be multiplied as our knowledge of history is increased.

Another phenomenon to be noted in the development of the Great Empires—we shall find

11. Mercenaries; royal traders.

11); exchange of native militia, agricultural conditions of mercenary soldiery, which generally followed increase in trade. The soldiers of the Middle in Egypt were such a militia; but after growth of trade, especially with Asia under dynasties of the New Empire, the Egyptians were mainly composed of mercenaries (Erman). The same thing happened in Egypt under It happened also in Babylonia under Assur-bar-Neluchidrezzar.

Again, it is to be remarked that the initiate great commercial expeditions from Babylonia Egypt is recorded on the monuments as the private enterprise, but to the reigning monarch is no pretence of royal arrogance or of the complicity. We see the same motive at work in great explorations and commercial expeditions Middle Ages from Spain and Portugal.

(d) The earliest societies of men did not special class or profession of traders; farmers manufacturers exchanged the goods. In the story of Sennehyt weaponsmith himself carries

12. No trading classes.

to the Asiatic nomads. As we shall see (§ 21), not exercise any influence on the formative religions of W. Asia; a proof that it was specialised as a separate vocation. There is no of trade in the proverbs of Ptah-hotep (from mill.), and when they appeared in Egypt, merchants, and interpreters of foreign origin, despised' (EGYPT, § 31); that is to say, the class was a late and a foreign upstart in that country.

The rise of international commerce, however, the peculiar character of the deserts which

13. Tribal monopolies.

the centres of civilisation favoured the growth of special traders within those centres—the absorption of whole tribes outside them in the of trade and the carriage of goods. Especially the ease with certain Arabian nomads, whose with the desert and possession of the means of it, furnished them with the price (in their trading for purchasing the products of civilisation. The O.E. some of the earliest names for traders are Ishmaelite (Gen. 37:25, 27 f. 39:1.—all J.), Midianite (parallel E passages; Gen. 37:25:26 and (later) ite, of which the first two were Arabian and the inhabitants of that land which is well described 'bridge' between Egypt and Mesopotamia. evidence is confirmed by the Egyptian records of the contempt of the Egyptians for traders, probably due to the traders being foreigners. The Hasan paintings represent thirty-seven Asiatic the desert, traders from near Sinai (see EGYPT, § 53).

¹ Similarly the letters of Hammurabi (above, § 2) how that king personally superintends the *international* Babylonia.

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It is possible that... as a gathering... behind the Hebrew... One has... much more advan... through Elua into... ceeded her in power... aided by her com... on, over the lines of... of the Assyrian... Smeveh was, in fact... centre for commerce... but instances, which... knowledge of ancient

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the initiative of the... Babylonia and from... s as due not to... ng monarch... r of the court scrib... ve at work in the... l expeditions of the... gl.

u did not contain... aders; farmers and... changed their own... y of Semitic the... self carries his goods... ses (§ 21), trade did... rnative period of the... at it was not then... There is no ment... hoteep from the 4th... in Egypt 'sailors... foreign origin were... to say, the speci... rt in that civilisation... here, however, and... orts which separated... sation favoured—n... of special classes of... centres—the gradual... them in the business

Especially was this... ds, whose familiarity... the means of crossing... their trading serv... sation. Thus, in the... r traders are trib... (all J), Midianite (the... a and later) Cana... ban and the last be... ll described as the... Mesopotamia. The... ptian records. But... for traders was prob... eigners. The Bom... seven Asiatics § 20... (see EGYP, § 20);

hi (above, § 20) show... the internal trade of

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WMM, *At. u. Eur.* 36). So, too, Hamut the leader of the expedition to Punt under Sankh-kare of the eleventh dynasty (EGYP, § 48) appears to have a Semitic name (cp. however, Erman, 500). Thus, by the third millennium B.C., the Semites from their central position between the two most ancient civilisations, their command of the lines of communication, and their frequent migrations, had developed those habits of trading which distinguish them to the present day.¹ Among the Semites, again, there were especially four families which concentrated the racial adaptableness and tenacity upon commerce, and, not content with the share in that which their central positions brought to them, devoted themselves to the pursuit and organisation of many lines of traffic, till they developed, in the case of one of them at least, a wider commercial influence than the world ever saw till the most recent epoch. These were the Minoans, the Arameans, the Phœnicians, and the Nabateans, of whom the first three had begun to develop their commerce within our period—the Minoans and the Arameans by land, the Phœnicians by sea.

It is only upon indirect and somewhat precarious evidence (summarised by Weber, *Asien und Islam*,

14. Minoans. 22 ff.² that to the Minoan kingdom a date is assigned so early as the second half of the second millennium B.C. The centre of the Minoan power lay in the S. part of Anatolia—not in the intense-bearing regions of Katalon and Chladrinat (above, § 5), though it commanded these, and by its hold on the central Arabian routes (below, § 31) and its colony in Musri or Musri (*i.e.*, Midian) and northwards (MIZRAIM, § 3)³ possessed the Arabian land traffic, and sent its caravans by Ma'an and Petra to Gaza. The capital was Knossos, the Karia of Eratosthenes,⁴ in immediate connection with the ports of the S. coast. Thus Minoan trade extended at least from the Indian Ocean to the Levant. But see § 17.

After what has been said elsewhere (ARAB, ARAMIC LANGUAGE; cp PHœNICIA, § 7) it is only necessary to

15. Arameans. say that in the second millennium B.C. we find the Arameans succeeding the Hittites in a country on the upper Euphrates which is the meeting-ground of many trade routes—from Syria, Asia Minor, Armenia, and Babylonia (below, § 30 f.). They gradually extended over N. Syria, a land more suited for trade than for agriculture or industry,⁵ and embraced Damascus, the principal Syrian 'market,' a depot of the Arabian Desert (*Hist. Geog.* 642 f.). The earliest notices reveal Arameans as nomads, perhaps traders, in Mesopotamia; in Syria the small states they founded round cities were such as those founded by other trading peoples. The strongest proof of their commerce is the gradual spread of their dialect till it became the *lingua franca* of W. Asia. In Babylonia it was spoken in daily life from the eleventh to the ninth century (Wi. *Völker Vorderasiens*, 11); by the tenth it had

¹ The Syrians depicted on the tomb of Had, about 1400 B.C. (see Budge, *HE* 414), are traders. Cp Sirabo xvi. 423 on the commercial qualities of the Arabs.

² None of the S. Anatolian, so-called Hittite, inscriptions are dated before second century B.C. For a detailed argument against the high antiquity claimed for the Minoan kingdom, see Budge, *HE* 6, Preface, xvi ff. His conclusion is that Glaser's Ptoem. 155 belongs to the time of Canaanites and that 'the Minoan kingdom cannot be shown to be older than the sixth century B.C.', p. xxii.

³ The strong reasoning of Budge (*HE* dxxi ff.) against Winkler's frequent identification of the biblical Mizraim with the Arabian Musri is not conclusive against the existence of the latter. For if, as generally admitted, Ishazzat of Glaser's *Insir*, 102 is the Gaza, the Minoan caravans from S. Arabia would scarcely pass through Egypt to Gaza, or through Gaza to Egypt (Gaza, therefore, is, so far, evidence in favour of a N. Arabian Musri. Cp also SIMPSON, § 6. Even if the Musri of the Assyrian and Minoan inscriptions be proved to be Egypt, this only means an extension of the Minoan trade.

⁴ Or Karnaia: Sirabo (xvi 42) who mentions besides the cities of Mariaba, the Kattabanians at Tanua, the Charambiri at Sabata.

⁵ McCurdy, *Hist. Proph. Mon.* 1155.

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taken the place which Babylonia held in W. Asia in the fifteenth and was used as far as Egypt as a commercial tongue (WMM, *At. u. Eur.* 234). How long and how far this commercial supremacy of the language lasted is proved by inscriptions in Fenicia and Sidon in towns up to 1300 A.D. It was the Asiatic trade, from the Tigris to the Levant, which formed the temptation to the Assyrian campaigns in the north and following centuries (below § 42). Cp SYRIA, § 47, 2.

The commercial influence of the Phœnicians appears to have risen at an earlier period than that of the

16. Phœnicians. Arameans, but how early it is impossible to say. The absence of any reflection of trade not only from the names of their earliest cities—these may have been named before the Phœnician occupation¹—but also from all except presumably late strata of their religion² (see below, § 22), is significant. The coincidence between a great influx of Canaanite population and religious into Babylonia (about 2500 B.C.) and the rise of a Canaanite dynasty there, with a great increase of commerce and wealth, is interesting as indicative of a racial capacity for trade. On the whole, however, we may assign the rise of the commerce of the Phœnicians to a period subsequent to their arrival on the coast between Lebanon and the Levant, somewhere in the third millennium B.C., and therefore subsequent to the appearance of international commerce in W. Asia; and we may trace it to the central position of that coast, to the mines and forests of the neighbourhood, and to the greater facility for traffic by sea than by land, between the various Phœnician settlements. Probably the Phœnicians did not invent ships as the Greeks were led to suppose from their subsequent supremacy in navigation; for the first boats must have been invented by a people with long slow rivers. But the Phœnicians, with their towns near to large forests and disposed within a day's sail of each other on a coast full of obstacles for land traffic, must have been early forced to the improvement of the means of navigation; whilst the harassing land march across the desert to Egypt must have led to a speedy extension of that navigation to the Egyptian delta. So great an advance, if it did not produce, amply proves the existence of, those qualities of hardihood and enterprise, which were to lead Phœnicia to the command of the world's traffic.

The less adventurous Egyptians,³ who had in the earlier periods of their history reached Punt by their own merchants, had left the trade through Nubia to negroes (Erman, 463);⁴ and now might be easily tempted to resign a commerce which they disliked (§ 13) to the perilous invaders of the Delta. The process may have been hastened during the Hyksos supremacy. In any case, from the beginning of the second millennium B.C. the trade of Egypt appears to have been in Phœnician hands. In the fifteenth century, according to the Amarna Letters they had fleets of merchant ships, and a fleet in a Theban tomb depicts them as importers of goods from Asia (Budge, *HE* 419).

(1) The ancient trade of W. Asia, however, was not confined within that region. W. Asia lies between the

17. Foreign trade: with India. Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean; both of which, the one by its regular winds the other by its islands, offer easy access to sources of wealth beyond them. In the later Phœnician and the Greek epochs of trade both seas were regularly navigated, and the far East united with the far West (§§ 13, 71).

¹ Sidon, usually understood as 'Fishertown' (but see PHœNICIA, § 65); Tyre, rock; Byblos, springs, etc. Contrast the Phœnician Ashkelon and the Canaanite Kiriat-sepher, the former of which certainly, and the latter possibly, has a common origin.

² The chief Phœnician gods do not differ from those of other Canaanites.

³ Cp the commercial superiority of Syrians at the present day to Egyptians.

⁴ Cp inscription of Pepy of the sixth dynasty.

Whether in the period we are now treating there was already a trade with India is a question to which we can get only probabilities in answer. It was quite possible.

The *Periplus* of the Erythraean Sea¹ (1st Christian cent.) lays down the line of a coasting voyage along the S. of Arabia, across the mouth of the Persian Gulf, and so (in the direction opposite to that taken by Nearchus, the admiral of Alexander) to the Indus, and thence down the Malabar coast. It adds (§ 30), however, that a speedier, though more dangerous, voyage may be made by those who set out to sea from Arabia with the Monsoons (*ἀερά τῶν ἰνδικῶν ἢ ἐπὶ ἰνδῶν*). These winds blow across the Indian Ocean from the SW. from April to October, from the NE. from October to April, and make the voyage possible for vessels even of a primitive type.

By the seventh century B.C., if not long before, there was in India a developed and organised trade; great ships were already built, and long sea-voyages undertaken. From the very earliest times merchants had been held in high repute (Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, 237, 576-579). The island of Sokotra has a Sanscrit name (*ib.* 580). The Babylonian Sumerian epic reflects a journey through Arabia to Salkea; and Sokotra has been suggested as the island which was its goal (Hommel, Hastings' *DBI* 216*a*). On the reliefs of Deir-el-Bahri, Punt is pictured as a place of barter where several nationalities meet and deal with the Egyptians in different sorts of goods. It is, therefore, more than possible that Indian traders met those of W. Asia at the mouth of the Red Sea and the ports of S. Arabia during our period. Weber indeed (*Arab. vor Islam*, 22; cp 23) calls the Minuans the intermediaries of the Indian as well as of the S. Arabian trade, and dates the origin of this trade before 1300 B.C. (more than a millennium before the later Ptolemies). But see § 14. It is remarkable that no Indian faces or goods are found pictured on the reliefs of Deir-el-Bahri (Naville, *op. cit.* 12*ff.* and the corresponding plates), nor have any Indian products been discovered in Egyptian remains. As for Babylonia, the earliest Sumerian deposits (BABYLONIA, § 18) contain both ivory ornaments and bronze. The ivory may have been taken from elephants which were extant on the Euphrates till towards the close of our era.² But for the tin, needed to make the bronze, no source is known at that time save India,³ and some have derived the Phœnician name for the metal from the Sanscrit.⁴ This, however, is a precarious ground on which to found a conclusion with regard to so early an epoch; for reasons for the opposite view—that there was no sea-trade between W. Asia and India till the seventh century B.C.—see INDIA and OPIUM, § 2; cp also Sprenger, *All. Geog. Arab.*, §§ 51-60, 130. We must not forget the possibility of land-trade between Babylonia and India through Elam and Persia.⁵

As for the trade of W. Asia with Europe in this era, that is much less problematical. Cyprus, which lies in sight of the Syrian coast (*III*, pp. 22-135), was reached by some of the earliest Babylonian monarchs; and in the course of the second millennium B.C. was in frequent communication both with Egypt and with Syria (Budge, *HE* 416*f.*); and Cyprus can hardly ever have been out of touch with the islands to the W. Evidence of an extremely early knowledge of Europe in Egypt is given in WMM, *As. u. Eur.* ch. 28.⁶

18. With Europe.

¹ *Περιπλους τῆς Ἐρυθραίας θαλάσσης*. Anonymous, but attributed to an author named Ἀρριανός. *Geogr. Graec. Minores* by C. Müller, ed. Paris, 1832, vol. i. 257*ff.*, cp. p. xcv.

² Thormes III. killed elephants on the Euphrates; Naville, *op. cit.* 17; Budge, *HE* 432*a*.

³ The islands of the Persian Gulf were visited by Babylonians at a very early period; and thence the coasting (O) voyage to India was not difficult.

⁴ Götz, *Die Verkehrswege im Dienste des Welthandels*, 103*ff.* This is not certain; cp O. Schrader, *Handelsgeschichte*, etc., 71, quoted by Götz.

⁵ For imports and exports of W. Asiatic trade with India in Roman times see *Periplus* (of Erythraean Sea), §§ 49, 56.

⁶ According to the American explorers of Nippur (Peters, *Nippur*, 2, 137*f.*) some evidence of trade with Greece (Falvea) was found in remains of the fourteenth century B.C.; cp Budge, *HE* 4108*ff.* 177.

(f) For the natural lines of traffic and trade see below, Part II. of this article (§§ 28-40).

(g) The various means of carriage in the world having been for the most part dealt with where the treatment here may be more complete.

19. Means of carriage.

Porterage, the employment of pack-animals for the carriage of burdens for building purposes and for trade (as we find in Central Africa), was common in early Egypt to the monuments. It was not altogether confined to local traffic. Under one of the Amenemhats of 28th cent. according to Fl. Petrie; but 210000 according to W. M. Müller 200 men with only 5000 were employed for carrying stone through the Nile. From the earliest times, however, the ass and the mule were in common use, and (especially the ass) formed the principal means of conveyance. They were employed for distant desert journeyings; cp the Egyptian pictures (under the 12th dyn.). The ox was apparently unbred and unused even to a late date in Egypt, but must have appeared early in Arabia, and the mule came much later; the horse was not used until the time of the Hyksos and then, for long, only for fighting and hunting; the mule from Pount was introduced towards 1000 B.C. (see ASS, CAMEL, HORSE, CATTLE, § 8; BABYLONIA, § 5; EGYPT, § 5). The carrying power of these animals was increased by the invention of pack-saddles, open litters (already known in the 4th dyn.), sleighs or draw-boards, and carriages with solid, and then with spoked, wheels. A chariot with horses appears in the Izdubar (Tib. 6) about 2000 B.C. Still less, however, was the wheel used in the present day, were the wheeled vehicles so common in distant carriage, which was mainly performed on the backs of animals (CHARTER, § 2). There were really no international roads for carriages till the time of the Empire. Carriage by water arose first in the Nile, and then on rivers and coasting (cp early legends). From these developed rowing boats, with which ventures were made up the Nile river-mouths into the sea; and so arose coasting in the Persian Gulf, the Levant, and the Red Sea. By the time of Thutmosis I. (about 1500 B.C.) the Queen Hatshepsut (EGYPT, § 53) the Egyptian developed elaborate ships with oars, rigging, and masts for the Punt voyages (cp Stupp). The ships of that dynasty were not mere fighting galleys; they were ports carrying considerable cargoes (Naville, *T. Deir el Bahari*, 3, with plates).

(h) Early trade consisted of barter, in which communities or states of culture exchanged their products for necessities or embellishments of life.²

20. Barter; value.

A superior civilisation met an inferior one, and the former paid for solid goods, as at the present day, with gaudy trinkets and ornaments, as for instance the Egyptians in their commerce with the negroes and other tribes whom they met in Punt³ (Naville, *op. cit.* 12*ff.*). Gradually, however, there arose common measures of value: e.g., cattle, slaves, or metals, especially precious metals.⁴ As among other early races

¹ For porterage in Babylonia, cp a letter of Hammurabi, *Beitr. z. Assyriologie*, 4, 474.

² In the East barter has always survived alongside developed systems of money and finance. Cp under C. *Beitr. z. Assyriologie*, 4, 420, § 9. Palgrave (*Central and Eastern Africa*, ed. 1883, p. 368) found barter more common 'in the Arabia . . . among the villagers, and even the poorer men, than purchase.'

³ For an account of curious methods of barter in this in Greek times, cp Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Christ. Topogr.*, Bk. I, by McCrindle, 62.

⁴ In the 4th mill. silver was used as currency in Babylonia, cp above, § 8, on Manî-tu-irba. In the time of Hatshepsut barter and money were extant; cp his letters above, note. For electron in Egypt and silver see EGYPT, vol. 2, col. 1223.

⁵ Habelson, *Les Origines de la Monnaie*; W. W. Fisher, *The Evolution of Modern Money*, Pt. II, especially chap. 2.

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is found in the records of Thutmosis III. (1503-1449).¹ Coats of mail do not appear in his reign till he takes 200 from the Canaanites at the sack of Megiddo. The Syrian chariots are the finer, and generally Syrian artisans appear more skilful and artistic than those of Egypt. Large numbers of them are transported to Egypt. In the same reign there are records of importations of grain into Egypt; these cannot all have been tribute (above, § 3 n. 3); also of oil, wine, honey, dates, incense, timber for masts and beams, and cattle.

It is in the period after Thutmosis III., however, that we obtain our fullest evidence of the commercial condition of Syria before Israel entered it. The

26. Amarna Letters.

Amarna Letters (1400 onwards) reveal, if by no more than the cuneiform script in which they are written, the already prolonged and close commercial intercourse between Babylonia and Egypt across Syria. Their contents are still more significant.² The kings of Babylonia and Egypt propose an exchange of the products of their lands. Gold is sent from Egypt to Babylonia, 'painted wood,' golden and wooden images, and oil. From Babylonia to Egypt come manufactured gold, precious stones, lapis lazuli, enamel, skins, wooden chariots, horses, and slaves. Some of these, of course, pass as presents between the kings; but that they are also articles of commerce is proved by the complaint of one of the Babylonian kings that his merchants (*dam-garu, dam-karu or tamkaru*; cp *Del. Ass. IIIB*, *Aram, taggar*, whence Arab. *tigir, taggiri* had been plundered in the territories of the Pharaoh. Letters from Asia, either Cyprus (Winckler) or the extreme N. of the Syrian coast (Petrie, WMM), tell of the exportation from that country of copper, bronze, ivory, ship-furniture, and horses to Egypt, and the receipt of silver, oil, and oxen. Merchants go from Asia to Egypt by ship; a writer begs the king of Egypt not to allow them to be injured by his tax-gatherers (no. 29). The king of Asia complains of the Lukki, a pirate people who disturb the Mediterranean, and invade his land (28). A prince of N. Syria sends slaves and begs for gold (36). The letters from Egyptian tributaries and officials in Palestine, during its invasion by the Hatti and Habiri, ask for wheat from Egypt for besieged towns and districts that have not been able to grow their own corn (cp the story of Jacob and Joseph); or report the sending of timber, oil (cp *Hos. 12* [1]), honey, cattle, and slaves. One letter (122) asks for myrrh as a medicine. Another (124), but obscurely, speaks of purple (21). Abd-hita of Jerusalem complains that he cannot prevent the plundering of the King of Egypt's caravans in Ajalon (180). Horses and asses are supplied to travellers (51), and provisions to the royal caravans (242) and troops (264, 270). One letter reports payment of '300 pieces of silver to the Habiri, besides the 1000 into the hand of the king's officer' (280). We read of no passage of glass either way, though glass had been known in Egypt from 3300 B.C. and was also made in Phoenicia from an early date. It was immediately after the period of the Tell-el-Amarna Letters - i.e. in the fourteenth century B.C. - that Kadasman-Harbe (BABYLONIA, § 57) of Babylon, being shut off from Haran and the upper Euphrates by Assyria, opened a direct route across the desert to Phoenicia (W. *Politische Entwickel. Bab. u. Assyriologie*, iv. 25).

Egyptian records confirm the frequent importation of slaves from Syria into Egypt, where the girls were prized in the harems, and, in addition to articles mentioned in the Amarna Letters, indicate that Syrian pottery and metal work were prized; also ointments for embalming.

¹ WMM, *Is. u. Eupr.* 24; Flinders Petrie, *HE 2* 145 ff.
² The following facts are taken from the German translation (with transliteration of the original into Roman characters) by Hugo Winckler, *Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna*, Berlin, 1890; for some corrections see Knudtzon in *Beitr. zur Assyriologie*, iv. 25.

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oils, wine, woollen cloths, and embroidered characteristics of Syrian clothing as depicted on monuments were embroidery, tassels, and fringe. This is an extremely interesting account of an expedition sent about 1100 B.C. by Her-hetu of dynasty 19 to Lebanon for cedar in one of the *Göteborgs (Recueil de Trav. 2174 ff.*; cp WMM, *As. u. Egypt.* Budge, *HE 6* 13 ff.).

II. TRADE ROUTES IN W. ASIA

We may now indicate the physical facilities for commerce in W. Asia, and trace the main lines of

28. Lines of trade: Egypt.

cross routes by land and sea. The eye at once marks the long and navigable rivers, the Nile and the Euphrates, the two long narrow seas with more or less level coasts, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf; while the most westerly point touched by the Euphrates, the fertile and well-populated country, passable on lines through Syria, stretches to the Nile Delta. One break of desert about six or seven days from Gaza to Pelusium. Inside all these lie the Arabian deserts, isolating the fertile Arabia F. from W. Asia; but even across these deserts, lines and valleys, in which, though there is no cultivation is practicable, render passage possible by land from the Indian Ocean to the Levant. The many routes along and across these natural lines we shall order as they lie from the south northward, and include the directions of traffic with India.

Egypt's inland trade, and her traffic with N. Sudan, and farther south, went up the Nile (Elephantine, 'ivory island') and Suêh. Aswân: 'commerce,' Erman, *op. cit.* 49, which exchanges were made with the barbarians is difficult,' says Erman (479). 'to find a word in language which means to travel; the terms *hont* = to go up stream, and *had* = to go down. The river flows northwards; but, as if in compensation, the prevailing winds are in the opposite direction. From Memphis by the Fayoum, or from the Assiout and other Nile-ports, caravans reach the western oases (*oasis* from Eg. *uab* = station).

So far as concerned the trade with Punt, the Red Sea, running nearly parallel for thousands of miles, and at one point 90 m. apart, wonderfully supplied each other's defects. As on the

29. Nile and Red Sea.

the prevailing winds in the Red Sea are from the in the upper half the N. wind seldom flags. Gulf of Suez is often stormy. The Egyptians, they divided their route from the Delta to Punt again between the river and the sea. Their southward was borne on the Nile¹ as far as K. and then struck E. over the desert about 900 m. to the mouth of the W. Gasûs,² a little N. both of the later Greek harbour Leukos and the modern el-Kosër (Erman, 586).

¹ Naville (*op. cit.* 16) points out that the pictures of Zepser's Punt expedition on Deir-el-Bahri, which show Punt goods arriving at Thebes by ship, suggest that there was an arm of the Nile in communication with the Red Sea at that time; and that the same ships carried cargo all the way to Thebes.

² To-day not Kafî (Koptos) but the neighbouring Koptos is the starting-place for el-Kosër.

³ The way is almost waterless (cp above, § 6), and the present writer knows it for only a day E. from Kench. The Red Sea was supplied with reservoirs by many Pharaohs (Budge, *HE 7* 75) and in Roman times. It is of interest to Major General Baird and his army took 10 days to el-Kosër to Kench (Anderson, *Journal of Seer. E. Egypt. and Eg.*, London, 1802, p. 457).

⁴ Also called Myos Hormos by the *Periplus*, 7, and by (see 424 xvii. 145), apparently through confusion with Hormos on the Gulf of Suez. Cp Agatharchides, *Periplus*, in *Geogr. Gr. Min.* 1167 ff. with Tab. VI. in A.

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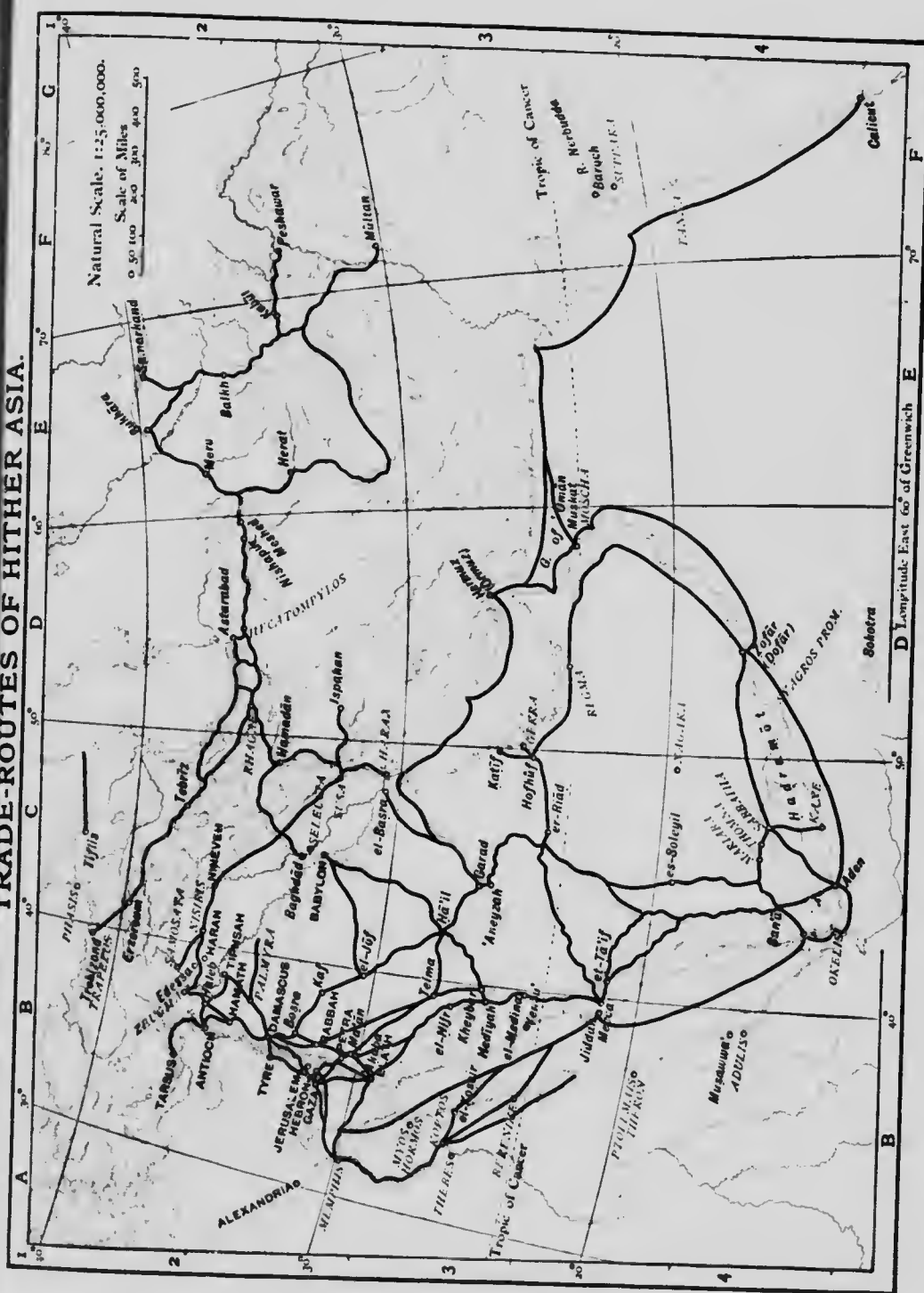
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Tab. VI, in Atlas

TRADE-ROUTES OF HITHER ASIA.



Walker & Co. London 1892

ENCYCLOPEDIA BIBLICA 1903.

MAP OF TRADE-ROUTES OF HITHER ASIA

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TRADE AND COMMERCE

Other harbours on the S. coast of the Red Sea were Myos Hormos at the mouth of the Gulf of Suez, about 120 m. from the Nile, probably used in the early period for sea traffic, more frequent than the land traffic, with Sinaï; the Ptolemaic Heracleion due E. from Syene but usually reached by catamaran from Koptos twelve days' journey according to Pliny (*H.V.*, 922); Ptolemais (ἡ παλαιὰ ἑρμopolis) according to Pliny (*H.V.*, 922); Massowah; Adulis (ἡ ἀδούλις) (*H.V.*, 923) near the modern Arabian coast just inside the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb (*ibid.* §§ 21 ff., 25 ff.).

If we reckon by the voyages of Arab dhows,² it would take the Egyptian ships about a month to sail from el-Kosër to the Straits of Bab-el-Manleb. Pliny (*H.C.*) gives thirty days from Berenike to Okelis, but Herodotus (211) only forty for the voyage down the whole Red Sea.⁴

In the Indian Ocean the routes down the E. coast of Africa and up the Arabian coast were known and mapped in Greek times. For the African coast see the Atlas to *Geogr. Gr. Min.* xii.

30. Indian Ocean. The Arabian coast route is described in the *Periplus*. From Okelis to Arabia Felix (Aden), to Moscha (Zofâr) and the Syagros promontory (Râs Fertak) would take at least a month, with probably twenty days more to the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Thus the whole voyage from 'Akabah or Suez to the mouth of the Persian Gulf cannot have occupied less than three months. Thence to the mouth of the Indus and down the Malabar coast the ports and distances are described in the *Periplus*. For the voyage direct from Okelis, 'ad primum emporium Indiar, Muzirim,⁵ Pliny (*H.V.* 626) gives forty days, and adds that a ship leaving Berenike about the end of July reached Muzirim about the middle of October, and leaving again in the end of December or January returned to Egypt within the year. The coasting voyage from Babylonia down the Persian Gulf, and so to the Indus, may be followed in the *Periplus* (§§ 35 ff.), or in Arrian's *Hist. Indica* (§§ 20 ff.).⁶

Coming now to Arabia, we find in the Mincan inscriptions hints, and in the Greek geographers' data, of the long trade routes, which traversed the peninsula.

Sprenger (*Alte Geogr. Arab.*, chap. 2) describes nine of these routes, with Ptolemy's map of Arabia; and Wüstenfeld (*Die von Medina auslauf. Hauptstrassen*, and *Die Strasse von Basra nach Mekka*; Göttingen, 1862 and 1867 with maps) has laid down the routes in the N. half of Arabia from the data of the Arabian geographers.

The principal roads were those by which frankincense was brought to Syria and Mesopotamia from the Sabaean country.

Pliny (*H.V.* 123 ed. Delph.) gives the distance from Thoma to Gaza as sixty-five daily marches for camels.⁷ The route led to Mecca, from remote antiquity a great centre of trade. There it divided. One branch turned NE. through Nejd to present pilgrim-route and again divided, one arm E. through el-Hasa to the ancient Tierra, or other port on the Bahrein Gulf,⁸ the other NE. towards Basrah. The main branch from Mecca continued N. to Meshan (whence a tolerably watered road

¹ M. Kench. For the route, past granite and porphyry quarries with Greek and Roman remains, see Baedeker's *Leg.*, 30. Myos Hormos, now Abu Sar el-Khidi, lay in the lat. of Memphis, and from there or Assiut was about 150 m. distant.

² Or Adulis (near Annesley Bay) the port for Axum, 120 m. distant; in the Ck. period the market for trade with Central Africa, much frequented by traders from Alexandria and the Euxine gulf.—Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Christ. Topogr.* (6th cent.), bk. II, ET by McTearle, 54.

³ Cf. Burton, *Pilgrimage to Aden, and Mecca*, chap. II.

⁴ This appears also to have been the datum of Timosthenes, the Ptolemaic admiral, in Pliny, *H.V.* 33 ed. Delph., where *in quatuordecim diebus quadraginta diebus*.

⁵ Muziris, on the Malabar coast, either Calicut, or more probably, Mangalore; see the *Periplus* and Ptolemy. For voyages to different ports in India, cf. Sprenger, *Alte Geogr.*, *Arab.*, 48 ff.

⁶ *Geogr. Gr. Min.*, ed. Müller, Paris, 1827, vol. i., 234 ff. 332 ff. with Tabl. XI. and XIII., XV.

⁷ Palgrave (144) gives his day's march as twelve to fourteen hours, at about 5 m. an hour, the ordinary pace of a riding camel. This seems even for such rather much, and freight camels certainly go more slowly.

⁸ Palgrave (166) gives the time for the Persian pilgrims from Abu-shâh (Bushire) across the gulf and through Nejd to Mecca as two months.

TRADE AND COMMERCE

strikes NE. by 'Aneyza¹ and the Lower Kaseem to Basra on the Euphrates) and Hur (Gaga),² where it divided into one NE. by el-Tema (Thaima), round the northern Nejd and along the Wady Sirhan to Bosra, or Damascus³ (or to Tadmor), and another NNW. to Ma'an, Petra, and Gaza; with a branch doubtless to Elah on the Gulf of 'Akabah. A Mincan inscription (classer, 1155; Halesy, 5:5) mentions a catamaran route from Ma'an to Ragmat, probably the OI RAAMAH (q. v.), either 'Prysa on the Persian Gulf or the seat of the *Ἰσθητιοῦ* of Strabo (xvi. 1:24) near Marûba in Sabaa. From Petra (Gera) on the Persian Gulf, one route swung round by Omân to the incense country on the S. coast; another crossed probably by el-Basra Nejd, and Lower Kaseem to Kheybat and Teyna for Syria (or from Kaseem crossed more directly by Hail and el-Jôf to Ma'an; Palgrave [p. 21] gives the distance from the Jôf to Ma'an at 200 m., as the crow flies). Forder (145) gives the present population of the Jôf at 4000 (?). The town is 2 m. long, 4 m. wide; three rainfalls annually; water-supply good from deep springs; warm sulphur springs; clothing, cooking utensils, coffee, etc., by caravan from Mecca, Baghdad, and Damascus. Another route across N. Arabia, probably used by Babylonian expeditions to Musri and Sinaï, led from the Euphrates to the Jôf and so by Ma'an to 'Akabah; but the longer route given above—Basra-'Aneyza-Teyna-'Akabah—was easier and less dangerous. On the S. easy routes connected the interior of the Mincan territory with the ports on the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. So much for Arabia.

We have now to trace the routes from Egypt across Syria towards Damascus for the Euphrates. Of these there are in the main four.

1. E. of Jordan.—The first, from the E. westward, left the Delta by Suez for Nakhil, on the plateau of Tih, and thence reached Elath at the head of the Gulf of 'Akabah,⁴ where it joined the routes S. and E. through Arabia. From 'Akabah it turned up the W. el-Him to the E. of Edom (Israel's track) and struck Ma'an (whence it crossed the route Mecca to Petra). From Ma'an it is ten journeys to Damascus (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 148); the present Hajj route keeps to the E. of Moab, to avoid the deep canons (for routes through Moab, see Moab, § 8) to Kal'at ez Zerkâ, on the upper waters of the Zerkâ, the biblicial Jablök. Thence it holds due N. to Rimthah and el-Muzerib, thence upon the west of the Lejâ to Damascus. An older branch struck from the Zerkâ NE. to Bosra (to which other routes came up from Arabia), Kanatha, and so by the E. of the Lejâ to Damascus.

2. Up the 'Arabah.—The second route, from Elath to Damascus, followed the great trench of the 'Arabah by the foot of Mt. Seir to the Dead Sea, and then up its west coast and the Jordan valley. This has great disadvantages in heat and want of water; but the traffic along it (at least as far as the Dead Sea) was considerable in the early Mohammedan period, and the same stretch of it may have been used by Jewish trade with Elath in the days of the Kings.

3. By Hebron.—A third line of road from Egypt through Syria—perhaps that called the way of Sittir (q. v., Gen. 16:7)—started from the middle of the Isthmus, struck E. through the desert till it crossed Jebel Maghârah,⁵ turned N. round J. Hail, crossed W. el-'Arish (from which onwards there are not a few wells and waterpits), passed el-Biron, Kullahleh, and Khalasa to Beer-sheba and Hebron (FAUCETT, § 20).

4. By maritime plain.—The fourth route left the Delta at Pelusium or some station near the present el-Kantara on the canal, for Rhinokhira (el-'Arish), Raphia, and Gaza—six to seven marches from the Delta.⁶ Thence by Ashdod up the Maritime Plain.

¹ So Doughty. For the mercantile qualities of the inhabitants, see Palgrave, 117 (Oneyza) v. Oppenheim [234], 'Oneyze.

² Or Median Sakh.

³ Palgrave. A description of the route between the Jôf and Bosra, along the W. Sirhan is given by Forder (*His. Caravans in Tent and Town*, chaps. 5-8). It is apparently 54 days from the Jôf to Hiera; thence four hours to Kâf, thence 6 days to Ormai, thence 1 to Bosra.

⁴ Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*; Trumhli, *Kadesh Barnea*; consult Palmer also for routes from Suez to Sinaï.

⁵ To the N. of Jebel Yeleq; see Drake Holland's Map, *ibid.*, 1854, p. 4.

⁶ Napoleon, *Guerre d'Orient: Campagnes d'Égypte et de Syrie*, vol. II.; Wittmann's *Travels*, i.: p. Archduke Sal-

Zeugma (SYRIA, § 6; TRADE, § 69)
Zofâr, D4

Rabbah, B2 (MOAB, § 9)
Regma, D3

Mecca, B3 (GAZELLE)
el-Medina, B3 (TRADE, § 31)

Hafirâmôt, C4, D4 (HAZARMAVETH)

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These four roads from Egypt to Syria were crossed by others from Arabia to the Levant and S. Palestine.

33. Cross- routes: Tih, Negob.

The direction of these, across the desert of Tih and the Negob, must have varied according to season and rainfall. This desert, so important both in the wanderings and in the trade of Israel, is in the main a high, hard plateau, the Plateau of Tih, bearing short, irregular ranges of hills, and is mostly barren, but its valleys contain alluvial soil. The rainfall in January and February is considerable, and then there is much grass. Perennial springs are infrequent; but in the longer wadies water can nearly always be had by digging. Horses may be taken everywhere, provided camels accompany them with water-skins for the long intervals between wells (Wilson, *PEF*, 1887, pp. 38 ff.). The ruins of vineyards and villages, with forts, in the NEGEB (*q. v.*) prove that it was once easy of traverse. The most inaccessible portion is immediately W. of the 'Arabah and S. of the Palestine frontier—some 60 m. N. and S. by 50 E. and W.—steep ridges, the home of the wildest of the Arabs of this region, the 'Azāzimeh. This part throws the roads between Palestine and the Red Sea to the W. and E. of itself. These naturally bend to the best sources of water, of which we may note the following:—'Ain el-Weibeh¹ in the Arabah, about 80 m. from Elath, and 30 from the Dead Sea; 15 m. N. 'Ain Hasb;² S. of the 'Azāzimeh country, well-watered wadies round the famous 'Ain Kādīs (KADĪSTI, 1); but this district is so shut off by Jebel Magrah and other hills that it is not visited by through roads; wells at Hathirah, Birem, el-'Aujeh, and elsewhere afford a well-watered line of travel N. and S. on which most of the routes converge; N. of the 'Azāzimeh country, 'Ain el-Mureidhah, W. el-Yemen, and Kurnuh. Taking these facts with the evidence of the ancient geographers and of travellers like Robinson, Palmer, Clay Trumbull, Holland, and Wilson, we can determine the following lines of traffic across the desert of Tih and the Negob.

1. The chief line of traffic is that which from the head of the Gulf of 'Akabah strikes NW. over the plateau of Tih to the conspicuous mountain 'Arāf en-Nakāh,³ and bending N. coincides near Birein with the trunk road from the middle of the Isthmus of Suez to Hebron. It leaves the trunk road again near Rūhābeh and strikes NW. on Gaza. For camels it is about eight days' journey by this route from 'Akabah to Gaza. To the E. of the S. half of it, but coinciding with its N. half, are several pilgrim routes between Sinai and Gaza much used in the Middle Ages;⁴ it is ten days from St. Catherine's Convent to Gaza.⁵

2. The route from Ma'an and Petra to the Negob descends by Petra and the W. el-Abyād, crosses the 'Arabah NW. to 'Ain el-Weibeh, and thence strikes up through the hills by several branches, the best known being that which leaves the 'Arabah a little to the N. of 'Ain el-Weibeh, passes 'Ain el-Mureidhah and 'Ain el-Khurau to the great mountain barrier, pierced by the Nakb el-Yemen, Nakb es-Sufāh (thought by some to be ZEPHRATH or HORMAH, through which Israel attempted Palestine from the S., Nu. 14:5 21:3 Dt. 1:44 Judg. 1:17) and Nakb es-Sufey.⁶ Still another pass to the W. of Nakb el-Yemen is said to carry a road to Gaza. On the high region to the N. of these passes the routes rejoin, and, passing a little to the E. of Kur-

vator, *Die Karawanenstrasse von Äg. nach Syr.* (Prague, 1879; F. I., London, 1871).

¹ Robinson, *BR* 2:500 ff.

² V. Kauter, *Palästina*, 480 ff.; Clay Trumbull, *Kadesh Barnea*, 207 etc.

³ Another branch strikes from 'Akabah up the 'Arabah, ascends the plateau by the W. el-Bevōch and joins the main road near W. el-Ghudāghid (Robinson), S. of J. 'Arāf en-Nakāh.

⁴ For a list see Robinson, *BR* 1:521 ff.

⁵ Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium*, and other mediæval travellers.

⁶ Large Map to Clay Trumbull's *Kadesh Barnea*.

TRADE AND COMMERCE

uh¹ and 'Ar'arah, the road divides into two Beersheba to Gaza, the other by Kh. el-Milh. By this road from Ma'an to the Negob supplies from Gaza and Hebron meet at Ma'an, and it is probable that from Hebron el-Weibeh and thence down the 'Arabah the carried the trade of the kings of Israel to Ezion-geber.²

3. Finally, there was a less important line from Gaza along the S. frontier of Palestine to the S. end of the Dead Sea to Kerak.

For the main and cross routes through Palestine itself, see PALESTINE, § 20, may be added the following

34. Palestine.

1. *From Dead Sea.*—The great 'Arabah the salt deposits at the S. end of the Dead Sea connected with Jerusalem by a route through Hebron, by another which left the Dead Sea and deployed up the W. Husāsah to Jebel (Herodium), or crossed W. Ghuweir and W. Jerfān struck NW. to Jerusalem. These are a very bad road. To-day the salt-preference to both, follow the Dead Sea to point N. of Engedi before striking up to Jerusalem.
2. *Across W. range.*—N. of the Dead Sea across the W. range were two: first, that which PALESTINE, § 20, by the Beth-horons, past sanctuary and market at Bethel, down to Jericho-Duk on one branch of this route is a Philistine station (DAGON, DOGUS) of the days Philistines commanded the traffic on this line also used by the Crusaders, who did not however for their traffic with Moab, Edom, and 'Akabah. *Les Colonies Françaises dans les XII. et XIII. ch. 9*); second, the road which, ascending N. Jaffa, crosses the watershed at Shechem in between Elah and Gerizim, and descends the Kerād and Fārah to the ford at el-Damieh, trading Philistines also used this route is the presence to the E. of Shechem of a Beit i. e. Beth-Dagon. So also Vespasian marched (iv. 81).

Carmel was turned by four routes N. from (1) The most westerly follows the coast; it crosses the Phœnician settlements S. of Carmel, and in later times with Ptolemais, (2) A road from the N. end of Sharon and strikes N. by Subla E. of Carmel to Tell Kōmūn; it is the shortest from Egypt to Tell Kōmūn; (3) It leaves Sharon at Kh. es-Sunrah, strikes NE. W. 'Arāh to 'Ain Ibrahim and enters Esdras-Lejjūn (Megiddo), from which roads branch to reth, Tiberias, and, by Jezreel, to Beth-shan Jordan. (4) The fourth leaves Sharon by the Nār, emerges on the plain of Dothan, and Esdras on Jenn (En-gannim); for the Jordan and the road to Damascus across Haurān it is than the route by Lejjūn (cp Gen 38:25). Crossroads and their significance see *HG* 150 ff.

35. Sharon to Esdraslon.

The valleys of S. Galilee, disposed E. and W. some of the most famous roads of Palestine, started from Akko (PTOLEMAI 36. S. Galilee. One struck SE. by another Dagon, climbed to Sepphoris, passed near N. and descended by the W. esh-Sharrār to the Roman bridge, Jisr el-Mijāmī, the main road to the trans-Jordanic provinces. (2) It crossed by the valley N. of Sepphoris and descended to Tiberias. (3) Another climbed E. from W. Wasriyeh, held along the foot of Upper G. Ramah, from which one branch descended to

1 The biblical Tamar. See § 50.

2 So too, perhaps, ran one of the Roman roads Hebron and Elath.

3 Hook of the Crusading Chronicles (*l. c.*, *P. l'histoire Guerre Sainte*, 1897, ll. 3927, 4071); now Tell Da'ouk

COMMERCE

... into two, one N. of Kh. el-Milli to Hebron. The Negeb pilgrims and on meet the Hajj at from Hebron to An Arabah the same road of Israel to Elath or

... important line of traffic of Palestine and round erak.

... routes through Palestine STINE, § 20, to which the following:—

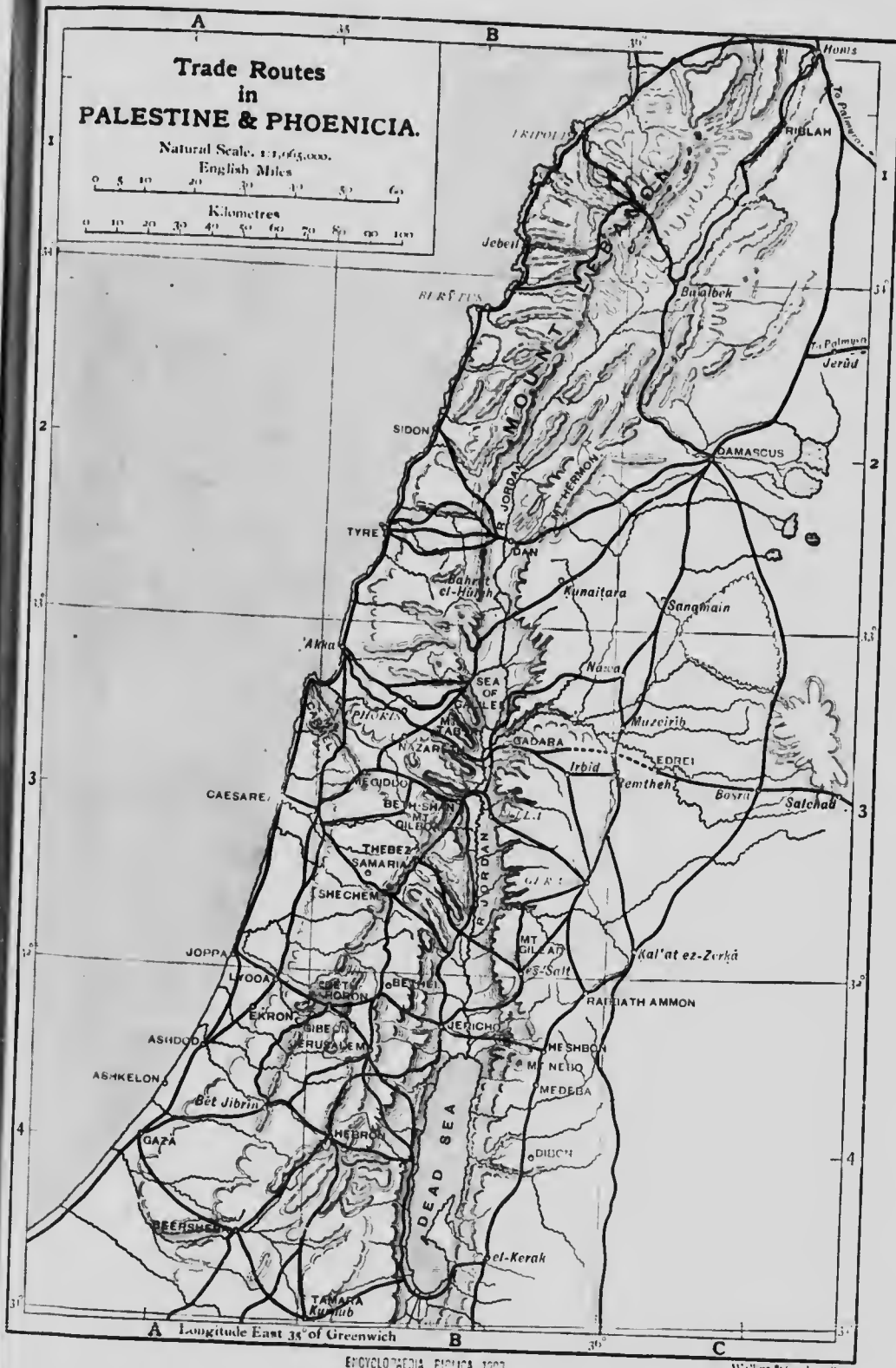
... at 'Arakib road and of the Dead Sea were te through el-Milli and e Dead Sea at Engedi ash to Jebel Fureidis muwir and ascending elem. The second of y the salt-carriers, in Dead Sea coast to a y up to Jerusalem.

... e Dead Sea the routes e Dead Sea the routes past, that mentioned in orons, past the great own to Jericho; 'An route is probably a of the days when the e on this line (it was did not hold Gaza, n, and 'Akaba; Rey. II. et XIII. Sikkh; ascending NW from shechem in the pass eends the wadies el-Damieh. That the route is certified by m of a Beit Dejan — asian marched (17

... es N. from Sharon. coast; it connected elements S. and N. later times Caesar a (2) A road leaves N. by Subbarin and is the shortest line ties. (3) Another strikes NE. up the enters Esdraclon at is branch to Naza Beth-shan and the iron by the W. An dothan, and enters the Jordan valley (Lauran it is shorter a 3825). On these 150 ff.

... E. and W., carried Palestine. These (PTOLEMAIS). (1) by 'another Beth- ed near Nazareth, air to the Jordan at the main Roman ces. (2) Another oris and descended d E. probably by of Upper Galilee descended to join a

... oman roads between ... E. Palestine to Tell Da'ouk or Bank.



TRADE AND COMMERCE

N. and S. trunk road at Capernaum, whilst a second proceeded by Safed to the present Bridge of the Daughters of Jacob across Jordan. These are probably the roads reflected in the parables of Jesus (*II G 425 ff.*). The most northerly is the most natural (or easiest) route for traffic from the sea-coast to Damascus (PTOLEMAIS, § 3).

More difficult roads, however, crossed the highlands behind Phœnicia:—(1) from Tyre, by Burj el-Alawei through the valley near Abrikha (where pavement is still found) down to the N. of Rabb Thelathin, across the Hāshāny to Bāniās; (2) from Tyre, or (3) from Sidon, to the elbow of the Lātāny and so down to the Hāshāny bridge and Bāniās. The importance of these roads is testified by the lines of crusading castles upon them.

On the E. of Jordan (N. of Moab) the cross-routes are best illustrated by the position of the cities of

38. E. of Jordan. DECAPOLIS (*q.v.*). From the Jordan opposite Scythopolis (Bethshan) start three roads:—(1) one to the S. by Pella (with a variation a little to the N.) and thence SE. over the hills of Gilead (by the lost Dion) to Gerasa and Philadelphia (with branches). (2) A second climbed to Gadara, and thence along the ridge to Abila of the Decapolis, and by Abila to Kanatha or by Edrei to Bosra and Jebel Hamān. (3) A third climbed from the E. coast of the Lake of Galilee by Hippos (Susiya opposite Tiberias) and crossed Jaulan and Hamān by Nawa (with variants) to Damascus. To the N. of these ran other two: (4) from the Bridge of the Daughters of Jacob by el-Kuneirah, and (5) from Bāniās by Keft Hawar—both to Damascus.

The lines of trade through N. Syria from Damascus and Phœnicia to the Euphrates are determined by the desert, the long parallel lines of hills, and the Orontes valley. The shortest

39. N. Syria. route from Damascus to Mesopotamia is NE. by the Bahayra or TADMOR oasis; but its difficulties, due to the want of water and the wild character of the nomads, diverted the main volume of traffic through the settled country to the E. of Jebel Ansāriya. Here the road from Damascus struck due N. on the E. of Anti-libanus, by Riddāh, Hemesa (Homs), Hadrach, to Hamath (Hamāt), where it was joined by a road from the Phœnician coast up the Leontes and down the Orontes valleys. From Hamath the routes were two: one NE. to Tiphah ('Thapsacus'), 'the ford,' on the Euphrates; the other, and more frequent, N. by Halwan (Haleb, Aleppo) and Arpad (Tell Arfad) to Carchemish (Jerābis), a great sanctuary and market.¹ From this rafts descended the Euphrates to Babylon, and a road travelled E. by HARAN [*q.v.*] (Harrān),

40. Assyria: again a famous sanctuary and market, and Nisibis (Nasibin) to the Tigris at Nineveh. On Carchemish and Harrān converged routes from Asia Minor and Armenia; upon Nineveh from Armenia by the Upper Tigris and from the Caspian by the Greater Zab and other valleys. On the Mesopotamian routes with their extensions into Asia Minor, Persia, and farther E., see below §§ 58 (Persian Imperial roads), 63 (Greek), and 69 (Roman). The Euphrates is navigable for 1200 m. from its mouth, and is said to be, as high up as its junction with the Khābir, 18 ft. deep, a depth that sometimes falls, lower down its course, with the dissipation of its waters, to 12 ft. (Rogers, *Hist. of Bab. and Ass.* 1271 ff.). The Tigris, much more rapid, and of more uncertain volume, is less fitted for navigation; but to-day small steamers proceed as far up as Baghdād, and boats even to Mōsul (Nineveh).² The convenience of Babylonia

¹ See map to ASSYRIA, between cols. 352 and 353.
² From Mōsul to Baghdād, by raft down the Tigris, takes from five to six days according to the state of the river; from Baghdād to Mōsul a caravan takes twenty to twenty-two days (*The Pioneer*, May 29, 1902).

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for trade through Ham with the interior (already been noticed. For the land routes to Babylon, see Lassen, *Indische Alterth.* 2529; for the ancient sea route, Arrian, 20 ff. For both under Babylonians, Persians and Romans, see below, §§ 56, 58, 63, 71).

III. HISTORY OF TRADE IN ISRAEL

In Part I. (§§ 1-27) we have surveyed the intricate system of commerce which prevailed

41. Periods. W. Asia by the close of the second millennium B.C. On their settlement in between 1300 and 1150 B.C., Israel came in with this system upon two of its most crowded pathways through Syria: between the Nile, and between Arabia and the Before we follow the details of their graduation in this system, we have to examine (1) the conditions which they brought with them, or adopted from the Canaanites, in order to discover what re- trade these may contain (§ 42 f.). We (2) the Judges (§ 46 f.); (3) the early monarchy to Solomon (§§ 48-51); (4) the divided kingdom of the ninth century (§§ 51-53); (5) the centuries till the fall of Jerusalem in 53-57; (6) the exile and Persian Period till (§§ 58-62); (7) the Greek Period (§§ 63-67) the Roman Period till the destruction of by Titus (§§ 68-81).

It is interesting that the earliest Hebrew trade primitive man are—with a few doubtful excep-

42. Early destitute of references to trade, n found those in W. Asia in gene traditions. According to JE passages in chapters of Genesis, the founders of civilisation hunters, shepherds, tillers of the soil, inventors of weapons and musical instruments, and builders of cities. There is no recognition of a special class of men, nor is there any reflection of such in Israel's conceptions of the Deity. This agrees with the of an examination of other religions (§§ 23-27). of the stories, however, appear to take for granted the existence of commerce among early men. As Egypt the weaponsmith himself carried his goods for sale (§ 12), so the Knin of Gen. 4, perhaps 'forger,' is the founder of the first city—*i.e.*, a centre of trade (see CAINTTES, § 5 f.)—and possible to trace the mixed story of the Kain of —an agriculturist who became a wanderer—to other sources) an attempt to describe the commerce; for, except for commerce, agriculturists not take to travel (but see CAM for other explanations). Again, some reflection of Babylon's early position world market has already (§ 10) been suggested by the story of the tower of Babel. Whatever significance this respect we assign to such traditions—; doubtful exceptions alluded to above—we may the fate imputed to Babylon a symptom of that of building and of cities which marks the unsophisticated nomad, and is observable among the desert-bred people of Israel to a comparatively late period (*e.g.* in A

The tales of the fathers of Israel assign to the an Aramaean origin—that is to say, among a people in a land in which trade flourished from an early period (§ 16). mercantile pursuits are imputed to the patriarchs; but these take for granted the existence in their days of a developed commerce (*e.g.* 20 16, '1000 silver pieces'; 24 22, 'shekels' as well as the position of the 'cities of the plain' on a known knot of traffic at the S. end of the Decapolis the importance of Zoar as a trading centre in Mohammedan and crusading times: MOAB, § 6, an assumption which the data given in Part I. (e.g. 2-20) assure us is not anachronistic. A price

the interior of Asia has
land routes from India
the *Alterthumskunde*,
Arrian's *Indica*, §§
ans, Persians, Greeks,
8, 63, 71.

IN ISRAEL

surveyed the vast and
h prevailed throughout
e of the second millen-
settlement in Palestine,
rael came into contact
its most ancient and
between the Euphrates
bia and the Levant,
their gradual engage-
examine (1) the tradi-
tion, or adopted from
ver what reflection of
(2). We shall then
rael's own trade under
early monarchy (Saul
ided kingdom till the
(3); (4) the eighth and
Jerusalem in 586 (§§
Period till 332 B.C.
(§§ 63-67); and (5)
uction of Jerusalem

Hebrew traditions of
ubful exceptions—as
to trade, as we have
sia in general to be
passages in the early
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class of merchants;
in Israel's earliest
rees with the results
(§§ 23-27). Certain
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ekels' as weights;
plain' on a well-
of the Dead Sea;
ng centre in early
MOAB, § 9) an
Part I. (esp. §§
A price paid to

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Abraham is estimated in the most primitive forms of
currency, cattle and slaves (Gen. 20:14; cp 21:27,
perhaps as blackmail). A wife is purchased with
precious metals, in the form of ornaments (24); a kid
is given as a harlot's wage (38:17); and silver is paid
by Jacob's sons for corn in Egypt, and also by the
Egyptians till it fails, when the price is paid first in
cattle and then in land (47:14 ff.). Thus the JE stories
of the Patriarchs present us with instances of practically
every stage in the primitive evolution of money.

The passage of Israel northwards to Palestine
brought them along and across ancient and much-

44. Arrival
of Israel.

whilst the traditions of their early con-
quests and settlements in Palestine relate
their inheritance of the fruits of the rich Babylonian-
Egyptian trade which, as we have seen (§§ 25-27),
filled Syria on the eve of their arrival. Cp 'the gossily
Babylonish mantle,' '200 shekels of silver,' and 'the
gold ingot of 50 shekels' among the spoil of Jericho
(Josh. 7:21, JE), and the Dt. tradition that besides the
fruits of the long-developed agriculture of Palestine the
incoming Israelites inherited 'houses full of all goods'
(Dt. 1:10 f., Josh. 24:13 Neh. 9:25).

Yet these accounts abstain from asserting that Israel
at the same time entered on the carrying trade of

45. Distance
from sea.

None of the tribes reached the
sea coast except Asher, and the probably
sarcastic reference in Deborah's song (Judg. 5:9) to his
'creeks' (AV 'braeches') is borne out by the harbour-
less character of the coast between Aecho (held by the
Phoenicians) and Räs en-Nakûrah. The fact is that,
down almost the entire length of Israel's history, a belt
of foreign territory separated the people from the sea:
nor did the spectacle of the sea, breaking on what was
generally a lee shore, and entirely without natural
harbours, excite any temptation to reach it. The first
coast town taken by Israel was Joppa, and that not till
144 B.C. In Hebrew literature down to exile times
and even later, the sea is only used (1) for the W.
horizon, (2) as a symbol of arrogance against God (Is.
17:12 ff. and Ps.), and (3) as a means to attempt
escape from him (Am. 9:3; Jonah). The word for
harbour in (the late) Ps. 107:30 is a general term for
'refuge': in Hebrew there is no word for 'port,' and the
later Jews had to borrow one from the Greeks—*limen*
(see *lit.* ch. 7). Even if Ps. 107 refers to Israelites,
it describes merchants, not sailors. It is remarkable
that even to this day Jews, who have risen to eminence
in every other department of the life of nations among
whom they have settled, have never been known to
fame as admirals or ship-captains, and are very seldom
found as sailors (so far as the present writer knows,
only in the Black Sea).¹

Inland waters.—As for inland waters: the Dead Sea
was not navigated till the time of the Romans; there
were only fishing boats on the Lake of Galilee;² and on
the Jordan only a ferry (2 S. 19:19 [18]) or two [cp Ford].
Boats on the Jordan are not mentioned till the Talmud.

Early Israel was not so wholly shut off from the lines
of land traffic which traverse Palestine. The Canaan-

46. Land
traffic.

ites continued to hold positions command-
ing these—like Bethshan,³ and even others
(sometimes in a line) across the Western
(Gezer, Gibeon, Jerusalem); while the Philistines
entered on possession of Gaza and the S. end of the
maritime plain. Still the *connumium* which Israel
indulged in with Canaanites (Judg. 3:5 f., 'substantially
J.' Moore) and Philistines (Samson) certainly proves

¹ Jos. (B/iii. 92) mentions Jewish pirates at Joppa. There
was a Jewish naval officer in the U.S. civil war; *Spectator*,
Jan. 1, 1901.

² And in Greek times galleys. Cp the galley on some of the
coins of Gadeira.

³ The list in Judg. 1 contains a number of towns on the main
routes.

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commerce. The possession of old Canaanite sanctuaries
on the cross-routes would carry with it the superiority
of the markets connected with them (§ 24); thus we find
Ephraim at Shechem, or the neighbouring Gilead (Judeyah),
Benjamin at Bethel, and Judah at Hebron—one of the
great markets for the desert. But other tribes gradually
settled across the chief lines of through traffic—Issachar,
Zebulun, and Dan; and these are the only tribes to
whom any portion of OT literature that can be called
early, appears to assign any international trade.
Issachar, on Eschelon, is described as the guardian
of some great fair (Dt. 33:15 f.; ISSACHAR, § 2);
and Zebulun farther W. as commanding the coast-
trade (Gen. 49:13 Dt. 33:19; ZEBULUN); while some
interpret Deborah's reference to Dan of their con-
nection at Laish with Sidon (cp DAN, § 3). However
that may be, Dan's position there commanded one
great line of traffic N. and S. and another E. and W.
Further, it is interesting that some of the battles and
expeditions under the Judges were on the line of these
and other ancient lines of traffic—Esdrachon, Dan,
Jericho (3:12 ff.), and the route from Jordan into Arabia,
Succoth, Joghbehah, on which it is Ishmaelites with
ear-rings of gold (in other words traders, whom
Gideon defeats (8; cp 7: 24). There is, too, a possible
mention of pearls (*mg.* 27: 1, 26; cp Moore's note, p. 233),
as well as one of purple (?). In 10:12 are mentioned the
Minonites, probably the Minaeans; even if we should
read with B Midian, it is traders who are meant.
Along with these, the reference to the disturbance of
travel in the land in Judg. 5:12, 6 f.) must not be over-
looked. It is interesting to note the distinction already
observed between trading and non-trading communities
in the case of Laish (187). Laish on a small scale
illustrated the military carelessness which rendered (e.g.)
the great trading dynasties of Babylonia so easy a prey
to the nomadic hordes who conquered them.

The elements of trade in the period of the Judges
must have been simple; still, we are not warranted by

47. The
Judges.

the data in minimising them. Salt would
come from the Dead Sea, and asphalt; fish
from the coast towns. That the useful metals
came from the outside is clear both from their absence
from Israel's earlier possessions and from the Philistine
policy (1 S. 13:19) of banishing them from among them the
smiths. That is to say, metal-work was not familiar to
the Israelites themselves; it was probably pursued, as
in so many parts of Syria and Arabia at the present
day, by certain nomadic families. A little gold, prob-
ably in the shape of small rings and other ornaments,
would be bought from the Arabian caravans (Judg. 8
and 10 as above); and silver pieces are mentioned
(9:4 16:5 17:2 ff. 10). In exchange, the Hebrews could
give their surplus wool and oil, figs, raisins, and perhaps
wine (Judg. 9:13; cp the early use of the phrase 'every
man under his own vine and fig tree': 1 K. 5:5).¹
But the foreign character of the international trade of
this period is seen in the use of gentile names for
merchants alluded to above (§ 13) and in the meaning
of the earliest Hebrew terms for trader (*772* and *525* =
traveller).²

It is usually assumed by modern writers that Solomon
was the real father of trade in Israel; yet the conditions,

48. Early
monarchy.

actual symptoms, and consequences of a
considerable commerce are present from
the very beginning of the monarchy—
which by all W. Asian analogies, would itself be suffi-
cient proof of the organisation and rapid increase of
Israel's trade. The Philistines not only held the main
line of commerce between Egypt and Phoenicia-
Babylonia; their encounters with Israel at Michmash
and Gilboa (cp Bêt Dejan E. of Shechem, and Dagon
near Jericho, § 34) appear to imply a struggle for the

¹ Cp Eibl, *Die sozialen Verhältnisse der Israeliten*, 12.

² Note the sanctuary as the treasury, and the hire of mer-
cenaries (Judg. 9:4).

TRADE AND COMMERCE

cross-routes to the E. as well. In connection with Saul's earlier successes over the Philistines on one of these routes, David's praise of him, that 'he brought up adorning of gold on the garments' of the daughters of Israel (2 S. 124) is very significant.

In W. Asia the rise of a power like David's always means an intentional increase of commerce, of which a very good illustration is found in Palgrave's description of the policy of Telai-ila-Rasheed of Hayil, who by the security of his dominions and the surrounding desert, by liberal offers to merchants at a distance, and the introduction of good commercial families, created a considerable external trade among his people (*Central and E. Arab.*, 93-112-133 [ed. 1883]). David united, pacified, and partly organised all Israel; finally threw off the Philistine yoke (and perhaps carried his power into Philistia itself); subdued the Canaanites who had hitherto held several of the towns in Hebrew territory; and founded a capital whose population must (as Bull points out, p. 16) have been dependent on commerce for their livelihood. He stamped shekels used in weighing (2 S. 146), which we may take as evidence of other regulations of commerce. The considerable number of foreign names among his servants is partly significant of trade; but if they were all military mercenaries, we have seen (§ 11) that in W. Asia the substitution of such for a native militia (ARMY, § 41) — and this is the first appearance of mercenary troops in Israel (yet cp Judg. 94) — was always the consequence of an increase of trade. David subdued Moab, Ammon, and Edom (with command of the SE. trade routes); extended his influence as far N. as Hamath (DAVID, §§ 7-9); and made an alliance with Hiram of Tyre, with whose help he built a royal house of stone and cedar. On these data, some of which are conclusive, we may assume that in David's reign trade in the real sense of the word had already begun to grow in Israel.

It was under Solomon, however, that, as in the building of the temple so in the organisation of a considerable commerce, the full consequences of David's policy were first realised. The mixed and unen edited records of the

reign of Solomon [q.v.] have behind all their later additions the facts, not only of an increase of wealth in Israel (1 K. 313), which was comparatively enormous, but also of foreign enterprises and of internal provisions for trade which can alone account for such increase. David's alliance and commerce with Hiram of Tyre were continued. Whatever historical value be assigned to the story of the Queen of Sheba's visit to Jerusalem (1 K. 101-13), there is at the bottom of it at least the fact of a land trade with the S. of Arabia; whilst the inherent probability of the record of voyages down the Red Sea (on the state of the text of 1 K. 928-1011 see Benzinger) is obvious from Solomon's position between Phœnicia and Arabia and the command which his father's conquest of Edom gave him of the route to Elath. Without Solomon's aid the Phœnicians could not have voyaged from the Gulf of Akaba to Ophir. That the sailors and ships are described as Phœnician, not Israelite, proves that the story has not been at least wholly idealised by later writers. If Ophir, as is most probable, lay on the S. coast of Arabia (see OPIRI), three months would amply suffice for the voyage there, and the expedition would be back within a year; the datum of the record that a voyage was made only every third year is another symptom of the absence of exaggeration. It is, indeed, a difficulty with many scholars that the small kingdom of Israel had too little to furnish in exchange for the vast and valuable imports described as coming from Ophir; and the reporters are at a loss to name the gifts from Solomon to the Queen of Sheba in return for hers to him (1 K. 1013). But it must be

¹ The most recent proposal for Ophir is the Malay peninsula, where there are ancient and deserted gold mines. See *The Pilot*, Oct. 1902.

TRADE AND COMMERCE

kept in mind that the king of all Israel could pay in the assurance of security for Phœnician traffic across his dominions, and this service, and Israel's surplus coin and 525 (11); 20,000 kor of wheat and 20,000 annually to Hiram and perhaps wool, felled value of the timber and other imports from Solomon paid the balance in land (1 K. 911 (77) thinks it doubtful that the expedition were undertaken for trade. But for could they have been undertaken? Euphrat and Babylonian expeditions to distant no other aim (§ 8, third note). We have some products of Europe were in Babylonia 1400 B.C.; the Phœnician ships may have carried others to Ophir. There were also Syrian corn, the Syrian woven robes, the Tyrian Phœnician modifications of Babylonian art, weapons and perhaps silver; whilst we seen (§ 20) that the early Egyptians exchange (as civilised peoples do to this day among tribes) for the valuable products which the the markets of Egypt. Solomon's servants done the same with the unsophisticated Ophir; and we have seen that dates and wheat still imported to the S. coast of Arabia (§ 1028 f. records Solomon's trade in horses, restored from ² is to be read: 'The export for Solomon was out of Musri and Kue; the the king brought them out of Kue for a price, the N. Syrian state of that name (MIZRAIM, § is Cilicia (see CITY 1A, § 2). Horses came from in W. Asia; probably first from Asia Minor. The Hebrew text which introduces them to Pal Egypt, is impossible; horses were not introduced Egypt nor were the pastures there sufficient for and rearing them for export. Yet notice that in 101. 1716 which implies that some horses came from Egypt. 1 K. 1015 (see Benzinger, for

50. Duties, etc. text states that Solomon derived his wealth from tolls levied on transit trade between Arabia and the Levant. 815 ff. as is probable, of post-Solomonic therefore reflect the evils of a monarchy alienated, it is notable that nothing is said, not taxes imposed on native Israelites, of one in trade. But this will only mean that, as in Egypt (§ 11) and partly in Hayil, when Palgrave was 1863, the trade of Israel was directly carried king himself through his servants; it was not enterprise but part of the royal administration. 1028 'the dealers of the king'. Further, he said to have 'built' or fortified cities on trade (917 f.): 'Gezer, Beth-horon the nether, Beer-sheva, Tamar in the wilderness, and all the store-houses; cp CITY [f], STORE-CITIES) which had.' TAMAR (q.v.) is most probably Tamar S. of Judah, on the route to Petra or Elath signs of Solomon's far-spread commercial influence his alliance with Egypt, which carried with possession of Gezer that commands more than of traffic (31 ff. 917 f.); the description of his lands stretching from Euphrates ('the crossing') of Euphrates, to Gaza (424 [24]), with dominion the kings beyond the river, which can only be commercial influence; and the datum 'the entrance Hamath' (865) — i.e., the issue from Israel to the Lebanon towards the most important mart in Syria. There is no allusion to trade in Solomon's prayer

¹ After W. *AT Untere*, 162 ff.; cp MIZRAIM, § 2 a § 1 (3); and, on the other side, CHARIOT, § 4, col. 226 n. 1 K. 1028 f. see also *Ort. Bib.*, and cp SOLOMON, § 21. ² Kittel also touches the MT; but, like Benzinger, appears to some to be almost too moderate. Cp SOLOMON 'the singular statement' in 1 K. 1014 f., and C. That 277 should be read instead of 277 is undeniable.

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all Israel could always unity for the Aramaean nations, and that when us coin and oil (1 K. and 20,000 bath of oil wool, failed to meet the imports from Phoenicia, and (1 K. 10:11). Build expeditions to Ophir But for what else? Early Egyptian to distant lands had We have seen that Babylonian shops may have carried these also Syrian dates, and the Tyrian purple, and bylonian and Egyptian; whilst we have also ans exchanged tinkers day among barbarians s which they found in's servants may have sophisticated natives of plates and weapons are Arabia (§ 5). 1 K. in horses. The text 'The export of horses d Kne; the dealers of for a price.' MISTR MIZRAIM, § 2 a); Kue ses came from N. to S. Asia Minor into Syria, them to Palestine from re not indigenous in sufficient for breeding et notice the referenc e horses came to Israel izing, for the correct Solomon derived port on tolls levied on the the Levant.² If i S. Solomonic date, and archy already experi is said, among the s, of one imported for at, as in early Egypt algrave was there in ctly carried on by the ; it was not private ; administration (cp 1 K. Further, Solomon's ities on trade routes ether, Hazath, and d the store-cities (77 RES) which Solomon ably Tamara to the ra or Elath. Other mercial influence are carried with it the s more than one line sion of his dominion crossing') on the N. h dominion over all can only mean com- the entering in of n Israel between the nt mart in N. Syria on's prayer to Yahwe

TRADE AND COMMERCE

(ch. 8); but in the exigencies of foreign trade, and the introduction of guilds or groups of foreign merchants we may see the cause of the multiplication of altars to strange gods in Jerusalem, especially Phoenician, Moabite, and Ammonite (2 K. 23:17). With this compare the universal custom illustrated in §§ 21-24. [CP SOLOMON, §§ 4, 8 /]
 In David's and Solomon's time the land trade of N. Syria as far S. as Damascus was already in the hands of the Aramaeans (as we have seen, and therefore unlikely to rest content under the commercial supremacy which, as we saw above (§ 49, on 1 K. 4:24 and 8:65), Solomon had established as far as Hamath and the Euphrates. It was, therefore, from the Aramaeans that the first blow came to Solomon's wide empire (11:23); and this happened even before he had passed away. The disruption of the kingdom after his death would cause a further shrinkage of Hebrew trade from its distant extremities, as well as lead to a severe competition between Israel and Judah for the possession of so much of it as covered Palestine. In this the N. kingdom had all the advantage: in its neighbourhood to Aram and Phoenicia, the possession of Gilead and of all the routes across W. Palestine—even that by Ajalon, Bethoron, and Bethel, which lay just within its S. frontier, Bethel and Dan, and even Jericho, with entrance to Moab and the SE. routes, were thus in its possession. Against all this Judah, already impoverished by the invasion of Shishak, had almost nothing to offer; and Basha of Israel sought by the building of Ramah to create a blockade against his southern neighbours (15:16 f.). It was Judah's constant effort to push this frontier N. beyond Bethel (see *HG*, ch. 12, 'The History of a Frontier'). During peace with Israel Jehoshaphat attempted to resume Solomon's trade with Ophir; but his ships were wrecked at Ezion-geber (22:47). These commercial ambitions had been started by Omri's commercial alliances with Tyre (in connection with which the capital of N. Israel was removed across the watershed to Shomeron, on the W. ish-Shar, with its issue to the coast [16:24]; the site was purchased by Omri for two talents of silver), and with Damascus (20:14); and but for Jehoshaphat's unfortunate the extent of Solomon's trade from the N. Euphrates to the mouth of the Red Sea might have been recovered. In 2 K. 5:17 mules, hitherto described only as used in riding (2 S. 18:9, etc.), are mentioned as beasts of burden. The revolution of Jehu meant the triumph of the Puritan party in Israel, who detested the foreign idolatries which the commercial alliances of Omri's dynasty had introduced; and Israel's trade must have slunk with Jehu and then collapsed under the weight of the Aramaean invasions, which, with the instincts of that race, followed the great lines of traffic by Dothan (2 K. 6:13), and Aphek in Sharon (1 K. 20:26-32 2 K. 11:17), to Philistia (2 K. 12:17), and even included a siege of Samaria itself (2 K. 6:24 f.).
 Meritume the Assyrians were gradually robbing the Aramaeans of the trade through N. Syria. Ramman- (Abdi-nirari III. (see ASSYRIA, § 32) had reached the Mediterranean and besieged Damascus by the end of the ninth century. His successor opened the roads towards the Caspian and Iran. Nineveh's central position had already made her the political capital (§ 121); by 820 B.C. Syria was, therefore, now in communication with Central Asia, under the shield of one political power—the invariable cause of a great increase of commerce. Tiglath-pileser III. (745 f.) and his successors were to confirm and extend this empire to the Persian Gulf

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(over Babylonia), to the borders of Egypt and into Arabia, all before the end of the eighth century; and by 970 Esarhaddon had taken Memphis. Thus, for the first time since the fifteenth century, W. Asia lay under one political power, yet the *lingua franca* which prevailed throughout was not that of her conquerors but of the Aramaeans (§ 15). For the internal business of Assyria at this time, see Johns, *Ass. Tablets and Documents* (London, 1901), a large collection chiefly of seventh century; also *KT* 1:109 = 7:111 f.
 The advance of Assyria in the ninth century enabled N. Israel not only to recover her lost territories from Aram, but also, along with Judah, to revive her trade and carry it, through the long contemporary reigns of Jeroboam II. and Pzzah, to a pitch of wealth and luxury which the Hebrews had not before reached. The economic difference between the time of Elshah (died about 797) and Amos (fl. *ca.* 755) is vast; and the annals of the two kingdoms in the interval enable us to explain it. Amaziah of Judah (of once more defeated Elah in 2 K. 11:7); and Jeroboam II. restored N. Israel's influence from the entering in of Hamath to the Dead Sea and in Damascus (14:25). Pzzah took Gath (2 Ch. 26:6), subdued the Arabians of Gath and the Memun (2: 7), fortified the roads on the S. frontier of Judah (2: 10), and held Elath (2 K. 11:22). The Hebrew prophets from Amos onward bear witness to an extraordinary increase of trade, and to the tempers which grew with it. There is in all of them proof of the widening geographical knowledge and acquaintance with the internal life of other peoples which commerce brings. Amos himself was probably a wool-seller as well as a wool-grower, and, Judaeo as he was, learned the state of the N. kingdom by his journeys to its markets, especially Bethel.¹ He condemns its covetousness and zeal for trade, which threatened the new means and suburbs insulated among the people when they were almost purely agricultural (8:4 f.). Hosea calls Israel a very 'Canaanite'—i.e., 'trader' (12:7; cp 7:8 8:6); and Isaiah's references show that Judah was not in this respect much behind her sister: 'Judah is 'tilled from the East and strikes hands with the children of strangers' (26), 'full of silver and gold, neither is there any end of their treasures; their land also is full of horses neither is there any end of their chariots' (7); 'ships of Tarshish' are mentioned among the triumphs of their civilisation (16); caravans are described (30:6); yet, in conformity with what we have seen in other nations, trade is not noticed among the principal professions of the national life (31:3). Besides the texts already quoted (there are others: e.g., Am. 4:4 f. Hos. 12:8) indicative of an increase of wealth, there are others which speak of the popular enterprise in building—always a sure proof of commercial prosperity (Am. 3:15 5:1 Hos. 8:14 Is. 2:15 9:10 [9], etc.; cp 2 Ch. 26:9 f.). The (foreign?) name *armôn* (PAT. ACE, § 1 [3]), hitherto used of royal castles, is applied to private dwellings (*Bk. of Twelve Prophets*, i. p. 33, n. 3); and the builder's plummet is used as a religious figure (Am. 7:7 f., cp Is. 28:16 30:13). Again, the old agricultural economy is disturbed; farmers give place on their ancestral lands to a new class of rich men, who can only have been created by trade; and the rural districts are partly depopulated (Is. 5:8 f. Mic. 2:1-50). The sins of trade; covetousness, false weights, and the oppression of debtors and of the poor, are frequently castigated (Am. 2:6 1:1 8:4 f. Hos. 12: 1s. 3:15 5:23 Mic. 2 and 3). In certain passages, particularly in Amos and Micah, such condemnation of the trading classes is no doubt partly due to the conservative zeal of the desert shepherd and agriculturist against the growth of a new economy.² But in Isaiah this is associated with a real sympathy with

¹ Amos's right to bazaars in Samaria, and Israel's in Damascus. We see from this that a conqueror earned the claim to the active and foremost part in trade between himself and his rival.

¹ See GASm, *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, 179.
² It is from the shepherd village of Bethlehem that Micah predicts the coming of Israel's saviour (5:1 [2] f.).

the serviceableness of commerce, and appreciation of its dignity and even of its serviceableness to religion; cp. Isaiah on Cush (ch. 18), on Egypt (19), and especially on Tyre (23) 'whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth' (1: 2), and who, although likened to a harlot in commerce with all the kingdoms of the earth, may yet bring her merchandise and hire as holiness to the land of Israel.

The public works of Bethan, Ahaz and Hezekiah indicate considerable wealth and activity; but it must have been under Manasseh that Judah first benefited commercially by the great extension of the Assyrian empire (see above, § 42), and the comparative security of trade from the Caspian and Persian Gulf to the Red Sea and Memphis under one power. The Assyrian influence upon the ritual, and probably the literature of Israel under Manasseh, is significant of close and frequent intercourse with Mesopotamia. Zephaniah describes the Phœnician quarter in Jerusalem, the Fish Gate, and a new or second city (JERUSALEM, § 23 f.). The most conclusive proof, however, of an increase of trade in Judah during the eighth and seventh centuries is found in a comparison of the Book of the Covenant with the Deuteronomic code. The Book of the Covenant makes no provision for trade.¹ Deuteronomy contains a considerable number of regulations. To begin with, there are the regulations necessitated by the main Deuteronomic law, the centralisation of worship at Jerusalem (14-24 f.), which must have meant a great increase of trade in that city at the seasons of the three annual festivals (7: 26). Pilgrims from a distance had to turn some of their goods into money before leaving home, and purchase at Jerusalem the materials for sacrifice. Then there are regulations for debt (15 1); interest may be taken from a foreigner but not from a fellow-Israelite (23-25 [16] f.). International banking is provided for (15 6 f.); and among the divine blessings to be bestowed upon the people in reward for their obedience to the Law is one, that they shall lend to many nations but not borrow—as it is phrased, they shall be 'the head and not the tail' in their trade (28 12 f., cp. 11 f.). Hebrews are not to become objects of the nation's slave trade (21 7); and the enfranchisement of any that have fallen through debt into slavery is provided for (15 12). Unjust weights and measures are condemned (25 11-16). Hired labourers must not be oppressed (24 14 f.). Most significant of the extreme contrasts between wealth and poverty which the trade of the eighth and seventh centuries has produced are the regulations for the treatment of the poor (15 1-11). The king is not to multiply horses or silver and gold (17 16 f.), another echo of the prophetic teaching. Yet indicative as all these laws are (when contrasted with their absence from the Book of the Covenant) of the commercial development of Israel, it is remarkable that no money dues are yet prescribed for the priests (18 1-8) nor are fines permitted in expiation of murder (19 1 f., 21 1-9).

To the pre-exilic period, though written after the fall of Jerusalem, belongs Ezekiel's description of Tyrian commerce (26 f.). It opens (26 2) with an interesting epithet of the Judæan capital as the 'gate of the peoples,' justified by the fact that the pre-exilic Judah lay, as we have seen, across the nearest path of the Phœnician trade with Arabia, over which Manasseh, as the tributary of Assyria, may well have held a supremacy which Josiah, in part at least, continued. According to Ezekiel Phœnician trade extended from Tarshish (27 12) and the coasts of Greece (Elishah, 7: 7) in the W. to Sheba (17: 22) in the E., and from Tubal-Meshech (cp. the Moschi and Tibareni of Herod. 3 94) between the

¹ In the Book of the Covenant there are laws of deposit (22 2), and of the lending of money (22 25). Fines are paid in shekels.

Black Sea and the Caspian in the N. to Phut (or Punt) in the S.² Tarshish sent tin, and lead (12); Greece, coloured stuffs, and ivory (6) and ivory articles (from Rodanus Rhodes, 14). From Tubal-Meshech came slaves and copper from Beth-Logarith, probably Armenian mules (14). Egypt furnished fine embroideries (15), and cedar were to hand in the Levant and oaks in Bashan (6). The Aramaeans, in the land trade immediately behind Phœnicia, a great variety of goods, carbuncles, purple, fine linen, pearls (from the Persian Gulf) (16; see Toy's note, *SHOT*; cp. *SDNES*, § 21), the wealth of the Babylonian markets—with Hama white wool and other wares from Damascus (4) Israel came only natural products: wheat (MINNITH, PANSATH), honey, oil, and Arabia supplied wrought iron, cassia, and calumet (12); saddle cloths from DEDAN (2-9) rams, and goats from KEDAR (21); the precious stones, and gold from Sheba and RAVAN. The trading centres on the N. Euphrates begins to be navigable, HARRAN and EDREH round Harejk between Edessa and Antioch, and Carchemish and CALNO, and CITHABOLMA, furnished dyed mantles, and skins of wool (2 21 f.). The shipbuilders were native Phœnicians (8 f., 11); but Tyre had a mercenary army (cp. §§ 11, 48) —Ethiopian (referred to as PARASH, Lybians, and men of Phut (13)), imposing catalogue, and worthy of the epithet the prophet: the fruit of centuries of enterprising organisation for Assyrian trade; see Johns, *op. cit.*

The destruction which Ezekiel beheld as he stood on Tyre, fell immediately. In 572, after a

thirteen years, Nebuchadrezzar's island city (cp. NEBUCHADREZZAR).

56. Nebuchadrezzar. It was the final trial of a policy sustained through many annual expeditions to the Levant, designed to divert the rich trade from the E. from the Red Sea and the Arabian land to the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates. In this are found not only in Nebuchadrezzar's annuals, but also in the Greek accounts of Greek in Babylonia which are most probably ascribed to the son of Nabopolassar. Famous as a general and organiser: his peaceful labours bulk in his records over his military expeditions. He closed the mouths of the two great streams of Babylonia, Persian Gulf, and deepened their channels, so that they were still navigable for sea-going vessels in the period. Arrian (*Anab. Alex.* 7 7) reports that the Gerrhæans (from the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf) sailed up the Tigris as far as Opis: and Grotz (*Levant*, 151) is justified in assigning the measure made thus possible, as well as the founding of DEDAN, a port at the mouth of the Euphrates, to Nebuchadrezzar. The two great rivers were connected by a system of canals which in Xenophon's time (*Anab.* 2 4) were navigable by great grain-ships; the largest, the Malcha, is still in use. By campaigns against the kingdoms of HAZOR [g.v.] (Jer. 49), Nebuchadrezzar ensured the security of the routes S. of Babylonia; and he himself on one occasion used the short but difficult road from Syria to Judah by Tadmor. Yet, these Arabian campaigns nu-

¹ In the close of the seventh and opening of the eighth centuries the trade of Egypt, both internal and foreign, was very prosperous, especially under Psametik, Necho II., Apries (Darius I.), Amasis II. Coincident with this was the usual increase of mercenary trade. Greek commerce, which had founded itself about 700 (Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, 271) took hold of the Delta. Amasis II., besides encouraging the trade, entered into a close alliance with Cyrene. Cp. Herodotus, 2 102.

² Cp. saddle-bags exported from el-Juf 10-day; § 4, this

the N. to Egypt and
which sent silver, iron
coloured stuffs (2); the
and ivory and ebony
(5). From Ionia and
copper vessels (11).
Ametia, horses and
embroidered linen (7).
in the Libanons (5).
Phoenicians, in command
and Phoenicia, brought
purple, emerald-green
silk (taul) and jasper-
stones, § 21; evidently
with Hellenistic
masius (12). From
leaves; wheat, spicers
oil, and balm (17).
silk, and calamus from
DEDAN (20);² lands,
20); the best spices,
and RAAMAT (22).
Euphrates (where it
AN and EDES (27),
and 'Am tabi, Assyria
and CHILMATE (28).
leaves, and stuffs with
upbuilders and sailors
but Tyre had also a
hoopians (read 602 for
1 Thut (16). It is an
of the enthusiasm of
of enterprise and
se Johns, *op. cit.*
beheld as imminent
72, after a siege of
Nebuchadnezzar took the
NEBUCHADREZZAR,
the final triumph of
annual campaigns
the rich trade with
Arabian land-routes
phrates. Proofs of
Nebuchadnezzar's own
mounts of great works
probably attributed
mous as a soldier.
ment as a builder
his bulk in his own
s. He cleared the
Babylonia into the
channels, so that the
vessels in the Greek
reports that the ships
a coast of the Gulf
and Gotz (*Verkehr*)
the measures which
ending of Herodotus,
to Nebuchadnezzar
led by a system of
Inab, 24) were the
largest, the Sidonians
against 'Kedar'
7:11] (Jer. 49
city of the desert
self on one occasion
a Syria to Babylon,
impaignus must have

of the eight centuries
was very prosperous,
eries (Hoplites) and
ie usual means of
and founded Miletus
ere, 271) took a firm
ouraging the dress.
Cp Herodotus, 2:17,
day; § 4, third note.

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had as their end not so much the use of the desert routes (except perhaps to Egypt) as the diversion of the Arabian and eastern traffic up the Gulf to the Euphrates, and so to the Levant, whose coasts were now an integral part of the Babylonian empire. We have seen the Gerrhuan ships far up the Tigris; they brought incense for the temples in Babylon.¹ But sea-trade with India may also have been at this time in full course; it has to be noticed, however, that no SILK (28) is mentioned in the commercial lists of the period. From India, then, to Tarshish, and from Egypt to Central Asia (through Persia and the Medes), the trade of the world now centred in Babylon. Hence the vast increase of the city's size and wealth so wonderful to the Greek writers (Herod. 1:173 ff., II, 2:16). The exile passage for 59 mentions its 'storehouses' (1: 26), its 'mingled people' and 'treasures' (1: 27), and its 17:13 'those that have trafficked with thee from thy youth'. Throughout these prophecies there is the same imputation of 'wisdom' and 'enchantments' and 'sorceries', which we find imputed by Israel to other commercial peoples—the 'sons of the East', the Edomites, and the Philistines. The recent discovery and deciphering of Babylonian documents from the end of the Babylonian period and the beginning of the Persian have revealed an organisation of commerce so thorough that J. Kohler justly declares it to exhibit the greatest similarity to the conditions of modern banking and exchange, and to have been the origin of the commercial system which has descended to modern times through the Greeks and Romans (*Beitr. z. Assyriol.* 4:30). He has given in the volume just cited a number of interesting instances on addition to those given in Kohler and Spenser, *Assyrische Babyl. Rechtsleben*, etc., and *Bab. Verträge*, etc. There were banks and banking firms (the most famous of which was the house of Egibi—cp *RTM*)—'Anweisung' ('assignments'), 'bills of exchange' and 'Zahlung des Angewiesenen an den Angewiesungsempfänger waren dies tägliche Hrod des Babyl. Verkehrs'. Money was paid into the agencies of a bank, and by its head office or other agencies paid out again to the assignees, exactly as by our system of cheques. Account was known. Property was pledged. In cases of sale or debt suretieships were accepted (again cp Johns, *op. cit.*). Sales were made on approval. Partnerships were formed between freemen, and between freemen and slaves—i.e., between capital and labour. Money was still reckoned by weight. The depreciation in use of metal-pieces was understood and accounted for (cp Hrozy, 'Zum Geldwesen der Babylonier', *Beitr. z. Assyriol.* 4:30 ff.).

At the heart of this commercial empire the best part of the Jewish people—including its industrial classes ('craftsmen and smiths', 2 K 21:14)—were established, and probably found a large number of their own race already intimate with, and benefiting by, the trade of the land (see DISPERSION, § 4). They must have taken the advice of Jeremiah to settle into the life of their new surroundings, their comparative independence in which his letter takes for granted (Jer. 29:4 ff.).² That many of them became engaged in Babylonian commerce needs no argument. After fifty years the great prophet who arose to announce to them their return, not only promised the restoration of their command of the trade from Egypt and Arabia (Is. 45:14, cp v. 1), but seems to have found it difficult to tear them from the profitable conditions of Babylonian life (cp his many calls 'to go forth', and in particular his appeal 55:2: 'Wherefore do ye weigh your money for that which is not bread and your earnings for that which satisfieth not'; cp

¹ Herod. 1:182 reckons the amount used annually at the chief temple of Babylon at 1200 talents.
² The earliest mention of silk appears to be by Aristotle in the beginning of the fourth century.
³ Cp the present sources, Is. 40:40, 57 ff.; Nikel, *Die Webherstellung des jüdisch. Gemeinwesens nach dem babyl. Exil*, 1900.

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Huhl, *Soc. Verhältnisse* 88, 16, 1). Whether few or many returned when Tyris opened the way (see DISPERSION, § 3) those who remained in Babylon were the prosperous and wealthy (*Zsch.* 4:27 ff.). They must have been introduced to the thorough Babylonian methods of doing business, though it is striking that no trace shall see, § 60) the Priestly Code bears no reflection of the Babylonian organisation of commerce in its smallest details to priestly regulations, not of the temples as registering, banking, and appraising centres (Johns, *op. cit.* 3:14). New horizons, however, appear in Hellenistic literature, and the Jews' knowledge of the world was immensely widened (cp *OKKATYB*, § 19).

With the rise of the Persian empire all these paths from Babylon to the centre, were quickened.

58. Persian empire. Founded (DISPERSION, § 61), the conquests of Cyrus in Asia, and of Darius in Africa, were thoroughly felt by themselves and their successors and cleared the Hystaspis before 514. The empire was divided into provinces and the policy was to connect the provinces by speedy means of conveyance as well as by the ancient lines of traffic were capable of carrying two- and four-wheeled wagons, and new lines were opened up, especially from Susa to Eastern and Central Asia. The earliest roads for which we have now exact data are those from Susa the capital to Sardis, see the capital section, and the argument of Gotz (*Die Verkehrswege*, 1885, 20) who reckons the distance at sixty five daily stages, with eight days of rest on the way occupied in three days in all.

The road led NW. from Susa, past the now deserted city of Rhagae (else to Eboran) where, in the ninth century after Christ, lay the Levant market for Chinese silk; thence to Hekatompylos (probably the present Shahrud; Gotz) where it divided into one branch by Magars (Mery) to Marakanda (Samarcand) the capital of Sogdiana, and another to Herd.

A third road from Susa led E. to Persepolis and Aspadana (Espahan). Susa was, of course, directly connected with Babylon, from which the land road up the Euphrates was freshly laid down and furnished with bridges over the canals.

Greek sources (Xenophon and Herodotus) give us for the first time exact data for this ancient line of traffic between Babylon and the Gulf of Issus (above, § 39 f.).

It was 8 days from Babylon to Hit, thence 20 to the mouth of the Euphrat, thence 5 to Tiphsoh or Thapsacus (Rakka) where the road crossed to the S. bank of the Euphrates, thence to Balis 3, to Aleppo 3, and to the coast 4, or 41 in all (Gotz 73; Gotz, 1909 from Babylon to the coast).

From the coast the Phoenicians, according to Marinus of Tyre (Gotz, 1909), carried their goods to Hierapolis (Kamilkyel) near the Euphrates, and thence direct to Ekbatana and Hekatompylos for the Central Asian markets. There was also a road from the Gulf of Issus to Tarsus (12 days); thence through Cilicia to Iconium (see further Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*).

Persian roads were, according to the Greeks, well supplied with stations, furnished with horses and khans for travellers (Herod. 5:2, 8:28), and with a government service of swift couriers (*Id.* and Xen. *Cyrop.* 8:2),³ which is said to have accomplished the distance between Susa and Babylon in a day and a half, and that between Susa and Sardis in 10 (Gotz, 1908). Cp Esch. 3:13, 8:4. Whilst the Persians thus organised and accelerated the land-traffic, they suffered the water-traffic, developed by Nebuchadnezzar (§ 63), to fall into disuse. Nebuchadnezzar's port at the mouth of the Persian gulf decayed, and it is even doubtful whether the *Periplus*

¹ Heid, *Gesch. des Levantehandels im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart, 1870, i. p. 22, in French (much enlarged), 1885-1886.
² Up to Hekatompylos it was good for carriages, Gotz, 136.
³ Cp ἀγγαρεύειν in NT from ἀγγαρός, Herod. 8:94, a Persian word=courier.

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of Skylax (*Geogr. Gr. Min.* 1, ed. Müller) round Arabia to the Red Sea occurred as asserted in the time of Darius (thirty months is the time assigned to it). See *Geog.* 203 ff. Darius attempted, without success, to carry out the plan, which Necho II. is said to have initiated, of connecting the Red Sea with the Nile (Herod. 2.158-142).¹ Further, we have under the Persian kings the first appearance in W. Asia of MONEY (q.v.) in the true sense (see also WEIGHTS AND MEASURES). The present writer has purchased several darics and also silver coins of Sidon under Artaxerxes Oclius which were found in N. Palestine.

The trade of Syria must have enormously benefited by all this policy of the Persian kings, not only in the

59. Post-exilic Jerusalem

security ensured—though this was not perfect (cp the note of Ezra on the journey from Babylonia to Jerusalem; Ezra 8.21 ff. 31)—but also in the means taken by the satrap of Memphis for furnishing the desert route between Gaza and the Delta with water (Herod. in 46). Incorporated in the Persian empire, and still without rivals in the Delta, the Phœnician ports continued to flourish (cp their conuage of Aradus and Sidon under Persia; *Head, Hist. Num.* 666, 671). Damascus and Gaza flourished with them, but Götz (104) is wrong in adding to this list Jerusalem, to which we now turn. The destruction in 586 had reduced Jerusalem and her people to the 'off-scouring and refuse in the midst of the peoples' (Lam. 3.45). Her 'breach was great like the sea' (2.6); the luxury of former days had become starvation (17 ff., etc.); the people had to buy even their wood and water (5.6, cp 27, 31, 32). The Edomites and Arabians recovered the transit trade. The exiles who returned in 537 were a weak and starving community. The statement that they bought for the temple timber from the Tyrians who brought it to Joppa in return for meat, drink, and oil (Ezra 3.7) belongs to the less authentic portion of the Book of Ezra, and seems a reflection of Solomon's trade. It is difficult to see how the hunger-bitten colony raised wine and oil for export. Haggai and Zechariah tell a different story. There was no hie for man or beast (Zech. 8.6); no thrift (Hag. 1.8); a blight lay upon agriculture (*ib.* 11). The silver and gold were still in the hands of Yahvè (2.8), and other nations had not yet brought their 'desirable things.' Timber for building the temple was hewn by the Jews themselves in the neighbouring hill-country (4.8). What gold and silver arrived in Jerusalem came as contributions from rich exiles in Babylon (Zech. 6.9 ff.). Agriculture was only partially resumed; its prosperity was still, after twenty years, a thing of promise (Zech. 3.6). In Malachi there is no reflection of trade. The *conuictium* practised with the surrounding heathen and semi-heathen implies, of course, a certain amount of local traffic; and this would gradually increase with the resumption of Jewish life in 'the cities of the Negeb' (Neh. 11). Nehemiah pictures corn, wine, grapes, figs, etc., brought into Jerusalem from the country (13.15 ff.), and fish sold by the Tyrians (1.6), on the Sabbath the gates have to be closed against these traders (3.8). But there was no through traffic, as in older times. Indeed, according to Ezra 4.8, one of the objections made by the enemies of the Jews against rebuilding Jerusalem was that it would resume the customs and toll which were formerly imposed by Jewish kings and made them great—a very interesting glimpse into the pre-exilic trade of Judah. The Jews were themselves subject to the general imposts of the Persian kings (Ezra 4.13; Neh. 5.4) who, however, in pursuance of their usual policy, exempted from duty the goods required for the temple (Ezra 7.24; see EZRA-NEH., § 5, col. 1480). In spite of their poverty the Jews, with the new horizons which the exile and the increased extent of the trade of their Phœnician neigh-

¹ On the various canals and attempted canals with this aim, see *Bull. de l'Égypte*, t. 7, 31 ff.

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hours opened to their eyes, indulged vaster hopes of the mastery of the world's trade. They would the wealth of Arabia return to them (Is. 60. Midian, Sheba, Kedar, Nebaioth); the new of the West should send them tribute (2. f.); from the and the sons of the Diaspora alike (9. 17). It is able that in this passage Jerusalem, the mother scattered and wealthy Jews, is represented, not inland, secluded position, but as standing on shore, the abundance of the seas and the wealth nations drifting to her feet (60); cp G. A. Smith (*of Isaiah, II*). Contrast the picture given § 45. So much had the Persian roads and Phœ ships achieved in the scattering of trading Jew the widening of the mercantile hopes of the On Is. 65) see FORTUNE.

At this point we may conveniently take the to trade of the Priestly Narrative and Code.

60. Priestly Code.

these two in this respect there is a distinction. Whilst P's stories of a man are as destitute of any reflection on trade as those in JE (1. 42), its narratives of the patriarchs contain more allusions to commerce than JE. Abraham, bargaining in the usual oriental fashion, buys Machpelah for 400 silver shekels (Gen. 23. Hebron is thus pictured as it always was—a man's 'harbour' for the nomads to the south. The trade of Hamor (31.5 ff.) covers settlement, *conuictium*, commerce; the last definitely stated (37. 1-21) distances of the marches in the wilderness are given, not in the daily stages achieved by trade in those 14 to 6 or 7 m.) of penod camps (7. The rich offerings for the tabernacle imply a profitable trade as well as one skilled in handwork (Ex. etc.; cp the oblations of the princes in Nu. 7) is for the first time mentioned in the Hebrew Bible (30.22 ff., etc.; cp Jer. 6.20); along with sweet oil (REEB), MYRRH, CASSAMON, STORAX (?), ONYXIA, BACUM. On the other hand, the Priestly Law contains no references to trade; puzzlingly so in connection with Deuteronomy (above, § 54), when we consider intervening residence in Babylon. The laws of fraud in money matters, loans, and deposits (Lev. and false measures and balances (19. 35 ff.), are in the warnings of post-exilic prophecy. There are laws for the selling of land (25. 14 ff., 21 ff.), against interest (7. 20), and concerning foreign and native slaves (11; cp De. 23 ff.). Niversonism is allowed for the murderer (Nu. 35. 11). On transactions necessitated by the restorations of the Jubilee Year, see Jos. 25. 12). But these are almost all that have to do with commerce. Unlike those of Deuteronomy, the laws and curses pronounced in connection with the tabernacle contain no reference to trade (Lev. 26). The value land (etc.) used for sacred purposes (27); but revenues, unlike those of Babylon and Egypt, do not include none derived from trade (Nu. 18). Religious feasts (Lev. 25 ff.) are purely agricultural; there is no inclusion of the directions for farmers at a distance from the central sanctuary, such as we saw in Deuteronomy (§ 54). On the whole, the comparative silence of the Priestly Code as to trade is to be explained not by the effort of the compilers to hold themselves aloof from wilderness conditions, or else by the sadly diminished trade of the post-exilic Jews as compared with the pre-exilic Jews, which flourished in the deuteronomistic period. On the monetary standards of P, see Smith § 37.

The Book of Job (about 400 B.C.) reflects a

¹ Forth (*With Arabs in Tent and Town*, 210 ff.) illustrates the details of Abraham's purchase. "In buying land in Arabia some such terms as the following are used: 'I will give you land in such a place, also all that can be seen from the land, trees, and stones, also all that shall be found in the ground.' This custom makes Abraham's action very understandable."

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... vaster hopes than ... trade. Not only ... to them (Is. 60:6 f.); ... the new coasts of ... from foreigners ... It is remark- ... the mother of ... presented, not in her ... standing on the sea ... and the wealth of the ... G. A. Smith, *Bk.* ... ture given above, ... and the Phoenician ... trading Jews, and ... of the people.

... take the attitude ... and Code. Between ... tect there is a dis- ... stances of primitive ... of any reflection of ... natives of the patri- ... mence than H does ... oriental fashion, ... sels (Gen. 29:15 f.), ... was a market and ... h. The treaty with ... *conubium*, and ... d (Gen. 29:15-21). The ... erness are suitably ... ed by traders, but ... of camps (Nu. 33: ... imply a people of ... adwork (Ex. 25:17; ... in Nu. 7). Incense ... Helveo ritual (Ex. ... with sweet calamus ... 9), ONYXIA, GUM ... 10). The Law is very ... ngly so in contrast ... en we consider the ... The laws against ... posts (Lev. 19:15; ... s f.), are similar to ... There are laws ...), against inter- ... tive slaves (Lev. ... owed for the life of ... ons necessitated by ... see Jos. *Ant.* ... have to do with ... omy, the blessings ... on with the Law ... 26). The priests ... ses (27:1); but their ... and Egypt, appear ... e (Nu. 18:1). The ... agricultural, their ... mers at a distance ... rial for sacrifice at ... in Dentonomy ... ve silence of the ... damed either by ... themselves, to the ... sadly dammed ... red with the com- ... eronomic period ... see STURKEL.

... reflects a purely ... w. 210 ff) illustrates ... yong land (the ... re used: "A boy ... can be seen in ... be found under the ... action very under-

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agricultural community with no resources when their harvests fail. Their children are the victims of the Phoenician slave-trade to Tadmor (3[4]6); they shall have revenge some day in selling Phoenicians to Sheba. Instead of commanding the transit trade, Jerusalem is unwillingly overrun with foreigners (3[4]17). (cp Zech. 14:2); 'no more a traitor in the house of Yahweh'. We have here traces of the feeling against association with foreigners, which the new legalism continued to enforce through subsequent centuries, and which must have seriously hampered any revival of trade in Judah. Compare the account which Palgrave gives of the effect of the Wahabi religious rigour on commerce.

Of course, there were other tempers in post-exilic Judaism, and these appear in the Wisdom literature. With all its reproof of greed of gain (1:9, etc.), the Prologue to Proverbs employs the methods and tempers of commerce to illustrate the ideal of man's search for, and intercourse with, Wisdom (3:14-22 ff., cp 23:24). Like so much else in the Books of Wisdom, this also reappears in the parables of Jesus (below, § 79). The temptress in Prov. 7 is the wife of a merchantman on a long journey; it is interesting that, at the present day, among the Syrians of Lebanon, such temptresses are almost entirely confined to the wives of men trading abroad. We see in this another cause of the dislike of conservatism in Israel to trade, (cp H. 27) 'as a land wandering from her nest, so is a man that wandereth from his place.' There is also in the Prologue the strong warning against suretyship (6:1 ff.). But its most striking feature is the recognition of the high divine Wisdom as identical with that which appears in the common ways, bazaars, traffic, and concourse of men.

In Job the references to trade are very few. The land of Uz is on the path of the men of Sheba; they are represented as marauders (1:15). Mention is made of desert-journeys of the caravans of Tema, and the caravans of Sheba (6:18 f.); of the Egyptian ships of reed (9:25); of gold, of Opium and silver as the reward of righteousness (22:24-28, 6, contrast 31:17, of beryl, sapphire, gold, glass, coral, crystal, pearls, and the topaz of Ethiopia (28:16 ff.; see STURKEL, *Prologue*); an interesting list of what, at the time the book was written, were regarded as precious metals and stones, and in 28:1 ff. there is the vivid picture of mining, and in 21:20 an appeal to the wide experience of travellers. As a whole the book shows a knowledge of the far world and its wonders, only to be derived from the situation of the writer on the line of a widespread commerce.

In Ecclesiastes there is hardly any allusion to trade among all the ambitions and labours of men, but see 2:4: 'I gathered silver and gold and the peculiar property of kings and princes I made for myself.'

Apart from the prologue, the Book of Proverbs prof- ably reflects the life of many centuries in Israel, yet even here the possible references to trade are pro- portionately few: warnings against suretyship (11:15; 17:13; 20:16; 22:26; 27:13), false balances (11:1; 16:11), weights and balances are the work of Yahweh, 20:12-13; bad ways of gain (11:13), greed of gain (15:27); it brings bad luck to a house: 'שָׂרָה בַּיָּדָהּ בְּרָחֵץ' 28:22-23; the withhold- ing of corn (from the market?) (11:16), and shaggishness in business (22:1); the reference is to the bazaars, some- thing of oriental methods of bargaining (20:14); notes on the helplessness of the debtor (22:7), on wealth from wisdom in trade (24:4), and on the deep contrasts between rich and poor and the woefulness of poverty which appear only in commercial communities (19:17; 22:5, etc.). 20:13 is an obscure verse on hiring. The picture of the strong woman portrays her searching for wool and flax; she is like 'a merchant ship that bringeth goods from afar'; 'she perceives that her merchandise (27:22) is profitable' and she delivers the linen and the

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girdles made by her household to the Canaanite—i.e., Phoenician pedlar or trader—a glimpse into the home- industries of Israel (31:13, 15-17).

By the end of the Persian period (about 340) the trade of the civilised world reached the following limits. In the east the Persian roads were in com- munication with India, and it is ex- tremely probable that the Chinese silk-

Some still, which the Greeks found in 325 in Afghanistan, was already there. The Arabian land routes were still regularly used. GANSAKON came from the east beyond Media, and GABRANUM from Persia. In the south the Egyptians, if it is not certain that they had circum-navigated Africa in Necho's time, were at least in communication with the E. coast of Africa (so much hasis must we allow to the story, traded with Nubia, with the W. coasts, and Cyrene, Egypt began to send large supplies of corn across the Mediterranean (Diod. Sic. vii. 79). In the N. the Greeks had opened up the Black Sea, in the W. and NW. the Phoenicians had long explored the mines of eastern Spain and the Rhone region with its com- munications with N. Gaul and perhaps Britain. They had also penetrated the Atlantic, whilst Carthage had reached Lake Tchad and the Niger. Massila was a flourishing depot, soon to send out Pythias about 500 B.C. to the sources of amber round the Baltic (cp Avian. § 31, and to the N. of Scotland (for the truth of the tale see Grotz, 261). How far across this enormous sphere of communication Jews were scattered it is im- possible to say, probably everywhere in the Persian empire as traders and settlers, and in Greece, Italy, and Carthage as slaves (cp Lecl. as cited in § 60). Some of whom might regain their freedom, and like their kind, take up some form of industry or commerce. Except in the Semitic names of slaves, and in a tale told by Aristotle, and reported by Iamblichus of Sidon (cp Jos. *Ant. Hist. Græc.* vol. Müller, 2:30), Jews do not appear in Greek literature before the very end of the fourth century B.C.

With the conquests of Alexander the Great a new epoch began in the trade of the world. The land traffic

which the Persians had developed was sustained and their roads extended eastward. There was little change in the lines of traffic, but new cities were founded upon them (e.g., Elymais) and both Alexander and the Diadochi increased the speed of marching (Grotz, 161, etc.). The Persian neglect of the rivers (§ 48) was rectified. Alexander cleared the Tigris of its dams and weirs, founded a new port at its mouth, Alexandria, later Charax, and re-dug the canals. The foundation of Seleucia on the Tigris was a great blow to Babylon, which began to decay. For reasons why the Tigris dis- placed the Euphrates as a line of route, see Grotz, 411 ff. On sea the changes were enormous. Hitherto the Phoenicians had encountered poverty whose resources were confined to the land, to whom their sea power was indispensable, and by the growth of whose empires the trade and wealth of Tyre and Sidon only the more in- creased. But the Greeks were a people who were of equal maritime capacity with themselves, and had long been preparing for the mastery of oriental trade by their occupation of the sea boards of Asia Minor, and their settlements in the sea harbours of Asia Minor, and knew how to found new harbours and establish colonies. Alexander rivaled his land march to the Indus by the naval expedition which he sent back from there up the Persian Gulf, thereby reopening of not for the first time (foundings direct maritime communication between India and Babylonia (Geogr. Gr. *Mon.* ed. Müller, 1).

It was, however, his foundation of the Egyptian Alex- andria which made the greatest change, and in this Tyre and Sidon found their first successful rival. For with

1 There were Greek mercenaries, soldiers, and colonies in Egypt under Psametik, and Greek settlements and trade since Anaxis.

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the exploration of the Red Sea, already intended by Alexander and carried out by Ptolemy II., and the founding of new harbours—at Arsinoë near Suez, Lenkos Limen near el-Kosër, Berenike, and others (see above, § 26), there was opened a new route (or an old one was re-opened) to S. Arabia and India which must have drawn away some proportion of the land-traffic through Arabia and the sea-traffic up the Persian Gulf, on which Tyre and Sidon depended.¹ The Greeks had now a line of their own from Europe to Hindostan all the way on sea except for the small stretch of land-traffic through what was now a Greek kingdom. Alexandria was its main depot and exchange; and its pre-eminence as Alexandria flourished Tyre and Sidon grew less. The doom, therefore, which Zech. 9: 1 ff. saw imminent upon Hamath, Hadrach, Damascus, Tyre, and Sidon was pregnant with more than the merely military overthrow which is all that the writer seems to perceive in it. As the Seleucid power grew, the Phœnician ports and Damascus found themselves threatened by northern in addition to their southern rivals. The growth of ANTIOCH (7: 1) has always meant the diminution of Damascus (*III*: 643, 647, and article 'Antioch' by the present writer in Hastings' *DB*); and the new Seleucid ports in N. Syria must have diverted the Euphrates trade from Tyre and Sidon. The usual result of a wealthy commerce appears in the large mercenary armies of the Seleucids (e.g.: *Jos. Ant.* xii. 101, and other passages).

One of the earliest of the Seleucid campaigns was that undertaken in 312 B.C., and repeated later against

64. Nabateans. the NABATEANS (7: 1, cp Schür. *GT* 1 app.) who had become possessed of the seats of the Edomites, and had already filled Petra with wealth derived from the transit trade. The new Red Sea commerce did not wholly destroy the land-traffic in Arabia; and the Nabateans—successors both to the Arameans, whose language (though themselves Arabs) they adopted, and to the Edomites—made themselves masters of all the routes from Teyna and Iqna (Medan Salih) (the S. limit of their inscriptions) to the Persian Gulf, Babylon, Damascus, Gaza, Elath, and Egypt (§§ 29-33). But they had also industries of their own. The first appearance of SE. Palestine in Greek letters is made by the Dead Sea as a source of asphalt, and it is to the Nabateans that Diodorus Siculus (2: 48) ascribes the collection of asphalt and its conveyance to Egypt. The Seleucid campaign of 312 had had for one of its aims the possession of the Dead Sea and its asphalt (Diod. 2: 60). The Nabateans must also have grown dates, and when they came into possession of Hauran, wheat sufficient for export. These with camels, the Arabian incense, coral and pearls from the Gulf, alkali, medicinal herbs, and what proportion of goods from Africa they were able to draw to Elath, would form their exports to the W. Their port for this was the harbour of Gaza, with perhaps Anthedon—other new rivals to Tyre and Sidon. The Nabateans were land traders, but three of their inscriptions from the last decade of the Christian era have been found in Puteoli and Rome (*IS Pt. II*, vol. i, Nos. 157-159).

These then were the new commercial currents within which the Jews lay during the Greek period. The com-

¹ For Ptolemy II.'s policy in regard to trade, and the trading expeditions he sent, see the inscription on the 'Stone of Pithon' in Naville, *The Sanctuary at El-Hom, etc.*, also *l. 12* of the Pithon inscription of the same king, translated by Budge, *HE* 7: 29 ff. The trade of Egypt was very prosperous under the Ptolemies, and the consequence is seen in the apparently inexhaustible wealth of that royal house. Their mercenary armies were always easily raised; their expenditure on buildings was enormous. Of late years a considerable number of commercial documents of the Ptolemaic and Early Roman period have been discovered in Egypt. These given by Messrs. Grenell and Hunt (*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, nos. i. and ii.; *Papyrus Letters and their Value*, etc.) comprise appeals for justice against trade defaulters, bankers receipts, acknowledgments of loans, declarations of sales, and registrations of contracts, sales, loans, mortgages etc.—for which registration there were special officials in each nome.

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tests of the Diadochoi must at first have rumbled in Syria. Soon we find Jewish receiving civil rights from the P in Alexandria and from the Sele-

Antioch and other N. Syrian cities. These settlements probably for the most part merchants. There is constant intercourse between Jerusalem and Egypt Syria—both Greek powers bade for Jewish friends granting at various times remission of dues on trade into Jerusalem (e.g.: *Jos. Ant.* xii. 33), or by regular trade to suit Jewish religious laws (*ibid.* 4). Financial habits of individual Hebrews found in opportunity in the turning of the Syrian taxes Greek kings and were great enough to form legendary stories (*ibid.* 17; cp Schürer, *ET*, i. 1). Thus the nation grew in affluence (*Jos. Ant.* x. Ecclesiastics find it necessary to make many wages against found in trade (especially 20: 20 ff., cp 37: 7-15; 8: 11-20 ff., 4 ff. 41-42). Then came the overthrow of Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes (166) and the latter struggles of the Maccabees during at last, Jewish trade must have been utterly destroyed. We read of merchants (probably Phœnician) according Syrian troops against Judaea to purchase the city (*Ant.* xii. 73). The friendliness of the Nabateans to the Jews is noted twice (*ibid.* xii. 83 xiii. 12).

66. Maccabees. campaigns of Judas and Jonathan regard paid to lines of trade in spacious centres upon them is manifest; the weight that it has not been noticed. Baechides fortified Jerusalem, Bethshon, Emmaus (vii. 11); then Jonathan gathered Melchishai; the three tetrarchs which Demetrius younger presented to the Jews were all necessary command of trade; they were accompanied by regular dues on salt-pits, etc.; as soon as Jonathan took Judaea of the Syrians he took Ashkelon and made with Ashkelon and Gaza (153). Then he turned the Ammonites and the Nabateans, while Simon took a line of places as far as Ashkelon, and broke to at Joppa (5: 2). How much this meant for the mercantile ambitions of the little Jewish state is seen early on Simon, a Macc. 11: 5: 'With all his goods took Joppa for a haven, and made an entrance into the sea.' At last Judah had a port. By the small river harbour of Jamnia (JAMNIA) was occupied, and Caeser fortified in connection with it. The increased wealth brought about by these measures in the rebuilding of Jerusalem which followed xiii. 500. In 142 B.C. Simon set Judaea free Seleucid tribute, and commercial documents were from that year (17). Jewish coinage began. campaigns of Judas and Jonathan had not been so much in restoring communication between the Jewish centres there and India—he had to bring the Jews with him (1 Macc. 5). While between Galilee and by Samaria (*Ant.* vii. 102 ff.) which John Hyrcanus subdued, and opened the way to the S. desert by Hebron through the subjection of the Idumæans (vii. 11). When Simon appeared to the Romans significant that he asked for the restoration of 'the havens, Caeser, and the springs (of Jordan)'. 21. During the subsequent years of peace John an immense sum of money (*ibid.* 101); in so far as land as Judah it must have come from trade and commerce. Josephus reports as much as 3000 talents in new, deposited in the tombs of David (1: 1). Tombs were a usual place of deposit. Aristobolus part of the Hauran country (*Ant.* xii. 113) was entrance to the Hamath route (cp *III*: 414, n. 4). It is in the campaigns of Alexander Jannæus that we see most proof of commercial ambitions. He captured (15), Kaparna, Anthedon, Gaza (which was appointed in help from its Nabatean ally Aretas, xii. 131) Moab and Gilead (but had to give back to the Nabateans; 112), held Samaria (154) its command of routes to the coast, and made a

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have ruined trade and Jewish settlers from the Ptolemies on the Seleucids in These settlers were s. There was con- and Egypt and N ewish friendship y of dues on goods), or by regulating s (ibid. 4). The ws found individual yrian taxes for the ight to form almost aer, E1, ii, 190) (Jos. Ant. xii, 100, ike many warnings 20 ff., ep 37) and hen came the over- phanes (116, n. c.), bees during which, n utterly destroyed ean) accompany- arse the captives e Nabateans to 3 and 12). In the and Jonathan the of trade and con- est; the wonder is es-fortified Jericho, on both garrisoned heth Demetrius the all necessary to the named by renoun- Jonathan cleared and made treaties he turned against hile Simon fortified and broke to the sea ent for the com- state is seen in the th all his glory as an entrance to the a port. Besides ABNEL) was con- unction with both, by these means a ich followed (17). Judaea free from ments were dated egiat. The been so since of the Jewish settle- g the Jews a g dillee and Judaea a John Hyrcanus e S. desert route of the Idumaean the Romans, the ration of 'Jepa of Jordan) was ce John annexed ; in so harsha in trade and was 1 as 3000 men. David (177-2). Aristobulus (175-181) in 113) with the 244, n. 43, but Janneus that we ations. The book (which was dis- ally Aetas, Ant. and to give to m anaria (154) with and made a treaty

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with the Nabateans (152). The lines of positions held by Janneus as laid down by Josephus are very significant; first along the coast from Rhinokollura to Straton's Tower (afterwards Caesarea) an Ithen through Esdrælon from Mt. Carmel by Tabor and Bethshan to Gadara with a number of cities E. of Jordan (117-4). Both he and his widow aimed at Damascus (116). Later, the Nabateans retaliated by a siege of Jerusalem (xiv. 21); Josephus describes them as 'no very warlike people' (ibid. 3). All the later Hasmonean kings had mercenaries in their army—another sure proof of their commerce.

Meantime Jewish settlements abroad increased in all the great towns; but they do not appear to have excited remark from the greatness of their trade. Their business, except in the case of a few prominent individuals, must have been petty and parasitic. The Nabateans appear better known to the Greeks, whose earliest notices of the Jews are confined to their haired of men (Ptolemaeus of Apamea, born about 135 B.C., *Fr. Hist. Gr.*, ed. Müller; through Dioid. Sic. 31, p. 1; Apollonius Molonia teacher of Cicero, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* 11121; cp. Euseb. *Prep. Evang.* 966). Apollonius also charges them with making no useful invention (quoted by Jos. c. 1, p. 218).

With the civil rights granted to them in so many large cities (Jos. *Ant.* xii 32, etc.), however, they must have risen to considerable commercial power, especially in Antioch, Alexandria, and Cyrene (for the last cp. Strabo quoted by Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 71). The Jews of Asia Minor deposited in Cos 800 talents, about £202,000 (see Romachs n. 2 on p. 91 of his *Textes d'antiquité Grecs et Rom. relatifs à l'Asie Mineure*).

We now pass to the last of our periods—the Roman. The effects of Roman policy on the trade of the world were more revolutionary than those of any of the empires which preceded them, and may be summed up under the following five heads:—

68. Roman period: Rome

(1) The centre of trade was shifted from W. Asia to the other end of the Mediterranean and fixed at Rome. This was rendered inevitable politically by Rome's rank as the capital of the Roman state; commercially by the Phœnician and Greek exploitation during the previous periods of the W. Mediterranean (N. Africa, Spain, and Gaul), geographically by the position of Rome well down the great Italian promontory which runs so far out upon the Mediterranean, with its attendant sea-day's sail from N. Africa, and its SE. cape a few hours from Greece. Even in Republican times Rome's central character had been assured both by the roads which gathered to her from all parts of the peninsula, and by the sea traffic which filled her harbour of Ostia or came up the Tiber to herself—even traumes and pentremes reached the city under the Republic, and under Augustus ships of 70 tons (Götze 310).

(2) Above all the nations which preceded them, the Romans excelled in the making of long lines of tram roads, first in Italy, towards Gaul, and then, as their empire extended, to the middle of Scotland in the N., and to the furthest borders of Mesopotamia and the Arabian peninsula. By Cæsar's time sixteen paved roads led into Rome; the oldest the Via Appia S. by Capua with branches to Portus (L'Abruzzo) and TERNI; TAVERNI; ROME (M. G. 2.) and Brundisium. From Brundisium one of the branches from Aradion to the great route to the E. made for HIRASSMONTA with a continuation to Byzantium. For the Roman system of roads through Asia Minor from Byzantium, Ephesus, and Smyrna see Ramsay *Hist. Civ. of Asia* and the summary with map in Miss Skeel's *Treatise on the Topography of the East* (London 1901); also ASIA, CAPPADOCIA, CHILICIA, PAPHLAGIA, GALATIA, LYCAONIA, PAPHLAGIA, SMYRNA.

69. Roman roads.

(3) In the Roman system of roads through Asia Minor from Byzantium, Ephesus, and Smyrna see Ramsay *Hist. Civ. of Asia* and the summary with map in Miss Skeel's *Treatise on the Topography of the East* (London 1901); also ASIA, CAPPADOCIA, CHILICIA, PAPHLAGIA, GALATIA, LYCAONIA, PAPHLAGIA, SMYRNA. (4) The *Geographica* (11. 2) says that John Hyrcanus was the first to have a maritime

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etc. From Asia Minor to the Persian Gulf the lines were little altered from those of the Greek period (§ 69). The Euphrates was bridged at Samosata, and there was a bridge of boats at Zeugma (Birk Fac. *Ann.* 1212). From the Euphrates as from Byzantium the Pontus was more easily reached. Antioch grew in influence as a sort of trade-routes. The road by Palmyra to the Euphrates was more frequently used. Charax was still the port on the Persian Gulf. The distances were approximately these:—

From Larsus to Antioch 5 1/2 days; thence to Zeugma 6; thence to Seleucia (Ctesiphon the Parthian capital) 21 or 24; then to Charax 11; Samosata to Antiochia (for Central Asia) over (Homs) to Trapezus (Trebizond) over 42; from Antioch by Mesa (Homs) to Palmyra 9 days; thence to the Euphrates at Ctesiphon 5 or 6 days; Volagesus, lower down the river, 16; and thence to Charax 2 or 3; Antioch to Damascus 2 1/2 or 3; thence to Palmyra 5 or 6; Basra to Charax a less than 5 or 6 weeks; Damascus to Petra 7 days; to Gaza 7 or 8 days; Petra to Gaza not less than 5; B. Elath for 4; and to Benke Kene for 12. Gaza to Pelusium was 6 or 7 days (Götze 3); Pelusium to Alexandria 5 or 6 by land, 1 1/2 by sea; Alexandria to 'Babylon' (later Ctesiphon) 4; to Arsak (Suez) 6; to Cyrene 2 1/2.

In Syria and Palestine the ancient routes were followed with no important variations; and here we must remember that, with the possible exceptions of a few short stretches in the neighbourhood of the Colossæ and other centres, none of the characteristic Roman roads were laid down till the times of the Antonines, nor, so far as the present writer has been able to examine them, was the structure consistently so perfect as in the Roman roads of Italy. For these latter, see Götze 322 ff. and Skeel 451. Along these roads an imperial service of post-horses and carriages was developed by Augustus; later known as the 'cursus publicus,' which civil officials, retiring or emigrating veterans, and of the soldiers who carried special passes, had the right to use. Each of the *mutatioes* or chief stations was supplied with an inn, stables, and about forty horses; the intermediate *mutatioes* had about twenty (Götze 336 ff., cp. Skeel 45 ff.). The variety, capacity, and speed of wheeled vehicles was greatly increased, and it is to the Romans that we owe the first real development of the carriage of goods on wheels, though pack animals, camels, mules, asses, and even oxen, were still generally used (cp. Jos. *Ant.* 2122). Horses, mules (cp. Horace's journey to Brundisium, *Sat.* 1. 1) and asses were employed for riding. In the breeding of horses for different purposes, the Romans bestowed great care. The security of the roads was a constant matter of trouble to the provincial governors. In some independent principalities (as we shall see under the Herods, § 75), brigandage was always more rife; but even under purely Roman government it frequently reappeared. Yet, on the whole, the security of land travel at the beginning of the empire had immensely improved (cp. Strabo, vi. 12, Pliny *HN* 27), which is the triumph of Roman *pax imperialis*. (cp. Whitaker in *Index* of *Classical Studies*).

(5) At sea the greatest change was the restoration of the whole of the Mediterranean under one provincial power. Then followed the opening of the Indian

70. Mediteranean.

Sea from the same port. The consequence was an enormous increase of the Mediterranean trade, which is described by many writers of the period in the terms of a 'Golden Age.' The sea was then called the *mare Internum* (cp. *De Zelandia*), and the land was then called *Italia*. The most important of the Roman provinces at the time of the opening of the Indian Sea were the *Indica* and *Arabia* provinces, which were after Augustus the most important of the Roman empire.

1 Calculated from the Arabian Itinerary in the Ptolemaic Table; Götze 404 ff. It is slightly different from the Itinerary which took only 5 days to march from Pelusium to Charax. 2 The *Itinerary* used mostly by geographers from the 15th to the 17th century.

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Herods who were constantly passing to and from Italy. See below, § 75. But this applies only to the summer season; ships were laid up (even in the middle of a voyage) from November to March. Philo (*De Leg.* 29) explains the exceptional character of a winter voyage (cp Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 21).¹ The size of the ships was considerably, and their speed somewhat, developed. War-vessels and the lighter (mostly private) passenger ships carried many oars; cargo-transports had but a few oars, chiefly to turn the head of the ship in its tacking, and depended on sails. They also carried passengers: Josephus went to Rome in a ship with 600 souls on board (*Ant.* 31; and over 200 were reckoned on Paul's ship (Acts 27:37; see, however, STRIP, § 8). For a further description see Skeel, 81 ff.

The three principal ports on the Mediterranean were Rome (with Ostia and Puteoli, the latter the goal of the grain ships from Egypt), Alexandria,² and Carthage. Smyrna with the Asia Minor trade, as well as some from Central Asia, came next. Delos was the great centre of the slave trade; Strabo (xiv. 52) mentions 10,000 slaves there. Rhodes maintained the flourishing condition ascribed to it by Ezekiel (27:15); it lay on the Alexandria-Byzantium-Black Sea line. **THESSALONICA** (*q.v.*) had grown since the time of Alexander, and now increased through its connection with Dyrrhachium. Byzantium commanded the Black Sea, though much of the traffic from the E. portion of this went by land across Asia Minor. Corinth and Athens rather fell behind; but Corinth grew again under Trajan. On the Syrian coast Berytus, a colonia of Augustus, grew into prominence (see below, § 75); **PTOLEMAIS** (*q.v.*) became the chief port for Rome—especially for the soldiery, but also for commerce; and Herod founded Caesarea (75); Gaza and, to a lesser degree, Anthedon still flourished with the Nabataean trade from the far E. The importance of Tyre and Sidon was, therefore, relatively (though not absolutely) diminished.

Strabo (iii. 25 x. 45, etc.), Pliny (*HN* 15:29 191, etc.), Acts (20:28), Lucian (*Varieg.* 1-6), and others, furnish us with data as to the time occupied by Mediterranean voyages. If we take the sea from W. to E., from Gades to Ostia was 7 days, from Carthage 2 to 3, from Puteoli to Alexandria 9 days, from Athens to Smyrna 2½. These may be taken as express or even 'record' voyages. For cargo boats with favourable winds we may add 25 to 50 p.c. Even when storms did not intervene, it must have taken the grain ships of Alexandria well on to a fortnight to reach Puteoli. From Cyprus to Tyre and Sidon (to judge from the voyages of mediaeval galleys) 24 hours would suffice; the Syrian ports were mostly within 12 hours of each other. But the uncertainties were great. Herod sailing from Alexandria to Pamphylia was driven by a storm, with loss of the ship's cargo, to Rhodes, where he built a three-decked ship and sailed to Brundisium for Rome (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 133). Lucian, who reached Cyprus from Alexandria in 7 days, took 63 more (having been driven to Sidon) to reach the Piræus (*Varieg.* 1-6). For winds on the Mediterranean, see Pliny, *HN* 2:117 ff.; Smyth's *Mediterr.* 230 ff.

(iv) The trade down the Red Sea and across the Indian Ocean was immensely increased,³ and indeed it is to this period that we owe the first

71. Trade with India. approximately exact data with regard to it (Strabo, 60 B.C. to about 21 A.D.; Pliny senior, 23-79 A.D., and the anonymous *Periplus* of the

¹ Cp Jos. *Ant.* vii. 13 (last clause).

² Cp *Ant.* iv. 105. See, too, *The Mediterranean* by Admiral Smyth (London, 1854), pp. 27 ff.

³ This was partly due, of course, to the obstructions to trade raised upon the Mesopotamian and Persian Gulf route to India, by the rise of the Parthian empire and its frequent wars with Rome. Had the Seleucids continued to hold all Mesopotamia, the trade down the Red Sea in the Ptolemaic period, and the consequent wealth of the Ptolemies, could not have been so great as it was.

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Erythraean Sea, 1st cent.; Ptolemy, *g.* But even though the discovery of the 'monsoon' attributed to Hippalus, of the time of Augustus, not suppose that these had not been employed in earlier periods (above, § 17). The Africa was known as far as Madagascar. India was fairly opened up (Horace, *Ep.* Ceylon had been known before the geographer Ptolemy Mela (about 150 B.C.), and now, markets for the further E., became open (Strabo, 21, Ptol. 73); an embassy came from Claudius (Plin. *HN* vi. 245). The time required the Malabar coast to Alexandria was 90 days. The Indian and the Indus were thus less than 3000 distant. Phny (*HN* 12:41) estimates that the 'India, Seres, peninsulae, etc., Arabia'—from the Empire 100,000,000 sesterterii (about £100,000,000). When Strabo went up the Nile with Julius learned that 120 ships left Myos Hormos (Limen; see § 29, n. 4) for India, as contrasted 'extremely few under the Ptolemies' (*Geog.* 17). Yet these regular voyages did not destroy the land-traffic. For reasons for this (e.g. the increase of the age for land-routes and the loss to the incense and spices when on the sea), cp Geog. 17. We are now able to appreciate the growth, under the Romans, of Alexandria. The bulk of the Indian trade passed through its warehouses, as well as that from Africa. Besides its exports of Egyptian grain, linen, and glass to Rome, it sent proportional quantities (except of grain) to Syria, especially to Antioch, times of famine supplied Syria with food-stuffs were also brought thither from Cyprus.¹

(v) The civilised world found itself for the first time under a common system of law—administered

72. Law, money, language. western consistency; and even a common law began to exist. With the spread of a common coinage. Less was the use of the Latin language.

in the names of the coins, official designation of few other terms, it did not in W. Asia displace the *Periplus* is written in Greek, the harbours of the Red Sea continue to have Greek names. We find a similar state of affairs among the Jews.

Thus though the Romans, unlike the Phoenicians and the Greeks, did not increase the boundedness of the known world, for they were

73. Summary: Rome. explorers, they reduced it to possession by this and their thorough administration of every department of life, enormously increased its commerce and wealth. The life of the world everywhere found in the most rapid circulation, the throng and change of which voices from all sides appeal in vain. The mixture of nationalities in the main lines and centres is bewildering. Wealth and luxury increase by leaps and bounds.

The Roman arms came into touch with the Parthians at the arrival of Pompey at Damascus 64-63 B.C.

74. Antipater. the first results were several

properly commercial. The Greek colonies of Jordan had been founded on the main routes with a connection by Scythopolis with the Mediterranean. Under Roman protection they were able for the first time to carry out a trade-league, such as was instituted by Greek cities in Europe. See DEC. § 17. Pompey also appears to have been attracted to the trade of the Nabataeans (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 104) with whom, as we have seen, the western world was already more familiar than it was with the Jews. His expedition to Petra ended in a treaty with the Nabataeans (Jos. *Ant.* 14:1) also notes the trade in palm and balsam of Jericho. Gabinius re-built on trade lines which had been destroyed (Jos. *Ant.* 14:1) policy of Antipater (cp HEROD, FAMILY OF).

¹ The Crusaders also used Cyprus as a base of operations in the *Guerra Santa*, 1191 ff. 247 ff.

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lemy, *J. civ.* 140).
of the 'monsoons' was
of Augustus, we must
en employed by naviga-
17). The E coast of
17). The E coast of
race, *JPP* i. 145 f.).
the geographer Ptole-
and now, with its
became quite familiar
ssy came from it to
time required from it
was 90 days. The
less than 3½ months
ates that every year
Alalia — withdraw
rti (about 885, 416)
with Julius Gallus he
s Hormis (? Enkes
n, as contrasted with
mes' (*Geog.* ii. 512)
to destroy the Arabian
(e.g., the preference
loss to the value of
sea), cp Gotz, 436 f.).
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of the Indian trade
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y to Antioch, and in
food-stuffs. These
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Jews.
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See DECADES.
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s. *Ant.* xiv. 3.
western world was
with the Jews. An
with the Nabataeans
notes already the
omms rebuilt cities
royed (54). The
FAMILY OF 54

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included treaties with Nabataeans, Gaza and Ashkelon (17, 73), and he supplied the army of Galamus with corn, weapons, and money (62, cp 51). The wealth not only of the temple, through the contributions from Jews of the Diaspora, but also of Jerusalem and Judaea as a whole, was considerable (717) with quot from Strabo. A limited freedom from taxes was granted to the Jews (84, 106; cp 101), and Hyrcanus was allowed the dues on corn (20, 975 modii every year) exported through Joppa to Phoenicia (106). The Senate restored to the Jews possessions taken from them by the Phoenicians (106).
Herod's earliest efforts (cp HEROD, FAMILY OF, §§ 3-5) as governor of Galilee were directed towards the dispersion of brigands (92, 154) who made the conveyance of even the necessaries of life a difficulty (162). From the first Herod continued, and after each of his reverses he renewed, the policy of his father. When he sought a home, it was to the Nabataeans that he turned (141, *BJ* i. 114); he sought their friendship; but on the extension of his power E. of Jordan, he and they became bitter rivals (xv. 92). When Antony had given Cleopatra the revenues of Jericho, Herod farmed them for her (iv. 12). He got the coast towns from Caesar, with Gadara, Hippos, and Samaria (all trade centres, 719), and having fortified and embellished Samaria, he created, 25 m. distant from it at Straton's Tower, CESARIA (173), the one real port between the Delta and Ptolemais (84, 96). Thus the line across the Samaritan mountains was in his hands; at its further end lay Phasaelis (and in the next reign Archelais) with palm-groves reaching to Jericho, and easy roads across Jordan commanded probably by the fortress Alexandrium (Jos. *BJ* i. 85; Strabo vi. 241, cp *III* 352 f.). Further, Herod built AMPHIVAS (on the line between Jerusalem as well as on the inland route N. and S. over the maritime plain) (xv. 52), and greatly improved the fertility of the Jordan valley (174). The trade of W. Palestine, at least S. of Carmel thus lay in his hands; at Gadara, and Hippos, and Jericho he intercepted the trade of E. Palestine, but there his hold was precarious and temporary; whilst at Gaza he held the tolls for Arabia *via* Petra, and for Egypt. Herod mightily increased his opportunities, both of wealth and of expense, by his many voyages to the W. (see above § 70). *Ant.* xiv. 142 f., and back to Ptolemais, 151; *ibid.* to Italy for his sons, xvi. 12, (cp *ibid.* to M. Agrippa 21, 60) by Rhodes, Cos, Lesbos, Byzantium, to Smyrna, to Agrippa returning through Asia Minor to Ephesus and thence by Samos, in a few days (cp *Assaria*, 224; *ibid.* to Italy to accuse his sons, and back by Euboea, *ibid.* then, and Zephyrium, 407, *BJ* i. 234; *ibid.* to Italy, *Ant.* xiv. 91, 92) to Berytus to the trial of his sons and back to Caesarea (xvi. 112 f.). Herod was able to estimate the resources of his countrymen of the Diaspora, and no doubt to draw upon these in return for services rendered them (e.g., xvi. 53). He also received, among other imperial donations, the revenues of copper mines in Cyprus (13). But, on the whole, as Josephus points out (34), Herod's expenditure constantly exceeded his income. He would send money and provisions for the imperial armies, and provide water (no doubt with the help of the Nabataeans, on the desert marches between Egypt and Palestine) (xv. 67), and an auxiliary regiment (84, xv. 9). His lavish gifts to foreign cities resemble the donations of an American millionaire (xvi. 5). At some periods rebuilding the temple, or eighteen months (xv. 114), and constructing other public edifices on a western scale (81, etc.), he had to bring corn from Egypt, not only for food for the cities of Jerusalem,

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but also for seed for the peasants on the occasion of a famine (92). While, no doubt, his policy increased the trade of his dominions, he must at the same time have hampered trade by his growing exactions. On this Josephus speaks cautiously but emphatically (xvi. 54); cp the complaint of the Jewish embassy to Augustus after the accession of Archelais (xvii. 11, 11') and the many seditions both in Herod's life-time and later (104 f.).
Commercial events and processes under the Roman procurators or under the descendants of Herod (see HEROD, FAMILY OF, §§ 6-14), do not call for special mention, beyond these facts. Herod Antipas by his domains in Peraea was brought into special relations with the Nabataeans and the Decapolis, and his building of Tiberias must have increased the traffic of Galilee. The policy of Agrippa I. was milder towards the Jews than that of Herod; his revenues were about three-fourths of Herod's (xv. 82). He sailed from Antioch for Alexandria, and thence to Puteoli (xvii. 64). The completion of the works on the temple created a large number of unemployed for whom work had to be found (xv. 27); a striking instance of the complications brought into Jewish life by the Hellenic policy of the Herods. Josephus gives an interesting account of the trade, wealth, and fame of the Babylonian Jews (xvii. 9, xv. 2), Queen Helena of Adiabene brought food from Egypt and Cyprus for Judaea during a famine (23). As the troubles with Rome drew to a head (from 60 A. D.), brigandage increased (64, 83, 91, etc.).
As to the conditions of Syrian trade in the first Christian century we may say, in general, that it suffered everywhere for a period, and in some of the more desert parts always, from robbers; and that besides the exactions noted, it was greatly hampered, especially among the Jews of Judaea, by the strictness of the Law, and above all by the provisions relating to the Sabbath and to things clean and unclean (for a list of these see Schürer, *GH*, I. 1, n. 2, p. 7, 16 ff.). The Sabbath prohibitions reflect almost wholly an agricultural people, yet those against working and carrying and putting a yoke on an ox on the Sabbath (*ibid.* 102) must have made trade on that day impossible except by desperate subterfuges. The laws against unclean things affected trade more deeply, for trade everywhere brought Jews, in any large way, of clean business, into contact with the Greeks and other foreigners. In spite of themselves, however, Hellenism poured into their life through common channels. For the very large list of trading terms and names or objects of trade borrowed by the mixed Hebrew of the time from the Greek language, see Schürer, *GH*, I. 1, n. 1, p. 6 ff. Thus, different names for dealers, foreign provisions, and materials for dress, some raw stuffs, and vessels for eating, carrying, etc., are Greek. So with some of the coins, the rest are Roman (PUNY, etc.), but the superscription for the Greek cities had their own coinage with Caesar's image, was mostly in Greek. The large number of very small coins in use (*ibid.*) betrays the great poverty of the bulk of the population. Yet here and there we find rich individuals outside the official classes were found (*Ant.* xiv. 135).
It is easy to form an idea of the objects of trade. The Hellenic trade from Arabia, C. to the Levant, and from Egypt to Syria, avoided Judea, and the trade under Herod's rule for coast trade was directed inward, and was

1 Cp the large sums obtained later by the Procurator Alexander from Jews in Crete and Melos, *Ant.* 17, 1.
2 Herod's foreign mercenaries are frequently mentioned, *Ant.* 17, 1.

1 He embellished foreign cities at the expense of his own, and filled the nation with poverty.
2 Under the procurators, the Jews were allowed to buy the furniture of a servant of Caesar, or the Levite, from Rome (*Ant.* ii. 127; cp 137).

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frequent and heavy across Galilee, especially between Ptolemais and the Greek cities beyond Jordan. Josephus (*IV*, 26) describes the wife of Ptolemy, the king's procurator, as crossing Esdraelon with '4 mules' laden with garments and other furniture; a 'weight of silver not small,' and '500 pieces of gold.' Palestine continued to export from the Jordan valley dates and the balsam of Jericho (the passages already cited from *Ant.*);¹ *Theol. Sic.* 114³⁰, 19934; Dioscorides 118; *Ant.* 1245; Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* 96). Whether the flux of Beth Shan, later so famous ('Totius Orbis Deser.' in *Geogr. Gr. Min.*, ed. Müller, 251 ff.), was already grown there is uncertain. Wheat and oil were also exported to Phœnicia; but, as Josephus describes the fertility and agriculture of Galilee to have been, it was not thence but from Egypt and elsewhere that Judæa bought her food and seed in times of famine. In 66 A.D. John of Gischala had the monopoly of exporting oil from Galilee, by which he made great sums of money (*B/ii*, 217). Josephus mentions artificial snow (*B/ii*, 197). There was also exportation of pickled fish from the Lake of Galilee, as far as Italy (Strabo, xv, 245). Tarichee, the chief port on the Lake, means 'pickling-places'; Josephus describes it as full of artisans and of materials for shipbuilding (*B/ii*, 1164). The temple of Jerusalem was, even on ordinary days, an immense center of trade; incense, spices,² priests' garments, and the supplies for the daily sacrifices (*Schur. Hist.*, n. 1289, 2921) alone necessitated enormous markets, largely in the hands of the priesthood (Kern, *Life of Jesus*, E1, 511 f.). The temple finances — not only the sacred revenues³ but also private deposits⁴ — were managed by special officers (*Schur.*, *id.*, 261). All this business was heightened enormously at the time of the great festivals when food (largely pickled fish from the Lake of Galilee and the Levant) had to be supplied for the incoming multitudes; and no doubt much private business, too, was transacted. Among the traders of Jerusalem, Josephus enumerates those in wool, brass, cloth (*B/ii*, 80), timber (n. 194), and all kinds of arts and crafts.

In the NT there is a considerable reflection of all this life. The Gospels, relating large catches of fish on the Lake, which must in that climate have been immediately cured, are curiously silent about the conveyance of the fish for this purpose by the Jewish fisherman or the Greek curer. But of other business, so thriving in Galilee, they give us many glimpses. One of the disciples keeps toll on the must trade at Capernaum (*Mt.* 9). Many of the hearers of Jesus are publicans (PUBLICANS). Zaccheus was probably farmer of the state revenues of the balsam gardens of Jericho. The use of the objects, means, and tempers of trade by Jesus is very instructive (cp. above, on Proverbs, § 61). The parables reflect the roads and journeys, mostly of Galilee but also of Judæa: a merchant seeking goodly pearls; a Samaritan traveller, rescuing a Jew fallen among thieves, and paying for him at an inn; the prosperous farmer and his new barns; the woman with her little store of silver; the rich man and his steward; the farming of estates to husbandmen by absentee landlords; and other of the economic relations of the time. In the light of what we have seen in previous portions (§§ 11, 48, etc.), it is interesting that the Parable of the Pounds involves trade to kings through their servants. From the early Pharaohs to the Herods trade had always been a royal business. And the teaching of Jesus is full

¹ Also *B/ii*, 26; cp. *Hist.* 2, 5, 212. For the farming of the groves by the Romans, see W. Pöhl's *Prinzipien der Subsidien*.

² 'Sweet-smelling spices with which the sea replenished it'; *B/ii*, 55. There were Hætereians, too.

³ *B/ii*, 3, 151, 152.

⁴ Such are mentioned in *B/ii*, 43, iv, 5, etc. There were also the public treasurers (cp. § 60) held in the royal palace (*B/ii*, 1, 139, iv, 34), where also business contracts were deposited (ii, 17, 1).

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of appreciation of the bigness of its methods and brave tempers required in it (*Mt.* 1345 f., Lk. 11). He frequently likens to its pursuit the search for true riches. At the same time his warnings against covetousness and the temper of the Gentiles. Galilee was a place where a man of the whole world might lose his own soul! The courts had become a fraudulent market — the God a den of thieves.

On the social life of the early Christian SOCIETY OF GOODS, DIAMON, etc. The

80. Acts and Epistles.

trade and in the great trade centers, LAYOIA, JOPPA, CESAREA, DAMASCUS, the cities of ASIA MINOR, TRUSSA, CORINTH, ROME. Paul worked at his own trade (15, 2033 ff.), and other commercial pursuits mentioned among the early Christians (Eras, treasurer of the city, *Rom.* 1623; 'Alexandrian copper-smith,' 2 *Tim.* 414; Zenas 'the lawyer,' 2 *Tim.* 441; Simon a tanner, *Acts* 941; Lydia 'a purple,' 1614; Aquila and Priscilla, like Paul, makers, 1831). The Apostolic letters, however, besides the general warnings against covetousness, contain extremely few references to trade, either for ill or warning: — *Jas.* 411 ff., 511 ff., 1 *Thess.* 29 : 38 (Paul's own example of industry) 1 *Thess.* 2 *Thess.* 39 ff. (exhortations 'to do your own work and to work with your hands . . . that you may have need of nothing') *Rom.* 137 ff. (tax debt) 1 *Cor.* 739 ('those that buy as though they possessed not'). The fewness of such references, more conspicuous when the many passages of relations of masters and slaves are contrasted with the lifting of the burdensome law from the Jewish converts to the new faith must have them fresh advantages in trade; cp. Peter's visit to Joppa, in which the sheet, let down from heaven of things clean and unclean, has been compared to the sails of the merchant ships in the roads from the Joppa house-tops (see *II G* 141 f.). God hath cleansed all not thou common (109 ff.). We may take for granted that the Christianity had far-reaching economic effects upon the fortunes of certain trades (cp. the order of the Ephesus silversmiths, *Acts* 1924 ff.), and more deeply — as in parts of India to-day — rise in wages has been known to follow the adoption of the new faith — upon the wage-earning slave freedmen.

In the Book of Revelation the peculiar trade of LAODICEA (177) are referred to. On the name of the beast, which gave

81. Book of Revelation.

to buy and sell (1317), see the mediaries. In the picture of Babylon the Great, as in the prophet's account of the fall of the city, the namesake of old, her vast trade is included: 'Revelation' 'the merchants of the earth waxed rich by the purchase of her luxury'; 2, 11, 'the merchants of the earth will mourn over her, for no man layeth their goods.' follows a list of her imports. Compared with the list of goods which were taken from Tyre and Babylon by the prophets, nothing new except SILK (177); but note the order: 'clothes and souls of men.' Rome means the destruction of commerce and industry (1815-23). With this acknowledgement of Rome as the center of the world's trade, we may finish our study of the Roman period. In the prophetic of her fall may be traced a just sense of the precariousness of commercial, apart from her political, position. For a couple of centuries saw the gradual disappearance of her trade to other positions naturally more fit to attract it.

¹ For a description of Joppa, see *Jos.* E/iii, 93.

methods and of the search after the warnings are many of the trading a man might gain from the temple market—the house of

Christian societies etc. The progress along the lines of trade centres (ASAKEA, ANTRICH, TUPSSALONICA) his own trade (AOL) pursuits are men (Erastus the lawyer, Tit Lydia 'a seller of vials, like Paul, tenters, however, con- against covetousness, either for illustration Thess. 29 2 Thess. 31 Thistry 11 your own business that ye may be without and 137 ff. taxes, and though they poss- references is the y passages on the contrasted with n from the lives of h must have given p Peter's vision a n from heaven, h been compared to n the roads visible HIG 141 1. 'What a common' (Acts ed that the rise of omic effects— 22 3 (cp the outcry of 24 ff.), and 31 in to-day when low the adoption of arming slaves and

peculiar traders of On the mark, which gave home 17), see the com- pture of Rome's account of her chided; Rev. 18. h by the power of the earth we p- been carried. Then mpared with these products, the note the emphasis 'men.' Rome's free and industry and Rome's finish our survey of her Ed. the earliness of her position. Less any of disappearance of ly more fitted to

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IV. TERMINOLOGY IN OT

An account of the terminology of trade among the Israelites will complete our survey, by giving a number of names both of agents and processes not touched on in the preceding history. The appended list is as nearly as possible exhaustive so far as the OT is concerned. It ought to be noted that a great many of the terms and phrases given are used only metaphorically; yet, in the case of nearly all of these, the metaphorical (generally a religious) use implies a previous direct employment in common life. The list presents many points of historical interest of which the following may be summarised by way of preface to it.

82. Terminology of trade in OT. The OT terms are all Semitic. Down to the Greek period there are in fact no others—none of Egyptian and none of Persian or Indian origin. This is the more striking in that so many of the names of articles and objects which trade introduced into the Hebrew vocabulary are Egyptian or Persian—jdants, raw materials, garments, etc.; and that from their Persian masters Israel also adopted a number of political terms. That none of the agents or processes of trade even in the Babylonian and Persian periods are of non-Semitic origin is clear proof that till the advent of the Greeks the trade of W. Asia remained in Semitic hands (witness the mishke of the Egyptians to trade, § 12) and that all the foreign commerce of Israel was achieved through Semitic tribes or nations who spoke a Semitic tongue; further evidence that the non-Semitic PHILISTINES (q.v., § 5 f.), with whom the early Hebrews did so much trade, had adopted 'the lip of Canaan.' As soon as the Greeks come to Syria we perceive a change: the purely Semitic words for trade and trader are displaced in MH by Greek terms; and there is a great influx of Greek names for specialised forms of trading, and for the articles and objects of trade (see above, § 77; also HELLENISM, § 5).

i. The OT terms all belong to the common Semitic stock and are native to Hebrew except in the case of a small number borrowed from the Assyrian probably through the Aramaean (e.g. מְכָרִים, מְכָרָה, and these are chiefly in P and the post-exilic writings. Of course, some others may be of Phoenician or Aramaean origin; but this it is impossible to prove.

ii. There is clear evidence in the OT terminology of a gradual growth and organisation of commerce in Israel. For (a) the number of terms, and the frequency of the instances of each increases from DI. onwards and rapidly in P and Ezra-Neh. (b) Especially are there more words for 'property,' 'wealth,' 'substance,' or at least these occur more frequently; (c) terms of general significance (מְכָר, מְכָרָה, and the like) have specially commercial meanings attached to them in the later writings; (d) the shades of meaning increase in the case of some words, or the various processes (cp 'valuation' and the like) are carefully differentiated; (e) the mention of deposits of money becomes more frequent; (f) old processes of a primitive type are displaced by more formal and by written deeds; cp the sale of land in Ruth; I wish that in Jer 32; (g) and yet in spite of all this, Hebrew trade remains somewhat simple—there is, e.g., no mention in the OT of a trading company.

The Hebrew names for trade, traders, and merchants, and for the various processes and combinations included under trade are as follows—

83. Detailed vocabulary.

(a) National names specialised to near traders.

(i) כְּנָעִי, מְכָרָה 'Canaanite' or 'Phoenician,' means 'merchant' (1 Job 40 10 [H. 5], Prov 31 24 [but מְכָרָה, נַאֲוֵעִים]). There is a plural form with suff. מְכָרָהִים in Is. 23 8; and in Zech. 11 7, 11 12 13, after מְכָרָה to be read מְכָרָהִים with the same sense. In the 12th cent. North Israel is described as a מְכָרָה

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(מְכָרָהִים); in Zeph. 1 11 מְכָרָהִים is probably used of the mercantile portion of Jerusalem generally (מְכָרָהִים אֲנֹכִי נַאֲוֵעִים); in Ezek. 10 29 מְכָרָהִים and 11 4 (מְכָרָהִים נַאֲוֵעִים, מְכָרָהִים נַאֲוֵעִים) (Chabbea is called a 'land of מְכָרָהִים—i.e., 'traders'). (Cp CANAAN, § 20 3, 6) [and on the textual questions arising out of the passages referred to, cp Crit. Bib. 1]

2. מְכָרָהִים, מְכָרָהִים for מְכָרָהִים, מְכָרָהִים: Melchites, Gen. 37 29, and

3. מְכָרָהִים, מְכָרָהִים: Ishmachites (Gen. 37 25 30), may also (as we can see from a careful observation of these passages) have been used in the sense of 'traders.' On the other hand there is no provable connection (excepting as it might be to suppose one) between מְכָרָהִים in its sense 'to do trade' (see below) and מְכָרָהִים 'Arabians.'

(b) Names for Traders and Trade in General.—For these the Hebrews used four terms, the radical meaning of all of which was the same: מְכָרָה 'to go about'—מְכָרָה, מְכָרָה, מְכָרָה and מְכָרָה. Of these the last three when applied to trading are practically synonymous.

1. מְכָרָה, מְכָרָה (cp Assy. malkān 'to turn round'; Syr. מְכָרָה, to go about as a beggar'; in MH 'to go about as a pedlar'), in the OT used exclusively (with metaphorical applications) of travelling, making circuits or tours, for מְכָרָה (cp מְכָרָהִים, מְכָרָהִים, which מְכָרָה renders in Gen. 42 3 [H. 4] of the right to trade in Egypt granted by Joseph to his brethren, Gen. 45 21 [P. 2]; מְכָרָהִים 'traverse, or trade in, it'—i.e., the land, Jer. 14 8; metaphorical of prophet and priest, 'travelling' (cp מְכָרָהִים). The pt. מְכָרָה (מְכָרָה) is one of the usual terms for 'merchants,' מְכָרָהִים, Gen. 37 28 [H. 1] 'men, Melchites, merchants,' 1 K. 10 28 (cp Ch. 11) מְכָרָהִים מְכָרָהִים; either the Israelite agents through whom Solomon did trade with the N. Syrian Mar and Kun, or (more probably) his so-called agents (those lands who traded with his agents) (cp Is. 47 15 מְכָרָהִים מְכָרָהִים 'not thy native men have' but 'those (foreigners) who trade with thee,' Babylon (p. 5). Ez. 27 13: 'the merchants among the peoples,' 27 13; 'the merchants of Tarshish'; 2 Ch. 33 14: 'the chapmen and merchants.' Other phrases:—Ez. 27 13: 'the merchants of thy land'; Gen. 23 10 (P): 'money current with the merchants' (מְכָרָהִים מְכָרָהִים); cp KRISHNAI, Prov. 31 14: מְכָרָהִים מְכָרָהִים 'a merchant-ship'; Is. 23 2: 'the merchants (מְכָרָהִים) of Sion that pass over the sea.' The fem. pt. מְכָרָהִים (מְכָרָהִים) is used of cities, etc.—Tarshish, Aram, Damascus—trading with Tyre; Ez. 27 12 13 18. Derivatives: (a) מְכָרָהִים, Is. 23 18; 45 14 RV 'man' and 'merchandise' but (cp the parallel מְכָרָהִים in 23 18) more probably 'profit,' cp Prov. 31 14, 21 6 2. For מְכָרָהִים (in constr.); 1 K. 10 15, taken by the lexicons as a separate word, Klost. reads מְכָרָהִים. (b) מְכָרָהִים (מְכָרָהִים), 'trade,' is used collectively of 'traders'; Ez. 27 15.

2. מְכָרָה, מְכָרָה (cp מְכָרָה 'to reach' or 'gather'); Aram. מְכָרָהִים, Syr. מְכָרָהִים, 'travelling merchant,' 'pedlar' is also used in the OT of trade exclusively. The pt. מְכָרָהִים is synonymous with מְכָרָהִים, but, except in 1 K. 10 15, is found only in later writers; 2 Ez. 17 6: 'a city of merchants' (מְכָרָהִים מְכָרָהִים), Bolyhous; 27 13 15 17 20 24 (of various nations trading with Tyre); Gen. 37 25 'pedlar of the merchant'; Neh. 3 12: 'the house of the Nehemians and of the merchants'; this was opposite the Gate Hinn. Miphkad (see HIRSHMAN, § 24 11-13). The fem. pt. מְכָרָהִים is used in Ezek. 27 20 (of Hadan) 21 6 (derivatively of the he-pl); omit מְכָרָהִים (מְכָרָהִים). Although the root מְכָרָה (like מְכָרָה) was used as in מְכָרָהִים—sōda (cp MH מְכָרָהִים) in a bad sense, there is no reason for supposing that any derogatory meaning was attached to its employment in trading. Derivatives: (a) מְכָרָהִים, 'trade' (cp 1 K. 10 15, 28 2 15 15); (b) מְכָרָהִים 'market'; 1 K. 10 27 (but see Cornill).

3. מְכָרָה, מְכָרָה (Assy. malkān 'to turn round'; Ar. مَكْرَهٌ 'to go about as a pedlar'—the OT in K. 10 28 expiring a land, Nu. 13 20 6; in High. Trav. expiring, Job 1 13 [H. 1]). Cp STUBBS, 'The plural in the phrase מְכָרָהִים מְכָרָהִים is used of traders parallel with מְכָרָהִים (1 K. 10 28) and מְכָרָהִים (Ch. 11 4).

4. מְכָרָה, מְכָרָה (cp Assy. malkān 'to turn round'; Ar. مَكْرَهٌ 'to go about as a pedlar'—the OT in K. 10 28 expiring a land, Nu. 13 20 6; in High. Trav. expiring, Job 1 13 [H. 1]). Cp STUBBS, 'The plural in the phrase מְכָרָהִים מְכָרָהִים is used of traders parallel with מְכָרָהִים (1 K. 10 28) and מְכָרָהִים (Ch. 11 4).

1. On 1 K. 10 28, cp MIZRAIM, § 2 a; also throughout cp Crit. Bib.

2. Similarly in modern E. Syria, malkān means both 'trade' and 'profits.' Maclean, *Dict. of Vernacular Syria*, 1901.

3. For the difficult phrase in 1 K. 10 14, cp SOLOMON, § 10, SHOW MERCHANTS; on Neh. 3 12, MERCHANT 2, and *Ancient Town of Tyre*, July 1901 (C. Neihim) = 'Etrianess,' and malkān = Jerahme elion; see also Crit. Bib.

These have been alluded to already, § 13.

TRADE AND COMMERCE

Tarshish were ... RV 'thy caravans, but Cornill reads ... 'served thee.'

With these we may take the following terms signifying way or going as applied to trade or business.

(1) derak, ... = to do business;

(2) kiltak, ... 'caravan (but perhaps metaph. lit. 'going'; also procession): of Sheba, Job 19; cp. Bibl. Aram. ... 'way-money', toll, Ezra 4 11, etc.

(3) 'arabah, ... 'caravan' always of merchants, Gen. 37 25, or of mercantile tribes; Is. 21 13; Deban: Job 14 5; Tema: ... the pt. is used of travellers in general: Jer. 9 1 (2) ... (but Gesenbrecht after ... [cp. also Crit. Bib.] ... a 'caravan-entail' ... provision for journey: ... and ... refer to the journeys of nomads' camps (cp. Text, § 2); he who prepares the camping ground, the quarter-master, ... Jer. 51 59. [But see SERAIAH, 4.]

(4) Merchants' Quarters. Travelling merchants took up their quarters in special parts of the towns to which they took their goods.

hapth, ... 'streets' or 'bazaars,' were what Ben-hadad's father was allowed by treaty to build in Samaria, and Ahab in Damascus (1 K. 20 14), probably for their merchants; cp. the 'bakers' street' in Jerusalem, Jer. 37 21. The MAKTESH (cp. also ... vol. 242) appears to have been a quarter of the city where the ... or 'merchants' (?) resided (Zeph. 1 11). For 'the house of the merchants' see above, under ... for the fish, sheep, and horse-guards see ... § 24. ... For market see ... above (p. 218); for caravan-serai, ... see p. 111.

(5) Trading Companies. — There is no mention of these in the OT; but we can hardly doubt that they existed.

(1) beher, ... 'a company of priests for robbery,' Hos. 6 9; 'a house held by a number of people,' Pr. 21 9 25 21 (but Gik and Foy read ...). (2) habbit, ... 'a guild' or 'society' of fishermen, Job 40 30 41 61. (cp. Phoen. ... and Assy. ... 'a comrade'). (3) ... lit. 'family,' or 'clan'; but 'a guild' of scribes, 1 Ch. 2 55; 'of linen workers,' 4 21.

(6) Various Processes included under Trade.

1. Barter and exchange. (1) ... 'to give one thing for another,' Job 41 21 31 (2 before the object taken in exchange; cp. Lam. 1 11), Ezek. 27 13 (2 before the object given in exchange), 15 (2 before both objects), 14 (without 2; both objects in the act); cp. 10, 11 25, 'to give for money'; ... Ps. 13 5, 'for interest'; ... (2) The antithesis of ... is ... and so in Neh. 10 12, ... lit. 'things to be taken,' are 'wares for sale'; cp. Talmud ... or ... 'buying' or 'article bought.'

(3) ... 'to exchange,' does not appear in the OT in the sense of barter (Lev. 27 10 11, the substitution of one beast for another; Ezek. 48 14, of one piece of land for another); yet the fact that the Syr. word means 'to import victuals,' proves that at one time among the Arameans it was used in the sense 'to barter.' Deriv. ... 'exchange,' Ru. 17, Job 28 17; 'the thing exchanged,' Lev. 27 10 11 (1); 'gain' or 'profit' as a result of trade, Job 20 10; also 'compensation,' 15 11.

(4) Not does ... 'to exchange,' appear in the OT for barter; yet ... is used twice: Nu. 18 21 31 (1) in the sense of 'returns,' 'rewards for' service rendered; and Hoffmann (Phoenia, ... 20) gives ... as equivalent (in exchange); (Bosh., Phoen. Gloss.) 'payment,' ... 'to reward.' (5) ... usually 'to pledge' (see below, p. 116), is used in Ezek. 27 17 as 'to exchange.' In other Sem. languages it is to 'furnish security,' or 'to pledge.' The original meaning seems to be to mix or 'mingle,' as in N.E. Arab., Syr., and Heb. (Hilphiel); yet this may be a secondary meaning, through 'having intercourse with.' Deriv. ... sg. and pl. 'wares.' (6) It is possible that the difficult ... (see below, p. 7 [3]) in Ezek. 27 means 'exchange.'

Bargain, contract, etc. (1) The very wide use of kethb, ... to express a 'covenant' between men (see COVENANTS), and its application in Job 10 23 (41) to an engagement between master and servant are evidence of the probability of its employment for business-contracts; (2) ... is used in Is. 28 15 as a synonym for ... cp. ... in Lev., ... (1) ... lit. 'something'

TRADE AND COMMERCE

placed in the hand' or 'trust' of another, is translated 'bargain'; ... (2) ... 'affair,' in sense of transaction; ... 'to confirm a transaction.' (3) This confirmation, in cases in which the object sold could not be handled over, appears to have been effected by the seller drawing off his shoe or sandal, ... 47 f.; cp. ... where it symbolises the giving of right; WRS ... Cp. ... also, for action among the Arabs, Burton, Land of Midian, ... 147 (quoted by ... The antique possession was symbolised by 'throwing one's object,' ... (6) ... conveyance (which probably displaced the primitive noticed). A deed of sale ... was signed by ... and witnesses were called who also signed deed was in two copies, one sealed ... and placed in an earthen vessel; cp. ... 'The terms and conditions of the sale' (D) ... (9) 'They strike hands,' Is. 26, ...; espec. if with Du. we read ... But see Ch. SHOT' is ...

3. Buying and selling. The commonest words are ... and ... 'like to sell'; Ezek. 7 12, cp. Zech. 11 5. (1) ... lit. 'to obtain,' is applied to purchasing either with ... 43 24, or alone, Gen. 39 1, ... (2) ... is applied to purchasing a Hebrew slave through into one's debt; Ex. 21 2 (JE). Also metaphorically; Is. 11 11, etc.; ... 'the buyer,' Is. 24 2 Ezek. 7 12, also as owner, Is. 13. Bibl. Aram. ... 'to buy.' Deriv.: (a) ... but only in sense of 'property,' ... etc.; or land (Gen. 49 12, ...); cp. ... (b) ... besides meaning 'possession' is used for ... deed of sale, Jer. 32 11 ff.; or object sold 'a purchased slave,' Gen. 17 12 f. 23 (ἀγοραπωλησία), 1 or 'purchase-price,' Lev. 25 16 (ἀγοραία) (all Pl.); ... 'the money for which he was bought' ... (c) ... 'property' in wide ... 'the produce of his money' (ἀγοραίον ἀγοραίου) 22 11 (Pl.).

(2) ... 'to sell,' with 2 pretti: of selling persons 31 15 (JE), ... of selling a bride; so also the ... or men and women as slaves, Gen. 37 27 f. (JE) and Ex. 21 7 (JE). Is. 10 14; Ezra 7 4; cattle, Ex. 21 1 (JE), Lev. 27 27 (JE), ... land, Lev. 25 14 14 bright, Gen. 25 31 (JE); land, Ezek. 7 12 f., or any Lev. 25 25 27, or any wares, Noh. 13 16. So generally 'seller,' Is. 21 2. The same general sense attaches to Phoen., MH and Assy.; in the latter ... 11, ... 'merchant,' Del. ... 22. (1) (a) ... 'price' or 'value,' Nu. 10 10 (JE); cp. Pr. 10 'wares' or 'things for sale,' Neh. 13 16; (b) ... sale'; Lev. 25 27, ... etc.; 33 (Pl) ... was sold' or 'thing sold,' 25 25 Ezek. 7 11; or 'wares for sale,' Noh. 13 16. (c) ... 'to buy,' 14 2, ... Hos. 3 2, Job 42 7, 'to make merchandise of' or 'haggle,' 40 30 41 61 with ... Acc. to Talm. ... was used on the coast, Lev., ... 23 21; Ar. to hire, ... 'wage.' (4) ... 'price' or 'hire,' 28 24 1 K. 10 28, ... 1 K. 21 2, ... cp. 27 20; also 'wage,' Du. 23 19 [16] Mi. 3 11; cp. the phrase ... 'thou hast not gone high with their price.' (5) Pr. 22 10 appears to have a different sense. Assy. ... Del. ... from ... 'to be mutual. ... alone means price, Gen. 31 15, 'I paid for us.' (6) ... 'to buy a wife,' Aram. ... Deriv. ... 'price of a wife,' Aram. ... 13 11 (1); Du. 7 7, etc.; Ar. ... 'to buy corn'; Gen. 41 57 42 4 47 14, ... 'to buy victuals,' with ... Gen. 42 7; Du. 26. Hb. 'to sell corn,' ... Gen. 42 6 (ἀγοραπωλησία) Am. 8 4 f. with ... Du. 2 20, ... 'to buy free' or 'ransom,' Aram. ... (JE); 13 11 (1); Du. 7 7, etc.; Ar. ... 'to buy free.' Derivatives ... 'ransom money.' (8) ... 'to redeem.' Bartl. ... gives Ar. ... 'price.' Derivative ...

BAILEY'S HEBREW-ENGLISH

1 In MH the root is used apparently only of societies for religion or learning. See further ... 1935.
2 Yet in MH it seems to be used only in a theological sense.

TRADITION

● παραθήκη. (1) ἱερὸν, Lev. 5:21 [62], is 'trust' or 'deposit' parallel to תְּרִבּוּת; see above 2 (1). (4) In the east the hoarding of money is common and in Heb. this is מאֲסוּפָה, lit. 'place where one hides' or 'hoard'; Jer. 41:4, pits for 'storing' corn, oil, honey (cp. Ar. ghabghab); Gen. 43:23 (JE), 'money' [ἄσπερσους], cp. Pr. 24 Job 3:21. תְּרִבּוּת is one old derivation of MAMMON (cp. § 43), recently favoured by Deissmann. Hoarding is not mentioned in OT, where one individual lends money to another. But we saw that in the Roman period the temple contained, besides the sacred revenues, sums deposited by private individuals (§ 75); cp. the gate ΠΑΜΜΗΝΑΙΩΝ, close to Temple. See also Johns, op. cit. 3:254.

(A) Various other terms. (1) 'Abid, עָבַד, 'to work' (used frequently (a) of cultivation, (b) of serving as slave, (c) of working by means of another; עָבַד, Lev. 25:39, (P), Jer. 22:13, etc.) is not applied in the OT to commercial business, nor is the deriv. 'abidh (all other kinds of work). Bibl. Aram. 'abidh is 'work', Ezra 4:24, etc.; and state 'business', Dan. 2:49:12.

(2) mal'akh, מַלְאָכִים, 'work' or 'business' (lit. 'mission'), Gen. 30:11 Ex. 20:9 f. (JE) estr. with עָבַד, cp. Neh. 2:17; of handicraft, Jer. 18:12 K. 12:21[11]; of the superintendents of royal treasures, Esth. 3:9:13; also of worked articles, Lev. 13:49; עָבַד, 'leather work', in Ex. 22:7 [18:11], 'goods', 'possessions.' Besides the works cited in the course of the article, the student may consult on (a) the trade of the Jews, Herzfeld, Handlexikon der Juden (not seen); the

84. Literature. Brief summaries in Beninger and Nowack's manuals of Hebrew Archaeology; Bennett, art. 'Trade' in Hastings' DH; several works given under DISCOVERY. (A) for the Persian and Greek periods, Rennell's Illustrat. of Hist. of Emp. of Cyrus, etc. (1816); Shyler's Hellenistic Chronology of the Roman Empire (1788); Mommsen's History and Power of the Roman Empire; Mahaffy, i. k. World under Roman Empire; Hausath, N. F. Zeitgesch.; Ramsay, St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen. Consult also Torer, Hist. of Ancient Geog. See W. W. Hunter, Hist. of British India, vol. 1. G. A. S.

TRADITION (ΠΑΡΑΔΟΧΗC). Mt. 15:2 etc. See SCRIBES, § 6.

TRAGACANTH (ΤΡΑΓΑΚΑΝΘΗ) Gen. 37:25 RVmg. See SPURGEON.

TRANCE (1) Nu. 24:4 AV, and (2) Acts 10:10 (ΓΑΡΜΑCΙC). See PROPHET, § 19 b.

TRANSFIGURATION. See SIMON PETER, § 8.

TRANSLATION (ΜΕΤΑΘΕCΙC). Heb. 11:5 [same word, but not used of change of place, in 7:12 12:27, also in 2 Macc. 11:24 f.]. See ENOCH, § 1.

TRANSLATIONS OF SCRIPTURE. See TEXT AND VERSIONS.

TREASURE CITIES (קָרְיֹת סֵפֶרֶת) Ex. 1:11 AV, RV STORE CITIES (q. v.) [L.]; cp. CITY.

TREASURER. The word renders:

- 1. A denom. verb of תָּרַם, תְּרִמָּה, 'treasure,' in Neh. 13:13. See TREASURERHOUSE, 1.
2. תְּרִמָּה, [22], Is. 22:15; see STERNA.
3. תְּרִמָּה, [22], Ezra 1:8 (ρασβαρηου [H]), γαρβ. [A], γαρβαρηου [H], and in plur. Bibl. Aram. Is. 7:21 (γαρα). The word is of Persian origin (garabara), and if a current restoration of a passage in an Egyptian-Aramaic papyrus be adopted, the first part of the word תְּרִמָּה had already become Aramaicised by at least the fourth century B. C. (C. S. 2, no. 149 A. 1-3). According to Meyer (Fest. 23), (C. S. 2, no. 149 A. 1-3), and others, the word is identical with:—
4. The plur. γαδάρων, γαδάρων, Dan. 3:2 f. (G) but γαδάρων, Symm. in Syr. Hex. 4. So also Bludan (Her. Leberetz. Dan. 92) who, moreover, takes the presupposed original γαδάρων to be a gloss to קָרְיֹת (cp. COUSSEPIER, 2). An alternative view, that of Graetz, which is favoured by Hevan (Cinque. 79), treats the word as purely a scribe's error for קָרְיֹת (cp. COUSSEPIER, 3), chiefly on the ground that the word recurs in the similar but much smaller lists of officials in Dan. 3:2 f. It is more plausible, perhaps, to suggest, with S. A. Cook, that קָרְיֹת is the true meaning of which is quite obscure) is a corruption of the perfectly intelligible קָרְיֹת. (See also CRIT. Bibl. 5. ἀποθηκασ, Rom. 16:23 RV, AV CHAMBERLAIN (q. v.).

TREASURE HOUSE, TREASURY. occur as the rendering of several Hebrew and Greek terms.

1 Cp. TREASURY, (3). 5199

TRIBES

(1) תְּרִמָּה, תְּרִמָּה ('to heap up'), 1 K. 7:11, etc., and Neh. 10:39 [31] Dan. 1:2, with which (2) תְּרִמָּה, תְּרִמָּה, תְּרִמָּה (2 K. 20:11-15 32) is synonym (RV, by guess, 'the house of his precious things'), תְּרִמָּה [in 2 K. 20:11-15 32] is תְּרִמָּה Haupt, Z. 12:20, who plausibly reads תְּרִמָּה תְּרִמָּה (for askamati, plur.). Very possibly too the same word be read in Nah. 2:9 [10] (i.e., תְּרִמָּה for תְּרִמָּה, RV) etc. (3) תְּרִמָּה, תְּרִמָּה (1 Ch. 28:11); תְּרִמָּה [BA], תְּרִמָּה [H], like the NH תְּרִמָּה, perhaps Pers. or the addition of G. Pers. ask (Lag. Ges. Arb. 27). The form occurs in Ezra 1:11; תְּרִמָּה, תְּרִמָּה, RV 'treasure' combination with תְּרִמָּה in Ezra 5:17 7:20, RV 'treasure' (תְּרִמָּה תְּרִמָּה; H in 5:17 7:20 γαδάρων; but it is a in the last-mentioned sense in Esth. 3:9 4:7) (γαρα γαδω [HMAI]), a usage which is paralleled by tek. (treasure, store-house, tasket, etc.). (4) תְּרִמָּה, Mt. 27:6 (cp. Jos. 17:10 11:9 4); see COUSSEPIER (1) γαδάρων, 1 Macc. 3:20 14:22 2 Macc. 3:20 11:10. Mk. 12:41 4:11 21:11 Jos. 17:20; see TRAGACANTH, § 2 f.

TREE OF KNOWLEDGE (עֵץ הַדַּעַת). Gen. 2:9.

TREE OF LIFE (עֵץ הַחַיִּים). Gen. 2:9; see LIFE § 11. TREES, SACRED. See NATURE-WORSHIP, § 2 f.

TRENCH 1. תְּרוֹם, תְּרוֹם, 2 S. 20:15, RV 'rampart' FURROWS, § 5.

2. תְּרוֹם, תְּרוֹם, 1 S. 20:57; and 3. תְּרוֹם, תְּרוֹם, 17:20. See CAMP, § 1.

4. תְּרוֹם, תְּרוֹם, 2 K. 16:16 RV, AV 'ditches.' See CANYON, § 1 (1, 3).

5. תְּרוֹם, תְּרוֹם, 1 K. 18:32 f., 2 K. 18:17 20:20 1 Eze. 31:4 Job 38:24. See CONDUITS, § 2.

6. תְּרוֹם, Is. 5:2, 'made a trench' RV, AV 'fence' VINEYARD.

7. תְּרוֹם, Lk. 19:43, RV 'bank' RVmg. 'palisade' SIBBES, § 2.

TRESPASS-OFFERING (עֹלָת חַטָּאת). Lev. 5:6 SACRIFICE, § 27 f.

TRESSES (עֵי הַחֹטֵף). Cant. 7:5 [6]. RV. See GARDEN, (2).

TRIAL, TRYING. See TEMPTATION. The word:

1. תְּרוֹם, תְּרוֹם, Job 9:23. Cp. MASSAH.

2. תְּרוֹם, תְּרוֹם, Ezek. 21:13; see BUIB; but also Toy who follows RV 'for there is a trial,' and refers to Ps. 16:10 130:23 Is. 29:16; add Ps. 17:3, תְּרוֹם, תְּרוֹם, Ps. 17:3.

3. תְּרוֹם, תְּרוֹם, Ps. 17:3.

4 and 5. תְּרוֹם, תְּרוֹם, 2 Cor. 8:2, RV 'proof [of affliction] δοκιμασιον, 1 Pet. 1:7 Jas. 1:3 (AV here 'trying,' RV 'passages' 'proof'); cp. Ps. 17:3, תְּרוֹם, תְּרוֹם. But it is really a substantive.' In the Greek Egyptian παρὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον an adj. = 'genuine.' Deissmann (Vom Bibelhebraica, p. 10) uses the sense here: 'that which is genuine faith'; cp. 2 Cor. 8:2, τὸ ἴδιον ὑμῶν ἀγαπᾷ γὰρ ἡμεῖς.

6 and 7. תְּרוֹם, תְּרוֹם, 11:30, and ἀπειρασμοί, 1 (cp. 16 f.).

In 'trial' in the sense of a legal process (a sense not in RV) see LAW, § 6, C. VERNEMEN, § 16 etc. For the Jesus see, further, PROCURATOR, ROMAN EMPEROR, § 1 EPHRAIM, § 1 f.

TRIANGLE (שְׁלֵשָׁה זְרוּעוֹת). 1 S. 18:6, RVmg. See § 3 (4).

TRIBES

TRIBES OF ISRAEL

Words (§ 1). Lists: order (§ 2). Clans (§ 2). Current theories (§ 3). Tribes (§ 3). Criticism (§ 14). Number and origin (§ 4-8). Conclusion (§ 15).

The well-established Hebrew words for 'tribe' are, שבט, and מטה. שֵׁבֶט (see RID, SIA

1. Words, which פְּלֵא; corresponds in S. 1 to the N 1

1 Apparently also in Ezek. 27:24, see CHEST (2). 5200

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Match is characteristically post-exilic; on the possibility of exceptions in 1 K. 7:11, Mic. 6:9 see Hirschrecht, Z. 11 (1914) 212 ff.
Match occurs throughout the OT, from JE to Ch; but its use in post-exilic writings may be archaic.
Match also appears to bear the sense of 'clan' (a tribal division in Nu. 4:1; Judg. 20:12 1 S. 9:11); in all these passages, however, the text may be questioned.
A third word, according to some, is מִשְׁפָּחָה, מִשְׁפָּחָה = δῆμος, συγγενία (for probable etym. see Lutz 1911; see Judg. 7:17 Judg. 11:2 17:18 ff.). But here again critical opinion is illegitimate.
Beth 45, מִשְׁפָּחָה = οἶκος πατρῴος 'father's house' and מִשְׁפָּחָה = χίλιαι (thousand) may also perhaps be added. For the one see Nu. 7:2 (cp 14), Josh. 22:14. For the other, Nu. 14:104 (cp 7:2) 1 Josh. 22:21 (cp 17:2) 1 S. 15:33 1 K. 10:13 1 K. 10:14, and מִשְׁפָּחָה, however, are properly terms for subdivisions of the tribes. Using them for 'tribe' would seem to be in a certain qualified sense a relic of the old nomadic times before the groups of clans could become consolidated into the later tribes.
Mishpachah and Beth 45 might apparently be used synonymously (see Ex. 6:14 Nu. 3:21); in proper, however, the מִשְׁפָּחָה (the ἑθνος or φάραρα, cf. to use the word somewhat vaguely, 'clan'; EV 'family') was made up of Beth 45 'father's houses' (see EV for 'families'), Beth 45 generally 'thousand'; Nu. 14:15 RV 'thousands' 1 S. 17:25 1 K. 10:13 10:14; cp Judg. 6:15, 'my thousand' (מִשְׁפָּחָה, EV 'my family').
Moreover, 'my sept' is the proper in Manasseh, meaning the clan of the Abiezrites; also 1 S. 10:12 'my your tribes and by your thousands', but 7:21, 'the tribe of Benjamin by its clans' (מִשְׁפָּחָה). According to the prevalent view, the assumption is that the normal number of the מִשְׁפָּחָה is 1000; nevertheless Buhl (ties, 39) is probably right in supposing that the true meaning of the root of מִשְׁפָּחָה is 'to bind together' (CP Ass. mshpu, 'bind'). Naturally the members of the מִשְׁפָּחָה of 'Ami' (C) fought together under a מִשְׁפָּחָה or 'captain' (1 S. 17:25 18:17 2 S. 18), which passage, to be sure, presupposes the meaning 'thousand' for מִשְׁפָּחָה. Lastly, many scholars would add מִשְׁפָּחָה ('kintfolk' (= fr. ἑθνη), a group of families united by vital ties' in 1 S. 18:16, if not also in Gen. 31; see AYAM AND EPH. § 1), and 1 S. 20:16 (cp H. P. Smith). It is remarkable that this view should have become an unquestioned tradition among critics, for it seems to imply a confidence in the received text which, in the present state of textual inquiry, must be called excessive.

Before we consider the question of the 'twelve tribes' we must endeavour to do justice to the arrangement by

2. Clans. Clans, which represents the form of social system natural to Semitic nomads. The 'tribe' was no doubt composed of 'clans', but there was a stage of development in which there were 'clans', but not in the fuller sense of the word 'tribes'. What, then, was a 'clan' (מִשְׁפָּחָה)? It was an association of 'brothers' (Gen. 24:27 29:13 1 S. 20:29) — i.e., of kinsmen, or more strictly of kinsmen on the father's side. This appears from Judg. 9:1, where Abimelech speaks to 'the whole clan' of the family of his mother, from which his own clan was distinct. That the kinship was largely based on what seems (but wrongly seems) to Westerns fiction, and not on lateral descent from the same father, need only be remarked in passing. The 'clan' might form the whole (or nearly the whole) body of citizens. Hence place-names and clan-names are often identical; hence, too, such a phrase became possible in an early legend as 'Ophrah of the Abiezrites' (Judg. 6:24). Of course, however, it was also possible that more than one clan might dwell in the same city, as in the case of the Shechem of Hideo's son Abimelech. The special characteristics of clansmen are summed up in the often

1 On Driver's view see below, § 1.
2 In Nu. ME has מִשְׁפָּחָה מִשְׁפָּחָה, and in 1 S. מִשְׁפָּחָה מִשְׁפָּחָה. Probably, however, both מִשְׁפָּחָה and מִשְׁפָּחָה come from מִשְׁפָּחָה, which seems to have been diagraphed. In Judg. מִשְׁפָּחָה should probably be מִשְׁפָּחָה (see Meyer, ad loc.).
3 In Josh. מִשְׁפָּחָה should obviously be מִשְׁפָּחָה (see p. 10); after מִשְׁפָּחָה read מִשְׁפָּחָה (cf. para. 870000). So Steneger (alt.). It is a mere slip of the scribe. In Judg., however, there is a desinential corruption (see Crit. Bib.).
4 It has also been held by Ewald, Hitzcher, Thonius, Wollh., Robertson-Smith, Driver, Kittel, Lohr, Lindle, Siegf. Stade, and RBH that מִשְׁפָּחָה is commonly omitted as a (correct) gloss; see, however, a different explanation in Crit. Bib.
5 In Judg. 9:119, however, there are indications of a different sense of kinship. For here 'brother' = son of the same mother. Cp Kistamp, § 6.
6 From Judg. 6:24, compared with 8:7, we gather that Gideon's clans could muster 300 able fighting men.

misunderstood phrase מִשְׁפָּחָה, which is really a technical term, and not to be rendered literally. When in 2 K. 15:20, Menabem, king of Israel, is said to have evicted the money for the tribute of all who were מִשְׁפָּחָה, the persons who are meant are not merely mighty warriors, nor merely 'mighty men of wealth' (cf. V), but those who were at once leaders of property and subject to the obligation of military service. For in Israel, as elsewhere, those who did not belong to the propertied class were excluded from the ranks of the warriors (cp ARMY, § 47). It is equally true that the propertied class, which formed the מִשְׁפָּחָה or clan, and consequently also the מִשְׁפָּחָה or tribe, alone had political rights. Represented by their heads, the so-called מִשְׁפָּחָה, מִשְׁפָּחָה, מִשְׁפָּחָה, and מִשְׁפָּחָה, they must, in the pre-royal period, have monopolised the supreme power, both in peace and in war. Under a kingly government, however, the political authority of the collections of territorial clans, denominated tribes, naturally faded away more and more. Nothing is said about tribes in 2 Kings and none of the statistical passages in Ezra and Neh., with two exceptions, mention a tribal connection. The exceptions are Neh. 11:24 and 11:30, both certainly late passages, though with an artificial anti-pastage. It should, however, be added that the lists in the Books of Chronicles and Ezra-Neh. produce the impression, but when these books were compiled the tie of the clan had by no means disappeared. This is surely natural, for to tie the sanction, not merely of antiquity, but of religion. Two proofs of this are preserved: (1) the notice of the yearly sacrifice of David's מִשְׁפָּחָה (1 S. 20:29), and (2) the direction in the law of the Passover in 1 (Ex. 12:47; see Kautzsch, ad loc.) that the paschal lamb was to be provided by each מִשְׁפָּחָה מִשְׁפָּחָה מִשְׁפָּחָה, which contrasts with the legal direction given in a secondary stratum of P (Ex. 12:4) that every 'father's house' (מִשְׁפָּחָה) should provide a lamb for itself.

The designation 'tribe' belongs specifically to the Israelites, and means, in its fullest sense, an association of clans and families, living near together, and conscious of a clear mutual affinity

3. Tribes. and conscious of a clear mutual affinity than that which united them to 'Israel' as a whole. If we are not misled through relying too implicitly on the traditional text, we nowhere find the term מִשְׁפָּחָה, 'tribes,' applied to any of the peoples with which Israel was most closely connected.

The Ishmaelites (sons of Esau) are said in Gen. 36:19 4:43 (cp the Calliphum of the Hittites in 1 S. 27) to have had מִשְׁפָּחָה Calliphum, a term which presupposes the existence of מִשְׁפָּחָה Calliphum, i.e., following Buhl, 'unions'. Evidently, in some sense of the word, 'tribes' are meant. The Ishmaelites, too, are said in Gen. 25:18 to be divided into מִשְׁפָּחָה — i.e., 'populations'; and in Nu. 25:15 Sur (25) is said to have been 'head of a people' (מִשְׁפָּחָה; read מִשְׁפָּחָה), of a father's house in Midian. Strangely enough, in 1 S. 17:11 we hear of persons who are called 'the cornerstone' of Egypt's 'tribes'. Dulor wittily makes these 'tribes' into 'nomads'; not less wittily his professor explains 'castes' (Herod. 2:124). Now, however (see Mizraim, § 28), it is almost beyond the possibility of question that the Msrates of N. Arabia are referred to, so that here, at least, in a late literary production we have the word מִשְׁפָּחָה applied to a neighbouring non-Israelite people. But, as a rule, it is only Israel that has מִשְׁפָּחָה.

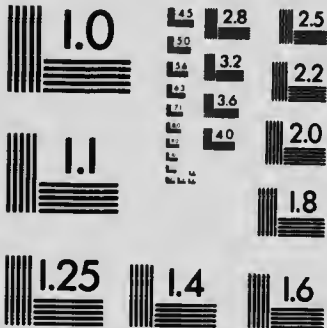
Though both מִשְׁפָּחָה and מִשְׁפָּחָה might conceivably have been used by early writers in speaking of the primitive stage of Israel's social development, the probability is that both terms arose after the Israelites had begun to acquire territory by conquest. We may

1 See E. Meyer, G. 11:410; Festsch. 1922, (p. 102) C.
2 On Judg. 8:14, where the מִשְׁפָּחָה are apparently distinguished from the מִשְׁפָּחָה, see Meyer's commentary.
3 Stade, however, would read מִשְׁפָּחָה for מִשְׁפָּחָה, which is probably right. Similarly in Ex. 13:15 מִשְׁפָּחָה may be read for מִשְׁפָּחָה.



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therefore concede to Driver¹ that though *matfeh* may be in OT usage only post-exilic, it was scarcely invented by P, and that, like *šebet*, when used in a metaphorical sense, it is at any rate suggestive of high antiquity. 'Archaic,' however, which is Driver's word, seems to claim too much.² At the time that we here suppose the metaphorical use of *šebet* (and of *matfeh*?) to have arisen the creative tendency of language was still strong. As to the precise date when the usage was initiated, who can venture to dogmatise? We can only say that it must have been a fairly ancient, though not archaic period. When the Blessing of Jacob was written in its original form, the usage must have been already in existence, not because Gen. 49:16 speaks of Dan as 'judging his people, like any of the tribes of Israel' (for the text of 7:16b is questionable),³ but because the contents of the series of blessings require this view. The union of clans must, at this time, have been closer than in the nomadic age, owing to the pressure of new conditions arising out of changed circumstances. And even though it cannot be historical that the first king was chosen by lot (1 S. 10:20 f.—first Benjamin being selected from the other 'tribes,' then Saul's 'clan' and then Saul himself—we can believe that there was in that hero's time not only a 'clan' of Matri, but also at least the beginnings of a 'tribe' of Benjamin (cp SAUL, § 1 g).

It is probable that the tribal association was strengthened by the sanctions of religion. The names of some at least of the Israelitish tribes can be more or less plausibly explained as borrowed divine names⁴ (see ASHER, DAN, GAD, MANASSEH, REUBEN), and though it would be natural that some specially famous sanctuary should draw pilgrims not only from the tribe on whose territory it stood, but also from other tribes, yet we may presume that every tribe had some sanctuary of its own in which, besides Yahwe, some tribal god or divine hero was implored to give his blessing to the tribe.⁵

If we ask how many 'tribes of Israel' historically existed together, the answer must be that, apart from a

4. Number and origin. hieratic and literary convention which only in quite a late period can be shown to have become a popular belief, the number must, from the nature of the case, have been variable. A clan may (1), through the adhesion of other clans and through favouring fortune, become so large as to be called a 'tribe,' or (2), through acquisition of fresh territory may be inevitably impelled to bifurcation; again, a tribe may (3), through persistent ill-fortune, sink so low that its constituent clans, or those of them which survive, may seek protection in a fresh tribal attachment. In a word, there is no sharp division between clans and tribes.⁶ An example of the first of these cases may be found in the growth of the tribe of Judah (see CALEB, § 2 f.; JUDAH, § 5); of the second, as some think, in the division of Joseph into Ephraim and Manasseh; of the third, in the attachment of Simeonite clans to the tribe of Judah (see SIMEON). The gradual disappearance of Reuben and the destruction of a tribe or clan called DINAH (q.v., but cp § 12, below), and of Simeon and Levi, regarded as territorial tribes, should also be mentioned here, though with regard to Levi it has to be once more pointed out that the city of ZAREPHATHI (q.v.) in the Negeb, with which in the

¹ *JPhL*, 11 214 (in the course of an answer to Giesebrecht, *ZATH* 1 242).

² B. Luther's phrase (*ZATH* 21 14), 'dass der Begriff kein hohes Alter hat,' may be accepted in so far as it rejects the idea that the term *šebet*, 'tribe,' is archaic.

³ See *Crit. Bib.*, ad loc.

⁴ K. Kohler (*Der Segen Jacobs*, 1867) presses the theory that a tribal name may indicate the god anciently worshipped by the tribe to an impossible extent.

⁵ Dt. 33:19 is often supposed to refer to a mountain-sanctuary, common to the tribes of Zebulun and Issachar. Mt. Tabor has been thought of. See, however, *Crit. Bib.*

⁶ Cp Grunisen, *Ahnencultus* (1900), p. 242.

earlier form of the tradition Moses is most probably connected (see MOSES, § 4), appears to be referred in the appendix to the Book of Judges, as the headquarters of the Levites.¹

The convention referred to, however, definitely represents the tribes of Israel as twelve in number.

5. Number twelve. is a similar convention with regard to clans or tribes whose origin was traced to Nahor (Gen. 22:20-24), to Ishmael (Gen. 17:20 25:13-16), and to Esau (Gen. 36:15-19 40:43) respectively.² Its artificiality is obvious. Never can 'twelve tribes' of Israel have been all in existence together. When, e.g., Benjamin came into prominence as an independent tribe, Simeon and Levi presumably had long suffered the fate poetically prognosticated Gen. 49:7. What, then, was the origin of the numeration? More than probably it had a mythological character. Diodorus Siculus (2:30), in his account of the Babylonian astronomy, after speaking of the twelve star-gods, tells us that the *ἀστροί* of the gods twelve in number, to each of whom are allotted a month and one of the signs of the zodiac. In mythological style the twelve months and the twelve signs of the zodiac could be called 'sons of the moon.' It is probable that, either directly or indirectly (through some other people), a faint echo of this had reached primitive Israelites. The most plausible view is that the priests at the chief sanctuaries of the people, in whom Israel derived a pale reflection of a mythological knew of a myth of the moon-god who had twelve sons (the months, or the signs of the zodiac);³ and it is further probable that they connected the ancestor of their race with the moon-god, and the constituent tribes of their people with the moon-god's sons. To what people Israel was indebted for its semi-mythic tales, matter for investigation.

Elsewhere, however (see PARADISE, SODOM), we have seen that other semi-mythic stories of the Israelites were not probably borrowed from the N. Arabian people of Jerahmeel and it is reasonable to suppose that the semi-mythic figure Jacob (יַעֲקֹב), the ancestor of the Israelites, is a reflection of a mythic ancestor of the Jerahmeelites, who was presumably called Jarham (from יָרַח, 'moon,' perhaps with the Aramaean). Cp col. 2363, n. 2. Jacob's wife Rebekah (רֵבֶקָה) may also owe her name to popular corruption of 'Jarham,' just as Isaac's wife Rachel owes hers to popular distortion of 'Jerahmeel.' See REBEKAH, § 2.

Gunkel, with his wonted penetration, remarks, 'There may be a line leading from the twelve Babylonian zodiac-gods to the twelve tribes of Israel; but of what nature and how long a line is, cannot at present be said' (*Gen.* 29:3). It is not to see a problem, even if its solution be hidden. But the evidence already adduced makes it difficult to doubt that the earliest conveyors of Babylonian myths to the Israelites were the N. Arabian Jerahmeelites.

Another view has been put forward by B. Luther and though this scholar does not deny that the numera-

6. Solomon's twelve departments. tion of the months may lie at the root of the numeration of the tribes, his theory may perhaps be welcome to those who would sooner admit the post-Solomonic origin of the 'twelve tribes' than grant the possibility of mythological influences on biblical representation. It is well-known that, according to the received text 1 K. 4:7 ff., Solomon divided the land of Israel into

¹ No harder section than Judg. 17 f. can be found among the early narratives. Methodical correction is the only remedy for the otherwise insuperable difficulties of the text. Cp MICAH, 2; and *Crit. Bib.* Grunisen's view (*op. cit.*, 241) that the *בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל* (E.V. 'of the family of Judah') describes a Levite as one who sojourned for his livelihood in the tribe of Judah, is certainly wrong. Buddha, at any rate, gives effect to a right impression when he substitutes as the original text *בְּנֵי מֹשֶׁה* 'of the clan of Moses.' For the Levites who dwelt at Zarephath were the clan of Moses. See MOSES, § 17.

² Cp Ewald, *Hist.* 1:39, GENEALOGES, § 5, n. 2.

³ For Winckler's form of the lunar theory, see his *Geschichte Israels*, 2:57. The credit of originality as well as learning is due to him.

⁴ That יִרְחָא is a shorter form of יִרְחָאֵל is indisputable. See JEROME.

⁵ *ZATH*, 21 34 [1901].

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twelve departments, each of which had to supply provision to the king and his house for a month in the year. Now B. Luther is of opinion that the Solomonic division of the land into departments was at least a principal cause of the later theory of twelve tribes. Solomon, it is held, found a division into tribal provinces (not as yet twelve) already in existence, and adopted it so far as it was geographically suitable for his purposes. It was natural that a later generation should follow the precedent set by this king, and reckon twelve tribal provinces. The reason why Solomon fixed upon the number twelve was its supposed sacred character. (cp NUMBER, § 7, and note that in the Amarna letters [Bt. 8] we find the expression, not to be taken literally, 'twelve of my men').

This view derives its plausibility from the mention of the months—each man had to provide victuals for a month in the year' (1 K. 47). But is this notice critically acceptable?

Kittel indeed says that the providing spoken of (cp 422-24 [52-5]) is equivalent to the collection of taxes.¹ But this is by no means natural. 'To provide victuals for the court month by month' is not the same as 'to enable Solomon to do whatsoever his soul desired.'² Stade accordingly² criticises the whole statement in 1 K. 47. He thinks that there were not twelve but thirteen 'prefects' (עֲרֵבִים), and that the reference to Solomon's magnificent scale of living is due to the editor who inserted the old list of prefects in the main body of chaps. 3-11, and whose chief aim was to enhance the glory of the king. This object he effected, but in doing so he correspondingly diminished the importance of the prefects, who became commissariat officers. It is now possible, however, to go beyond this, and to say that, text-critically, the statement in 1 K. 47b may be regarded as absolutely wrong,³ and that the whole of it has most probably arisen (thanks to an ingenious editor) out of a gloss on the incorrect word עֲרֵבִים (Israel). The region over which the עֲרֵבִים presided was, not the land of Israel, but the land of Jerahmeel or Ishmael, i.e., the Negeb (see Solomon, § 6).

The number of the Prefects may coincide with the number conventionally given to the tribes, but either the coincidence is accidental (twelve, as we have seen, was a sacred number), or the number of the prefects was suggested by that of the tribes, not vice versa.

We must, therefore, still hold that the traditional number of the tribes is due to a hieratic theory respecting the ancestor of the Israelites and his sons. To this it may perhaps be objected that, as statistics show, Israel is 'the older and the original designation of the tribes united by Moses,'⁴ and that the OT prose-writers of all ages use 'Israel' and, less frequently, the phrase 'D'ne Israel,' as the name of the people. If this may be taken to imply that Israel, not Jacob, was originally regarded as the name of the ancestor of the Israelites,

do we not question the originality of the representation of the tribes as descended from sons of Jacob? This criticism may plausibly be supported by the remark that 'Jacob' as a designation of the whole people is nowhere found in prose-writings, and that the phrase 'D'ne Ja'akob' occurs only twice in prose literature, viz.—in 1 K. 18:31 and 2 K. 17:34, both which passages are to be assigned to redactors. The right answer perhaps is, not that 'Israel' was preferred to 'Jacob,' as the higher or religious name, but that according to the original view 'Israel' and 'Judah' were both sons of Jacob⁵—i.e., of Jarham or Jerahmeel. For the earliest accounts of the historical relation between Israel and Judah exclude the idea that Judah was even theoretically regarded as a part of Israel; 'Israel and Judah,' as B. Luther remarks, 'are opposed as two equal powers.' If this relation were to be expressed in genealogical

¹ Köhne (HK), 30; cp Gesch. 2:1-1 (Hist. 2:18).
² GÜT, 135; Ewald and E. Meyer also adopt the number thirteen. Cp, however, Benzinger and Kittel *ad loc.*
³ The section 5:23 [IV 422-24] also calls for the application of a keener textual criticism. See Solomon, § 6, n. 1, and *Crit. Rev.*

⁴ Sierck, *Studien zur Religions- und Sprachgeschichte des A.T.*, 275.
⁵ B. Luther, *op. cit.* 32, of course without any reference to Jerahmeel.

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style, it would, in accordance with analogy, be stated that 'Israel' and 'Judah' were brothers, and precisely such a genealogical description Luther finds unmistakably implied in the terse words of the 'man (i.e., men; cp 2:8 collective of Israel) to the 'man (men) of Judah' in 2 S. 19:43 [11], 'I have ten parts in the king, and moreover I am the firstborn (עֲרֵבִים) as G rather than thou.' It was not till long after the breaking up of Solomon's kingdom that Judah became a 'son,' i.e., a dependent, of Israel. The genealogy which represents Judah as a son of Jacob can, it would seem, have arisen only at a time when Judah, not less than any one of the 'ten tribes,' owned the supremacy of the central Israeli power, and, one must of course add, when the identification of Jacob and Israel had been effected by those who recast and refashioned the old tradition. Luther, therefore, holds (p. 33) that the genealogy of J, if not his own work, can at any rate not be much older than the time of Ahaz, when Judah became the vassal of Israel.

To accept this, however, as the approximate date of the representation of the tribes as twelve sons of Jacob, simply because in the forms in which it has reached us Judah always appears, is somewhat hasty. It is possible that there were reckonings, now lost, of the twelve sons of Israel in which Judah was not included. As a matter of fact the number of the tribes whose origin is accounted for genealogically by JE is not twelve, but thirteen, so that if we take away 'Judah,' the number left will be twelve. The reckoning which underlies JE is as follows,—

(a) The Leah-tribes (Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah)	4
(b) The Bilhah-tribes (Dan, Naphtali)	2
(c) The Zilpah-tribes (Gad, Asher)	2
(d) The Leah-tribes (Issachar, Zebulun)	2
(e) The Rachel-tribes (Manasseh, Ephraim)	2
(f) A Rachel-tribe (Benjamin)	1
	—
	13

It is true, there is evident trace (in J) of an earlier arrangement, which included Danah and excluded Benjamin. This, however, does not affect our present argument, which is that if we are counting tribes, we cannot speak of Joseph, but only of Manasseh and Ephraim. That there ever existed a tribe which included the later (e) Ephraim and Manasseh, and passed under the name of Joseph, cannot be shown with any certainty; we cannot appeal to Nu. 13:11 because the text there is evidently in disorder (see JoSTRIK [JKM], § 1, n. 1). Winckler's conclusion may here be mentioned without of course committing him to more than he has said. 'That Joseph is not a tribal name, but a genealogical form [creation] is proved by the circumstance that his domain [Shechem] is in possession of the tribe of Ephraim, who therefore has to be Joseph's son' (GG, 265). Mr. Hogg, on the other hand, thinks that not improbably 'Joseph and Ephraim are simply two names, older and younger, tribal and geographical, for the same thing' (JOSTRIK, § 2).

We may here refer to the possibility of other reckonings of the tribes—ten, eleven, and thirteen. (a) Ten sons of Israel may perhaps be referred to in 2 S. 19:41 (see above). (b) Eleven sons seem to be implied by 1 K. 11:1 f.,² where Ahijah the Shilonite bids Jeroboam take only ten of the rent pieces of his garment, symbolising ten tribes, because one tribe was to be left for Rehoboam. Kittel indeed alters 'ten' into 'eleven' (cp 7:1-3), whilst G as arbitrarily reads 'two tribes' for 'one tribe' in 1:22.

¹ Budde, however (*Sam. KH*), 263, thinks it safer to explain thus: 'The North is conscious of its unity, and therefore feels itself not a row of brothers but one brother, under the name Israel, as opposed to Judah.' On the reading עֲרֵבִים see Driver, *PBS. ad loc.*

² On the geography of the statement in its original form, see SIMON, 2. It may be added that in Dt. 33:25 the number of the tribes is left doubtful. Dt. 33 opens with the words, 'And of Joseph he said;' this implies that there were eleven tribes. But in 17 he introduces a reference to Ephraim and Manasseh.

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Since, however, we must take some liberty with the text, is it not least hazardous to read 'eleven' for 'twelve' in v. 30, and to suppose either that, as in Dt. 33, Simeon is omitted, as having early disappeared, or that Levi is omitted as not being a territorial tribe?¹ (c) The adoption of Ephraim and Manasseh by Israel (Gen. 48:17 ff., E) makes the number of Jacob's sons thirteen (see above). Similarly the sons of Joktan (Gen. 10:26-29) and Keturah² (Gen. 25:1-4) appear to be reckoned as thirteen.

[As to the different biblical arrangements of the tribes, it is strange but true that there are more than twenty. In the following section, these twenty are tabulated, and a brief indication will be given of the relative influence of the different principles that govern them. The earlier and more interesting extra-biblical lists are included in the examination. For a fuller treatment see G. B. Gray, 'The Lists of the Twelve Tribes,' *Exp.*, March 1902, pp. 225-240. It will, it is hoped, become abundantly clear that in spite of the great variety of arrangement there is always some controlling principle.]

The twelve tribes, or 'sons' of Jacob, are mentioned by name together some twenty-five times in OT and NT; and except in Nu. 27:10-14-20 the arrangement of the names is always different. In all there are upwards of twenty different arrangements.

9. Lists; geographical orders.

Early extra-biblical literature, such as the Book of Jubilees and the writings of Philo, repeat some of the biblical arrangements, but also contain fresh variations.

In Charles's *Book of Jubilees* (1902), pp. 170 ff., the text of the dates given for the birth of the several children is discussed. In the present text of Jubilees, the birth of Dan is placed in an earlier year than the birth of Judah; but this must be due to textual corruption, for it is out of accord not only with the order in which the tribes are mentioned, but also with the express statement of 21:17 ff. There are several similar errors in the text of Jubilees and later works dependent on it.

In a few cases where the tribes are mentioned in connection with the conquest or distribution of the country, geographical considerations have overridden all others; and in two other instances (Jos. 13:15 ff., 1 Ch. 1:6) these considerations constitute the main principle of arrangement. These lists are not included in the following table and may be briefly discussed at once. The most perfect geographical arrangement is found in Jos. 21:47 (cp 1 Ch. 6:54 ff.); here the tribes are mentioned in four groups, the southern first, then the midland, then the northern and then the eastern. In Nu. 34:12 ff. Judg. 1 and Jos. *Aut.* v. 122 only the western tribes are included; the order of mention is from S. to N., but in Judg. and Jos. Dan is mentioned last, either in consequence of its subsequent position in the extreme N., or as being descended from a handmaid. In Jos. 13:15 ff. the eastern tribes Reuben and Gad are treated apart (13), but in the discussion of the western tribes (15 ff.) a strict geographical order is not followed; considerations of the importance of the tribes appear to have modified the tendency of the arranger to follow a S. to N. order. In 1 Ch. 4:8 the southern tribes Judah and Simeon come first, then the three eastern tribes and the rest in an order governed by no obvious principle. The one common feature of these arrangements is the marked tendency to survey the tribes from S. to N.; of the contrary tendency there is nowhere the slightest trace.

The main considerations that have governed the order of the remaining and far more numerous lists of the tribes are obviously the traditional order of births and the several 'mothers' or 'wives' of Jacob from whom the tribes traced their descent. On this account these lists are here tabulated by means of symbols that will show at a glance the extent to which these principles have exerted

¹ Cp GENEALOGIES, § 5 (on the reason for the enumeration of the priestly tribe of Levi).
² The 'sons of Dedan' in v. 3 are interpolated.

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their influence; so far it will speak for itself. It only remains to consider how far and with what result the two principles conflict with one another and with other influences over the arrangements can be detected.

The two wives of Jacob, Leah and Rachel, are indicated by L and R respectively; Leah's handmaid, Zilpah, by L', Keturah, Bilhah, by r. The order of birth from the same mother is indicated by index figures, and the grandson Rachel by J, Joseph, who also falls to be considered, by an unusual index letter, thus:—

L ¹ Reuben,	R ¹ Joseph,
L ^{2a} Henoch (eldest son of Reuben),	R ^{2a} Manasseh,
L ^{2b} Simeon,	R ^{2b} Ephraim,
L ³ Levi,	R ² Benjamin,
L ⁴ = Judah,	r ¹ = Dan,
L ⁵ Issachar,	r ² = Naphtali,
L ⁶ Zebulun,	ll = Gad,
	ll' = Asher,

The sources whence the lists are derived are indicated to the right hand, the references are given at the foot of the list.

1. L¹ L^{2a} L^{2b} L³ L⁴ L⁵ L⁶ R¹
2. L¹ L^{2a} L^{2b} L³ L⁴ L⁵ L⁶ R¹
3. L¹ L^{2a} L^{2b} L³ L⁴ L⁵ L⁶ R¹
4. L¹ L^{2a} L^{2b} L³ L⁴ L⁵ L⁶ R¹
5. L¹ L^{2a} L^{2b} L³ L⁴ L⁵ L⁶ R¹
6. L¹ L^{2a} L^{2b} L³ L⁴ L⁵ L⁶ R¹
7. L¹ L^{2a} L^{2b} L³ L⁴ L⁵ L⁶ R¹
8. L¹ L^{2a} L^{2b} L³ L⁴ L⁵ L⁶ R¹
9. L¹ L^{2a} L^{2b} L³ L⁴ L⁵ L⁶ R¹
10. L¹ L^{2a} L^{2b} L³ L⁴ L⁵ L⁶ R¹
11. L¹ L^{2a} L^{2b} L³ L⁴ L⁵ L⁶ R¹
12. L¹ L^{2a} L^{2b} L³ L⁴ L⁵ L⁶ R¹
13. L¹ L^{2a} L^{2b} L³ L⁴ L⁵ L⁶ R¹
14. L¹ L^{2a} L^{2b} L³ L⁴ L⁵ L⁶ R¹
15. L¹ L^{2a} L^{2b} L³ L⁴ L⁵ L⁶ R¹
16. L¹ L^{2a} L^{2b} L³ L⁴ L⁵ L⁶ R¹
17. L¹ L^{2a} L^{2b} L³ L⁴ L⁵ L⁶ R¹
18. L¹ L^{2a} L^{2b} L³ L⁴ L⁵ L⁶ R¹
19. L¹ L^{2a} L^{2b} L³ L⁴ L⁵ L⁶ R¹
20. L¹ L^{2a} L^{2b} L³ L⁴ L⁵ L⁶ R¹

The last four lists (17-20) are somewhat different in character from the first sixteen; for in them the tribes are distributed for various purposes into two or more groups, which are marked above by the perpendicular line.

The two principles that have obviously influenced the various arrangements conflict with one another; to the sons of the handmaids, in virtue of seniority, come between the first four and the last two of Leah's children. Since the simple order of birth is never adopted except in the story of the births, the tendency to group the tribes according to their respective mothers was clearly stronger than the tendency to group according to age.

Further, the least departure from the order of birth, required in order to maintain the maternal groups intact, would be to place the children of the handmaids immediately after Leah's six children. This, however (except in the later lists—NT, Philo, Jubilees), is a comparatively infrequent arrangement; far more frequently the children of the full wife Rachel, though younger, precede the children of the handmaids. An obvious cross principle is adopted but once (no. 6; see also Nu. 26 §).

The tendency to keep the children of the two full wives in two distinct groups is far stronger than that to keep the children of the two handmaids distinct; indeed, a tendency to keep the children of the two handmaids in two distinct groups can hardly be said to exist. The handmaid tribes are to be regarded as constituting a single class in which considerable freedom of arrangement prevailed.

It will only be possible to refer briefly to some of the

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chief apparent or real violations of the principles just indicated.

In some lists Judah, though the fourth son of Leah, stands first (Gen. 29:27; Ex. 32:1; Josh. 24:4 and other geographical lists). The reason it can scarcely be positioned, is the pre-eminence of the tribe.

In the camp order (16), Judah is given the superior eastern position; otherwise, the four groups are constituted and arranged in such an order as to obey the principle that sons of the same mother should be kept together and in the order of their birth. Since Levi is necessarily omitted from the scheme, Leah's sons fail to make two complete groups of three; the second group is completed by Gad, the eldest son of Leah's handmaid. Lists 2, 10 seem to be so far influenced by this fact that Gad follows Simeon. On the other hand, the separation of Dan from the other handmaid tribes in 11 and 12 is not easy of explanation.

In lists 2 and 3 Zebulun, exceptionally, precedes Issachar. As both these lists occur in poems of earlier origin than II, it is possible that the arrangement represents an earlier theory of the relative ages of the two tribes, according to which all the sons of Leah were older than any of the sons of other mothers. Zebulun was older than Issachar, and the relative ages of the handmaid tribes were not the same as in the later scheme.

Benjamin precedes Joseph (R2) in only one (no. 11) of the twenty lists; in another (no. 11) stands between Ephraim and Manasseh (R2B1). Both these arrangements are extremely anomalous, and each occurs in a list that contains other anomalies. In the case of no. 8 the anomalies are almost certainly due to an accidental transposition in the text. If in No. 11, no. 11, 7, be placed before no. 2, 1, the anomalies are all at once removed and an entirely normal list restored (E246; R102; R12; R13). In D, 33, unless the text has suffered very serious dislocation, the order was originally altogether anomalous.

In no. 13 also, a simple transposition, by which no. 10 should be made to follow no. 8 in Rev. 7, would restore a far more normal list (E246; R12; R12; R13) where R13 (Manasseh) is an intentional or accidental substitute for Dan (R2).

In 17 and 18, and to a much slighter extent in 20, the tendency to maintain the traditional groups still exerts itself, but is checked by other considerations. The second group in 17 consists of the tribes whose duty it was to raise; the tribes selected for this purpose are, not unnaturally, the less eminent handmaid tribes and the youngest son of Leah; why Leah's eldest son completes the group is not clear unless the case pronounced on him in Gen. 49 has influenced the selection. In Ezek. a similar slightness of regard for the handmaid tribes has given them positions most remote from the holy district.

G. B. G.

The problems which have just been stated and illustrated, differ in their degree of importance, and the

most interesting of them advance but slowly towards a satisfactory solution.

11. Current theories: More particularly, opinions are divided relative to the inner meaning of the first list of the tribes (that of JE), and of the traditions which are connected with it. Ewald long ago expressed the conviction that, rightly understood, such a list must convey important information relative to the 'pre-Egyptian period of Israel's history,' and we may, at any rate, agree with him that, even allowing for the extreme uncertainty of tradition with regard to details, and for the probability of the intermixture of elements derived from the circumstances of later ages, something of value may be obtainable by the historical critic from the genealogical narrative of JE. Wellhausen and Stade deserve special gratitude for the acuteness with which they have studied both this and the other traditional narratives relative to the origin of the tribes. According to Wellhausen,² with whom Guthe (*GT*, 1809, p. 41) and probably Bennett (*Histings' DB*, vii, 'Tribes') and Runt (*Spirit and Palestine*, 1902, pp. 124, 138, etc.) agree, the original Israelitish tribes were seven in number, six of which belong to the group represented by Jacob's wife Leah, and one to that represented by his other wife Rachel. It was the latter tribe—viz., Joseph, which (according to these critics) alone sojourned in Egypt (cp EXON'S, § 21. The combination of the Leah and the Rachel tribes was probably effected by Moses, who came from the Sinai peninsula to conduct the Hebrews thither from Goshen. The sons of the concubines (Bilhah and Zilpah)—viz., Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher—are not in the same full sense sons of Jacob or Israel; these tribes were

¹ *GT* 112, 1319 ff. (*Hist.* 1, 362 ff.).
² *IG* 11, 11, 3, 13; *Prot.* 4, 322-329.

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probably of very mixed origin, and joined the line Israel later. On what principle the Bilhah and Zilpah groups were arranged, is not clear. Guthe thinks that these two couples of tribes had come into specially close relations with Joseph and with either Reuben or Issachar and Zebulun respectively, and that this was expressed genealogically by the statement that their mothers were the handmaids, in the one case of Rachel, in the other of Leah. For the further movements of the tribes, according to Guthe, see ISRAEL, § 7.

Stade is of opinion that the legend of Leah and Joseph in its present form presupposes the division of the kingdom. Leah, the legitimate but slighted wife, represents the kingdom of Judah, Rachel that of Israel. The assignment of a tribe to Leah or to Rachel depends on the question whether the tribe came earlier or later into the country W. of the Jordan.² The details of the legend cannot, for the most part, be interpreted historically. Bilhah was probably connected with Rachel for geographical reasons; but not so Zilpah with Leah. Why the insignificant Reuben is made the first-born, is obscure. If the precedence given to Reuben reflects actions of this tribe, these actions must go back to the most remote antiquity. Why, too, are Issachar and Zebulun grouped with Judah, and Gad with Asher? Here again, political circumstances may be reflected. It is only Joseph and Benjamin whose position is quite clear; they reached distinction only at a late period. Benjamin branched off from Joseph (cp 28, 49, 1) before Joseph split into Ephraim and Manasseh. Dinah is merely a genealogical creation. She represents an Israelitish ramony in the population of the mountainous city of Shechem in the pre-regal period (cp DYNIA, § 10). The story of Dinah (Gen. 34) and that of Tamar (Gen. 38) are the oldest parts of the tribal legend, and indicate on what lines the occupation of Palestine really proceeded. In the formation of the tribes, not only the vicinity of Israelite clans, but the intermixture of non-Israelitish elements were important factors. As we find them in the historical period, they arose on this side of the Jordan. On the question of the sojourn in Egypt, Stade is in agreement with Wellhausen.

A new impulse has been given to these inquiries by Steuernagel, who has made a very thorough and critical study of the legends of the immigration of the tribes of Israel into Canaan.³ According to him, it is the Rachel-tribes which have the first right to be called sons of Jacob. They arose through the fusion of the 'genuine Israelitish' tribe Jacob, and the Aramaic tribe Rachel. The Jacob-tribe thus lost its independent existence, and by degrees the tribal name Jacob gave way to the new name Joseph. The name Jacob itself, however, did not disappear. The facts of the origin of the Joseph-tribe led to the traditional statement that Joseph was the son of Jacob and Rachel. Steuernagel, however, also seeks to throw light on the early history of the Jacob-tribe, which was led out of Egypt by Moses, and dwelt in the eastern steppe-country to the S. of Canaan, by Sinai, where the tribe allied itself to the Hittite clan Bilhah (= Bilhah), but, together with other tribes, was driven further by the Edomites, who had formed a

13. Steuernagel. study of the legends of the immigration of the tribes of Israel into Canaan.³

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¹ *GT* 112, 1319 ff.; 'Lea und Rachel,' *ZATW* 11, 12, 11. 'Wo entstanden die genealogischen Sagen über den Ursprung der Hebräer?' *ZATW* 11, 147-150; 'Entstehung des Volkes Israel,' *Hebr. Revue*, 97, 92-94.

² *ZATW* 11, 113. In *GT* 112, however, Stade cautions us against looking to the general tribal legend for any disclosures as to the course of events in the immigration into Canaan. For a criticism of Stade's view on the combination of two systems, one representing them as wives of Jacob, and the other as sons, see Steuernagel, *Die Einwanderung des Volkes Israel, Early Religion of Israel*, 44 ff.

³ *Die Einwanderung des israelitischen Stammes in Kanaan* (1901). For criticisms of this able work see Gunkel, *Gen.* 25, 1; J. C. Matthes, 'Israels nederzetting in Kanaan,' *Th. T.* 30, 517 ff. [1902].

kingdom to the N. of the Sinitic peninsula (Gen. 36:11); this the legend describes as Jacob's flight from Esau. From Mesopotamia, where the fusion with 'Rachel' took place, the mixed tribe now called 'Joseph' was pushed by Aramaean tribes (under Assyrian pressure) southward. On the N. border of Gilead the Aramaeans made a temporary halt, while the Jacob-Rachel tribe occupied N. Gilead. Not improbably, the boundary between them was fixed by a compact near the Yarmuk. If this be correct, it will follow, not only that the migration of Jacob should receive a place in general history, but also that it is to be assigned to the fourteenth century' (p. 60). The story in Gen. 32:27-32 tells of the duel between Jacob and the god of the conquered N. Gileadites. 'Israel' means 'El (= Yahweh) fights,' i.e., for Jacob; it became a war-cry and, later on, the name of the people. The sequel is related, according to Stenernagel, in two forms—in the Jacob-story and in the Book of Joshua. Attacks of the Beduin tribes (probably) forced the Jacob-Rachel tribe to cross the Jordan, to the S. of the point where the Yarmuk enters it. The tribe goes to Shechem, where it acquires land by payment (a reminiscence of ancient payment of tribute to the Shechemites). The narrative in Gen. 35 belongs to a later time when, as a consequence of the extension of the Rachel-tribe to the S., the Benjamin tribe made itself independent. The Jacob-Rachel tribe now disappears; in future the two tribes, Joseph and Benjamin, appear in its place. In the legendary style, this is expressed by saying that soon after the arrival at Bethel, and the founding of a sanctuary there, Benjamin was born, and Rachel died. As to the Leah-Zilpah tribes, Stenernagel's view is that they reached Canaan before the Jacob-Rachel tribe, and came into connection with that tribe in Canaan, on which account legend represented Leah as the wife who was foisted upon Jacob.

All these theories are ably defended. The least satisfactory is the third, precisely because it is the most elaborate, and aims at the fullest historical results. Almost everything in the patriarchal narratives turns out to be a typical or anticipative history of the settlement of the tribes in Canaan. Unfortunately Stenernagel, under the pressure of theory, has here and there to alter the traditional statements. The tradition states that Jacob married Leah and Rachel at the same time, and afterwards Bilhah and Zilpah, and that the place was in Mesopotamia. This critic, however, alters the order of the marriages and the places, and represents that the Bilhah tribe joined Jacob in the S. of Canaan, and the Rachel tribe in Mesopotamia; Leah and Zilpah however only joined after the immigration.² This is one great drawback. Another is that Stenernagel treats his traditional material very indiscriminately, the connections between the legends being made as much use of as the legends themselves. For instance, the order of the events related in Jacob's progress through Canaan surely does not rest on early tradition; there is no real traditional authority for placing the foundation of Bethel before the death of Rachel at Ephrath. Nor does Stenernagel allow for the probability that the historical circumstances of the regal period have found a reflection in the patriarchal legend, and throughout he shows a confidence in the vitality of the earliest tradition which is not justified by the experience of historical critics elsewhere.

14. Criticism of theories.

But even Wellhausen's and Stade's theories cannot either of them be accepted without important modifications. Another explanation of 'Israel' is offered elsewhere (p. 12). But both 'El fights' and 'man of Rachel' must be incorrect. **SH** in names of the type **SH** does not mean 'God,' and no sound analogy can be offered for such a tribal name as **SH**, out of which Stenernagel (as an alternative theory) doubtfully brings **SH**.

² On Stenernagel's view (p. 47) of the traditional representation of the Leah-Zilpah tribes, see ZILPAH, col. 5413, n. 2.

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and it remains for future investigations, and the works of the three eminent critics mention as mines of suggestions than as records of results things seem to be required in order that we may make a genuine step forward. (1) We must study the Hebrew text more keenly and with more scientific methods, and (2) we must look out for further archaeological research. Many perhaps will be heads at the first of these requirements. But more thorough investigation of the text will place us in a position to use archaeological discoveries when we get them. Stenernagel for instance (113 f.; cp. ASHER, § 1) to W. Max Müller (*Is. u. Eur.* 230 ff.) that in the inscription and Ramesses II, a land of Asen or Assi, mentioned as occupying W. Galilee. It declines to lay any great stress upon this, the land of Asen or Assi were named after the tribe, would fit in with his view, independently of the Jacob-Rachel tribe was forced by the migration into N. Gilead in the fourteenth century. Others, however, are less cautious. Paton (*Pal.* 126) tells us that 'in an inscription first for the first time A-sa-ri (Asher), a G. Amorite tribe that subsequently was adopted by the Hebrew confederacy, and was classified as a Jacob by his concubine Zilpah.' Hommel (228, 237) thinks that the Egyptian notices utilised for the history of the tribe of Asher is precarious until the Hebrew texts have been thoroughly explored. It must be admitted, however, that Hommel (as well as the present writer) beginning in examining those OT passages which have a bearing on the origin of the tribe of Asher, has nowhere anything short of a complete refutation of the biblical texts (such as is begun in the present work and will be continued and completed in *The Bible*) will enable us to give a fairly satisfactory even of this comparatively small problem. Very much more importance is attached to the references to people called the Tell el-Amarna letters (cp. ASHER, I, § 1; HEBREW LANGUAGE, § 1; ISRAEL, § 1) which are identified by Stenernagel with the tribe of Asher or at least with the Leah-tribe. This too is a chronological theory; he infers from it that the tribe of Asher was occupied by the Leah-tribe about 1400 B.C. that the extension of this tribe over the centre of Ephraim took place towards 1385 B.C. This dating of the conquest of central Canaan is not very accurate; it approximates to that given by Winckler in 1805! (67/14). It must be stated that there is so much uncertainty in the names in the early Hebrew traditions, and that they are constantly played upon by the ancient nations, that the same name in different senses present all such theories can only be put forward with great reserve.

It may be stated in conclusion that this is why we have made no use in this article of the theory of the Israelitish tribes in the

15. Conclusion. Deborah. Negatively, we have done much for the text of this story, but have pointed out many corruptions as yet very little of a satisfactory character has been effected; the correction of the text; the old methods have more proved their inadequacy. Here a fresh start in criticism must be made by the use of a broader text-critical method.

We are also precluded from taking up

¹ For Winckler's latest statement of his view see *OP.* 9004. Bidde (*The Religion of Israel* 1893, 6) may produce an impression that Winckler identifies the Habiri with the Israelites. This, however, is not the case. Winckler expressly guards himself against doing so, and means that the Habiri are to be limited to '12 tribes' or clans.

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as to the question, what traces apart from any in the Jacob legend) the narrative books contain of changes in the dwelling-places of the migrating Israelites. A number of such traces are pointed out by Steiner and Asher, for instance, according to this critic (p. 30), may once have dwelt on what was afterwards the border-land of Ephraim and Benjamin, Issachar and Zebulun (p. 12), dwelt anciently in the central highland country (Mt. Ephraim, Danah, Simeon, and Levi) (p. 14 f.); were once settled near Shechem in Mt. Ephraim. (Steiner might plausibly have referred, in proof of Simeon's having belonged to N. Israel, to 2 Ch. 15:9; see, however, Crit. Bib. on Is. 9:7-10:1). Reuben (p. 17) once had his home N. of Judah, in what was afterwards Benjamite territory. All these problems, however, assume a fresh aspect as the result of a continuous text-critical investigation of the Hebrew texts. To enter, at this point, on a piecemeal examination of selected passages would require too great an extension of this article, and the conclusions would not have the best chance of making a due impression on the reader.

The special articles in this work on the tribes, on the tribal boundaries, and on Jacob, should be consulted. The conclusions, sometimes tentative, may not always be in harmony, but in the present unsettled condition of the subject this could not be otherwise. The present writer is responsible for the view that the first war of Israel was for the possession of the Negeb, and that much in the OT which has been supposed to refer to districts of Canaan proper really refers to the 'Holy Land of the Israelites', the Negeb, or N. Arabian border-land. For a full critical monograph on the tribes of Israel see 'Die Israelitischen Stämme,' by B. Lohr, Z. 17, 9, 21-27 (1904); (p. also Bennett's article 'Tribe,' in Hastings' DH, v. 4, 10).

T. K. C., §§ 1-8 11-15; G. U. C., § 6. TRIBUNAL (ΚΡΙΤΗΡΙΟΝ; 1 Cor. 6:2, RV98; same word also in Jas. 2:4, EV, 'judgment seat,' and in 1 Pt. 2:17, Judg. 7 to foot 25; Sus. 49 [The 11, not 57]; in 1 K. 7:7 for 22:7, mēphā and in Dan. 7:10 for 17, dōn, hē pōnē 25 in 7: 29). Cp GOVERNMENT, § 14; LAW AND JUSTICE, § 27.

TRIBUNES, MILITARY (ΜΙΛΙΤΑΡΙΟΙ, Rev. 19:17; RV98; see ARMY ('chiliarch'), § 10.

TRIBUTE. See TAXATION, and cp SOLATION, § 6.

TRIPOLIS (ΤΡΙΠΟΛΙΣ [VA]). It was at the haven at Tripolis (τῶν κατὰ Τριπόλιον Ἀκουσῶν) that Demetrius I., son of Seleucus, minister of the 'mighty host' and 'the...' of which we read in 2 Mac. 11:17. Cp MACCABEES, § 5. As its name indicates (see PHOENICIA, § 21, col. 3759), Tripolis was divided into three quarters (separated by walls); it had been founded not earlier probably than 700 B.C. by Aradus, Tyrius, and Zebubans, and in Persian times Zidon, Tyre, and Aradus held a federal council in it. From 197 B.C. onwards it belonged to the Seleucids; but towards the end of that period it fell under usurpers or tyrants, and was plagued by robber tribes from whom it was delivered by Pompey in 64 (see PHOENICIA, § 22, col. 3793-4).

The modern Tripoli or Tabālis, on the river Kadisha or Abū Mī, is situated in a fertile maritime plain covered with orchards and dominated by a castle overlooking a gorge of the river, some parts of which are, perhaps, the work of the crusaders. The port (el Mīnā) is about 2 m. distant, on a small peninsula (see PHOENICIA, map).

TRUMP. Twice the Roman 'trump' is referred to figuratively, and if the general meaning in one passage (1 Cor. 2:13) is plain, in the other (2 Cor. 2:14) it is by no means plain. God, we are told in Col. 2:15, 'triumphed over the angels opposed to Christ in the henceforth annulled bond of ordinances which had been directly hostile to men, and so had justified those angels who had in fact promulgated those ordinances?' in their opposition. The words are—ἀπεκονισάμενος τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας ἐδεξάσατο ἐν παρρησίᾳ θριαυέουσας αὐτὰς ἐν αὐτῷ, which the RV renders, 'having put off from himself the principalities and the powers, he made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in it.' In 2 Cor. 2:15, however, the rendering is disputed. The words are—τῷ δὲ θεῷ χάρις τῷ πάντοτε θριαυέουσιν ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ τὴν δόξην τῆς γνώσεως αὐτοῦ.

TROAS

φανηροῦσι δὲ ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ θεῷ τῷ πάντοτε which the RV renders, 'but thanks be unto God, who always leads us in triumph in Christ, and makes manifest throughout us the victory of his knowledge in every place,' which the AV gives τὸ θριαυέουσιν the sense 'triumphing' to triumph, in spite of the fact that the causative sense does not appear elsewhere. But, unless we desert the paths of natural exegesis, how can God be said to lead Paul and his companions in triumph? Does not δὲ ἡμεῖς in the following clause prove that Paul himself is supposed to be a member of the triumphal procession? Another point has to be mentioned. J. M. Laurent has pointed out that 2 Cor. 2:14 do not help our comprehension of the context; according to him, they are a marginal note by Paul himself on the statement in 1 Cor. 2:15. The subject of ἀγροσύνην (2:14) and the nominative of ἡμῶν (2:14) are the same as in the apostle. The verb θριαυέουσιν is excellently accounted for by the αὐτῶν which precedes in 2:15. It is over Satan that Paul triumphs. The reference to a 'sweet odour' which follows harmonises with the figure of the 'triumph.' For during a triumph, sweet spices were burnt; as Plutarch (C. Fabric.) says, the streets were θυσιαμάτων πύρρον. Paul's preaching of God, or of Christ, is as penetrating, as all-pervading, as the smell of incense. It was a brave sight—that of a Roman triumph—and worthy to be chosen by such an enthusiast for Christ and his victory as Paul. 'Rome was en fête, the streets gay with garlands, the temples open.' The procession, it is true, presented reminders that the Christian principle was not yet supreme. The best part was the end, when 'consecrating the temple of Jupiter in the Capitol, the general placed the laurel branch on his head, and thus offered the thank-offerings' (see ER, art. 'Triumph').

TROAS (ΤΡΩΑΣ; Tit. VII, Acts 16:8; 20: 2 Cor. 2:12, 2 Tim 4:13).

The full name of the town was Alexandria Troas (Ἀλεξανδρεία ἢ Τρωάς; Strabo, 571; Polych. 2:42; Livy, 33:42). The order ἢ Τρωάς Ἀλεξανδρεία is found in Polyb. 3:103.

1. Name. One or other part of the full form was very commonly used to designate the place (Alexandria in Strabo, 569 et passim; cp Polyb. 3:103). Troas alone in NE and Pliny, HN, 5:11, Ἰσθμῶν Τρωάς). Troas is simply an adjective, which distinguishes the Trojan Alexandria from the many other towns called after the great conqueror. Apparently the simple ἢ Τρωάς is not used by Greek writers before the NE period, as leading to ambiguity. For ἢ Τρωάς is the correct Greek equivalent for 'the Troas' (i.e. the region between Mt. Ida and the Hellespont, which was the centre of the Trojan power in Hæcæan tradition). The Troas of the word is adopted in English as the Greeks do ἢ Τρωάς from the time at least of Herodotus (1:174). In 2 Cor. 2:12 ἢ τῆς Τρωάδα might therefore, so far as the 1902 version is concerned, be supplied or limit the phrase to the city in question, unless we are prepared here to insist that Paul really meant the Troas and did not confine his visit to the Troas Alexandria.

Alexandria Troas (mod. Eski-Stambul) was an important town and harbour on the coast of Æolis (Mysia) or NW. Asia Minor, opposite

2. History. the SE. extremity of the island of Tenedos; it was half way between Sigæum and Cape Lectum (which cape was rounded by the ship in passing from Troas to Assos, Acts 20:13). Alexandria was built by Antigonus, who gathered to it the population of the neighbouring small townships—Scopis, Cebren, Neandria, Larisa, Kolonia, Hamaxitos, and Chrysa (Strabo, 604; cp 593, 597). The town was first named Antigonia Troas, after its founder; but subsequently Lysimachus changed this to Alexandria Troas (Strabo, 523; Pliny, HN 5:11; 'Troas, Antigonia dicta, nunc Alexandria, colonia Romana'). The importance of the city is seen

1 Many varieties are found—ἢ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρείων πόλις in Polyb. 2:103. In an inscription at Delphi (Dittenb. 517, 2, 263 = Mehl, Delph. 1: 613) ἢ τῆς Τρωάς ἢ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας followed almost immediately by Ἀλεξανδρεία ἐκ τῆς Τρωάδος. In Strabo, 1:14, we find Ἀλεξανδρεία τῆς Τρωάδος, just as in Paus. x. 124 we have Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἢ ἐκ τῆς Τρωάδος.

TROGYLLIUM

From the fact that, in the negotiations of Antiochus the Great with the Romans before the battle of Magnesia, the Syrian king offered to surrender 'the territories of Laodaeans and Smyrna as well as Alexandria Troas, which were the original cause of the war' (Polyb. 21.13); its extensive ruins, which for long have served as a quarry, bear testimony to its importance and prosperity.

After the defeat of Antiochus the Great, Troas fell into the hands of the Romans and experienced many benefits from them. It was one of the few Roman colonies in Asia Minor (Strabo, 503; cp. *Ann. II.V.*, 67). It is dated from the time of Augustus; hence the col. near the Latin inscription *COL. TROAD.*; *COL. ALIX. TRO.*; or *COL. AUG. TRO.*, from which we may infer the name 'Colonia Alexandria Augusta Troas'.¹ Julia Caesar was credited with a design of removing the capital of the Roman world to this place (Suet. *Jul.* 70), and perhaps Horace (*Od.* iii. 357) hints at the same design on the part of Augustus (cp. also what is said of Constantine before he fixed upon the site of Constantinople, Zosim. 2.30; Zonar. 13.3). Augustus, Trajan, and Herodes Atticus contributed to the beautification of the city. Herodes Atticus built the aqueduct of which remains can still be seen, and the baths were also probably his gift (see on the baths Koldewey, in *Athen. Mitth.* 9.67.1).

Through Troas in Roman times ran the coast road which encircled the peninsula, and thus there was direct and easy communication with the interior.

3. NT By way of Adramyttium. From ADRA-
references. MYTTIUM (2.7) a road ran N.E. to Cyzicus on the Propontis, and thence towards the Bithynian frontier; a road also ran southwards to Pergamos. The former of these roads may well have been in the mind that followed by Paul when he found it impossible to penetrate into Bithynia (Acts 16.7f.); but the scantiness of the record here reduces us to conjectures which gain but little strength from the later traditions (see Ramsay, *Chor. Hitt.*, 438; *Evangel.*, Oct. 1888, p. 294; April 1894, p. 295). Similarly, when Paul was obliged to retire from Ephesus (Acts 20.1) to Troas (2 Cor. 2.12), he may have gone either by sea, or by the coast road which led through Adramyttium (more probably the coast road, if the circumstances of the departure from Ephesus are taken into account). The importance of Troas in the itineraries of the time in this region is shown by the references in 2 Cor. 2.12 and Acts 20.5—ships passing in either direction were certain to put in at Troas.

In order to clear up all ambiguity, perhaps reference should here be made to a neighbouring town which bore the name of Troy, *Neomium Ilium*, which is quite distinct from Alexandria Troas. Neomium Ilium (Gk. *Iliou*) claimed to occupy the veritable site of Homer's Troy, and all antiquity allowed this claim (cp. Herod. 7.41; Strabo, 594; Diol. 18.4; *Neo. Hist.* i. 3) until it was disputed by Demetrius of Scepsis, followed by Strabo; the discoveries of Schliemann have settled the question in the affirmative. In Alexander's time the site was a mere ordos; post only occasionally occupied; but he designed the restoration of the town—a restoration finally effected by Tychicus. Having been destroyed by Philip in 250 B.C., the town was once more restored by Sulla (Appian, *Mithr.* 23) as a favored city exempt from tribute (Plin. *HN* 7.13, cp. Tac. *Ann.* 12.52; 'at Laodaeas omni publico munere solvitur,' in 53 A.D.). This generosity on the part of the Romans was due to their long belief that the city was the original birthplace of their race; intrinsically the town was of no importance at all (cp. Tac. *Ann.* 4.55) and in this respect was a great contrast to Alexandria Troas. W. J. W.

TROGYLLIUM (τρογγύλλιον, Acts 20.15 [TR], where, for παρεβαλομεν εις σαμον, τη δε εχουμενη ηλθομεν εις μιλητον [WH]), the TR has παρεβαλομεν εις σαμον και μειναντες εν τρογγύλλιω τη εχουμενη κ. τ. λ. [For τρογγύλλιω there is the variant τρογγύλιω, which is apparently to be preferred; see WH 2. *App.* 93 n.], Acts 20.15 AV, RV⁹⁸ (see end)].

¹ In the time of Caracalla the coins bear the additional epithets 'Aurelia Antoniniana.' See Head, *Hist. Numm.* 475.

TROPHIMUS

The island of Samos is separated from the mainland by a channel now called the Little Boghaz,¹ formed by overlapping of its eastern promontory Possadim (*Ποσαδῖμος*) with the western spur of Mt. Mycaea was called Trogyllium² (now Cape *Sancti Marci*); the channel is about one mile wide (Strabo, 637, *ἐπι τῇ Σαμῶϊ* [ε. Μικᾶν τὸ ὄρος] και ποιεῖ πρὸς ἐπικεῖνα τῆς Τρωγγύλιου καλομένης ἀκρας δύο σταδίων πρὸς τὸν). Strabo (*loc. cit.*) also explains Trogyllium is a spur (*ἀκρὰ προπέσει*) of Mt. Mycaea that facing it there was an island of the same name (*III. 5. 37*) names three insulae, Trogyllion, Psalon, Argemnon, and Sandalion. The ancient Trogyllium must have been well-known to sailors; Strabo uses it as a point from which to measure distance of cape Summi in Attica (17000 stades = W. *ibid.*); the two points lie practically on the parallel of latitude. According to the maps, the anchorage a little to the east of the point, called Paul's Port (see Adm. Charts, 1530 and 1555).

Paul sailed through this channel on his way to Miletus at the close of his third missionary tour, leaving the latitude of Chios the ship ran straight to the eastern point of Samos (*παρεβαλομεν* in 20.15 not imply stoppage at or off the harbour of which lies 4 or 5 m. distant to the west of Trogyllion [Thuc. 3.102]). The night was spent in the anchorage of Trogyllium, and Miletus was entered in the morning (see MILESUS). It is certain that there must have been a night between Chios and Miletus, and have been spent only at Samos or at Trogyllium; the omission of the reference to Trogyllium in the MSS may be due to the idea that *παρεβαλομεν* implied a stoppage during the hours of darkness; port; this idea may have been strengthened by the existence of the variant *ἐσπερα* for *ἐσπερα* in 20.15, implying that the passage to, or arrival at, Samos postponed to a somewhat late hour, it made the progress that same night to Trogyllium impossible. The western text undoubtedly here preserves reading, and the reference to Trogyllium should be retained (omitted, except in margin, by RV: 'at Samos; and [RV⁹⁸ many ancient authorities "having tarried at Trogyllium"] the day after we entered Miletus.' See MILESUS, § 2. W. J. W.)

TROOP. The words so rendered are:

1. **72**, *σαδ*, Gen. 30.11 IS. 65.11; see FORTUNE, *Gen.* 30.11.
2. **717**, *χέλι*, 2 K. 9.24, etc., 'hand' (**Θ**) *μαρτος* (*μαρτα*). See ARMY, § 3.
3. **728**, *αγοιδι*, 2 S. 2.25, RV 'hand'. See above.
4. **717**, *λαγυθ*, 2 S. 20.11 IS. 65.11 et al. See BBE.
5. **778**, *δου*, Job 6.11, RV CARAVAN (2.70) TRADE, § 83 [β] col. 51.5.
6. **227**, *αχ*, Is. 21.7 RV. Cp CHARIOT, § 1.

TROPHIMUS (τροφίμος [Ti. WH]), a disciple and companion of Paul, seems to have been with him in Greece during his third missionary tour, and along with Tychicus preceded the apostle where he was joined by Paul and his party on their way to Syria. Trophimus was, apparently, a Gentile; a mistaken impression that he had been introduced into temple proper by Paul led to the uproar which in Paul's being taken into custody and ultimately referred to Caesarea and Rome (Acts 20.1, 21.27 allusion to Trophimus in 2 Tim. 4.20 ('Trophimus left at Miletus sick' is one of several which here it is necessary to postulate certain journeys of which the NT contains no direct record, if the necessity of the Pastoral Epistles is to be maintained).

¹ The Great Boghaz is on the W. of Samos, separating it from Icaria, and varies from 3 to 8 m. in width; the passage generally used by modern vessels of any size.

² Trogyllium is the form used by Plin. 5.30; Strabo, *III. 5. 37*; Trogyllios, Trogyllia in the Latin Western text.

TRUMPET

The name of Tróphimus closes the list of 'the seventy' by the Pseudo-Philo and Psalms...

TRUMPET. 1. תְּרוּמָה, אֶרְוֵנוּ, אֲדָמִים, Lev. 23:24, etc. See Horn, Music, p. 54.

2. תְּרוּמָה, תְּרוּמָה (Gen. 'tam's horn'), Ar. תְּרוּמָה, ep. Egypt. תְּרוּמָה, Ass. תְּרוּמָה, 'wild goat and deity, at present, but in Judg. 7:19, etc., קַרְנֵי תְּרוּמָה אֲדָמִים, etc. See M. 50, 1, 1, 2.

3. תְּרוּמָה, תְּרוּמָה, תְּרוּמָה, תְּרוּמָה, אֲדָמִים, 1 Ch. 13:24 2 Ch. 13:24 13:24 24:1. See M. 50, 1, 1, 2.

4. תְּרוּמָה, תְּרוּמָה, תְּרוּמָה, תְּרוּמָה, אֲדָמִים, 2 Ch. 13:24 13:24 13:24 24:1. See M. 50, 1, 1, 2.

5. In Ezek. 7:14 MT has תְּרוּמָה תְּרוּמָה, rendered in LV 'they have blown the trumpet'...

TRUMPET-BLOWING, DAY OF (יום תְּרוּמָה), LV 'day of blowing of [AV insert 'the'] trumpets';

הַמֶּרְבָּע, חַמְסָא יַמְרָא; dies clausuræ et tertiae; Nu. 29:1, or, MEMORIAL OF (זִכְרוֹן) מְנַחֵם מִצְרָיִם

מִצְרָיִם; memoriale clausuræ tertiae; Lev. 23:10. According to Lev. 23:14, P. Nu. 29:1, the first day of the seventh month was to be 'a day of solemn rest' on which 'no servile work' was to be done...

6. In Ezek. 7:14 MT has תְּרוּמָה תְּרוּמָה, rendered in LV 'they have blown the trumpet'...

7. תְּרוּמָה, תְּרוּמָה, תְּרוּמָה, תְּרוּמָה, אֲדָמִים, 2 Ch. 13:24 13:24 13:24 24:1. See M. 50, 1, 1, 2.

8. תְּרוּמָה, תְּרוּמָה, תְּרוּמָה, תְּרוּמָה, אֲדָמִים, 2 Ch. 13:24 13:24 13:24 24:1. See M. 50, 1, 1, 2.

9. תְּרוּמָה, תְּרוּמָה, תְּרוּמָה, תְּרוּמָה, אֲדָמִים, 2 Ch. 13:24 13:24 13:24 24:1. See M. 50, 1, 1, 2.

10. תְּרוּמָה, תְּרוּמָה, תְּרוּמָה, תְּרוּמָה, אֲדָמִים, 2 Ch. 13:24 13:24 13:24 24:1. See M. 50, 1, 1, 2.

TRUTH. The Heb. אֱמֻנָה, 'truth' (אֱמֻנָה, 'to be firm'), requires to be rendered differently according to the context; the LV, sometimes so needlessly added to a variety of rendering, is here as needlessly consistent in its adherence to the rendering 'truth'.

1. Heb. and Gk. terms. 'faithfulness,' 'trustworthiness,' 'permanence,' 'sincerity,' 'sincerity,' are at least as likely to be the right rendering of אֱמֻנָה as 'truth'; indeed, where אֱמֻנָה is spoken of as a divine attribute, we may constantly substitute 'faithfulness' for the 'truth' of LV.

In the NT was not written, nor were the discourses on which ultimately portions of it are based, spoken in biblical Hebrew; it is a Greek book, though with more or less Semitic colouring.

Besides this, the religion which its writers support was a struggling religion; its writers are conscious of antagonism to other forms of religion which has a direct bearing on the sense or senses in which they use the word ἀληθεια.

A complete examination of passages containing the word 'truth' in the LV is impossible.

A few may, however, be referred to, and alternative, even if inadequate, renderings may usefully be suggested.

Gen. 32:10, 'I am too small for all the lovingkindness and for all the faithfulness etc.:' Ps. 18:29, 'trustworthy (truth)'; In. 1:9, 'a God of faithfulness' (see RV); 1 K. 2:4 2 K. 20:4 'walk in sincerity'; 2 K. 20:16, 'peace and permanence'; Ps. 27:5, 'Do not lie with thy faithfulness' (permanence); Ps. 31:5, 'faithfulness'; Ps. 101, 'Thou desirest sincerity'; Ps. 85:11, 'Faithfulness and faithfulness are met together' (similarly always, 'Faithfulness and truth'); Ps. 119:142, 'The law is sincerity (truth)'; Is. 42:1, 'he shall do law the law faithfully'; Jer. 5:1, 'Are not thine eyes open in sincerity?'

Both in OT and in NT the duty of truth-speaking is urged, and the Psalter shows how deeply the teaching of the prophets had penetrated Jewish minds. This is one of the points in which Judaism and Zoroastrianism manifest their inward affinity. The substitution of

TRUTH

'faithfulness' for 'truth' in no degree obscures this; and of course there are passages enough in which 'truth' is the only possible rendering of ἀληθεια.

152 Prov. 8: [24] 25: [Dan. 8:3]. In Dan. 8:12 the 'truth' spoken of is apparently the religion of Ahura Mazda. No complete parallel to this occurs in the NT, because the truth of the gospel (Dan. 8:12) is not bound up with an elaborate cultus, but is simply life in Christ. Certainly this life is impossible without an act of obedience to the divine will. There is a lawgiver who holds us up to, and believe, in order that we may have life in Christ. Consequently we have the singular passages, 'He who doeth by the truth' (1700) ἀληθειᾶς τῆς ἀληθείας Rom. 2:1 and 'those who do not obey the gospel' (1701) ἀπακούουσιν τῆς ἀληθείας, 2 Thess. 1:10.

The difficulty in guessing the sense to be assigned to ἀληθεια is greatest in the Johannine gospel and epistles.

2. ἀληθεια in Jn. This and the connected terms occur not less than eighty times in this literature. The writer's individuality is very manifest in this; he is almost like a Zoroastrian in his intense love of truth and hatred of falsehood. The Father of the liar is the devil in whom there is no truth, he says (In. 8:44).

And in the address of brother to brother he thinks it worth while to say, 'whom I love truthfully' (ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, 2 Jn. 1). This hatred of sinners suggests the peculiar form of his theology of Christology.

Christ is ἡ ἀληθεια (In. 14:6); he is full of ἀληθεια (In. 1:14). How shall we render ἀληθεια? As Jn. 14:6 shows, it is one aspect of ζωὴ, 'life,' and as its combination with ὁδὸς, 'way,' in that passage and with χάρις, 'liberality,' in Jn. 1:14 shows, it is something which God in and through Christ generously communicates to man. It is therefore not a battle of intellectual truths; it is a share of the divine nature; it is real as opposed to seeming existence, ἀληθεια then is strictly 'reality,' and 'full of grace and truth' means 'full of self-communicating divine life'; or, in plainer English, 'full of a gift of real life.'

Certainly this can be given only to those who have some inward affinity to it, to those at least who are hungry for 'the bread of life' (In. 6:35). Such persons are 'of the truth,' ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας (In. 18:37; cp. ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ 8:12); it is then destiny to become true; the 'truth,' manifested in the Son, can make them true; make them 'sons of God' (In. 8:32 9:142, cp. Rom. 8:29). The work of Jesus is to 'bear witness of the truth' (In. 18:37); and when he 'goes away to the Father' he will ask the Father to send a never-failing representative of himself, 'the spirit of truth' τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας (In. 14:17). This 'spirit' also bears witness, because the spirit is ἡ ἀληθεια (truth itself), 1 Jn. 5:6. Still the fact remains that it is 'the truth that has the Son' that 'has life' (1 Jn. 5:12), and the Son (i.e., the Christ), even when he has 'gone away,' 'comes' to the disciples, indeed to each individual disciple (In. 11:21).

The spirit of ἀληθεια, therefore, by abiding in the disciples, enables them to 'hold' him (ἔχειν, In. 14:10) in a degree in which this would otherwise be impossible. And through this supreme vision, they will make ever fresh progress in 'life' and in 'reality' (In. 14:10).

To return to this ἀληθεια or 'reality.' It has primarily to do with moral life; it is not an idea to be thought, but a deed to be done (In. 14:24, τὸ ἐργασίον τοῦ θεοῦ, 'the work which God wills'; In. 3:21 1 Jn. 16 ποιεῖν τὴν ἀληθειαν). Its opposite, when so regarded, is 'to practise ill,' or 'to walk in darkness,' for the writer has almost a Zoroastrian's love of the symbol of Light (see LIGHT). But 'reality' extends from the moral to the intellectual sphere. There is but one

1 Lachmann's conjecture (Zet. Gr. 2, Prof. p. vii) ἀλλὰ τὸ θεοῦ should probably be accepted: 'Whoever speaks a lie speaks of that which is his own, for his Father also is a liar.' The verse now becomes intelligible. It behooves probably the editor, who mainly explains pp. 41, 44 (p. 7, 52).

2 The καὶ ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ means 'in the spirit, with reality.'

3 Cp Dalman's remark, Die Worte Jesu, 15 (foot), 16 (top).

TRYPHENA

'Light' (Jn. 14), and in bearing witness of this 'Light' the 'spirit of reality' is insensibly led on to the disclosure of great intellectual truths. 'He shall teach you all things' (Jn. 14:26), 'shall guide you in the whole truth' (Jn. 16:13), the truth of the primeval Reason (Λόγος), and also the truth of things that are to come (Jn. 14:19; 16:13) — in accordance with the longing of the primitive age for an apocalypse of the winding up of the world. There is one other writing in which ἀληθεια, real as opposed to merely speculative truth, is specially prominent — the Epistle to the Ephesians. Certainly ἀληθεια is still somewhat restricted in its application. The full scope of 'real truth' is so wide that it needed another name — σοφια, 'wisdom,' or γνῶσις, 'knowledge.' The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, said the wise man of old, this fear of the Lord to the Christian teacher is ἀληθεια. To it δικαιοσύνη, 'righteousness,' and ὁσιότης, 'piety,' are ascribed (Eph. 1:24); and the fruit of righteousness is 'in righteousness and reality' (Eph. 5:9). The word of real truth' (τὸν Λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας) is the 'Gospel of your salvation' (Eph. 1:13; cp. 2 Tim. 2:15). Hence disciples are 'taught in Christ, even as real truth is in Jesus' (Eph. 1:26). Naturally, truth-speaking is one of the chief duties of such disciples (Eph. 4:25), but only as one expression of that 'truth' or 'reality' which is the first part of their 'pamphly' (Eph. 6:14). In Eph. 4:15 ἀληθεύω ἐν ἀγάπῃ (RV 'speaking truth [mg. dealing truly in love]') means more than 'speaking truth charitably'; it is both speaking and practising that real truth which Christ embodied.

The use of the adjectives (ἀληθής, ἀληθινός) should also be studied. Both are specially frequent in the Johannine Gospel and Epistles. Note especially Jn. 6:55, 'my flesh is a true meat' ἀληθῆς ἐστὶ βρώσις — i.e., 'a food which really, permanently nourishes'; Jn. 19 'the very light' 'very' as in the Nicene Creed, 'very God' θεὸς ἀληθινός, 'the true light' τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν; Jn. 15:1 'the vine rightly so-called,' ἡ ἀμπελος ἡ ἀληθινή; Jn. 17:3 'the only, veritable God,' τὸν μόνον ἀληθινόν θεόν. Trench¹ compares Plato, *Tim.* 25a, πέλαγος ὅστις ἀληθινὸς πόντος, 'an ocean worthy of the name.' But Hebrew has similar phrases, אֱלֹהִים אֱמֶת, 'a real God' (2 Ch. 15:3); אֱלֹהִים אֱמֶת, 'true, unfeigned hospitality,' אֱלֹהִים אֱמֶת, 'true, unfeigned charity' (quoted in Jastrow, *Dict.* 76). ἀληθινός is also frequent in Revelation, but, except in 37, always with the meaning 'trustworthy.'

The use of ἀληθινός (EV 'true') in Jn. 19:42; 15, etc. Heb. 8:2 (cp. Jer. 2:21 ἀληθινὸν = אֱמֶת אֱמֶת) is very characteristic of the writers' belief in heavenly patterns of earthly things. Wycliffe has the fine phrases 'a very light,' 'a verrei vyne,' the verrei tabernacle'; but in Jn. 4:23 'trewe worshippers.'

On the Johannine use of ἀληθεια (reality) see H. Holtzmann, *NT Theol.* 2:37; Wendt (*Die Lehre Jesu*, 2:200 ff.) gives the term perhaps too prominently an ethical sense ('righteous'). Further, on the prepositional of the Johannine term, see Holtzmann, *op. cit.* 2:374f. T. K. C.

TRYPHENA, or rather, as in RV **Tryphæna** (ΤΡΥΦΑΙΝΑ), and **Tryphosa** (ΤΡΥΦΩΣΑ), 'who labour in the Lord,' are saluted in Rom. 16:12. They appear to have been deaconesses, and not improbably were sisters.

The name Tryphena is met with in Carian inscriptions (cp. *CIG* 2:291, 296), and among the monuments of the imperial household in the first century; Tryphæna appears in the apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thecla* as the wife of Polemo king of Cilicia. Gurschmidt has shown that there really was a queen of that name, of Mauretanian origin; she was repudiated by her husband Polemo II. of Cilicia about 40 A.D. She afterwards lived under the emperor Claudius in Roman territory at Antioch in Pisidia (see Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap. d. 206 h.* 3 p. 1-2).

¹ *New Test. Synonyms*, 31.

TUBAL

TRYPHON (ΤΡΥΦΩΝ [ΛΩΝ], cp. Τ. Waddington, no. 271) and perhaps ΤΡΥΦΩΝ the a Rabbi upon a Hic. misc. quoted by Tuting 10th July, 1885, no. 47), of Apamea, former lieutenant of Alexander Balas, took advantage of a faction prevailing among the troops of Demetrius to obtain the person of ANTIOCHUS S. 17 p. 40, son of Balas, whom he used as a puppet for his personal ambitions. Supported by the son Demetrius, Tryphon was enabled to defeat his win over Antioch (1 Macc. 11:9 ff.). The son of Jonathan and the Maccabean party was (1 Macc. 57 ff.), and his position became gradually. At last he was able to throw over Antioch fearing lest the power of the Maccabees be inimical to his interests, he found it necessary against Jonathan. They met at Bethshan, a stratagem, Jonathan was captured. Taking his with him Tryphon proceeded to Jerusalem, intercepted at Adela by Simon, Jonathan's. Tryphon pretended that the detention was for non-payment of revenues, and thus obtained a for his prisoner, whom, however, he failed over; and, at last, incited by two futile attempts to reach Jerusalem, slew Jonathan at Bascama (1 Macc. 13:21); see JOSEPHUS. Tryphon's next step was to seize the throne, a proceeding which resulted in and Demetrius II. forming an alliance against common enemy (1 Macc. 13:21 ff.). When Demetrius prisoner in Ptolemaeus his younger brother (A. Sidetes) continued the struggle, and Tryphon was to flee to Dora, and thence by successive s. Ptolemais, Orthosia, and finally to Apamea, where a brief reign of three years he perished (J. xiii. 7-9). See S. 1111-1119, p. 14.

TUBAL (תְּבַל, תְּבַל; תְּבַל, תְּבַל; once [A. E. 1] תְּבַל; once [Ezek. 27:1] Η ΣΥΜΠΑΡΕΑ ΤΥΒΑΛΙΑΝΤΑ [A]; see also Q⁹⁹ Ezek. 32:1 *Tubal* and Meshech [תְּבַל; Sam. 7:10] מוֹסֵךְ in Ezek. 27:13, ΤΑ ΠΑΡΑΤΕΙΝΟΝΤΑ; We shall first of all collect the exegetical data in MT, and state the current theory based upon data; we shall then endeavour to put the question a new critical light. As the text stands, it

1. **Tubal** = Meshech are always mentioned except in Is. 66:19 (but see **Tibareni**? **Tubal** and Javan are mentioned as distant nations, and in Ps. 120:5, where, enough, 'Meshech' (εἰμακρήθη) is 'to' Ke second in order of the sons of Ishmael, and in 1 (om. **C**^h) where Meshech is introduced as order of the sons of Shem. In Ezek. 27:13 **T** Meshech appear as supplying Tyre with sla vessels of brass. In 32:6 they are among the which have gone down to Sheol — i.e., have some great reverse. In 38:2, (μοσχο [BQ] [A v. 3] 39:1 (μοσχο [B]) they are mentioned; the rule of Gog. Since Bochart they have usually identified with the Moschi (μοσχοι) and (τιβαρηνόι) who are named together by H (39:1-7). In the Ass. inscriptions (see S. K. A. 1² 82 ff., KGF 155 ff.; Del., *Par.* Winckler, *GBA* 172) their territory is extended S. than in Herodotus, the *Tabali* up to and the *Muški* NE. of the *Tabali*. Accord Gelzer and Schrauer, a part of the *Tabali*, with the *Muški*, had been driven N. by the (the *Kiaméroi*; see GOMERI) to the seats which were in the time of Herodotus. Assur-bani-p-scriptions report that the tribute of *Tabal* entirely of 'great horses.' Cp. HORSE, § 3 (T. close to Cilicia).

¹ This name (which means *Abraham's*) was given to for that was his real name, after his victory over Demetrius.

² Whether he really slew the young king at this juncture (1 Macc. 13:31) is uncertain; see *Camb. Bible*, ad loc.

TUBAL-GAIN

It so happens, however, that all the passages in which Tubal and Meshech are mentioned are among those which labour under a strong suspicion of having been interpolated by editors, who approached the already corrupt texts with most inaccurate preconceived opinions.

2. A. N. Arabian Tubal? In the true text of Is 60 the nations referred to are probably those which bordered on S. Palestine, viz. Ashhur (Geshur), Zarephath, Jerahmeel, G. G. Tubal, Jamin; the names are used conventionally and drawn from earlier sources. 'Cushim' corresponds with the מוסח of S. and means the Arabian Cush (see CUSH, 2). 'Tubal', as 'Tubal-kain' (where kain [see TUBAL-GAIN] is equivalent to 'Kenites' is the name of a son of Lamech in Jerahmeel), suggests a N. Arabian ethnic; we meet with it in 1 K 10 in the disguise of טבאל (see PRODUKT, § 7, col. 3812, n. 1), and in Is 56 under that of TUBAL. [?], and there is an echo of it in the name of the patriarch Bethuel, in the place name Bethul-joshy, 194), also in Tub (land of), and in the personal names TUBALIM, TUBILL, TUBJAM.

Ps. 120 has been very much misunderstood; but none of the critical commentators affects to suppose that the explanation which he gives is quite satisfactory. The reference to N. Arabian oppression in the Psalm is so pervasive (see PSALMS, § 27) that we cannot hesitate to read, 'Woes me that I found in Cushim' (for parallels see SHUCHIM, 3) (1 K 10:17 see below, in Ezek. 27) if the right reading is approximately 'Jamin (or Jamin=Jerahmeel), Tubal, and Cushim'. Then מוסח is, besides 'vessels of brass (or, bronze)', not 'human persons', but ivory (read מוסח, cp 1 K. 10:22). In Ezek. 32:2 'Tubal' and 'Cushim' (so read) are beyond doubt N. Arabian peoples; 'Ashhur' and 'Edom', or rather Ashhur and Jerahmeel, precede, 'Edom' and 'the Zidonians', or rather 'Edom' and 'the Misyites' follow. In 38:2-3 Gog is the representative of the collective N. Arabian power, the 'Zephonites' of Joel 2:2; 'Tubal' and 'Cushim' are again required.

We have reserved for the end the Chronicler's representation of Meshech as a son of Shem in 1 Ch. 1:7 (מוסח). In Gen. 10:21 MT gives MASIT (מסיט). Critics (e.g., Kittel, Benzinger) agree in rejecting the Chronicler's reading. In truth 'Meshech' is wrong, but not more wrong than 'Meshech' in 1:7. The right reading in both passages is 'Cushim'. The same names occur in Gen. 10 from which the Chronicler borrows more than once. The significance attached by critics to the Table of Nations is out of all proportion to its real worth. See Crit. Bib., 1, K. C.

TUBAL-GAIN (תבאל קין; ὀφθαλμοποιός [VEL]; Tubal-cain), one of the sons of Lamech (Gen. 4:20f. See CANFELS, § 10, where the view is taken that Tubal-cain is a humanised god (cp Gunkel, Gen. 48, 'völligst verklingene Götter?'), and the text is emended in accordance with Kautzsch and others, omitting קין (qayin=a hammer?) and inserting אב, 'father of'. The theory of a N. Arabian Tubal (see TUBAL, § 2), however, compels us to recommend another view in preference. Tubal-cain = Tubal of Kain—i.e., the Kenite Tubal—is the eponym of a N. Arabian people of mercantile habits, who brought 'ivory and vessels of brass' to the market of the great Misyite capital (cp Jer. 10:2, as explained under ZAPHNIM). That the home of Tubal is in N. Arabia, we cannot pause here to show (see TUBAL, § 2); but the result seems unassailable. The mysterious word קין (MT לִבְיָסִים) can now be explained. Like קין, it is a collective term for a N. Arabian people—viz., the LITUSITIM, mentioned in Gen. 25:3 among the sons of Dedan, between the Asshurim (= Ashur or Geshur) and the Lemnimim, or rather the Jerahme'elim. The name of the third son of Lamech (i.e., Jerahmeel), therefore, is possibly Tubal of Kain and Lamech (to distinguish him from any other Tubal). The alternative is, not any of the renderings mentioned by Dillmann and Deltzsch, but a still more searching criticism (see Crit. Bib.).

Q has και for instead of και; originally perhaps it had all three

TUNIC

words. καὶ ἔτι would make up for the loss of τὸν with homology requires us to supply. Cp Babbie, Unger, 4, 1, 7.

TUBIENI (ΤΟΥ ΒΙΑΝΟΥ [V], 2 Marc. 12:7, RV⁸⁶ men of Ion.)

TUMOURS (τῶν ὄγκων, 1 S. 30:12 RV, AV 1 Macc. 1:23)

TUNIC occurs only in 1 Tim 3:2 for the Aram. כְּסֵה (see PLETCHER, 20, and in 1 Tim 19: RV⁸⁶ for χιτών, cl.V. coat of, but tunic admirably suits the Heb. כַּתְּמֵת, תבשׂת from which indeed the Lat. tunica has possibly arisen by metathesis through the medium of the Greek χιτών (cp PLETCHER, 19, 7).

The Hebrew כַּתְּמֵת of uncertain derivation, but cp probably Ass. katanu, linen cloth; see Zehnpfund, Beitr. 2, 1, 1, 2, commonly rendered

1. Ordinary tunic. 'coat', was a short, sleeveless garment worn next the body and held together

by a girdle of linen, leather, etc. (GEN 31:2). As a garment for females it was doubtless longer, and appears to have answered to the tunika worn by men in 1 Tim 5:4 (it is put off at night-time, see MANTLE).

The kattanith has evidently been derived in the first instance from the GEN 31:2, and in Gen 32:2 is a simple covering made of skins. In later times it was made of wool or flax, but would naturally vary in fineness according to the wearer's taste and means.

Besides being a priestly garment (see below § 2), the kattanith is worn also by men of distinction as an official robe (Is. 22:6 E.V.). A distinctive garment of this nature is implied in Joseph's kattanith pashim, כְּסֵה מִבְּשֵׂמִים (Gen. 37:33), which, as we learn from a gloss in 2 S. 13:18, was worn also by the maiden daughters of a king. It appears to have been a long garment with sleeves (cp RV⁸⁶ Gen. 37:33), thus resembling the Roman chiton and was perhaps of Canaanite origin. It is difficult to determine from the monuments whether an inner garment or tunic was worn as well as the outer robe or mantle. On the whole, everything points to a very general simplicity in matters of dress. See further MANTLE, § 1.

Other varieties of the tunic were adopted by the Jews in the Roman period (DRESS, § 4, note), among them the hikan (חִיקָן), an under-robe reaching to the heels. It was commonly made of wool; but linen and even poplins was used.

The Greek χιτών in NT 'coat', Mt 10:10, Acts 9:9 etc., 'garments', Jude 23, like kattanith, is applied to an under-garment and thus distinguished itself from chiton, the richer outer garment (see MANTLE). This forms the point of the Logion in Mt 5:4; it is otherwise in Lk. 6:9, where the transposition (χιτ., 'coat' following χιτων, 'cloak') indicates the order in which the garments would be torn off. In its appearance the χιτών was sometimes a short woollen shirt without sleeves (Dorian), and sometimes a long linen tunic reaching to the feet (Ionian); see Dict. Class. Ant., 67, 'Tunica'.

The kattanith was worn by all priests (Ex. 29:14, 14, Lev. 8:13, 10:5).³ It was made of fine linen and is described by Josephus (Ant. iii. 7:2) as a fine linen vestment ἁπλοῦς σανδύος βίσιμης called χιτωνίση, from χιθών 'linen'. It

1 Sleeves appear to be referred to also in Is. 52:1, Ezek. 4:7, Josephus' coat of many colours (Cyprian, in 2.) is highly improbable and must be given up, although with regret. 2 It seems to mean (as in Aram.) palm (of hand) or side (of face); so S (in Sam.) χιτων καρπῶτος [B.V. A.V.], χ. ἀσπράγγλιος [L.], χ. χιτωνάτος [S.V.M.]. See also Nestle, ZNTW, 16:2, 16:17, who suggests the meaning 'seamless coat,' and points to the parallel with Ju. 19:23.

3 In S it regularly renders תבשׂת, but also תבשׂת (thrice), and (once each) תבשׂת (see DRESS), and תבשׂת (MANTLE, § 2 [6]).

4 Plur. of all the priestly garments, Ezra 2:66, Neh. 7:70, 72, EV 'garments'; cp χιτωνες Mk. 14:3, EV 'clothes.'

V] cp τρυφῶν- is מְעִיץ the name of a puppet to gratify the soldiers of a defeat his rival and 7). The allegiance a party was gained gradually stronger over Antiochus; but placations might be necessary to march Bethshan, and by Taking his prisoner Jerusalem, but was Jonathan's brother-tion was due to the obtained a ransom He failed to hand a little attempts to Basama (143 B.C.)'s next step was to h resulted in Simon lance against their Demetrius was a brother (Antiochus Tryphon was forced successive stages to Apamea, where after perished (Jos. Ant. once [A Ezek. 39:1] YΑΠΤΑC [B]. ΤΑ Ezek. 32:6, 38:2], am, מְעִיץ מְעִיץ; ANONTA; Mesochy, etical data presentl y based upon these put the question in stands, Tubal and mentioned together but see S, who mentioned together is, where, strange is, to 'Kedar', the el, and in 1 Ch. 1: produced as last in tek. 27:13 Tubal and are with slaves and ge among the nations, i.e., have suffered μוסח (BQ), מוסח mentioned as under at they have been (κόσμου) and Titaro ther by Herodotus ons (see Schrader, Del., Pur. 250, 7; is extended further ali up to Cilicia, ali. According to the Tabali, together N. by the Gimmia ce seats where they ASur-lani-pal's in- of Tubal consisto rse, § 3 (Tubal was was given to Diod. os, y over Demetrius H. ng at this juncture is ible, ad loc.

TURBAN

reached down to the feet (καθ' ἄκρον) and fitted close to the body, and had sleeves which were tied fast to the arms. The garment was girt to the breast by a girdle (cp Gk 001, 5), and had a narrow aperture about the neck. Josephus adds, moreover, that it was called ἀρσάσαυρη (Ar. māsāsaūrē, etc.). The high priest's 'attire' (1) was, according to Josephus (Ant. iii, 74), the same as that of the rest of the priests, but the name given to it in Ex. 284, κήθωνος ἱμάτιον (qethōnos ḥimatīon, 'brodered coat,' RV 'coat of chequer work'), shows that some particular kind of tunic is meant.

Unfortunately the exact signification of קִטְוֹן is uncertain. It is to be considered doubtless with the מִשְׁפָּחֹת of Ex. 2711 etc., on the one hand, and probably with the μαρμαρέων (קִטְוֹן) of Josephus (l.c.), on the other. The root-meaning of קִטְוֹן is supposed to convey the idea of intertwining (cp Dr. in 28.14), in which case the קִטְוֹן would be some kind of filigree-work, or jewels (see O. C. 118, and p. 16 in Mount, § 1), whilst the priestly garment might well represent some woven garment, not necessarily seamless, but ornamented and adorned with various patterns. The Targ. on Ex. 284 renders קִטְוֹן מְתִילִים—that is, perhaps, a garment woven into patterns, but this is not certain. In Assyrian cuneiform seems to mean 'set with jewels' (see Del. III, 1004b). אֶרֶב, אֶרְבָּוֹתָא, read אֶרֶב, אֶרְבָּוֹתָא, which suggests a tasseled or fringed garment. Cp ERISBERG.

L. V.—S. A. C.

TURBAN

Instead of restricting ourselves to the voluminous cloth-wrapper with which the word turban is associated, it will be convenient under

1. Varieties.

this heading to deal generally with head-coverings of all kinds. A head-covering is not an indispensable protection, like the GARD (177) for instance. It does not appear to have been worn in Europe in the earliest times, and the monuments of Egypt and Babylonia clearly prove that even in those countries, too, it was not in habitual use. Not infrequently, a narrow fillet encircles the head and binds the hair close. This custom is widespread among both sexes, and is frequently met with in Assyria and adjacent countries. Shishak's Hebrew prisoner at Karnak is thus depicted. Naturally this fillet varied in material and ornamentation, and a good example of the elaborate nature of an Assyrian fillet is seen in Perrot-Chipiez (Art in Chald., etc., 100); cp Crowns, DRYM. Some covering like the modern keffiyeh must, however, have been in use among the Hebrews. The keffiyeh is a square or oblong piece of wool or silk, folded rectangularly and tied by a cord, agal, which protects not only the head, but also the neck, cheeks, and throat. Coverings more or less approximating to this are seen in monuments from Assyria (cp l.c. 210, fig. 62; cp WMM, Is. u. Eur., 139), and were worn in Palestine (Is. u. Eur., 203 f.). The turban proper was perhaps a later introduction among the Hebrews, although a certain variety of it seems to have been worn at an early time by the nomad inhabitants of the Semitic peninsula (Is. u. Eur., 157 f.).

A specifically feminine attire, robust (it would seem) to Palestine, as the long garment worn by the women of Lachish, it covers the head, with the exception of the face, and descends over the neck to the feet, thus bearing a general resemblance to the classical stamnum.

A covering of the nature of the turban is not doubt implied in the poetical term קִטְוֹן, קִטְוֹן (x to wind

2. Hebrew—(1) אֶרֶב, cp Is. 2211, which was worn by the middle of both sexes (Job 2914 'diadem' RV¹⁹⁰⁸ 'turban,' Is. 321 'hoods,' RV 'turbans,' cp Is. 621 'diadem,' and Eccles. 4761 of David [διδόμας]), and even by priests (Zech. 34 κίδαρις

1 For the 'mitres' (קִטְוֹן) mentioned between the 'breches' and 'tunic' in Ex. this 450c, the sing. should doubtless be read with 28.88 קִטְוֹן.

2 The מִשְׁפָּחֹת, we know, was seamless; cp MANTLE, § 2 [7]. The meaning of קִטְוֹן (Ex. 3110, etc.), too, is obscure; cp col. 1137, n. 1, and see Baentsch, ad loc.

3 Cp קִטְוֹן (AEI, 1, 200), [1] for the verb קִטְוֹן Ex. 2837 (regard as a plu. constr.), and for the שִׁבְטֵי of Is. 318 (see CANT. and NECKLACE, 2 n.).

TURBAN

'mitre' RV¹⁹⁰⁸ 'turban,' diadem.)¹ A similar allusion is found in Ezek. 1615 (שִׁבְטֵי קִטְוֹן, RV 'I will give thee with a fillet of fine linen' cp Orel, loc. cit.). The ἡλίουβλον (ἡλίουβλον, ἡλίουβλον, RV 'ropes') of 1 K. sometimes taken to represent a primitive substitute for a fillet for the hair (so Nowack II 112, Perrot-Chipiez, II 104), may be taken otherwise to express the missiveness of the men referred to. 'Woe might they have taken them away as captives, and they would not have returned to their homes as a sign of humiliation.' Of the part form of the 'apha', אֶרֶב of 1 K. 20.9 41 RV ('hand') we are ignorant; the context, however, shows that the wearer could cover his face with it, in case it may have resembled the keffiyeh (cp Ass. q. apha, covering, head gear).²

A head-dress of some elaborate nature and of Hittite origin is alluded to in Ezek. 2315 קִטְוֹן מְתִילִים (EV 'exceeding in dyed attire' RV¹⁹⁰⁸ 'turbans'). According to Delitzsch (Baer, Ezek. p. 160), 'Ass. turban,' but the word does not seem to be substantiated.³ Another head-dress more ornate than the ordinary turban is the פִּתְוֹן (RV¹⁹⁰⁸ 'turban') which may have tapered to a point. It is worn by Jacob's distinction, male (Ezek. 2117 23, RV 'tire') and female (Is. 32. AV 'bonnet,' RV 'head-tire'), by priests (3928 Ezek. 4118, AV 'bonnet,' RV 'tire'), and by the bridegroom (Is. 6110), see CHAPLET.

It is not unlikely that we may find in the Assyrian well-known conical head-gear worn by warriors, and gods of Assyria, Babylonia, and of the Hittites. At all events it is exceedingly probable that this particular covering is the kind alluded to in the קִטְוֹן, אֶרֶב Dan. 321 (AV 'hat' RV¹⁹⁰⁸ 'turban,' RV 'mitre') which, from its shape, signifies in later Jewish-Arabic and Syriac 'cock's comb.' The Gr. Ven. cod. renders by κόμμοσάα, which is actually likened to cock's comb in Arist. Met. 487. The RV rendering 'mitre' relies too much upon the doubtful אֶרֶב, 1 Ch. 1527.⁴ In the same passage (Dan. 321) 'turban'

1 With קִטְוֹן, cp the high priest's מִשְׁפָּחֹת (N. 1112), and 1 Ch. 1157, n. 2 and 3. In Job 2914 (q. apha) 'mitre' and 'turban' are emblems of justice, and possibly the high priest.

2 For this use of אֶרֶב cp Ex. 296 Lev. 811 and perhaps Job 1611, head-band (RV¹⁹⁰⁸, 2, 158, 149 525 f.).

3 Cp the representations on the Assyrian and Egyptian monuments where captives are dragged away by ropes and necks.

4 See Baer, Hittology Stud. 10. The Ass. parallel Ezek. 34 greatly increases the probability that אֶרֶב in the case of corruption in more than one way, is the rendering of the localisation, however, is uncertain. The root אֶרֶב, 'to cover, clothe,' permits us to assume the garment was a mantle which could be drawn over the head further, note on אֶרֶב, below). Targ. J. אֶרֶב 'cloak' (פִּתְוֹן) may come from a different root (חֶפֶץ, perhaps חֶפֶץ = אֶרֶב in MH to plain, weaver חֶפֶץ).

5 'Turban' is traced back to Ara., Pers., and Hind. du it is the same word as 'tulip,' Ital. tulipano (prop. a turban flower). With this cp the similes used by Josephus in description of the high priest's mitre (Gen. 35, § 2). It can be proved (it is not cited by Del. III 75, 11 Miss.) the resemblance between the two becomes significant.

6 It is difficult not to conclude that אֶרֶב is really the אֶרֶב, which cp Jensen, Kosm. 105, n. 215 is a synonym of the royal cap (ind crown). See Creation-Ep. 711, 'I will make the אֶרֶב, or royal caps, to shine.' This view is still easier to accept the theory that אֶרֶב in 1 K. 20.9 41 Ass. word referred to. For אֶרֶב will then no longer be a 'mitre,' 1. See Perrot-Chipiez, Art in Chald., etc. 113 in Job 27 145, etc., and for the view that אֶרֶב is a cithara, Hummel, Sacher's Alt. 37 (Munich, 1870).

7 From this rendering Fox deduced the well-known G. doctrine prohibiting the removal of the hat even in the presence of royalty (Evans, Dan 84).

8 A head-covering of this kind may have developed in Roman Africa which, it has been suggested, was first introduced through the medium of Carthage (O. Schrader, Real-Encyclop. Alt. 455).

TURPENTINE TREE

occurs in the RV's תרשן (AV 'hosen' RV 'torn'). This rendering, imply[ng] an identification with the rarer (fossil) hammad, but is extremely improbable, see BROTHERS, 21.

For the sake of completeness, it may be noted that the punitive straw hat worn by Samaria (Isa. 37:36 WAM) is a Turpentine tree (the 'turpentine' being the resinous substance which is used for its manufacture). The name of the tree in the Bible, but especially the Septuagint, is 'Turpentine tree' (Coc. Perr. d. Hapoz. 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

See CUR, CHAVIER, CIG-OWS, DEWM, HEMER, and for the precisely headaches, METRE.

TURPENTINE TREE (τερεβινθος) [H], Levitic. 24:10 W, RV TERBINATH (Z. 3).

TURRETS (תורסות) Cant. 14 RV02, RV ARMOURY (Z. 1).

TURTLE (תור) Cant. 2:12. TURTLE DOVE. See DOVE.

TUTOR (επιτροπος) Gal. 12 RV 'guardian'; in Mt. 20:1k. 8:14 AV 'steward.' See STEWARD.

TYCHICUS (ΤΥΧΙΚΟΣ [Ti. WH]), one of the companions of Paul, was 'of Asia' (Act. 20:4) and seems to have joined the apostle at some point on his 'third' missionary journey, preceded him from Troas to Troas, and accompanied him thence, it would appear, to Jerusalem (Act. 20:5). He is mentioned in 1 Ph. 6:2 and Col. 4:7 as the 'beloved brother and faithful minister and fellow-servant in the Lord' who was the bearer of the epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians to their respective destinations. 2 Tim. 4:12 represents him as having been sent by the apostle from Rome to Ephesus, and in Tit. 3:12 the apostle proposes to send either Tychicus or Artemas to Titus in Crete.

In the lists of the 'seventy' in Pseudo-Dionysius and Pseudo-Hippolytus he is twice enumerated, once as bishop of Chalcedonia and once as bishop of Chalcedon. In the work of the Pseudo-Epiphanius on the twelve apostles he is represented as a disciple and attendant of the apostle Andrew, with whom he is appointed bishop of Chalcedon.

TYRANNUS. THE SCHOOL OF, the place where Paul, after his separation with his disciples from the synagogue at Ephesus, reasoned daily (Act. 19:1); καθ' ἡμέραν διὰ σχολῆς ἐν τῇ σχολῇ Τυράνου [Ti. WH]. There is nothing to indicate who this Tyrannus was, whether himself a rhetorician or philosopher, or merely the owner of the premises. 19. 8:14 p. marg. (see Act. 18, § 17) has the reading Τυρός ἀπὸ ὧρας τυρηνός ἐστὶ δεκάτης. Cp. LEHMAN, § 4.

TYRE (Tyros) Tyros, Ass. Surra, Egypt. Dura [A. A. Fair 183], the most famous of Phoenician cities.

1. Two Tyres; see PHOENICIA, cp. NUBIA HABRIZAR. Though never in the possession of the Egyptians, Tyre is mentioned in the delimitation of the territory of Asher, in Josh. 13:29, as the 'fenced city of Tyre' (עִירֵי טַרְסִישַׁי, or perhaps rather following טַרְסִישַׁי, [the fountain of] the fortress of Tyre, the landmark referred to being the fountain, not the city, and also in the geographical sketch of the

1. 7:10, 7:11 (Theod. 8 V2) and the corresponding readings of Jesh and Ar. seem to refer properly to טַרְסִישַׁי and not to עִירֵי טַרְסִישַׁי; see S. A. Cook, *Tanach. Phil.* 20 (1925), followed by *Midr. Riba. (Tanach)*, 23 (1900).

2. It is very possible, however, that the description in 7:12-30 is based upon a list of places in the Negeb (cp. Sittler,

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operations of Tyre at the census, 2 S. 21: 6 וְיָמָרָב, אֲבִימָלֵךְ Tyre, was a city of 200,000 inhabitants at the time of the census of David for the purpose of a late levy of 200,000 men for the king. It is the only city mentioned in the OT as having a population of 200,000. It is also mentioned in the Talmud (Z. 1:10) as having a population of 200,000.

2. Later notices and present state. The modern Tyre, situated at the NW end of the former island, which is now, owing to the washing of Alexander's mole by deposits of sand, connected with the mainland by a tongue of land 1 m. broad. The greatest length of the ancient island, from N to S, is about 2 m., and its area about 142 acres, a small surface for so important a town. The remains of Roman Tyre seem to have completely refuted the once popular idea that a great part of the original island has disappeared by natural convulsions, though one believes that the remains of a line of sub-merged wall at the S end indicate that about 12 acres more were once reclaimed from the sea and have been again lost. Connected to this narrow strip, on which, moreover, pillars were found for the great temple of Astarte with its courts, and for all the necessities of a vast trade, for docks and warehouses, and for the great public buildings (see PHOENICIA) which in the Roman time were the chief source of wealth and made the town an unpleasant place of residence (Strabo 16: 745, Pliny 7: 79). Tyre was very closely built. Strabo tells us that the many-storied houses were taller than those of Rome. In the Roman period the population overthrew its bounds and occupied a strip of the respective mainland, including the ancient Palticusus. Pliny gives us the whole city, continental and in that a compass of 19 R. m., but this account must be received with caution. In Strabo's time there is and was still the city, and Palticusus on the mainland was no longer off, whilst modern research indicates an extensive line of suburbs rather than one inland city that can be definitely identified with Palticusus. The topography of Tyre is still of the same owing to the paucity of Phoenician ruins. The present harbor is certainly the S. Phoenician port, and that עִירֵי טַרְסִישַׁי is a corruption of טַרְסִישַׁי (cp. following note).

It is probable (see TYRANNUS) that the 10 sent narrative in 2 S. 24 is an expansion of an earlier one, which represented the census of David as limited to the fighting men of Mizraim and Jerusalem, regions where David had recently brought into his sway (2 S. 2: 12) cp. Mt. Av. § 14). עִירֵי טַרְסִישַׁי is a corruption of טַרְסִישַׁי, probably, the capital of Mizraim (cp. *Midr. Riba.* 7: 10).

2. On 2 Mac. 15: 2, see HEBREWS, J. V. 2, and in the connection of Jesus with the 'handlers of Tyre,' see Keim, *Gesch. Jesu von Nazareth*, 2: 534 Z.

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though it is not so large as it once was; the other ancient harbour (the Egyptian port) has disappeared, and is supposed by Renan to have lain on the other side of the island, and to be now absorbed in the isthmus. The most important ruins are those of the cathedral, with its magnificent monolith columns of rose-coloured granite, now prostrate.

The water supply of ancient Tyre came from the powerful springs of Râs el-'Ain on the mainland (perhaps the 'fountain' of Josh. 19:20—see § 1), one hour S. of the city, where there are still remarkable reservoirs, in connection with which curious survivals of Adonis-worship have been observed by Volney and other travellers. Tyre was still an important city and almost

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impregnable fortress under the Arab empire. From 1201 it was a stronghold of the crusaders, and Saladin besieged it in vain. After the fall of Acre the Christians the place, which was then destroyed by the Moslems; present town has arisen since the Metawila occupied the in 1760.

See Pietschmann, *Gesch. der Phöniciers*, 61-72 (1870); Jeremias, *Tyros bis zur Zeit Nebukadnesars* (1881); *Forschungen zur Gesch. des Alterthums*, 221-23; Winkler, *Assyrien u. Tyros seit Tiglath-pileser III.* 265 ff. T. K. U., § 1; W. R. S.,

TYRE, LADDER OF (ΚΑΙΜΑΚΟΣ ΤΥΡΟΥ, 1159); see LADDER OF TYRE.

U

UCAL (עֲכָל), Prov. 30. See ITHIEL AND UCAL.

UEL (עֲלָן, § 39) one of the b'ne BANI (q.v.); Ezra 10:34 (עֲלָן) [Heb. A. B.]; [?] [?], [?], [?]. In 1 Esd. 10:34 the name appears as JUBEL (עֲלָן) [BA.], עֲלָן [L.], עֲלָן [A.], עֲלָן [L.] in 7: 35.

UKNAZ (עֲכָז), 1 Ch. 4:15, AV^{ms.}, AV 'even Kenaz,' RV 'and KENAZ' (q.v.). G does not represent s.

ULAI (עֲלַי); in Dan. 8:2 G [87] εἰλαμα; Syr. of G οὐλαμα. Theod. [BAQI] τοῦ οὐβαλ; in 7: 16 G οὐλαμα, but with ωλαμα superscr. 87 a; Theod. as in 7: 2), mentioned in Dan. 8:2 as a river near 'Shushan the palace (?)' in Elam; cp 7: 16 'between the banks of ?] Ulai.' Presumably the (mā) U-la-a of the Assyrian inscriptions 'scribed as 'a river whose banks are good' (for a battle-field). The word for 'river' in Dan. 8:2 (עֲלַי, *ubal*), which in 7: 2 is Theod. (BAQI) gives instead of 'Ulai,' occurs nowhere else, and is commonly viewed as a parallel form to עֲבַי, *yabal* (see Ko., *Lehrgeb.* 2:28 400), Jer. 17:8 (EV 'river'; G *ikmas* 'moisture'), though G gives the Aramaic sense of 'gate' (εἰλαμα *ἡ πύλη Αἰλαμα*). So in Dan. 8:3 Theod. [I'AIQI] has εἰλαμα where G has πύλη. In Judith 16 'the Syriac has 'Ulai,' where the Greek has 'HYDASPES' (q.v.); can 'Hydaspes' be an error for 'Choaspes'? At any rate, Herodotus (1:188; 5:49 52), followed by Strabo (11:728), places Susa on the Choaspes; but Pliny (6:13) makes the Euleus the river which flows by that capital. According to Noldeke, though it is possible that Susa in the days of its glory may have stretched from the Euleus to the Choaspes (if we assume these rivers to be different), it is more probable that the two names represent the same river. Erd. Delitzsch, however, infers confidently from the cuneiform evidence that the Euleus is not the Choaspes (the Ass. Uknū = mod. Kercha), but the Karun, which is the Pasitigris (i.e., Lesser Tigris), up which sailed Nearchus and the Macedonian fleet to join Alexander. In all this, however, the uncertainty of the original text of Daniel and of Judith must be remembered. [On the reading 'Ulai,' see SHUSHAN, and cp *Crit. Bib.* The question of an underlying text in which the geography was different must here be reserved.]

CP Nöldeke, 'Ulai,' *Bib. Lex.* 5:576 f.; Del. *Paradies*, 177 179 ff., 329; Loftus, *Chaldea and Susiana*, 423 ff.

ULAM (עֲלָם); οὐλαμα [BAL]. 1. A Machirite name; 1 Ch. 7:16 17 (q.v.) [L.]. Ulam's brother is called Reken. Both names mean the same thing—viz., Jerahmeel. Cp R1 833, and for 'Ulam' cp Elam = Jerahmeel in Ezra 27:31, and probably Is. 21:2 Jer. 49:34 ff.

2. Ancestor (in a genealogy of Benjamin (q.v., § 10 ii. β)) of the b'ne Ulam (i.e., Jerahmeel) who were distinguished for their archery; 1 Ch. 8:39 ff. (αὐλαμα, αὐλαμα [B]). See JQR II 110 112 f., §§ 9 and 12, and for Jerahmeelite archers, Jer. 49:35, 'Behold, I

will break the bow of Elam [Jerahmeel], the chief [so their strength].'

ULLA (עֲלָא); cp Palm. עֲלָא [fem.] and Sin. עֲלָא [BA], an Asherite whose sons are named in 1 Ch. 7:30. Possibly therefore he is to be identified with one of the preceding Asherites—*c.g.*, Shual (עֲשׂוּא), 7:30. ARA (אֲרָא), 7: 38. G, however, omits the name Ulla and Ara, and makes Hanniel and Rizia sons of ITHIRAN. See ASHER, § 4, ii. and note.

UMMAH (עֲמָמָה), one of a group of place-names Josh. 19:29 (end), 30, which, since they produce stylistic awkwardness, may have been introduced by Judg. 1:31 (Steinmangel). It is usual to amend עֲמָמָה into עֲמָה (MT in Judg. *loc. cit.*) PTOLEMAIS. Geographically this can be made to be favoured by a study of the variations of the name. G is at any rate doubtful.

There is a strong probability that parts of the geog. survey in Josh. have been based upon earlier texts which refer to the Negeb, where accordingly we may have to suppose the clans or tribes of Israel originally dwelt. Also the עֲמָמָה (Pesh.), עֲמָה (MT in Judg.), and אֲרָא, אֲרָא, אֲרָא, all ultimately come from עֲמָמָה (Jerahmeel), that the valley of Achor (עֲכָר) in Josh. 7:24-5 is near 'Ulla' (i.e., Jerahmeel [Kadesh]; see JERICHO, § 1). How the editor of Josh. 19:24-31 read the name given in MT as U. m. v. be left uncertain. The passage has but a doubtful geographical value.

As to the Versions, Pesh. and 2 Heb. MSS (de Ross 722). Of the Gk. MSS, B has ἀρχαὶ (i.e., ἀρχαί, modified). A group of MSS which as a rule agree with B (5: 57 77 85 131 144 236 237) read ἀρχαί; another group (4: 84 134) ἀρχαί, and the related MSS 54 75 ἀρχαί; A (Holmes and Parsons, III XI) and related cursives with Compl., Ald. and Syrohex., in which the names are corrected after the Hebrew, ἀρχαί. See conspectus in Eberg (*Z. I. W.*, 1:100 f.). T. K.

UMPIRE (עֲמִירָה), Job 9:33 EV^{ms.}, EV DAVY; See MEDIATOR.

UNCLEAN. See CLEAN AND UNCLEAN.

UNCTION (ἄρπικμα), 1 Jn. 2:20; RV ANOINTING.

UNICORN (עֲרִיָה, also עֲרִיָה [Job 39:9 f.], עֲרִיָה; 92:1], cp plur. עֲרִיָה [Ps. 22:21]; MONOKEP-

1 Originally Jer. 40-51 appears to have referred to the 1 on the S. and S.E. of Palestine. Owing partly to confusion of geographical names, the original prophecies have been filled and expanded so as to appear to have a wider scope. This is highly probable, though a new result. See PROPHET, § 2. Cp Jer. 21:13 47:5 where עֲרִיָה and עֲרִיָה both probably from עֲרִיָה (see *Crit. Bib.*).

2 The Nalb. pr. n. עֲרִיָה (CIS, 231r) may possibly be connected with עֲרִיָה.

3 With regard to the rendering of עֲרִיָה, it should be noted that a belief in the existence of a one-horned animal goes to Aristotle (*Part. An.* 3:63), who mentions as such the unicorn and the Indian ass. Later accounts such as that of (*Nat. An.* 10:20) are largely influenced by the accounts of rhinoceros; cp Houghton in *Ann. and Mag. of Nat. Hist.* Nov. 1852, and art. 'Unicorn' in *Luzg. Brit.*

1 According to Jensen however עֲרִיָה is a loan-word from Ass. *urru* 'carries down'; cp the phrase in the Ass. inscriptions, which (*loc. cit.*) the U'ai carries down [*ubbatu*] its full waters to the sea; *loc. cit.* 102, 103.

UNKNOWN GOD, ALTAR TO THE

Rhinoceros unicornis, a much-debated and somewhat unhappy rendering of the AV, occurs some nine times in the OT, where it regularly gives place in RV to WILD-OX (mg. ON-ANKELOPE, cp Nu. 23:22 etc.). It appears as a wild untaught animal, the most unlikely of all to submit to the plough (Job 39:12), of great strength (Ps. 22:11, parallel to *ayyeh* אַיְיֶה 'lion'), and agility (ib. 29:6, parallel to *egol*, עֵגוֹל 'calf'), whose horns were lofty and a symbol of power and might (Nu. 23:22² 24:8 Dt. 33:17 cp Ps. 92:11 [on which see Che., *Po.* 1]). From Is. 31:7 *toi adpoi* ἄγνωστος ('Rhinoceros') it was apparently used also in sacrifices. The Heb. *re'em* is the same as the Ass. *rimu*,³ which is a strong-horned, fierce-looking wild bull depicted with shoulders bull-arched, images of which were often placed at the entrances of Assyrian palaces.⁴ Among the Assyrians it was often employed in metaphors of strength, and at times occurs in parallelism with *piru*, elephant. Hence it is not improbable that the animal referred to is the Aurochs, the *Urus* of Julius Caesar (*De. 6:38*), who mentions it as existing in the forests of Central Europe, and the *Bos primigenius* of naturalists. Its teeth were found by Tristram in Lebanon, in the valley of the Nahr-el-Kalb, which is just in the neighbourhood where Tiglath-pileser I. (1120-1100 B.C.) claimed to have killed the *rimu*. The Aurochs was of great size and, to judge by records, of great ferocity; it was hunted and killed by prehistoric man, as skulls which are occasionally found pierced with flint instruments testify. It probably lingered in remote parts of Europe till the middle ages, and it is believed to have been the ancestor of the domesticated breeds of cattle. Probably its least altered descendants are the wild herds of certain English parks such as Chillingham, though these have certainly fallen off in size, in which they compare unfavourably with fossil remains of the *B. primigenius*.⁵ See Fr. Del. *Heb. Lang.* 6 ff.; Schr. *K.P.* 256; Hommel, *Saugthiere*, 227.

A similar animal is the 'wild cow' or wadhya which, according to Doughty (*Ar. Des.* 132), may probably be the עֵגוֹל. Though of no great size it has dangerous horns measuring sometimes 24 inches (cp illustration *op. cit.* 327), with which when maddened with wounds it will inflict fatal injuries. The animal goes in herds of three to five, and only the keenest hunter can hope to catch one.

The literary history of the unicorn in classical and medieval ages has been treated by C. Collin, *Gesch. d. Einhornen* (Berlin, 1870-7).

A. L. S. — A. C.

UNKNOWN GOD, ALTAR TO THE (ἄγνωστος θεῶν [Ti. WH]; AV, RV^{ms.} 'to the Unknown God'; RV^{tr.} 'to an Unknown God'; Acts 17:23). It is of little moment which rendering we adopt; difference in

¹ In Dt. 33:17 the horns of the unicorn are spoken of, and to evade the difficulty AV has to render the sing. עֵגוֹל by the plural.

² By עֵגוֹל עֵגוֹלִים, Nu. 22:1, RV 'strength of the wild-ox,' we should rather understand the reference to be to the animal's horns (cp RV^{ms.}). עֵגוֹלִים, lit. 'eminences,' from עָגַל עָגַל, cp Ar. *yafa'*, a hill, and *yafa'a*, to ascend. [For a conjecture, see *Crit. Bib.*]

³ According to its ideogram, a 'mountain-ox,' cp Del., *Entst. Schrift.* 56.

⁴ The old conventional representation of the unicorn is ingeniously explained by Haupt ('*Palms'* *S.B.O.P.*, F. T. 172). On the reliefs from the N. palace of Assur-bani-pal we see the king grasping a lion by the ear and piercing his body with a spear. Another represents an arrow fixed in the lion's forehead. The existence of the unicorn seems to be derived from Persian sculptures at Persepolis and Susa, and these in turn were undoubtedly influenced by Assyro-Babylonian sculptures. The conception of the horn, according to Haupt, has accordingly arisen from the imagination of the Persian artist who combined the arrow and ear!

⁵ In Arabic the cognate *rimu* is applied to the *Antelope Leucopis*, a meek and graceful animal, an inhabitant of the deserts of Arabia and NE. Africa - the very opposite of the Ass. and Heb. עֵגוֹל. When the older wild bull became extinct, the ox from its size and general aspect was the natural legatee of its name (cp Che. on Is. 34:7). Cp the similar variation in the meanings of עָגַל and עֵגוֹלִים in Heb. and the cognate languages.

interpretation cannot be based upon a distinction between definite and indefinite article here, but must be derived from ἄγνωστος alone. The word is translated 'unknown,' or 'unknowable.' Whichever be accepted we must be careful to exclude all non-Athenian connotation. To suppose an allusion to the God of the Jews is clearly impossible, in spite of the fact that the epithet 'wholly hidden' παγκρυφός was applied to Yahwe by gentile writers (Just. Mart. *Ad Gr.* 38; *Apol.* 21; Phil. *Log.* 44). On the other hand, it is equally unjustifiable to read into the inscription the signs of 'a want of something deeper and truer.' Both notions would be anachronisms. Although we have no example of an inscription in the precise terms quoted in Paul's speech, there is no difficulty in illustrating and verifying the passage. Pausanias (i. 11), on his way from Phalerum to Athens, remarks the altars of 'gods called unknown, and of heroes' θεῶν δὲ θεῶν τε ἄγνωστων ἀγνώστων καὶ ἡρώων. It would be most natural to take this to mean several altars, each with the inscription in the singular; but it is difficult to do this in the face of what Pausanias says at Olympia, 'beside it is an altar of Unknown Gods' (πρὸς αὐτῷ δ' ἔστιν Ἀγνώστων Θεῶν θῆσις, v. 14). Philostratus in his life of Apollonius (63) writes, 'it is more prudent to speak well of all the gods, and especially at Athens, where are found also altars of unknown deities' (ισοφρονέστερον τὸ περὶ πάντων θεῶν εἰ λέγειν καὶ ταῦτα Ἀθήνησιν, οἷ καὶ ἀγνώστων δαιμόνων θῆμοὶ ἰδύμενται); where again it is impossible to say whether the altars bore the words Ἀγνώστος θεοῖς or Ἀγνώστων θεῶν. The significance of such altars is clear from Diog. Laert. i. 110. Epimenides in his purification of Athens is said to have turned out some black and white sheep on the Areopagus, directing attendants to follow and watch them, and on the spot where the animals lay down altars were built τῷ προσήκοντι θεῷ. This expression cannot be translated, 'the appropriate local deities' (Grotet, indicating that in each instance the divinity was a recognised and familiar one; this is clear from the words which immediately follow ἴδεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔστιν εὐρένι κατὰ τοὺς δήμους τῶν Ἀθηναίων θῆμοὶς ἀνατίμωσι). The people on this and possibly on subsequent occasions knew not what divinity had been offended and required propitiation. In Rome in precisely the same way it often taxed the inventive powers of the College of Pontifices to say what god had sent prodigies. Sometimes they named him from the manifestation itself - e.g., Anus Loentius, the Voice which forewarned the city of the approaching Gauls; sometimes, being in doubt, they used the formula 'sive dei sive deae' (Aul. Gell. 2:23). It is on this principle that we find a woman imprecating curses on her rival and praying to the deities of the hot spring, 'nti vos avarferentes, sive vos Nymfas (Nymphas) sive alio quo nomine vultis appellari, uti vos eam interminat' (*Ins. Urb. Rom.* 141). In a well known passage of Horace we have 'Matutine Pater, sen Iane libentius audis' (*Sat.* ii. 6:20). In the passage quoted from Diog. it is possible, however, that by ἀνατίμωσι we should understand the altars to have been lit together without inscription. If so, we see that our examples fall into three classes, according to the degree of doubt in the worshipper's mind. The altar may be left without inscription; whether it is god or goddess that claims it cannot be guessed. Or again, it is inscribed 'to the unknown god,' in the singular or plural. In the third case the deity is known, but the votary is ignorant of the proper mode of address.

We may mention, but only to dismiss it, the theory that in the case of Athens these altars dated from a time when writing was unknown and were subsequently inscribed when men no longer knew to what god they had been raised. We must reject Jerome's statement (*ad Tit.* 1:2) that the inscription ran 'to the gods of Asia and Europe, to unknown and strange gods'; the whole point of the reference in the speech lies in its being an exact quotation. Jerome may indeed have seen such an inscription as he mentions; but it was certainly not that alluded to in Acts.

UNLEAVENED BREAD

If we take the far less probable rendering 'to the unknowable god,' we must understand the words to refer to the mysteriousness of God. We may then compare the inscription on the ... of the Egyptian Isis—'I am, and was, and shall be; no man hath lifted my veil' (Plut. De Is. et Os.). Still better is the inscription on an altar of Mithra found at Ostia—'sacrum indeprehensibilis Dei.' (For analogies, see Frazer, Paus. 213.) W. J. W.

UNLEAVENED BREAD (חֲמֵץ), Gen. 19:3, etc. See BREAD, § 1, LEAVEN, § 2, and PASSOVER, § 1 f. 15.

UNNI (חֲמֵץ); perhaps shortened from חֲמֵץ [= either the probable gentile 'Anūm (so Che.; cp Crit. Bib. on 1 Ch. 3:24 15:12), or 'Yahwe answers,' § 52.).

1. A Levitical doorkeeper, a musician (1 Ch. 15:17; ελισηλ [E., elisa [g], ur [A], avanses [L]; 7, 20: אורי [B], אורי [A], אוריא [L]. Cp Kt. 'Chron. 15:17', ad loc.)

2. RV Unno, a Levite, temp. Nehemiah (Neh. 12:9 Kt. חֲמֵץ; on. B. K. A., casu [K. 6002] [L]). In L. casu is a doublet of ἀνεκρινοντο = חֲמֵץ. Omitting 'And Bakkukiah' (as a gloss from Neh. 11:12), render, 'And their brethren took up the strain (ranged) over against them.' So Guthe (SBOT [Heb.], ad loc.); cp Be.-Kys, ad loc.

UPHAZ (חֲמֵץ) in the phrases 'gold from Uphaz' and 'gold of Uphaz' (חֲמֵץ מִן הַחֲמֵץ, zihab m'uphaz, Jer. 10:9. חֲמֵץ מִן הַחֲמֵץ, kethem 'uphaz, Dan. 10:3) is an imaginary place-name. Both passages are corrupt, the former most probably, the latter certainly. Later scribes, who knew the rare phrase חֲמֵץ מִן הַחֲמֵץ, zihab m'uphaz (1 K. 10:13; see GOLD, § 1 [f.] and n.), imagined this to mean 'gold from Uphaz' (חֲמֵץ מִן הַחֲמֵץ, m'uphaz), and read this or (in Dan. 10:3) a phrase like this, in the indistinctly written text which they were copying.

(a) The MT of Jer. 10:9 is not well supported. Vg. has au and. Uphaz, but ὁ χρυσίος μωθας [BAQ] χ. μωθας [K]—i.e., חֲמֵץ מִן הַחֲמֵץ, while Lg., Peslo., Syr., Hex. (mg.) and Theod. presuppose חֲמֵץ מִן הַחֲמֵץ. Giesebr. (but not Co.) reasonably adopts this; cp חֲמֵץ מִן הַחֲמֵץ Ezek. 1:14. (b) The phrase in Dan. 10:3 is rendered cp χρυσίος μωθας by Theod. [BAQ]; ὁ χρ., however, instead of rendering it, translates what is really a corrupt form of two dittographed words from the line above, except that it appends to this ὁ χρ., i.e., it gives ἐρθευμένος θυσσινια και την ὀρθον περιεβασμενος θυσσινια και ἐκ μεσον αὐτου φως (where φως is simply a Greekised חֲמֵץ; cp חֲמֵץ Cant. 5:11). ὁ χρ. Hebrew MS must therefore have had, not חֲמֵץ מִן הַחֲמֵץ, but חֲמֵץ מִן הַחֲמֵץ. The second word was indistinctly written, and was read by him חֲמֵץ מִן הַחֲמֵץ. But we must not suppose that MT is really more correct. 'Gilded with gold of Uphaz' (or, as ὁ χρ. text ran, 'with refined gold') is not a natural expression. We should almost if not quite certainly correct חֲמֵץ מִן הַחֲמֵץ into חֲמֵץ מִן הַחֲמֵץ, 'with embroidery of gold.' A magnificently embroidered girdle is what we expect to hear of; the correction is easy, self-evident. Probably חֲמֵץ is an earlier reading than חֲמֵץ; חֲמֵץ would resemble חֲמֵץ. It is also of course more plausible; the context does not suggest the mention of a locality. It is worth noting that J. D. Michaelis explained חֲמֵץ מִן הַחֲמֵץ as חֲמֵץ מִן הַחֲמֵץ; also that in Cant. 5:11 ὁ χρ. read חֲמֵץ מִן הַחֲמֵץ; Theod. חֲמֵץ מִן הַחֲמֵץ. Cp GOLD. T. K. C.

UR OF THE CHALDEES, lit. Ur Kasdim (חֲמֵץ מִן הַחֲמֵץ); [H] ἡ χώρα τῶν χαλδαίων [BNADEL];

1. Prevalent theory. cp Acts 7:4. ἐκ γῆς χαλδαίων; Syr. ur d'kaldaiya; Ur Chaldæorum, but in Neh. (ade) igne Chaldæorum, alluding to the Rabbinic explanation of 'Ur' as=fire, with which a singular Aggadæic legend is connected; see Jewish Encyclopædia, I, 101, and cp Koran, Sur. 21, Gen. 11:23 31 15:7. The place whence Abram set out on the journey to Canaan, also mentioned in Neh. 9:7. That Ur is the

1 The following word אַחֲרֵיהֶם, if not a corruption for אַחֲרֵיהֶם 'after them,' may have been introduced to give a meaning to חֲמֵץ and the already corrupt חֲמֵץ מִן הַחֲמֵץ, as Be.-Kys. point out, is unnecessary here; cp 7, 21.

2 [Probably ὁ χρ. read חֲמֵץ מִן הַחֲמֵץ for חֲמֵץ, rather ἡ χώρα is a transliteration of חֲמֵץ confused (?) with חֲמֵץ.]

UR OF THE CHALDEES

old Babylonian city of Uru (mod. Mukarran) bank of the Euphrates, about 40 m. SE. from about 135 m. SE. from Babylon) is altogether than Rawlinson's identification with Erech (mod. Harka), and is generally accepted in 1802 (Gen. 21:4), after holding against the view, substantially adopted by an opponent of the theory at present is Kittel (and earlier, Theol. Stud. aus Wurt. 72) the fact that there is no other known Ur in the the Kasdim than the Babylonian Ur is a gain in the way of rejecting the identification, es- language and literature point so decisively relationship between Hebrews and Babylonians is difficult to reconcile with other statement —whomentioned Ur Kasdim (Gen. 11:31)—the more strongly to the strength of the tradition of the Babylonian Ur. But in fact the d not so formidable as Kittel thinks. [and tive antiquity of the tradition is shown in Jubilees 11 Acts 7. Cp Francis Brown, 1837, pp. 46 ff.; Del. Par. 226 f.; Budde, 433 f.; Schrader, HWB², 1729 f.; and s in Dillmann's note on Gen. 11:31].

The greatness of the city of Uru in politics and commerce is well brought out by He-

2. Greatness of the S. Bab. city Uru. 212-218 325-370 (cp his Völker u. Sprachen, 20. also BABYLONIA, § 48. R. 237 f.) thus describes its

'The river Euphrates flowed just past its easy transportation for stone and wood from its to which the Lebanon, rich in cedars, and the readily accessible. The Wady Runmeim came d and linked it with central and southern Arabia, a road came gold and precious stones, and thus w be converted into incense for temple-worship. went across the very desert itself, and, provided water, conducted trade to southern Syria, the peni and across into Africa. This was the shortest road commerce between Ur and Egypt passed over its but much shorter route than the one by way of Palestine. Nearly opposite the city the Shatt-el into the Euphrates, and so afforded a passage for Tigris, thus opening to the commerce of Ur the tributary to that river. Here, then, were road leading to the N., E., and W., but there was also to the southward. The Euphrates made a Persian Gulf easy. No city lay S. of Ur on the Eridu, and Eridu was no competitor in the world for it was devoted only to temples and to gods—a to religion.'

The local god of Uru was Nannaru moon-god; cp Eupolenus (Eus. Praef. E. according to whom the Babylonian city Kappa, city) was called by some πόλις Οὐρίτι.

These details are doubly interesting if A a historical personage, or even if the regarded him as its ancestor once lived a part the neighbourhood of Uru (cp Toukir Abraham¹, 7 ff.). Certainly it is still opinion of scholars that the Ur-kasdim, w at any rate, if not also JE, closely connect is this S. Babylonian city. Why 'kasdim' is not indeed plain; for no other Ur is m the OT. That, however, is a mere trifle. Th tions which induce Kittel² to reject the prev are as follows:—

(1) The genealogy given by P in Gen assumes that the Semites of Arpachad's tin gradually from N. Armenia

3. Kittel's opposition. (2) In harmony with the a states (Gen. 8:4) that the ark 'rested on the

1 [This view was adopted by Loftus, Chaldees a 126 (1857). The Syrian Christians, however, main to be the Ur-kasdim of the patriarch.]

2 The English translation of the History (1:18) an important modification of view as regards Chaldeans'; Kittel now withdraws one of arguments.

1. *Mukhtar*, on the right...
2. *S.E.*, from Warka and...
3. together more likely...
4. with Erech (178), the...
5. accepted; even Dill...
6. after holding out long...
7. adopted it. The exact...
8. it is Kittel (*Hist.* 1121 ff.;...
9. *Wurt.* 7215 ff.). The...
10. in Ur in the territory of...
11. a great difficulty...
12. nification, especially since...
13. so decisively to close...
14. and Babylonians. If it...
15. or statements of J or of P...
16. 11.31—that only points...
17. of the tradition in favour...
18. fact the difficulties are...
19. links, [and the compar...
20. is shown by Judith 5b...
21. is Brown, *JBL*, Dec...
22. L.; Buhle, *Urschichte*,...
23. 9 f.; and see references...
24.].

Ur in politics, religion,
out by Hommel, *GBA*
200 (cp his *Die semit.*
nachen, 204-211); see
A, § 48. Rogers (*JBL*)
describes its situation.

st past its gates, afforded
out from its upper waters,
ars, and the Anamis were
men came close to the city
ern Arabia, and along the
and gums and perfumes to
le-worship. Another road
and, provided with wells of
yria, the peninsula of Sinai,
shorest road to Africa, and
ssed over its more difficult
by way of Haran and
the Shatt-el-Hai emptied
a passage for boats into the
e of Ur the vast country
were, roads and rivers
ere was also a great outlet
ies made access to the
of Ur that river export
in the world of commerce,
id to gods—a city given up

Nannan or Sin, the
s. *Prap. Ev.* 917), ac-
city *Kamapin* (*Moon-*
hip).

resting if Abraham
en if the tribe which
e lived a pastoral life;
p Tomkins, *Life of*
it is still the aver-
-kasdim, with which P
ly connects Abraham,
'-kasdim' was added,
r Ur is mentioned in
triple. The consid-
ect the prevalent theory

P in Gen. 11 31 ff.
chad's true migration
Armenia to Mesopot-
ia moved on to Har-
n with the above En-
P stood on the mount-
s, *Chaldee and Sumer-*
ian, however, maintain P 11 31

history (1181, n. 4) gives
as regards "Armenia
as one of his original

UR OF THE CHALDEES

of Ararat, which must be on the N. or NW. of
Assyria. Here is the starting point of the subsequent
history. Can we imagine him suddenly transporting
the Semites to the mouth of the Euphrates, and making
this their starting-point, simply to bring them back to
the place where they once stood with Soring?

(3) We also meet with 'Ur-kasdim' in the J₂
stratum (1123 157). Now J does not state where the
ark grounded. Buhle therefore conjectures that J
must have meant a mountain in the S. of the land of
the Two Rivers, corresponding to Mt. Nisir in the
Babylonian story. From this point Noah's descendants
will have pressed on to Ur, in S. Babylonia. Terah
and Abraham are then supposed to have migrated to
Haran. This conjecture is not a very solid one; but in
any case 'what a marvellous zigzag we must ascribe to
J₂, if we make him take the Semites from the mountain
in the S. on which they landed, to Mesopotamia in
the N. (Peleg, Scrig), thence to Ur-Mugheir, and thence
to Haran!'

Gunkel, too (*Gen.* 145 [1901]), does not accept the
favourite identification. 'The Kasdim,' he says, 'are
not the Chaldeans of the "land of the
sea" [S. Babylonia], but the people of the
Naborsids; cp also Job 17 2 K 242 and see Winckler
IOF², 2250-252. From the description in Gen. 11 31
we can only infer that the way from Ur-kasdim to Canaan
passed by Haran. Against this location of Ur-kasdim
it may be objected that we know both Ur and Haran
to have been famous seats of moon-worship, so that
these two places appear to have an inner connection.
But this coincidence may be accidental. At any rate
the statement that Abraham came from Ur-kasdim
will be a very primitive tradition—a variant to the other
statement that he came from Haran. In P both
traditions are united in such a way that two journeys
are distinguished, the first from Ur-kasdim to Haran,
the second from Haran to Canaan.'

The riddle, as usually stated, admits of no satisfactory
solution, for the simple reason that the texts of the
narratives in Genesis, after having been
partly corrupted in transcription, were
re-edited by men who had different
geographical presuppositions from those
of the original writers. It is becoming more and more
probable that the original scene of the primary Hebrew
legends was in the Negeb. From 'Adam' to Joseph
this can be traced, sometimes with virtual certainty,
sometimes with considerable probability. The geo-
graphical changes introduced were owing partly (as we
have seen) to corruption, and partly to the perplexing
similarity of the names in different parts of the ancient
East (cp Schr. *KGP* 29 247). There was a Haran in
the N.; there was also in all probability a Haran in
the S. (referred to, e.g., in the phrase, 'Samballat the
Haranite' *1 Macc.* 2:13, see SANBALLAT). There
was an Aram in the N.; there was also an Aram in
the S. The later scribes unfortunately forgot all
about the southern Haran and Aram, though they were
conscientious enough to leave abundant half-concealed
evidence of their existence. Transcriptional errors too
were easy.

4 And Gunkel's
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5. New solu-
tion of
problem.
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1 See *IOF²*, 2250-252.
2 The qualification in 7: 5 (end) is wanting in *Ch*, and is
no doubt a gloss. The redactor himself elsewhere gives David
an absolute eulogy (II 34 38). So Beitz, Kittel.

URIAH

briefed, to away from the N. into the S. C., into the Negeb).
In our opinion, however, the only possible way out of this
is possible, once this way out is found. At this point it would
be possible to make this way out more definite. All that
can be done here is to point out that, given the pre-suppositions
of our theory, the study of other passages, we have a right to
make the following conclusions which affect the question of
'Ur-kasdim':

- 1. 'Ura-kasdim' (1123 157) is from 'Ur-kasdim' (Ur-kasdim)
2. 'Ur-kasdim' (1123 157) is from 'Ur-kasdim' (Ur-kasdim)
3. 'Chesod' (1123 157) comes from 'Chesod' (Ur-kasdim)
4. 'Dammesek' (1123 157) sometimes comes from 'Dammesek' (Ur-kasdim)
5. 'Kēnān' (1123 157) sometimes comes from 'Kēnān' (Ur-kasdim)

In spite of the attempts of Gunkel and Winckler to justify the
traditional reading, it remains for us no more straggling
hypothesis but a fact that the 'Kasdim' of J 11 31 32
are the N. Arabian Cushites (see J 11, Book 10, § 14; OVIATIN
[Book], col. 476, n. 11). We are now bound to go farther,
and to assert that according to the original tradition Abraham
(the Jewish patriarch) first dwelt in 'Ur-kasdim', and thence
went to Haran in the land of Kēnaz. It will be remembered
that Gilead was known as a Kēnaz, and is the hero of Hebrew
legend, which name appears to have supplanted the original name
Kēnaz (1123 157). Abraham's migration to Haran,
or rather Rehoboth—the well known Rehoboth in the Negeb;
he retained however a son of Cushim, 'a Cushanite,' whom
he had brought from 'Arabian' (Gen. 15:2; see *IOF²*, 2250).
It is a simple matter to state this circumstance we read (1123 157)
a solemn assurance of Yahweh that he had brought Abraham from
that the original writers (or schools of writers) whom we
symbolise as J and E were unaware of this. On Neh. 9:7 we
must admit ourselves with referring to *IOF²*, 2250. It is enough
to have stated distinctly here the original tradition.

E. B. § 11; E. K. C. § 8 2.
UR (1123), one of David's 'thirty' (I Ch 11 11);
1123 [B], 1123 [S], 1123 [A] 1123 [L]; Oyr would
have expected Uri (1123); but see LAMMERT, 2.

URBANE, or rather, as in KV, *Urbanus* (οὐρβανος
[Ti. WH]), is diluted as 'our fellow worker in Christ'
in Rom. 16:9. The name is a Latin one. When, or in
what capacity, Urbanus helped the apostle in his
missionary labours is not known.

Urbanus figures as bishop of Macedonia in the list of 'the
seventy' compiled by Pseudo-Dionysius. The *hierarchy* of
Peter and Paul as given by the Pseudo-Symon Metaphrastes
represents him as consecrated bishop of Thracia by Peter.

URI (1123), perhaps a clan-name, shortened and
corrupted from Jerahme eli [so Che.], but see NAIMS, § 52, and
cp URU.

- 1. h. Hui - from 'Ashhur' [Che.]- the father of HIRAMEL
(Ex. 31 2 3; cp Ch. 15 2; *apple-love* [B. and A in 2 Ch.], *apple* [E.
AEL.]; 1 Ch. 2 20; *apple* [B.];
2. Father of GURMEK (1123 157, no. 2) (E. K. 4:9; *ada* [Ch. A], *ada*
[L.]). Cp *Sol.* 11: 18, § 10, third note.
3. A post-exilic door-keeper temp. Ezra; *Ezra* 10 24 (*ada*
[B.], *ada* [A], *ada* [L.]) = 1 Ch. 9:17 (Aram.]; 1123 157; *ada*
[B.], *ada* [A.]; probably corrupt [Ch. A] = 1 Esd. 2:54 (*ada*
[L.]; om. EV with BA, unless the name is buried in *ada* of
1123 157 = *ada* - *ada* or in *ada* of *Ex.* 24).

URIAH, *ur* in Mt. 16 AV, *Urias* (οὐριας, but no. 3
1123 157; οὐρηθας [PNAL]).

The name might mean 'Yahwe is a fire,' § 35; cp ARU, 1.
It is strange, however, that a Yahwistic name should be borne
by a Hittite. The difficulty disappears if we accept Jastrow's
theory (*JBL*, 13:1 1 ff.; see NAIMS, § 109, n. 3) that the element
 ur is often only an emphatic affirmative. It is equally non-
existent in the theory that this element has generally arisen
out of u , the common termination of gentiles, ur , like
 ur , ur , ur , ur , ur , ur , ur , is in fact most probably a corruption
either of ur , Ierahmeel, or of ur , 'Araba. Cp also *Uru*
in the Phoenician *Urmi* (*A* 1: 178 175). The amount of
evidence for such corruptions is too great to be disregarded.

1. A Hittite, 'one of David's heroes' (2 S. 23 3) [1123 157],
1 Ch 11 p [1123 157], who took part in the war
against the Ammonites under Jaab, and was got rid of
by David in a most cowardly way to cover over his
adultery with BATHSHEBA (7: 7), Uriah's wife (2 S. 11
129 ff. 1 K. 1:5).²

1 See *IOF²*, 2250-252.

2 The qualification in 7: 5 (end) is wanting in *Ch*, and is
no doubt a gloss. The redactor himself elsewhere gives David
an absolute eulogy (II 34 38). So Beitz, Kittel.

URIEL

Our view of the notices of Uriah in 2 S. 11 f., however, needs revision in the light of the facts: (1) that the list of David's heroes, which includes 'Uriah the Hittite,' makes no allusion to the reported treachery of David; (2) that the story of this treachery has undoubtedly been manipulated (see *Examinations*, JEREMIAH, SOLOMON, § 2), out of a regard for edification; and (3) that, 'חִי' being most probably a mutilated form of 'חִי' (Rehobothite), and 'Rabbah of the b'ne Ammon' being not less probably a corruption of 'Rehoboth of the b'ne Jerahmeel' (cp *Rehoboth*), it is not conceivable that 'Jerahmeel the Rehobothite' (mis-read in the traditional text, 'Uriah the Hittite') should have fought in the ranks of the Israelites on the occasion referred to. Obviously Uriah's true designation had been forgotten when the story of the siege received its present expanded form. To this we must add that stories similar to that of the baleful letter to Joab are familiar to students of primitive folklore. Even apart from this, it is plausible to hold, on grounds of literary criticism, that 2 S. 11 was originally followed by 12:2 (S. A. Cook, *AJS* 16:156 [April 1900]; so, independently, Winckler). Cp, however, Budde in *KHC*, 'Sam.' 250.

It is not difficult to see how Uriah may have come into the story of Bathsheba. BATHSHEBA (*q.v.*) was apparently a 'Jerahmeelite' by origin. בַּת־שֶׁבַע, when broken up by the carelessness of scribes, furnishes material for the two words אֵילָן (Elihan) and אֲרִיָּה (Uriah). Errors like this often have strange results in the production of legends.

2. A priest, temp. Ahaz, who acted as a witness for Isaiah (Is. 8:2). He is presumably the Uriah (AV *URIAH*) who built an altar for Ahaz after a Lullian scene pattern, 2 K. 16:10 f.

3. b. Shemaiah of Kirjath-jearim, slain at the command of Jehoiakim for prophesying against Jerusalem (Jer. 26:20 AV *URIAH*).

4. Father of MEREMOTH (*q.v.*), a priest temp. Nehemiah, Ezra 8:33 (אֵילָן H. 1), 1 Esd. 8:2 (H. 1, RV *URIAS*; *ovp* [ca. H.], *ovp* [A], *ovp* [L.]), cp Neh. 8:4 21 (AV *URIAH*, *ovp* [g]), possibly the Uriah present at the reading of the law under Ezra (Neh. 8:4 AV *URIAH*; *ovp* [H.], = 1 Esd. 9:43 EV *URIAS*).

T. K. C.

URIE (אֲרִיֵּה), 'the angel that was sent' to Ezra, according to 4 Esd. 4:36 (?) 5:20 10:23.

In 4:36 he is called an archangel, but RV prefers the reading JEREMIEL (*q.v.*), a name which occurs nowhere else in this literature, but is most probably, like 'Jeremiah,' one of the many distorted forms of 'Jerahmeel' (cp *Exa*, Jer. 36:22). Possibly 'Jeremiel' (אֲרִיֵּה) is a variant to 'Raphael' (אֲרִיֵּה); Raphael, according to Enoch 20:2, is the 'angel of the spirits of men.' Urie, under the corrupt form 'Adoel,' occurs in *Tg. Jon.*, and in the Slavonic Enoch 25:2, not, however, as an angel. This passage presupposes the explanation 'flame of God,' which is hardly the original meaning. The Jerahmeelite connection of some of the chief angelic names in *cel* is noteworthy. See MICHAEL, and, in illustration, note the facts which point to Jerahmeelite influence, both healthful and the reverse, on the religion of Israel (MOSES, § 14, PROPHET, § 6/7). T. K. C.

URIEL (אֲרִיֵּה; ΟΥΡΙΑΗ). A plausible explanation of the name is 'flame of God,' § 35, or, 'God is a light,' cp נֹרֶבֶל, Nürbel, a Palmyrene name, de Vogüé, *Syr. Contr.* 124; Baeth. *Beitr.* 86. But (1) the analogy (contested, no doubt) of many similar names, (2) the occurrence of the regularly formed ethnic Uri, and (3) the connections of the bearers of the name, may be held to favour an explanation similar to that given above of *URIAH*—i.e., it is a Jerahmeelite or N. Arabian name [*Chc.*].

1. The father of Michaiah, the mother of Abijah, king of Jud. 4 (2 Ch. 13:2). (For *ovp* [אֲרִיֵּה] cp *ovp* [אֲרִיֵּה] has *avp* [אֲרִיֵּה].) But see MAACAN, 2.
2. Chief of the Kohathites, mentioned at the bringing up of the ark to Jerusalem under David (1 Ch. 15:5 11; *ovp* [A]).
3. A name in the Kohathite genealogy of ELKANAH (*q.v.*) (1 Ch. 6:24 [4]; *ovp* [H]).
- 4 and 5. Perhaps a collateral form of ARIEL, 1 (=ARELI) and ARIEL, 2.

URIAH (אֲרִיָּה), Jer. 26:20 AV, RV *URIAH* (3).

URIM AND THUMMIM (אֲרִיֵּה וְתֻמְמִים) *q.v.* *Exa* ΔΗΛΩΤΙΣ, or ΔΗΛΟΙ, και ἀληθεία [1 S. 14:41 ΟΣΙΟΤΗΣ; *Aq. Sym. Theod.* ΦΩΤΙΣΜΟΙ [Sym. 1 S. 2:2 ΔΗΛΟΙ, Dt. 33:8 ΤΕΛΕΙΟΤΗΣ και διδάχη, cp Jerome] and ΤΕΛΕΙΟΤΗΤΕΣ, ΤΕΛΕΙΩΣΕΙΣ, ΤΕΛΕΙΟΙ;

1 Mücke (*Vom Euphrat nach Tiber*, p. 75, n. 1) refers to the stories of Hellenophon, Pausanias, and Otto von Wittelsbach.

2 Similarly Gunkel, in *Kau. Apokryph.* 127.

3 Urim alone, Nu. 27:21 1 S. 28:6; Thummim and Urim, Dt. 33:9. On the derivation and meaning see below.

URIM AND THUMMIM

Vg. doctrina and *veritas* or *perfectio*), the ap. the priestly oracle (Dt. 33:8 cp 10; Nu. 27:21) [ΕΒΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΦΩΤΙΖΟΥΣΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΤΕΛΕΙΩΣΕΙΣ] = Neh. 7:65 [ΕΒΑ ΦΩΤΙΖΟΥΣΙΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΦΩΤΙΣΜΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΙΣ ΤΕΛΕΙΩΣΕΙΣ] only passage which throws any light upon the use of the Urim and Thummim is 1 S. 14.

Emending after *Ex*, we read: 'And Saul said, "God of Israel, why dost thou not answer thy servant in his fault be in me or in Jonathan my son, give Urim, in thy people Israel, give Thummim." Thereupon Jonathan were taken and the people went free. "The east between me and Jonathan my son; he who takes shall die" . . . So they cast between him and his son, and Jonathan was taken.'

It is evident from 7:41 that the question, in both cases is put as a simple alternative (cp 1 S. 14:41) decided by casting lots; and from 7:40 that Thummim were the names respectively of two with which the east was made.

Comparing 1 S. 14:41 with 36:6 (cp 3:3) see that the casting of lots with the Urim and Thummim was part of the method of divination by the ephod in other places where the ephod was employed (2 S. 18:19) the procedure is so exactly the same as in 1 S. 14:41 that there is hardly room for doubt that in the latter also the decision was by the same sacred objects (Ephod); and in many others, though neither the Urim and Thummim is named, the inference may confidently be drawn (see 1 S. 2 S. 21:5 19 f. Josh. 7:16 f. Judg. 20:27 f.). In 1 S. 14:41 (cp 36:6) it has been surmised that the Urim and Thummim were kept in the ephod, and with manipulations *secundum artem* drawn or thrown out. Moslem writers describe a similar mode of divination among the Arabs before Islam. Two arrows (without heads or feathers), on one of which was written 'Command,' on the other 'Prohibition,' or a similar purport, were placed in a receptacle, and according as one or the other of them was drawn it was known whether the proposed enterprise would succeed or not (cp Prov. 16:33 Acts 1:26). At it is said, these lots were in the keeping of the g. of the Holy House, one of whom drew an arrow; if a man wished to decide whether to go on a journey, to marry, etc. Sometimes three arrows were used, one of which was blank; if this was drawn it refused a response (cp 1 S. 14:37 28:6). Other such as white pebbles, similarly marked, were used; and the interrogatory could be framed in many and more complex ways. That the divination with the Urim and Thummim was of this kind is the view of J. D. Michaelis (*Mos. Recht*, 1, § 52—three p. Ewald (*All.* 390 f.), and many others. The use of the Urim and Thummim is unknown; they were little images (De Castro, Spencer, Gesenius) others) is a conjecture which rests solely on erroneous identification with the teraphim. It is safe to draw an inference from the size and shape of the receptacle provided for them in P's description of the high priest's vestments, we should imagine them to be small flat objects, perhaps tablets of wood or bone. It may be doubtful whether P, who, strangely enough, gives no directions for the making of the Urim and Thummim, had any definite notion what they were. In P the Urim and Thummim are in the possession of the high priest (Ex. 28:30 Lev. 8:8 Nu. 27:21) and are preserved in a square pouch which is worn upon the breast, the *חֹשֶׁן הַיָּשָׁר*, *hōšen mišpat* (EV 'breastplate').

1 It is, of course, not imagined that in all cases in which the Urim and Thummim are meant.

2 See Ibn Hi-sham, 197 f.; Lane, *Arab. Engl. Lex.* 1000 cp Tac, *German.* 10, and in general Van Dale, *De divinatione iudaeorum in P'is numerosis*, chap. 4; We. *Hebr.* 113 f. An example of belomaney in the OT, Ezek. 21:21 see Jerome *ad loc.*, and cp DIVINATION, § 2 (ii).

...the apparatus of ... Nu. 27:21 Ezra 263
... ΤΟΙΣ ΤΕΛΕΙΟΙΣ. E^2
... ΦΩΤΙΣΤΩΝ. E^1
... ΕΛΕΙΩΣΕΙΝ).¹ The
... on the nature
... is 1 S. 14:1 f.

Saul said, "O Yahwē,
... thy servant to-day? If
... give Urin, and if it be
... Thereupon Saul and
... free. Then Saul said
... son; he whom Yahweh
... ween him and Jonathan

... the question, which in
... narrative (cp 39), was
... 7: 40 that Urin and
... actively of two objects

E^2 (cp 3: 18 E^1) we
... Urin and Thummin
... by the ephod; in
... employed (236 g 307)
... as in 1 S. 14:36 f.
... that in these cases
... some sacred lots (see
... high neither the ephod
... named, the same
... own (see 1 S. 10:20 ff.
... 7 f.).¹ In the article
... that the Urin and
... and, and with certain
... own or thrown from
... lar mode of divina-

Two arrow-shafts
... of which was written
... 'or words of
... receptacle, and ac-
... was drawn out it
... enterprise was in
... od and destined to
... (126). At Mecca,
... ing of the guardians
... drew an arrow when
... go on a journey.
... arrows were used,
... was drawn the god
... (6). Other objects,
... marked, were also
... be framed in other
... the divination by
... kind is the opinion
... 52—three pebbles).
... others. The form
... known; that they
... encer, Gesen., and
... solely upon an
... aphim. If it were
... ve and shape of the
... s description of the
... imagine them as
... wood or bone; but
... strangely enough,
... of the Urin and
... what they were.

... are in the keeping
... 8 Nu. 27:21); they
... h is worn upon his
... EV 'breastplate of

judgment'; rather 'of [divine] decision, oracle',¹ see
BREASTPLATE. This pouch was permanently attached
by chains and cords through rings at its corners to the
ephod; the association of the Urin and Thummin with
the ephod which we found in the historical books is thus
preserved in P (EPHOD, § 3). Whether this form of
consulting Yahwē was actually practised in the post-
exilic period is doubtful. There is no mention of it in
the historical books after the time of David and Solomon
(1 K. 2:26 read 'the ephod'); but Hos. 3:4 shows that in
the prophet's day the ephod-oracle was one of the things
which the popular religion could not be thought of as
existing without. In Neh. 7:65 (Ezra 2:63 1 Esd. 5:40),
however, an important question affecting the rights of
certain priestly families is reserved for decision 'when a
Urim and Thummin priest shall arise,' proving that
this mode of divination was then disused, the art seem-
ingly lost. A reference like Ecclus. 33:4 [δικαιων (B),
δῆλων (A)]; cp 15:10 δῆλους ἀληθείας, where, moreover,
λογίῳ κρίσεως also corresponds to מִשְׁפָּטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל does not
prove that it was practised in the writer's day. Josephus
says that the breastplate had ceased to light up (λάμπειν,
his understanding of the Urim) two hundred years before
his time (*Ant.* iii. 80 [§ 218]); while according to the
Mishna (*Sifrah* 9:12)² the Urim and Thummin ceased
with the death of the pre-exilic prophets; but this is
apparently only an inference from Ezra 2:63.

The names Urin and Thummin as vocalised in MT
mean 'Lights' and 'Perfection.' This pronunciation
is, however, unknown to the translators of E^1 , who
read the former 'Orin,' and derived it from אָרָר, 'to
give decision, tōrah' (cp Dt 33:1) — an interpretation
to which Sym. adheres (διδάσκει). Modern scholars
have not succeeded in giving a satisfactory explanation
of the word. If Urin and Thummin were the names
respectively of two lots which were of opposite presage,
it is natural to infer that the names had a corresponding
significance; and this presumption is still stronger if,
as seems not unlikely, the words were actually written
upon the objects used for casting or drawing the lot.
If, then, תָּמִים is derived, as there is no need to question,
from the root תָּמַם 'be without fault,' its opposite might
well be a derivative of אָרָר 'curse,'³ the one signifying
that a proposed action was satisfactory to God, the other
that it provoked his wrath. This contrast would be
still more natural if we might suppose that the Urin
and Thummin were originally employed in a kind of
oracle such as is described in 1 S. 14:36 ff., where the
real question was one of guilt or innocence; and it is
perhaps not without significance that Saul asks that
if the fault be in himself or in Jonathan the lot Urin may
come out. If this view is sound, the words should
probably be pronounced 'Orin and tūmim. But all
such conjectures are subject to the greatest reserve.

Literature.—For the older literature see J. G. Carpov,
Apparatus historico-criticus antiquitatum, 1743, p. 25 f.; for
the history of opinion esp. Kantsch in *PREE*, 377, 10: 220-233.
The most important of the earlier monographs are Joh. Hinrichs,
'Historia Urim et Thummin,' in *Excercitationes*, 207 ff.,
reprinted in Ugoletti *Thes.* 12375 ff.; and Spencer, 'De Urim et
Thummin,' in *De leg. rit.*, lib. 3 diss. 7 (and in Ugoletti, 12453 ff.);
see also Braun, *De vestitu sacerdotum*, p. 533 ff. See also the
literature under EPHOD; also Haupt, 'Bab. elements in the
Levit. Ritual,' *JBL* 1938 f. 72 f. (1939); W. Muss-Arnolt, 'The
Urim and Thummin,' reprinted from *JSJ*, July 1900; T. C.
Foster, *JBL* 21:27 ff. (1902). G. E. M.

USURY. See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 16; PLEDGE;
TRADE AND COMMERCE, § 83 (e) 4 (2).

1. The commonest word is מִשְׁכָּל, *mēšek*, מִשְׁכָּל, lit. 'something
biten off'; τόκος, *usura* (Ex. 22:25 Lev. 25:35 f. Dt. 23:19 f.
Ps. 15:5 Prov. 2:8 Ezek. 18:13 17:22 12).

2. The meaning of the word מִשְׁכָּל is not known; something like
'receptacle' best suits the context.

3. See also the Talmud, *Sifrah* 48 b, *Ivam* 21 b (Urim and
Thummin lacking in second temple), and Maimonides, *Kellē ha-*
mēšakēh, 10, § 10.

4. That מִשְׁכָּל is perhaps to be connected with מִשְׂכָּל was sug-
gested by Wellhausen, *Proh.*, 2: 419 n.

2. The verb נָסַף , *nāṣāf*, *ānāṣāf*, *ōbāṣāf* (Neh. 5:7 (Kt.) 18.
24:2), gives the substantive מִסְפָּא , *māṣāf*, *ānāṣāṣ* (Neh. 5:7 13).

3. The verb מָסַף , *māṣāf*, *ānāṣāf* (Kt.) (Neh. 5:7, *ōbāṣāṣ*,
Jer. 15:1, etc.), gives מָסַף , *māṣāf*, *ānāṣāṣ*, *ōbāṣāṣ*, AV
'usurer.' RV 'creditor,' and מָסַף , *māṣāṣ* (Kt.), 2 K. 17, EV 'dela'
(E^2 *ἀνορέτης τῶν τόκων σου*, E^1 ἀνορέτω το δαρεῖοι).

4. *τόκος* in Mt. 25:27 Lk. 19:23, RV 'interest.'

UTA (אֻטָא [BA]), a post-exilic family of Nethumim
(1 Esd 5:30), unmentioned in Ezra (2:45), or Nehemiah
(7:6).

UTHAI (אֻתַי [BA]); אֻתָּי [P.A.M.].

1. 1 Ch. 9:4 (אֻתָּי [BA]) Neh. 11:4 ATHAIAB.
2. One of the line BUBAI (1:7); LEVUS 14 (אֻתָּי [A], אֻתָּא
[L]) = 1 Esd. 8:3, Uthi (אֻתָּי [B], אֻתָּא [L]), son of Ishakurac,
on which see ZABU, 2.

UZ (אֻז); with art. אֻזָּר, Jer. 25:20†; on origin of
name, see GEOGRAPHY, § 20, and note suggestion
below that 'UZ' may be due to an early transcriber's
error. According to the traditional view, the name is
connected both with a region to the N. and with a
region to the S. of Palestine. The facts of MT are as
follows: (1) Eldest son of Aram, Gen. 10:24 (as, A.L.),
cp 1 Ch. 1:17 (as, A [17-23, om. 1]), orig. Lu, where Uz,
Hul, etc., are among the sons of Shem, but E^2 agrees
with MT of Gen. 10:23 (so Cappellus, Houb., Kl.).
(2) Eldest son of Nabor, Abraham's brother, Gen. 22:21
(אֻז [A], אֻזָּר [L]). (3) Grandson of Ser the Horite,
Gen. 36:28 (as [A.M.L.], אֻז [L]). (4) 1 Ch. 1:42 (as [BA], אֻז
[L]). (5) A land between מצרים (Egypt) and מִצְרַיִם in N.
Arabia?) and Philistia, Jer. 25:20 (not in E^1). (6) An
Edomite land, Lam. 4:1 (not in E^1). (7) A land of
uncertain situation, where Job dwelt, Job 1:1 *עַד חֲוָה*
אֻז אֶשְׁרַע יִשְׁרָאֵל; and in E^2 's addition to 42:17. See,
further, GEOGRAPHY, § 20.

Let us consider these data in the following order:—(1), (3),
(4), (6), (1), (2). Not much need be said on (1). The clause
relative to Uz (7), omitted by Graf, Cornill, Gesenbret, and
Duhm as a gloss. It seems more probable, however, that אֻזָּר
is a corruption of אֻזָּר, which a thoughtless scribe wrote instead
of אֻזָּר, which follows in the list of peoples. As to (2), it is
plain from metrical considerations that אֻזָּר is superfluous; most
probably it is a corruption of a dittographed אֻזָּר (E^2 , *אֻזָּר אֻזָּר*);
the first אֻזָּר seems to have come from אֻזָּר (see LAMEN-
TATIONS, Book of, § 2; MIZRAIM). As to (3), for 'Dishon' E^2
appears to have read 'Kishon,' which suggests Assurim as the
original. Now the first-mentioned son of Dishan (a mere
double of Dishon) is Hamdan—i.e., probably Jerahmeel. The
corresponding place in the list of Dishon's children ought to be
occupied by some not less important ethnic. Ozem (2:22) 1 Ch.
2:25, appears therefore to be excluded. Misjir is what we
expect, and if אֻזָּר is a name of purely literary origin, and has
come by an early transcriber's error from אֻזָּר, our expectation
is justified.

We now come to (6), and ask, Where was the land of Uz,
where Job dwelt? The data appear at first sight to be con-
flicting. Job was one of the אֻזָּר E^2 . It seems therefore as
if he ought to be placed in the E. or NE. of Palestine, and this
can be supported by the mention of the Kasdim in Job 1:7, and
possibly by the ethnics 'Shuhite' (2) in 2:1, and 'Buzite' in 32:2,
also by the references to Uz in (1) and (2), and according to
the ordinary view. No stress, however, can be laid on the tradition
connecting Job with the district of Hamran called the Nizāra
(see Wetzstein's valuable excursus in Del. *Hib. 2*, 551-594).
On the other hand, the names Eliphaz, BILDAD (7:1), and
ZOPHAR (7:1), and the ethnic 'Temanite' in 2:11, suggest
placing the home of Job in a region S. of Palestine, and
'Kasdim' in 1:7 should probably rather be 'Kishim' (Cushites
of N. Arabia), while the representation of Job and his friends as
cultivators of 'wisdom' indicates that this was really the view
of the writers of our present Book of Job (cp Job. Book of,
§§ 4-6). This latter view is also confirmed by the apocryphal
appendix to Job in E^1 (see GEOPHYS., § 20), and, according to
the present writer's theory, by the phrase *beni kadim* in Job 1:3,
which is a corruption of *beni kashim*—i.e., 'sons of Jerahmeel' (see

1 For אֻזָּר cp de Vogüé, *J. 1*, 18:7, 10:202 (no. 115).

2 Unless אֻזָּר represent not only אֻזָּר but also a transliteration
of אֻזָּר. See next paragraph.

3 So אֻזָּר in Ezek. 38:2 probably comes from אֻזָּר, 'Ashur'
(the southern Asshur). See ROSS.

4 In Lam. 4:21 אֻזָּר seems to have come from אֻזָּ—i.e., אֻזָּ; see
above, on (5).

UZAI

REKIM). As to (1) and (2), we have seen elsewhere (see, e.g., MIZRAIM) that Gen. 10 has been largely recast, so that 'Aram' originally meant the N. Arabian tribes known collectively as 'Jerahmeel,' and it is possible that the names 'Nahor' and 'Haran' were originally attached to the Negeb.
To sum up: The two sets of data do not really conflict, if Aram and Nahor are primarily names of clans and districts in the Negeb, and not where later writers placed them in the N.E. of Palestine. This is not a mere struggling hypothesis, but accords with a large series of parallel phenomena. If, however, we hesitate to admit this view (which implies that 'Aram' comes from 'Jerahmeel'), we may still find a plausible reconciliation of the data (see Job, Book 10, § 43). At any rate, a new critical treatment of the name may not be altogether unwelcome. Theories that are simple frequently prove to be erroneous. Cp. Buldder, *Heb. Vorwort*, pp. 13-16. T. K. C.

UZAI (uzn. εγεί [BN]. εγζαι [A]. ογζ. [L]), father of Bilal (Neh. 13:25).

UZAL (uzn. Sam. ζυν; αιζθα), son of Juktan, Gen. 10:27 (om. E), 1 Ch. 1:21 (om. B, αιζθν [A], ογζθα [L]), and, by a necessary correction, Ezek. 27:16, where ironwork (i.e., sword-blades?), cassia, and calamus (spice) appear among the articles of trade from Uzal. The name is obscure. Ar. tradition makes *Uzal* the ancient name of the capital of Yemen, later known as *Sana'a* (see Di. *ad loc.* and *ref.*). The connection of the two names is disputed by Glaser (*Skizze*, 2:277-282, 277-282), who prefers to seek for Uzal near Medina.¹

On the text of the whole verse see Cornill (*Ex.*, *ad loc.*). ζυν for ζυν is supported by some MSS, S, Pesh., and nearly all moderns. AV renders 'going to and fro'; RV strongly relegates the above reading ('from Uzal') to the margin, and translates 'yarn,' based apparently on a passive form of ζυν=Aram. ζυν, 'to spin.' This weakening of ζυν to *hows* occur in Heb., but not often enough to warrant such a rendering; cp. W. Wright, *Comp. Gr. Sem.*, 43:247. [See also *Crit. Bib.* on Gen. 10:27 Ezek. 27:16.] F. B.

UZZA, THE GARDEN OF (uzn. ζε. . . κηπος οζα [BAL.]; Pesh. *guth gzi: hortus Azai*), the spot where Manasseh and Amon, and according to S^B (see below) Jehoiakim were buried (2 K. 21:13, 26). The most important passage is 2 K. 21:13, because the Chronicler, too, refers to the spot where Manasseh was buried; he makes no statement in the case of Amon. Manasseh was buried in the garden of his house, in the garden of Uzza' (2 K. 21:13); the passage, 2 Ch. 33:20, simply says, 'in his own house,' or (S) 'in the garden of his house.' Most scholars suppose that near Manasseh's palace was a plantation named after Uzza ('Uzziah?') where Manasseh had made a family grave, but this is not quite satisfactory.

In 2 K. 21:13:32 is written twice over in parallel phrases. Om. the second ζε, and read ζε ζε ζε, in 'the plantation of the mausoleum' (lit. 'rock-house'—i.e., grave in the rock, cp. Is. 14:13:22 *oz*). ζε in the P-alter is repeatedly miswritten for ζε. Note also that in 2 Ch. 36:8 S^B has . . . και εκοιμηθη 'Iωακίμ . . . κα. ἐτάφη ἐν γαροζαν (γαροζαν [A], Γαν Οζα [L]) μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ. T. K. C.

UZZAH (οζα [BAL.]). 1. (uzn. 2 S. 66:8, § 51; αζζα[n] [A]) or **UZZA** (uzn. 2 S. 63 [αζα, A] 1 Ch. 13:7-11), one of the sons of Abinadab who took part in the bringing up of the ark from Kirjath-jearim under David (see ARK, § 5; KIRJATH-JEARIM). He and his brother (uzn; cp. AMO) were driving the cart upon which the ark was placed, when, upon reaching a certain threshing-floor (see NACHOS), the oxen 'stumble' (see below), whereupon Uzzah put forth his hand to steady the ark (om. 2 S. 67 after 1 Ch. 13:10 with We., Dr., Bl., and others). For this 'God smote him,' and the place received the name PEREZ-UZZAH (q. v.). The Chronicler, however, accounts differently for the calamity; 'none ought to bear the ark of God but the Levites' (1 Ch. 15:2; cp. v. 12 *f.* and col. 34:53, n. 1). The narrative can hardly be understood by itself; it must be taken in connection with 2 S. 5:17-25. It would

¹ Assurbanipal speaks of a city called *Azalla*, in the far-off land of Mas (see MESHIA); see Del. *Par.* 243, 252 *f.*

UZZIAH

appear (see REHOBOTH, ZAREPHATH) that, to the story which underlies this passage 21:15-22 and 238 *f.*, David and his *gibborim* great victory over the Philistines and the Kites, and by textual corruption Zarephath-a name in the original text) became Perez-uzza; an imaginary person was produced, called 'The corrupt word Perez naturally suggested judgment (cp. Ex. 19:22 vs. 60:3 vs.). The story used as historical by Wade (*Old Test. Hist.*) but it is perhaps wiser to regard it as artistic PEREZ.

'Stumbled' is evidently the sense required in 2 S. 67:1; AV gives 'shook' (RV 'stumbled'), with margin. However, it is not the right word; perhaps it is the root *uzz*, 'wavered violently.' For other views see Di. (*Krit.*).

2. AV Uzza (uzn) a Merarite (1 Ch. 6:29[14]; αζζα [L]). Cp. GENEALOGIES I, § 7 (ii. d).

UZZEN-SHEERAH, UZZEN-SHERAH, SUERAH.

UZZI (uzn. a perfectly regular abbreviated *uzzi* [for Cheyne's view see UZZIATH], cp. uz; oz[ε] [BAL.] generally).

1. b. Bukki, in the genealogical list of Eleazar and Zadok (1 Ch. 6:5 [5:31], cp. v. 51 [4:1]). This list is given also in Ezra 7:2 *f.* (*ozai* οζαι [A], οζαι [L]), but with the omission of ζε between Meraioth and Azariah (the father of Azariah). In 1 Esd. 8:2 the name appears as SAVIAS (om. 1 [A], οζαι [L]); for OZIAS (AV EZIAS) here to Azariah [οζ[ε]ζαι [B], εζαι [A], ζαραιου [L]), by further omitting Uzzi and his son Zerihah (Azariah the son of Bukki—a proceeding which on a confusion between ζε and εζ. Jos. (*Ant.* replaces Uzzi and Zerihah by ω[α]θαμος. See GENEALOGIES I, § 7 [iv.]).

- 2. b. Tola, a chief of ISSACHAR (§ 7, end), 1 Ch. 7:2 [B. 7:3].
- 3. b. Bela b. BENJAMIN (§ 9, ii. a), 1 Ch. 7:7; cp. U. 8:7.
- 4. b. Michri of BENJAMIN (§ 9, iii.), 1 Ch. 9:8 (οζιου).
- 5. b. Bani, an overseer, temp. Nehemiah (Neh. 11:22).
- 6. A chief of a father's house of Judah (Neh. 12:12).

UZZIA (uzn. 2 S. 63 [αζα, A] [BAL.]), the Asherah (very possibly Og's city of Asherah) (Di. 1:4) really Zarephath, a city on the N. ARABIAN horizon ably conquered by David, see ZAREPHATH; but received view see ASHTAROTH), one of David's (DAVID, § 11:2, i.); 1 Ch. 11:44 *f.*

UZZIAH (uzn. 2 K. 15:32-34 vs. 1:1, etc. 26:1 *f.* 27:2; see also 5, below), either an expanded clan-name Uzzi (see *Crit. Bib.* on 1 Ch. 5) religious utterance = 'Yahwe is strength,' strength' (§ 29); there is the same difference.

1. That 'Uzza' in 2 K. 21:13:22 has anything to do with 'Uzziah,' as Wellhausen once suggested, is far from probable. Nor has the name Azriyahu of Yehudi anything to do with our Uzzi or Azariah. With regard to the number of the names in the OT, 'Azariah' has on the whole the most occurrences of Chroniclers. More particularly, Uzzi (Uzziah) occurs in 2 K. 15:13(2) 30 Hos. 1:1 Am. 1:4, but in 2 K. 15:12:34 vs. 11:6:1 2 Ch. 26:1 *f.* 27:1 (Uzziah); Uzzi (Azariah) in 2 K. 14:21 15:17:23 27:13 (see GINSH), 1 Ch. 3:12, but Uzzi (Azariah) in 2 Ch. 26:1 *f.* From the point of view of the study of clan-names, Azariah must be preferred of these forms. An examination of occurrences of Eleazar, Eliezer, Azariah, Azazel, etc. undoubtedly that there was till quite late times a connection that Azar or Ezer represented a clan of the Negeb. It is worthy that by their mothers the kings of Judah were connected with the Negeb. Very possibly the name Azariah and Uzzi came, not from 'Jerusalem,' 'Ishmael' (אִשְׁמָאֵל and אִשְׁמָאֵל) being liable to corruption. When a queen-mother was of Jerusalem, it was possible; take, e.g., the cases of the mothers of Hezekiah, Manasseh. In 2 K. 15:13 S^B readings are οζιου οζιου. B. 2 Ch. 26:1: οζαζαζ [B], αζαριου [A] (om. αζαριου [BAL.]); 34 (οζ[ε]ζαζ [B], αζαριου [AL]).

...that, according to passage and 2 S. his *gubernium* won a and the Rehoboth-arephath-azzah (the Perez-uzzah, and so called, called Uzziah suggested a divine The story is recog- *Test. Hist.* 248), it as artificial. See

in 2 S. 6, though margins), how- it is the residuum of Views see Dr. and Bin.

629[14]: אָזָא [A], אָזָא T. K. C.

-SHERAH. See

abbreviated form of Uzzat], cp Palm.

ical list connecting cp 2, 31 [36], אָזָא אָזָא 72 f. (אָזָא [B], mission of all names father of Amariah. AVTAS (om. B, אָזָא (AS) here represents אָזָא [L.], and אָזָא son Zerubiah makes edging which is based y. Jos. (*Ant.* viii. 13) אָזָא. See GENE-

nd), 1 Ch. 7 f. (*Seppel*

Ch. 77; cp UZZA (1 Ch.

Ch. 28 (אָזָא [L.],

h (Neh. 11 22, om. אָזָא,

Uzziah (Neh. 12 19 42 om.

g]). S. A. C.

[L.], the Asherathite th [Dt. 14 etc.] was phatruin border prohib-

PHATHU; but for the e of David's heroes

T. K. C.

4 Is. 11, 1, etc., 2 Ch.

er an expansion of

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(Hos. 11 Am. 11 Zech.

Ch. 261 ff. 27 2 27 2

151 7 17 23 27, perhaps

zaridim) in 2 K. 16 5,

o-names Azariah is the

an examination of the

of Azarel, Ezer, Shes,

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the Nezel. It is note-

ably the mothers of

Jerusalem, but from

opinion as to 'Uzziel.' The question is hardly decided by the existence of the Phari. pr. names אָזָא, אָזָא, or the Palm. אָזָא and Nab. אָזָא, or by the name found on old Heb. seals — אָזָא, אָזָא, for which see Wright, *Comp. Sem. Gr.* 72 f. — Ch. 1].

1 Son of Amaziah, king of Judah, whom he succeeded at the age of sixteen (2 K. 11 21 = 2 Ch. 26 1).

1. Earlier criticism. That the name Uzziah was changed to Azariah at his accession is highly improbable. Both names are equally religious or rather perhaps equally non-religious, and from 1 Ch. 6 34 [a and b (2)] we see how easy it was for אָזָא to become אָזָא, or for אָזָא to become אָזָא. The form Azariah is the more accurate, but Uzziah may have been a popular corruption; it is hardly worth while therefore to disturb the modern usage, and substitute Azariah for Uzziah. According to Stade (in 1887, there is very little information respecting Uzziah at the disposal of the historian. After stating that Azariah or Uzziah was proclaimed king by a popular assembly, he adds that 'the Book of Kings knows nothing of any warlike achievements of Uzziah. The king had the misfortune to become a leper, so that in functions like that of pronouncing judgment, the discharge of which would have brought him into contact with the people, he had to be represented by his son Jotham, who was invested with the office of a prefect of the palace. Where the leper-king resided (see 6) did indeed originally form a part of the tradition; but the word in question (155) has become disfigured beyond recognition.'

In further explanation Stade adds, 'bet ha-chophim bit [אָזָא אָזָא], 2 K. 15 5, chophim [אָזָא אָזָא], 2 Ch. 26 21, and possibly mean an infirmary [RV 25, 'a leper house']. The *apud* אָזָא אָזָא; but in 2 Ch. אָזָא אָזָא אָזָא [A] of 6 seems to suggest that it is not the original reading. It is, however, equally obscure what is the Hebrew word underlying it. Probably some building in the royal fortress is meant.'

Stade concludes with the remark that 'the sixteen years which the Book of Kings gives to Jotham, include the period during which Jotham was the regent for his father.' Elsewhere (367) Stade further mentions that Uzziah rebuilt Elath, which his father had probably recovered. It is clear, however, that fresh investigations of the Book of Chronicles and of the Hebrew text both of Kings and of Chronicles do not favour this extreme historical sobriety. Considering that the Book of Kings gives Uzziah a (nominal) reign of not less than fifty-two years, an augmentation of our scanty material is of importance. Let us consider our situation.

As to the accession of Uzziah, and the assumed conquest of Elath, we can hardly rest satisfied with the ordinary view of the circumstances of the time.

2. Circumstances of Uzziah's accession. As Kittel has pointed out, these are contained in portions of two different documents, viz., 2 K. 14 7-14 and 2 Ch. 19 22-33 each source, in a carefully revised text, must be separately studied. From the former we infer (cp JOKTELL), that the contest between Jehoash and Amaziah was for the possession of the NEGEV (2 7), a part of which Jehoash had recovered for Israel, but which Amaziah wanted for Judah. A decisive battle took place 'at Beth-en-sham which belongs to Jerahmeel,' and Amaziah was worsted and (according to this stratum of the narrative) taken captive. We now have to turn to our second fragment of narrative, remembering (this we learn from 2, 7,

where read 'Arannites,' and for the rest see JOKTELL, 261A) that Amaziah had excited the bitter animosity of the Arannites or Jerahmeelites by his cruelty at the rock of Kadesh. The notice (2 7, 19-22) is very meagre, and the text is imperfect. We can, however, venture to infer from 2 7 that, according to this document, Amaziah had not been carried away by Jehoash, but had sought refuge at some place in the independent, non-Israelitish portion of the Negev, raising, as it would appear, for vengeance, some of the inhabitants conspired against the fallen king. He died to the east of Halush-haz, an important city in the Negev, but the dagger of the assassin found him there. The acts in the following scene (2 7, 20-22) are the non-Israelitish of the Negev.

And all the Ephraimites hid him (for Jerusalem), and he was buried in Beth-el, etc. And the Jerahmeelites took Azariah (7 years of age) and made him king instead of Amaziah his father, and imposed oaths upon him. And they returned to Jerahmeel, and the king was laid down with his fathers.

The humiliation of Judah was now complete. First Israel, and then Jerahmeel, had treated it as a subject state. The only comfort was that Israel and Jerahmeel were foes, and in a struggle between the two the wishes of Judah would naturally accompany Israel. It will be seen that the statement of the conquest of Elath has arisen out of a corruption of the text.

As to the wars of Uzziah. According to the Chronicler, the king waged successfully against the Philistines, the Arabians, and the Memun, and strengthened the fortifications of Jerusalem, which must have suffered greatly at the capture of the city by Jehoash (2 Ch. 26 9-10). The Book of Kings (as we have seen) is entirely silent as to this national aggrandisement; but elsewhere valuable information has been found underlying the statements of Chronicles. Still, great exaggeration there must at any rate be, as Guthe (*GTZ* 136) remarks. Unless we could bring ourselves to identify Azariah of Judah with Azriyah of Ya'ndi, we could not possibly imagine the sudden and unexpected revival of the martial prowess of Judah. McCurdy, it is true, assumes this; he also thinks that the relation of Hezekiah to the Philistine city of Ekron in the time of Sennacherib, and the statement of Sennacherib that the cities which he had cut off from Judah he gave to the kings of Ashdod, Ekron, and Gaza, imply a period of Judaite expansion which we can only place in the reign of Uzziah. Winckler, on the other hand, remarks, 'Such successes as those which are described would be possible only if Azariah acted as the vassal of a more powerful prince. Misri could not be such, for it is certain that the Philistine cities would have enjoyed its special protection. There was Assyria, no doubt; but Azariah could have taken part in the Assyrian campaign of 773 [the last year of Salmeser II.] only as a feudatory of Jeroboam II.' (*AT* 17², 202).

There is no difficulty in supposing that either the Chronicler has misread his authority, or the text of Chronicles itself has suffered corruption. There is no difficulty in supposing that Uzziah after a time broke his 'oaths' and made war on the Jerahmeelites—i.e., on that section of the Jerahmeelites which neither Jehoash nor (2 K. 11 25, explained in col. 3861, n. 1) Jeroboam II. had subdued. That he 'broke down the wall' of Rehoboth and Ashhur, is improbable, but he

1 In 2, 10 we read, 'And they conspired against him in Ishmael (אָזָא אָזָא, as elsewhere, for אָזָא אָזָא).

2 Read אָזָא אָזָא for אָזָא אָזָא. The same chance may be required in Mic. 1 13.

3 For the corrections see *Crit. Bib.*

4 The emendation in 2 K. 14 20 (אָזָא אָזָא אָזָא אָזָא) cp Ezek. 17 13) has already been suggested by Klostermann, who, however, makes Jeroboam II. the subject of the verb. To connect 7, 22 either in whole or in part, with 7, 7 (as most propose), is very difficult.

5 *Hist. Profet.* Mon. 1 112, n. 1; 'Uzziah and the Philistines' *Explos.* 1291 f., pp. 35-36.

6 So read for 'Gath' (as often) and 'Ashdod' (as Am. 3 6). A

may have made successful incursions into the Jerahmeelite land, and have inflicted a check on his enemies. More than this we cannot say, and underlying the account of Uzziah's leprosy there is probably a record of a great humiliation sustained by the king.

As to Uzziah's leprosy (cp. LERKOSY, § 5, iv.). In 2 Ch. 26:16-21 he is said to have been struck with leprosy as a punishment for attempting to usurp the office of the priesthood by burning incense in the temple, in spite of the well-established fact that the ancient kings from time to time exercised sacerdotal functions. But in 2 K. 15:5 all that is said is, 'And Yahwe smote the king, so that he became a leper unto the day of his death, and dwelt in the house . . . ' (the last word appears untranslatable). Has something been omitted by the compiler of Kings, and if so, did it agree with Chronicles? To answer the latter question in the affirmative is difficult, the story in Chronicles being so clearly post-exilic. The case is parallel to that of 2 K. 14:22. 'The true text probably runs nearly as follows:—'And Jerahmeel led the king away to Missur to the day of his death, and he dwelt in Beth-zarephath of Missur.'²

4. Reported leprosy.

The mother of Jeroboam I. was called in error 'a leper,' whereas really she was a Mistrite (col. 2494, n. 2); Naaman in the earlier form of his story was called, not a leper (2 K. 5:1), but a Mistrite.³ And Uzziah, too, in the narrative from which the compiler of Kings drew, must have been brought into connection with the Mistrites. Like Manasseh (probably), Uzziah was carried into captivity by the Mistrites or Jerahmeelites of N. Arabia; but unlike Manasseh he did not return. Meantime, his son Jotham was necessarily regent at Jerusalem.

As to the earthquake, a detail so romantically used by Josephus (Ant. ix. 104). In Zech. 1:15 Am. 1:1 (title) we find obscure references to an earthquake in Uzziah's reign, and the suggestion has been hazarded that this earthquake may have suggested the imagery of Is. 2:19-21 and Am. 1:11. It is true, the available evidence for the fact is very late, and Wellhausen throws doubt on its historical character (cp. Apos, § 4). In Zech. 1:15 we should probably read, 'as ye had before Ashhur' (אַשְׁחֹר), and in Am. 1:1, 'two years before Ashhur was rooted out.' The Zech. passage alludes to the frequent raids of Jerahmeelites or Ashhur⁴ from N. Arabia, and the Am. passage probably to 1. events attending the successes of Jeroboam II. in the Negeb (see § 2).

5. Earthquake.

As to references to Uzziah in Isaiah. That there is such a reference in Is. 61, is unquestionable. In Is. 26:8-12-16, however, it is only to Jotham, first as regent and then as king, that the prophetic writer's descriptions can be safely held to apply. Exegesis, of course, is unaffected by this result.

6. Uzziah in Isaiah.

We have no further information respecting Uzziah, region in or near the Negeb was called Ashhur, and there must also have been a city bearing the same name (cp the place-name Jerahmeel).

1 The 'Philistines' are our old friends the 'Zarephathites' (see ZAREPHATH), and the 'Arabians of Gur-baal' are the 'Arabians of Jerahmeel.' The 'Maonites' should be the 'Ammonites,' which, as often, is a corruption (which obtained an independent existence) of Jerahmeelites.
2 הַמִּסְרִיטָה הַזֶּה הָיָה מִבְּרֵיתוֹ שֶׁל יֵשׁוּעַ בְּכֹחַ הַלְּבָבוֹת לְפָנָיו. The final word is restored from 2 Ch. 26:21. The strange word הַמִּסְרִיטָה comes from הַמִּסְרָה, 'the dung-hill,' and הַמִּסְרָה (as in the phrase הַמִּסְרָה לְפָנָיו Neh. 2:13, etc.) is a corruption of מִסְרָה = מִסְרָה.
3 The rendering of 2 K. 5:17 and accompanying note in the OT of Kautzsch should open the eyes of some readers. 'But the man was . . . leprosy.' 'The two omitted words mean elsewhere, "an able (or valiant) man"; either they have arisen from a mutilation of the text or they have got in here by mistake.' מִסְרָה, however, if we restore this word, is in apposition to הַמִּסְרָה.

unless we may venture to identify Azariah with an important person inscription of Tiglath-pileser monarch informs us that in (738 B.C.) nineteen districts situated in the hood of Hamath banded themselves against Az- (or Iz-)ri-ya-u of Ya-u-di, but were overcome (see KAT 217 ff., KB 225 ff., Th 229 ff.). The identification of Azriyau of Ya Azariah (=Uzziah) of Judah proposed by George Smith the Assyriologist, and after Schrader (KGF 399 ff.), who ably supported A. von Gutschmid, was accepted by Winckler and is even now defended by M'Curdy (HBA. C. F. Kent (Hb. People²), 2:126), an (HBA 2:119 f.). A strong opposition has been raised to it (see, e.g., Welh. JDT 20: Sa.-A², 456; Wi. AOF 1:3; KAT³ following Winckler, Che. Intr. 3. 4). Although urged, was reigning four years later (734) Azar, and the deaths of Uzziah and Jotham therefore have been almost contemporaneous, the assertion that Jotham himself may have possibly field, and not Uzziah (M'Curdy, Hist. Prop 1:14), on the theory that qui facti per alium se, is scarcely borne out by the precise wording cuneiform text. But a far greater objection is the duty of supposing that Uzziah of Judah should wished to interfere with Tiglath-pileser, that he ever have been in a position to undertake expedition, and that he should have been the a band of tribes representing a district extend the Orontes to the sea, and from the northern Lebanon and Anti-Libanus to the sea of Antioch whatever his relations with Jeroboam II. may been, it is at all events clear that the statement 14:22 cannot be called in to support the identification (see JEROBOAM II.).

These objections are urged with great force Winckler (AOF 1:3), who, dismissing the old tradition, would explain Ya-u-di as the well-known the Zenjiri inscriptions mentioned in the st Panammu and Hamath, a view which is favored by Kittel (Könige, 263), and unreservedly accepted by Honimel (art. 'Assyria,' Hastings' Bible S. 624 [9] = 36 [21] AZARIAH, 377 ff.). One of the b'ne HAKIM, Ezra 10:21 = Esd. 9:21 (but אֲזַרְיָה [L.]). Father of Athaliah in list of Judahite inhabitants of Salem (Ezra, ii., § 56, § 15, 1a) (Neh. 11:4, אֲזַרְיָה [B]). 5. Father of JONATHAN, 9 (1 Ch. 27:25, 377 ff.). T. K. C., §§ 1-6; S. A. C., UZZIEL (UZZI), § 29; either a clan name UZZIATH, the -el being only formative, or = 'God strength,' § 29; OZ[ע]IHAL [BAFL], a name only in post-exilic writings, and in connection names capable of being regarded as clan-names Negeb (Che.). 1. b. Kohath (cp JUHAZIEL, 3); mostly mentioned in the list of sons (Ex. 6:18 Nu. 3:19 1 Ch. 6:24 [B]). According to Lev. 10:4 he was the uncle of Aaron (אֲזַרְיָה [B]). Of his sons who are mentioned Ex. 6:22 (see also 1 Ch. 23:20 [B]) identifies Uzziel Jahaziel of 5:19 [24] the most important was Elzai (cp ZAPHON), who was the chief of all the Kohath (Nu. 3:30).

1 Among the districts named are Hatarikka, Arka, S (see HADRACH, ARKIE, SINIE). 2 See, on the other hand, M'Curdy, Hist. Proph. Men. 1. It has also been plausibly suggested that -el may be the famous title of Sargon at the opening of the Nimrod inscription (KAT 2:7), 'the soldier of Ya'udu, whose situation off.' Elsewhere, Sargon calls Canaan 'bt Hauri' (cp KAT 1:99, and see OMR). See SARGON, § 17.

UZZIEL

The bnd Uzziel are mentioned in 1 Ch. 15.15 with Amminadab their chief as amounting to 114; and it is noteworthy that Elzaphan appears in v. 8 as a separate clan. From Uzziel come the UZZIELITES (אֲזִיְאֵלִים, Nu. 3.27 וּזְזִיְאֵלִים [B], וּזְזִיְאֵלִים [A], אֲזִיְאֵלִים [F], אֲזִיְאֵלִים [L]; 1 Ch. 26.23). See GENEALOGIES 1, § 7.

2. I. Ishi, a captain of SIMEON (4.5) in the raid against the Amalekites and Meunim (1 Ch. 4.42).

3. I. Bela, in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (7.7, § 9, ii. a) (1 Ch. 7.7).

4. A Hemanite musician (1 Ch. 25.4 אֲזִיְאֵל [B], who in v. 13 is called AZAREL (L, however, אֲזִיְאֵל).

5. In 2 Ch. 29.14 Uzziel figures as a son of Jeduthan, not of Heman (as above). It is also noteworthy that the name occurs here in close connection with that of Elzaphan (v. 13).

6. 'Uzziel, the son of HATHIAH (יְזִיְאֵל בֶּן־חַתִּיָּה) goldsmiths,' apparently a locality in the Amorite country, towards Moab, described as being 'in Suphah' (בְּסוּפָה); Nu. 21.14 RV.

AV (following Onkelos) gives the indefensible rendering, 'What he did in the Red Sea'; Vg. 'sicut fecit in mari rubro'; Gr. Ven. ερεθισθη εν λαλαρι. The rendering of אֲזִיְאֵל as ερεθισθη (ερεθισθ [FL]) ερεθισθη presupposes the reading ερεθισθη and studying this in the light of suggestions elsewhere made with regard to the 'stations' of the Israelites and the place-names in Dt. 1: Gen. 36.31-34, we see that 'Vahel' is probably a corruption of 'Mizsur' and 'Suphah' of 'Sarephath' (see DI-ZAHAB, SUPH). If the quotation really comes from a poetical record of the ancient wars we may further suppose that a verb has dropped out, and render 'the conquered) Mizsur and Sarephath' (two places in N. Arabia on the border of S. Palestine; see MIZSURIM, § 26, ZAREPHATH). It is much more probable, however, that instead of 'the book of the wars of Valwé' (אֲזִיְאֵל בְּסוּפָה) we should read 'the list of Jerahmeel' (אֲזִיְאֵל בְּסוּפָה) and suppose that the Priestly Writer here intrudes us into one of his chief sources of information for N. Arabian place-names.

The passage then becomes, 'Wherefore it is said in the list of Jerahmeel, the land of Mizsur and Sarephath; the land of Jerahmeel which stretches towards the city of Zarephath, and is adjacent to the border of Mizsur' (אֲזִיְאֵל בְּסוּפָה אֲזִיְאֵל בְּסוּפָה אֲזִיְאֵל בְּסוּפָה אֲזִיְאֵל בְּסוּפָה). See Crit. Bib.

T. K. C.

VAJEZATHA, RV Vaizatha (אֲזִיְאֵל); ΖΑΒΟΥΘΑΙΟΝ [B.L.], ΖΑΒΟΥΔΕΘΑ [N], ΖΑΒΟΥΡΑΘΑ [A], ΙΖΑΘΟΥΘ [L.], a son of HAMAN, Esth. 9.9. The names of Haman's sons put a heavy strain on the traditional theory respecting the Book of Esther. In the case of Vaizatha the form itself is not certain, the γ being exceptionally long and the τ exceptionally short (a trace of an early corrector's work?). Bentley conjectures as the Persian original Wahyaz-dāta.

If, however, the story has been reworked, and in its original form the names were such as a Hebrew writer might regard as Jerahmeelite (see PERSIA, § 7), one might venture to restore אֲזִיְאֵל (cp אֲזִיְאֵל, 1.10), behind which may lie אֲזִיְאֵל, 'Zarephathite'. Haman, being an Agagite, was an Amalekite (v.z., Jerahmeelite).

T. K. C.

VALE, VALLEY, occurs in AV as the rendering of the following Heb. words:

- 1. אֲזִיְאֵל, 'Emek' (etym. 'depth'; ΚΟΙΛΑΔ, ΦΑΡΑΓΖ, ΠΕΔΙΟΝ, etc.), for which, in geographical designations, RV, followed by G. A. Smith, gives 'vale,' is the most natural antithesis to γ, 'har, 'mountain' (cp Mic. 1.4 1 K. 20.28, אֲזִיְאֵל מִלְוֹד; v. 23, cp PLAIN, § 1). It is applied to wide level spaces opening out of a mountainous country. About the names of most of these 'vales' considerable controversy has gathered (see ACHOR, ELAH, ESDRAELON, MULBERRY-TREE, REPHAIM, SIDDIM, SUCCOTH). The vales of Hebron and Aijalon, however, are well-known, and may be taken as typical.

1 Vg. continues 'sic faciet in torrentibus Arnon. Scopuli torrentium inclinati sunt, ut requiescerent in Ar, et incumbent in finibus Moabiturum.' 2 Continues και τους χειμάρρους Αρνον και τους χειμ. καταρτησεν κατοικίσαι Πρ. και πρόσκειται τοις όροις Μωαβ.

VASHTI

in list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 f.; EZRA II, §§ 16 [1], 15 d., Neh 33 [BHK omits]). See Ryle, Be. Ry., Siegf. ad loc.

Various explanations have been given of this strange phrase. Apart from the 'Jerahmeite theory,' we may be grateful for S. A. Cook's ingenious suggestion (J. P. T. 10.20), and HARRINGTON. But in the light of many other passages in which 'Jerahmeel' and 'Zarephath' put on strange disguises, and, in particular, of 7. 31 f. on which see *Index Verborum of Hebrew Bible* (1904) and PETERMANN, it is difficult not to decide somewhat positively in favour of the following restoration, 'Next to him repaired Uzziel, son of Jerahmeel, a Zarephathite. And next to him repaired Hananiah, son of Jerahmeel.' The historical inference of Meyer (*Leut.* 13.0) that artisans with no landed estate had no *genos*, the guild taking the place of the *genos*, is therefore hardly justified.—T. K. C.]

V

'Emek is also applied to parts of the Jordan valley (Josh. 13.27 [cp 17.16, and, if the text is correct, Ps. 60.6]8), but see SUCCOTH, and to the lateral valleys of the Jordan (1 Ch. 12.13 [אֲזִיְאֵל] Gnt. 21). In Ps. 65.14 Job 39.10 'vales' are apparently referred to, not as the antithesis of mountains, but as containing fertile arable land. But the theory of these passages is disputed. AV has VALE in Gen. 14.48, 14.47, 14.44 and DALL in Gen. 14.17 (RV 'vale') 2 S. 18.13 (EV). On the difference between the 'Emek and the *hik'ā* (see 2), see ISDRAELON.

2. אֲזִיְאֵל, *hik'āh* (etym. 'split, 'clef'; πεδιον) is also used in contrast to 'mountain' (e.g., Dt. 8.7 Hitt., [πεδιον], cp Ps. 104.3). The etymological meaning explains Is. 10.4, 'Every *hik'āh* (EV 'valley') and by EV in Neh. 6.2 Dan. 3.1 (Aram. אֲזִיְאֵל), Gen. 11.2 Ezek. 32.2 f. (RV 'vale') 84, etc. On Dt. 31.3 (EV inaccurately, 'the plain of the valley of Jericho') see JORDAN, § 2.

3. אֲזִיְאֵל (also אֲזִיְאֵל אֲזִיְאֵל; 2); see the Lexicon, *gāh, gēh*, etc. (etym. perhaps 'depression'; φάραγξ, also *vāpēh*, *kośār*, etc., once *šarvōr*, 2 K. 2.16 [om. A]). A frequently occurring word for a somewhat narrow opening in the mountains, gorge, ravine; see (e.g.) IJETHATHA-LE, HARASHIM, SAMAHTA, ZARAIM, ZEPHYTHAI, HAMONGOG, and especially HENOME. In 1 S. 17.3 (אֲזִיְאֵל [G^h]) it apparently designates the deep channel, dug by the turbid water torrents in the middle of the vale ('*Emek*) of Elah. Relatively to the *gāh*, or lower valley, the '*Emek* might be called *har*, 'mountain,' unless we suppose in 1 S. 17 the combination of elements from two sources. See ET. VII, EPHES-DAMMIM.

4. אֲזִיְאֵל, *niḥal*, denotes both a winter torrent and the valley it flows through. It occurs in both senses 1 K. 18.35. See BROOK.

5. אֲזִיְאֵל, the *shephelah*, AV 'vale,' 'valley,' 'low plain,' RV 'lowland.' See JUDAH, SHEPHELAH.

6. אֲזִיְאֵל, Judith 4 (see SALEM, VALLEY (C) 7.5.17 10.10 f. (see HETHULIA).

7. φάραγξ, Judith 2 (φάραγγος . . . χειμάρρους, ravines . . . widely, 17.4 11.17 12.7 13.10 Lk. 3.5 (= 18.40).

VAMPIRE (אֲזִיְאֵל), Prov. 30.15 RV¹⁶; see LITHEI (§ 2).

VANIAH (אֲזִיְאֵל), of the D'nē BANI (7.7), in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA I, § 5, end); EZRA 10.35 (ουσιων [B], ερετω [K], ονοσια [A], οναρ [L]), apparently the ANOS (אָנוֹס [BA], ? om. L) of 1 Esd. 9.34.

VASHNI (אֲזִיְאֵל), 1 Ch. 6.28. See JOEL I, 2.

VASHTI (אֲזִיְאֵל); ΑCΤΙΝ [BNAI^β], ΟΥΑ [L^α], ΕΤΙ [? BN^α-AL in 1.19], the name of the consort of Ahasuerus, who was divorced on account of her refusal to present herself before the guests of the king on the seventh and last day of his great banquet (Esth. 1.9-22).

VAULT

According to Herodotus (5:1; cp 9:110) it was the custom of the Persians to have their wives and concubines present at great feasts. This, however, hardly illustrates the story of Vashti, for it was evidently by an arbitrary command of the king, whose heart was 'merry with wine,' that Vashti was summoned to the banquet. Indeed, Vashti had made a feast of her own for the women of the palace (1:9).

Vashti's name used to be connected with the Persian *vahista*, 'optimus,' but, according to a very clever hypothesis of Jensen, Vashti, Haman, and Zeresh are pale reflections of Elamite divinities, named respectively Mashu (or Vashu?), Humman, and Kerisa (see ESTHER, § 7; Jensen, *II'ZK II'70*; Willeboer, 'Esther' in *KW* 17:170). This view, however, is not very probable.

Alsherus (C) and Vashti (C) are as much a couple as Haman and Zeresh, and both ought to be explained on the same principles. Moreover, the text of Esther ought to be not less carefully criticised than that of Samuel before any hypothesis as to the origin of the story is formed. There is no issue out of the perplexities caused by the book as it has come down to us. But revising the text on the same principles as we revise the text of Samuel we see that (as in parts of Samuel) a story underlies the present story of Esther and Mordecai which has a different geographical and historical setting. The Jewish people, doubly represented by Esther (= Israeli) and by Mordecai (Carneli = the Jerahmeelite Jews), are in captivity in the land of the hostile Jerahmeelites (see ORVIDAH, § 7; LAMENTATIONS, Book OF, § 7 f.; PSALMS, § 138 ff.) i.e., the Edomites and other Arabians, whose king is described as 'Ashdur, king of Jerahmeel and Cush' (for אשור מלך ארם וצבא אשור read אשור מלך ארם וצבא אשור). Vashti, therefore, ought to be a representative of the Asshurite, Jerahmeelite, and Cushite people, that the nation of the oppressors may, like the nation of the oppressed, have double and therefore complete representation. That the name Vashti is corrupt is plain; cp VASIAH, VORUS. Most probably it comes from Asshurith, 'Asshur' being often used as a synonym for 'Jerahmeel' Cp MORDECAI, PERUS.

T. K. C.

VAULT (וָאֵל), Is. 65:4 RVmg.; see TOMB.

VAULTED CHAMBER (בֵּית; ΟΙΚΗΜΑ ΠΟΡΝΙΚΟΝ; *lupanar*), Ezek. 16:24, etc., RVmg.; see HEAVY PLACE, § 6. A mound or shrine for illicit worship is obviously intended; but the rendering of B and Vg. (after analogy of *fofnix*) is 'without sufficient proof, and needless' (BDB).

VEDAN (וֵדָן), Ezek. 27:19 RV. See JAVAN, § 13.

VEIL (VAIL). It is not easy to distinguish between the veil and the mantle in the OT. As in the East at the present day, the Hebrew veils were mostly ample wraps which protected the head and shoulders against exposure, and sometimes reached the feet. Though veils were part of the ordinary attire of Hebrew women, unmarried girls did not muffle their faces, nor did married Jewesses usually wear veils even out of doors (1 Cor. 11:5 f.). In the Talmud we find that only Jewesses of Arabia wore veils (*Sabbath*, 65a) to cover their whole face, the eyes excepted. The bride, however, veiled herself (cp *nubere virgo*) in presence of the bridegroom, both before marriage and at the wedding ceremony (Gen. 29:25); see MARRIAGE, § 3.¹ The modern Oriental *pashmak*, which hangs in a narrow strip from below the eyes to the feet, was not used by the Hebrews.

The terms rendered 'veil' are:—

1. *gī'iph*, גִּי'יפָ, Gen. 24:65 38:14 104, which, as Lagarde (*Sen.* 24) has shown, was not a veil (EV), but an ample wrap square in shape. *Q* VOL. 1 renders θέριαστροι, a light summer garment; cp MANTLE, § 2 [12].

2. *gamnah*, גָּמְנָה, Is. 47:2 RV (κατακόλυμα [BBAQ]; AV 'locks'), Cant. 4:1 3:6 7:1 RV (αἰώνησις [BBA]; AV, RVmg. 'locks').²

3. *vidil*, וֵדִיל, θέριαστροι [BBAQF], EV Is. 3:23; AV, RVmg. Cant. 5:7 (RV mantle); and

¹ On the *gī'iph* of Gen. 24:65, see the first of the Hebrew terms.

² According to Delitzsch from א'בצב, *constringere*. *Q*'s reading seems to rest upon a confusion with אבצב, 'be silent' (cp in Syr.).

VENISON

4. *miṣṣath*, מִצְּצָחַת, Ruth 3:15 AV (σπερματωδὸν *havyr* [Sym.]; AVmg. 'apron,' 'sheet'), RV 'mantle' (cp Is. 3:22 and see MANTLE, § 2 [13]).

5. *masakah*, מַסְכָּה, EV Is. 23:7 (perhaps the robe be *ṣṣṣ*, a covering, as in Ezek. 28:13); most m. 'covering' (cp Is. 28:24, EV).

6. The term *ṣṣṣ* in Is. 23:7 (EV 'covering' explained as a veil. The figure in this passage is the custom of covering the face as a token of grief (see

7. *ṣṣṣ*, מִצְּצָחַת, Is. 3:19), is either a soft shawl (AVmg. 'spangled ornaments'), or a fine veil (so root *ṣṣṣ* is cognate to *ṣṣṣ* (tremble), and the form called from its loose, clinging material).

8. *ṣṣṣ*, מִצְּצָחַת, 1 Cor. 11:13 AVmg., EV preferable cp MANTLE, § 2 [19].

The face of the king or other chief was covered to hide the divine halo; thus Mo³ *masakh*, מַסְכָּה, Ex. 31:13 ff. (κατακόλυμα [BBAQ], 3:13), with which Dillmann compares *ṣṣṣ* (49:11.² It will, however, be noted that a MT, Moses seems to have worn his veil only and to have removed it not only when seeking but also when addressing the people.

VEIL OF THE TEMPLE. See TABERNACLE, § 33.

The words are *paroketh*, פָּרוֹכֶת, Ex. 26:31 *πέρασμα*, Mt. 27:51 Lk. 23:45. Jerome (in also Epist. 189; and again Epist. 1208) affirms that Matthew's Hebrew Gospel he read, not 'hute!'—*superliminare templi inhnite m fractum esse atque dirivum* (also *conventus*), also Nestle infers that Jerome found, not פָּרוֹכֶת, 'hute,' 'capital' (of the column supporting the CHURCH, 4), though Jerome less accurately *superliminare* (*Expos.* 1895 b, 310 ff.). C. 65 n. 2.

VENISON (Fr. *venison*, Lat. *venatio*, 'm hunt'), Heb. וָדָן, *vaid*, וָדָן, 'to hunt,' cp *א* Syr. *vaid*). The Hebrews, as described by writers, had already reached the stage of pastoralism when 'the hunting which is the subsistence of a wanderer, has come to be only an extra means (to quote Tylor, *Anthropology*, 220). *ESA* probably meant to represent nothing more than man acquainted with hunting,' אִישׁ יָדָע צַד, cp 25:28 27:3), since later he seems to have possessed of flocks and herds (Gen. 33:9; for see the special article).

As weapons used for this purpose or for driving animals, mention is made of the bow and arrow (7:24; see WEAPONS, § 2) and the SLING (9:7, 1 S. 17:49 comm. among the animals that might be belonging to the venison class. These are some follow deer (*capra*, *gibb*, *yahwâr*; see HART, *Rekinds of wild goat* (see GOAT, § 2, CHAMOIS), the P the Adax), and the ANTILOPE (9:7; so RV).

One of the Hebrew terms for 'provision' reminiscent of the hunting stage (פָּרוֹכֶת, *vaid*), 45:21 Ps. 132:15 (וָדָן), Josh. 9:5 (וָדָן); cp the verb in Josh. 9:12, 'this our bread we pursued [וָדָן] with it hot from our houses' although both as a necessity and as a pursuit has in general played an important part in the reduction and evolution of mankind,⁴ the hampered again (see CONQUERS, § 1) perhaps peculiarities in their religion, after they had through the stage were not often induced to amusement to what their ancestors had been

1 The expression וָדָן *vaid* shows that the outside differed from the inside. Cp וָדָן *vaid*, Job 41:5 [13].

2 In the Talmud וָדָן *vaid* is both 'covering' and 'hute'.

3 Elsewhere we find the verb וָדָן, *vaid*, used and the noun וָדָן, *vaid* (1 K. 4:22 [5:2]).

4 As to its value in this respect Charles Kingsley is suggestive in parts.

⁵ In view, that is to say, of the struggle of the nation

AV (σπερμα [BAI], σπ...
t, RV 'mault') were all
1117, § 213].
perhaps the reading should
13); most moderns render

EV 'covering' is usually
a passage is derived from the
n of gulf (see MONTANA).
a soft slawl (EV 'muffler,'
fine veil (so Clo.). The
and the form of veil was so
EV preferably 'covering';

er chief was sometimes
; thus Moses wore a
[BAFL], cp 2 Clt.
compares *uth*, Gen.
ated that, according to
his veil only in private,
when seeking an oracle
ple. I. A.

See TABERNACLE, §

Ex. 26:31 etc.; κατα-
Jerome (in Mt. 27:51;
st. 1202) affirms that in
read, not 'veil,' but
*infinite magnitudinis
veritate, also sublatione*,
not קַרְיָה, 'veid,' but
supporting the roof; see
less accurately gives
to *ף*. Cp TEXT, §

venatio, 'a hunting';
hunt,' cp Ar. *ayidun*,
described by the OT
age of pastoral nomads
insistence of the ruler
an extra means of life'
(220). ENAV (*ף*, *ף*) is
ing more than this ('a
איש *ף* Gen. 25:27;
seems to be himself
Gen. 33:9; for Nimrod

or for driving off wild
and arrow (Gen. 27:1 S.
ng (*ף*, 1 S. 17:4). It,
but might be eaten several
these are some species of
E HART, ROEFUCK, two
AMIS), the PYGARG (*ף*,
; so RV).

'provision' is actually
(*ף*, *ף*), Gen. 42:5
(*ף*, *ף*); cp the use of
bread we provisioned
'our houses').² But,
and as a pastime the
important part in the
kind,³ the Hebrews,
t) perhaps by certain
after they had passed
induced 'to revert for
s had been compelli

t the outside of the veil
Job 41:5 [13].
'covering' and 'veil,'
, *kilkil*, used (1 K. 4:7,
)).

Charles Kingsley's *Glaucous
gle of the nations.*

VENUS, TEMPLE OF

to practise from necessity' (to quote M. G. Watkins,
Gleanings from the Natural History of the Ancients,
chap. 10). Assyrian,¹ Egyptian,² Chaldean,³ and
Persian monarchs, on the other hand, boasted of their
exploits in hunting; the Assyrians and Persians even
maintained private hunting grounds, called *παρὰδεδωτοι*.
The Greeks and Romans pursued the pastime vigorously.
Their writers describe it frequently (Homer, Horace,
Caesari), and in some cases whole treatises were written
on the subject (Xenophon, Appian).

Silvanus's fable, it is true, was, we are told, supplied with
species of fallow deer (*capreol*, § 9), *palomas*; see HART, ROE-
FUCK; but there is nothing to indicate that they were taken in
the hunt. We know that in other cases traps were used for the
purpose (see NEF, SARK). In 1 S. 20:2, too, according to
EV we have a figure of hunting a partridge, but the Hebrew
term is *kadaph*, 'pursue,' and in any case the meaning of the
context is not clear (see PARDONER); and for the methods of
capturing birds see FOWLING.

M. V. U.

VENUS, TEMPLE OF (TO ΑΣΤΕΡΓΑΤΙΟΝ [AV]),
2 Macc. 12:26. AV¹⁹⁰⁸. See ATARGATIS.

VERMILION (רָמָה), Jer. 22:14, Ezek. 23:14f. See
COLOURS, § 14.

VERSIONS. See TEXT AND VERSIONS.

VESTMENTS (כְּבוֹשֵׁי), etc.), 2 K. 10:22, etc. See
DRESS.

VESTRY (סֵדֵרֶת); τὸ ἐπι τοῦ οἴκου μεθ᾿ ἅλλᾳ
[BL], τοῖς ἐπι τοῦ μεθ᾿ ἅλλᾳ [A]; . . . τῆς ἐπι-
ἀγαγοῦ (Mq. Sym. β), in the phrase 'him that was over
the vestry' (2 K. 10:22b), is generally supposed to mean
the place where the holy vestments supplied to men in
the worshippers of Baal were kept; see DRESS, § 8; JEHL,
vol. 2:350. The ancient versions differ; there was no
fixed traditional interpretation. The moderns have
defended 'vestry' or 'wardrobe' by a far-fetched com-
parison of Ethiopic *ellih*, 'tunic, coat.' The text
must be corrupt.

Read probably *שֵׁרֶת* *שֵׁרֶת* *אֵלֶיךָ*, 'him that was over the hall'
(E. P. T., Nov. 1260). That there were several 'halls' or
'chambers' (סֵדֵרֶת) attached to the Jerusalem temple we know
(Jer. 35:24; Ezra 10:8; Neh. 13:5, etc.); and from 1 S. 9:2 (cp 1 K.
1:2) we gather that close to the altar on a *baniah*, or 'high place,'
there was a *hishkiah*, or 'hall,' in which those who partook of
the sacrificial meal assembled. It was in such a *hishkiah* that
the Baal-worshippers assembled in expectation of a sacrificial
feast (cp. 10). Cp TEMPLE, §§ 21, 32.

This view does justice to the context, and accounts for *שֵׁרֶת*
עַל *תּוֹךְ* *הַבַּיִת* (*mesabab* = *mesaba* is a correction from the later [?]
Hebrew text); that *שֵׁרֶת* did not fully understand *שֵׁרֶת* is plain
from 1 S. (see above). *שֵׁרֶת* and *שֵׁרֶת* are liable to be confounded with
שֵׁרֶת and *שֵׁרֶת* may come from *שֵׁרֶת*, repeated in error. To correct
שֵׁרֶת to *שֵׁרֶת*, the composition of the (sacred) perfumes, or *שֵׁרֶת*,
'the ceremonial' (cp Klo.), gives a less suitable sense. (On the
guesses of the other versions see commentators.) T. K. C.

VESTURE (IMATION). Rev. 19:13:6 AV, RV 'gar-
ment.' See MANTLE, § 2 [17].

VETCHES, WILD (הָרְרִיל). Job 30:7 RV¹⁹⁰⁸, EV
NETTLES (*ף*, *ף*).

VIAL. 1. *ף*, *ף*, 1 S. 10:1; also 2 K. 9:13 RV
(where AV has *ף* [2:25]; *ף*, *ף*). Cp also CRUSE.

2. *ף*, Rev. 5:8:7, etc., where RV always flows (*ף*, *ף*, *ף*).

VILLAGE. 1. A 'village' as distinguished from a
'town' or 'city' (*ף*, *ף*) is properly *ף*, *ף*, *ף*,
(Cant. 7:11 [12]; 1 Ch. 27:25), or *ף*, *ף*, *ף* (*ף*, *ף*, *ף*) in
combination with *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, 'village of the
peasantry.' EV 'country village,' or *ף*, *ף* (*ף*, *ף*,
6:2, plur., if MT is correct; see CHEPHRAÏM). Like

1 See Ball, *Light from the East*, 363 ff.
2 See Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilisation*, 62 ff.
3 *Ibid.*, 766 ff.
4 See Waite-Cornish, *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Antiq.* s.v.
Παρθένος.

5 *Ibid.*, s.v. 'Venatio.'
6 Moore (*Judges*, 361) suspects that the 'house' which Samson
pulled down by leaning against its two pillars was the banquet-
ing hall of the temple of Dagon.

VINE

the Arabic *kefr* the word enters into compound place-
names, e.g. *Chaphar ha-ammurim*, cp *Chapharim*.

2. *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף* is the name given to villages which
grew out of the city settlements of nomads, Gen. 25:5
(*ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, cp *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*); 46; Ex. 25:5 ('villages'
[enclosures] which have no wall around them), Josh.
15:2 ('villages which lay around their cities'; see
CITY), Neh. 12:3. See HAZOR, HIZBOS, HAZERIM,
HAZROTH.

3. In AV 'villages' is now and then given for *ף*,
ף, *ף*, 'daughter' (cp *ף*, *ף*), the dependent towns of a
city; Nu. 21:25:30 RV 'towns', 1 Ch. 2:23 (so too
RV), 1 p. DAVATHUR.

4. On *ף*, *ף*, a less distinctly Hebrew term
than 2, and properly synonymous with it, see HAVOTH-
JAIR, HAVITH.

5. *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, properly 'level country' RV
renders 'villages' (AV 'towns') 'without walls' in
Zech. 2:4 [1], and in Ezek. 38:11-14th, 9:14 EV gives
'unwalled villages,' 'unwalled towns.' *ף*, *ף* should
possibly be restored for *ף*, *ף*, in 2 Ch. 27:4 (see 1 Cor. 8:1),
unless we hold that it was in unoccupied portions of the
Negeb (read *ף*, *ף*, in the Ashshute) that Jonathan,
like Ki HOTHAM (*ף*, *ף*), built 'castles and towers.' In
1 Esth. 1:2 (3) the noun *ף*, *ף* is rendered in EV 'of
the villages'; cp EV of 1 S. 6:1, 1 S. 6:12. Some connect
PARIZITES (*ף*, *ף*) with this word.

6. *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, is conjecturally rendered
'villages,' 'villagers' by AV and some recent scholars
(cp Moore and Balder in Judg. 5:7:1), but by RV, not
less conjecturally, 'tribes,' 'rule.' For Judg. 5:11
Robertson Smith in 1862 suggested 'in the redemption
of Israel' (see Black, *Judges*, 421); but more probably
the true reading in Judg. 5:7:1, and 11th 3:14 is *ף*,
(*ף*, *ף*); cp *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*,
(but in Judg. 5:11 *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*,
Cheyne, and in 11th. 3:14 Volkers).

7. *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, the head of his villages' (AV 'of his
warriors'; mg. 'lord's'; or 'villages'). But so 6.

8. *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, is uniformly rendered village in RV (MK,
S. 27, the villages of Casarea, Philipp; Ju. 7:42, the village of
Bethlehem). In *ף* it sometimes presents not only *ף*, *ף*,
ף, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, but also even *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*.

It is given as a Rabbinical view that a city, as distinguished
from a village, was a community with recruited men in it—*ף*,
a sufficient number to entitle it to have a synagogue. According
to Furrer (Schinkel, *RL*, 2:1) the modern criterion in Palestine
is the possession of a separate market. In Esth. 3:10 of *קורטו*
קורטו *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*,
קורטו *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*, *ף*,
consists the two categories to one or other of which
every Jew is assumed to belong.

VINDICATOR (כְּשֵׁרֶת). Job 19:25 RV¹⁹⁰⁸. See GOEL,
and JOB II, col. 2474.

VINE (*ף*), more fully *ף*, *ף*, Nu. 6:4, Judg. 13:14).
Like the name of the grape (*ף*), the word is common

1. Hebrew
Terms. to Heb., Aram., Arab. and Ass.—from which
Gudi infers (*Deula Sade primitiva*, etc. 40

2. *ף*) that the vine was known to the people
who formed the original Semitic stock. But from the
names for pruning, vintage, wine-press, and wine being
distinct in the different languages he concludes that the
primitive Semites were unacquainted with the making of
wine, their original 'strong drink' (*ף*, *ף*), a word common
to the four languages and Ethiopic being probably
made from barley.

G'phen (*ף*) denotes the grape-vine everywhere but in
2 K. 1:9, where *g'phen s'leth* (*ף*, *ף*) is used of some
plant resembling the vine in form, but bearing poisonous
or bitter gourds; see WILD GOURDS. Another word
ף, *ף*, *ף*, 1 S. 5:2 (Jer. 2:21) or *s'rip'ah* (*ף*, *ף*,
49:14) seems to denote a superior sort of vine.
Probably it derives its name from the rich dark hue
of the grapes (cp Ar. *sekira* or *lakira*; Lag. *Vetbers*,
31 f. explains differently). Its grapes were called

VINE

kerakim (כרמים; Is. 16), though RV's 'choice plants' is a possible rendering. According to Jewish tradition, they were very sweet, with almost invisible kernels *harimanim* (חרמנים; see GRAPE, 7). The vine branch or shoot is called *almirah* (אלמיר), from עמר to 'prune'; or *Arly* (ארלי; Gen. 40:10 = Joel 1:7), from ערע to 'interweave.' *Zakallim* (זקלים; Is. 18:5) seems to denote low branches or clusters that lie on the ground. The gathering of grapes is expressed by the verb עבד (Lev. 25, etc.), the vintage or vintage-season being *bi'er* (ביער; Lev. 23:3; Judg. 8:7); to prune the vine is ערע (Lev. 25:3; Is. 56:4); the pruning-hook is *maxmirah* (מקמיר). The 'pruning of vines' (Bludde, Siegfried) is a more likely interpretation of *almir* (אלמיר) in Cant. 2:1 than the 'singing of birds' (Del., König). The obscure word *amrath* (אמר) in Gen. 43:11 is by Erd. Delitzsch connected with this root, and interpreted as 'fruits cut (from the plants that bear them)'; but Dillmann rightly objects that ערע is used only of pruning away that which is useless; probably the word must be traced to some other source; ע renders ראו אפרוח. In Talm. *amer* (אמר) = dessert-fruit (grapes, etc.).

The Israelites traced the planting of the vine to Noah (Gen. 9:20; see Bludde, *Bibl. Urgesch.* 306 ff., 407, and cp NOAH); and Burkle thinks that the 'com-

2. Biblical references.

fort' spoken of in Gen. 5:29 refers to the invention of wine. Noah was not a dweller in Palestine; thus the Israelites preserved the tradition of the introduction of the vine from another land. Palestine, as described in the OT, was a great wine-producing country. Joseph (Ephraim) in Gen. 49:22 and Israel in Ps. 80:8-10 (cp Is. 5:2 Hos. 10:1, etc.) are compared to a vine. Delitzsch, in his charming essay 'The Bible and Wine' (*Hris.*, 1888, essay 9), sees in the fact that Jesus compares himself to a vine (Jn. 15:1), an allusion to his being the Messiah, the Second David—which illustrates a passage in the early Christian *Didache*. The phrase to 'sit under one's own vine and one's own fig-tree' occurs constantly in descriptions of a time of peace (1 K. 4:25 [55] Mic. 4: Zech. 3:10). Passages like Judg. 9:11 Ps. 104:15 show with what simplicity men thanked God for the gift of wine. But the vine supplied another figure. There were wild vines—not of a 'genuine' stock (Jer. 2:21). Israel, when unfaithful, is compared to these (Jer. Lc. cp Is. 5:2), and the enemies of Israel are even likened (H. 32:3) to a 'vine of Sodom'—i.e., one whose juices and fruit were tainted by the corruption typified by Sodom (Driver). Cp Sodom, § 3, n. 2.

The vine (*Vitis vinifera*, L.) grows spontaneously² (according to de Caudolle, *L'Origine*, 151 ff.) in W. temperate Asia, S. Europe, Algeria, and Morocco; but its spontaneous growth is most marked in the region S. of the Caspian, and between that and the Black Sea. Its original home was most probably in Transcaucasia, though traces of it have been found in deposits of prehistoric and probably prehuman age in other quarters—as in N. Italy, Switzerland, and S. France. It has been cultivated from the most ancient times in W. Asia and in Egypt; in the latter country there is evidence reaching back five or six thousand years. The 'soma' of the Vedas appears to have denoted primarily a beer made from grain, but subsequently *wine*; and it is probable that wine was one of the earliest discoveries of the Aryan race and that they carried the vine with them as they migrated westward. Of the condition of vine-growing in modern Syria an account is given by Aderhult in *ZDPV* 11:160 ff. Cp also Tristram, *NIB* 407 N. M.—W. I. 1-15.

1 Possibly ערע in Jer. 6:9 has a similar meaning.

2 This phrase does not necessarily imply that it is a native of these districts.

VOWS, VOTIVE OFFERING

VINEGAR (חמץ) 'be sour,' 'leavened,' N OBC, Jn. 19:29). Cp cols 939 n. 3, 2752, 5309.

VINEYARDS, PLAIN OF THE (רמתי) Judg. 11:33 AV, RV ABEL-1 BERAMIM (7 v.).

VIOL (נגיל), Is. 5:12 AV. See MUSIC, § 2, n.

VIOLET (תכלת), Bath. 16 AV⁹⁸; EV 'blue. PURPLE and COLOURS, § 13.

VIPER (תפן, Is. 30:6; עιδνα, Acts 28:3) SERPENT, § 1 [1].

VIRGIN (παρθενος). There is no clear trace of *Virgins* in the Apostolic Church. The daughters of Philip the Evangelist cp PHILIP exercised the gift of prophecy, were virgins (Act. In 1 Cor. 7:25-8 Paul declares that he has 'no comment of the Lord' respecting virgins; they may or not marry, without sin. On the whole he is to recommend for them and for all the unmarried 'on account of the present necessity,' which make all Christians sit loosely to the world.

A later age, which valued virginity as a superior peopled the Apostolic age with virgins living in communities presided over by the Virgin Mary; see, for example *Marie* (Tischendorf, *Apoc. Apoc.*, 1861) pp. 46 f. *Apoc. Gospels*, F. Robinson, 1866. But this picture historical authorisation, and is simply the reflex of a superstition. On the difficult passage in Ignatius, *Ad* 'I salute . . . the Virgins, who are called Widows' Lightfoot's note *ad loc.*; he is probably right in interpreting as 'I salute the Widows, whom I refer to call Virgins, in God's sight they are by their purity and devoted MINISTRY, § 41 end.]

VISION (חזון etc.), Gen. 15:1, etc. See PRO-

VISION, VALLEY OF (הַיַּדְוָן or נַחַל פָּאֲרַאֲרֻס).

[אֶן נַחַל פָּאֲרַאֲרֻס] a place called Valley of Hizzazion, from which Assyrians were expected to make an assault fortifications of Jerusalem, Is. 22:1 (late heading). That Hizzazion is a proper name, and that the does not mean 'valley of vision' (or, prophetic vision) is generally admitted. According to Driver some part of Jerusalem is referred to, perhaps Tyropoeon, where the fortification may have specially weak. This implies the Massoretic of the verse, which, however, must surely be (see Duhm; Marti; SBOT). No such name Hizzazion being known, it has been proposed — נַחַל הַיַּדְוָן 'the valley of Hinnom,' comparing *Za* where נַחַל הַיַּדְוָן ('valley of my mountains') and ('valley of mountains') may be miswritten for 'valley of Hinnom' (see 'Isaiah,' SBOT [Hel Marti]).

It is, however, by no means improbable that Is. 22:1 original form, referred to an expected blockade of Jerusalem the Jerahmeelites (cp Sennacherib, § 5), and that should be נַחַל בְּנֵי צֹר 'the sons of Cushan.' The next line begins with נַחַל עֵינַן (E'ann), as also p 11 n. 21 Jer. 25:25-34 Ezek. 32:24, is a misunderstanding of נַחַל עֵינַן (Jerahmeel). Such is the position of a decided question respecting the reference of Is. 22:1 meaning of 'Valley of Hizzazion.'

VOPHSI ('DE); אַב(ע)ל[BAFL]; *Vophsi* (Vg. of Nabhi (Nu. 13:14)).

VOWS, VOTIVE OFFERINGS.

A voluntary obligation solemnly assumed towards God, but believed to be acceptable either simple or conditional. In the former usually a pledge to perform at a future date a worship which is less convenient or suitable when the vow is made; and the motive which would prompt man to the act itself, gratitude to God, the desire to secure his favour.

OFFERINGS

heavened,' Nu. 10:1; 27:2, 33:9.

עֹלָה (עֹלָה), (q. v.).

STC, § 2, 6-9.

EV 'blue.' See

Acts 28:3). See

no clear trace of an 'church.' The four ep. 1911-16, who virgins (Acts 21:9) has 'no command-'; they may marry, whole he is inclined ne unmarried state, 'y,' which should world.

as a superior virtue, ng in community and for example *Domitio* (1) pp. 66 f. *Coptica* this picture has no reflex of a subsequent Ignatius, *Ameyra*, 13, called 'Widow,' see light in interpreting a call Virgins, for such and devotion.' (1 p. J. A. R.

c. See PROMITTY.

ו' or נ'ל. THE

דַּבָּרִים (דְּבָרִים),

from which the

an 'assault on the

(late heading), 57,

and that the phrase

or, prophetic revela-

ing to Dillmann,

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Massoretic division

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comparing Zech. 14:5,

(stains') and נָשִׂים

written for נָשִׂים

SBOT [Heb.], 112;

that is, 22:1-14, in its

ekade of Jerusalem by

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n.' The next metrical

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misunderstood corrup-

the position of the

ance of Is. 22, and the

T. K. C.

אָבִי (Vg.), father

188. A vow is a

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The promise may be

the former case it is

future date—for ex-

a feast—an act of

VOWS, VOTIVE OFFERINGS

A conditional vow is commonly made in circumstances in which the urgent need of God's protection or help is felt, as in illness, an attack by the enemy, or for the obtaining of a greatly desired end, such as the birth of a child, the increase of flocks and herds, victory in battle, and the like. In such a case a man solemnly binds himself, if God does for him what he wishes, to do such and such a specified thing for God.

Vows of the latter kind were in ancient religions the common accompaniment of prayer, and were believed to contribute greatly to its efficacy. The transaction seems to us commercial in even a higher degree than the familiar motive of sacrifice, *Do ut des*; this may be formulated, *Dabo si dederis*. We have to remember, however, that man's gift was not conceived as an equivalent by which the service of God was purchased, but as a present, just as in similar transactions among men when an inferior sought the aid of a great man.

The thing vowed might be anything with which it was conceived that God would be pleased—a sacrifice, a service, a donation of gold and silver, houses and lands, cattle, or persons to God, that is, to the temple. It might also be an interdict imposed by the maker upon himself for a time or for life in the use of things otherwise lawful; thus fasting, abstinence from particular kinds of food—as the grape and its products in the Nazirite's vow—from the wearing of ornaments, sexual intercourse, etc., were often vowed. Such arbitrary self-denial was thought, like the scrupulous observance of the similar restrictions imposed by religion itself, to be a proof of devotion.

The general word for vow is נָשָׂא, *nasha*, נָשָׂא. For a vow of abstinence specifically, Nu. 30 employs נָשָׂא נָשָׂא, *nasha nasha* (נָשָׂא נָשָׂא), from נָשָׂא, 'bind.' The meaning of this word is especially clear in Du. 10:7, 12:13, where RV well renders 'interdict'; cp also the rabbinical use of the verb in the sense of prohibit, and Mt. 19:18, 19.

The vow, being a solemn promise freely made, was a most binding obligation; it had the force of an oath, with which, indeed, it was frequently associated (see Nu. 30:2, Acts 23:12). Even a rash vow or one which entailed unforeseen and terrible consequences, like Jephthah's (Judg. 11), must be fulfilled to the letter. To break faith with God in such a matter was to invite destruction. Men, nevertheless, often tried to slip out of their obligation by subtifuges, or practised deceit in paying their vows. Malchiel (1:14) pronounced accursed the fraudulent man who had vowed a male victim and had one in his flock, but sacrificed a blemished beast. The Deuteronomic law enjoins the prompt payment of vows according to their tenor, for God will strictly exact it; it is no sin not to make a vow, but being voluntarily made it must be fulfilled (Dt. 23:21-23 [22-24]; cp Prov. 20:25 Eccles. 5:4 f. [1 f.] Eccles. 18:22).

Examples of vows in the OT history are those of Jacob at Bethel (Gen. 28:20-22), cp 31:13, 37:2-7), Jephthah (Judg. 11:30 f.), Hannah (1 S. 1:11 f. 24-28), Absalom (2 S. 15:7 f.). Frequent vows had in all periods of religion; see Is. 19:22-25 Ps. 22:25 20:4 20:12 61:14 65:1 66:13 70:11 116:13-14 Prov. 7:11 18:19-21 Nu. 1:15 Gen. 1:6-9 Judith 4:14 1 Esd. 2:7 2 Macc. 3:15 3:17 ff. A 1:5-21 22:21.

The only laws in the Pentateuch on the subject of vows in general,¹ Lev. 27:1-29 and Nu. 30, are both

2. Laws. Late. Nu. 30 determines who can make a binding vow, with especial reference to the vows of women (see *II. Nidarium*). If a man makes a vow or in poses upon himself by an oath of abstinence, he must not 'profane his word,' but strictly fulfil his obligation. The vow of a widow or a divorced woman is similarly binding (Lev. 27:19); but the vow of an unmarried woman in her father's house, or of a married woman in her husband's, is null without his consent, which, however, is assumed to be tacitly given, if, being cognizant of the vow, he did not oppose

¹ Cp the Arab substitution of gazelles for sheep in payment (Lev. 27:11, SACRIFICE, § 3).

² On the Nazirite's vow, see NAZIRITE.

VOWS, VOTIVE OFFERINGS

for. If a woman marries while under a vow made in her father's house, the subsequent consent of her husband is necessary, if he admits it she is free. If the husband lets the vow pass in silence when he first learns of it, but afterwards prevents its fulfilment, he makes himself guilty of the breach of obligation. The law does not say how it is with the vow of a minor son in his father's house, or with that of an Israelite slave.

Lev. 27 treats of the conditions under which persons or property, that have been given to God in fulfilment of a vow may be redeemed. An animal of the kind from which sacrifices are made to Yahweh made 'holy' by the vow, no redemption, substitution, or exchange is allowed, if such a thing is attempted both animals become 'holy' (Lev. 27:2). On an unclean animal a value is set by the priest, and it may be redeemed by the payment of this sum with one-fifth added (Lev. 27:13). If man beings are redeemed at a price fixed by the law in accordance with their age and sex (Lev. 27:14); a boy between one month and five years old, five shekels, a girl, three; from five years to twenty, twenty shekels and ten respectively; from twenty to sixty a man is valued at fifty shekels, a woman at thirty; after sixty this value fell to fifteen and ten. If a man was too poor to pay the price on this scale, the priest fixed a sum within his means. If a man consecrates a house to Yahweh by a vow, the priest estimates its value, and the owner may redeem it on payment of six-fifths of the sum. In the case of hereditary lands, such revert to the family in the Jubilee year; the value depends on how far off this term is. The basis is, on an acreage seeded with one homer of barley, fifty shekels for the whole period, that is, one shekel for each year the tenure has to run. The surtax for redemption is, as in all other cases, one-fifth. If not redeemed, or if sold to another man, the reversion is cut off, and the land coded to the priests. Purchased land, in which the buyer has a permanent household till the next Jubilee year, is estimated as if it were a house.

Some things, such as the consecrated to Yahweh by a vow, either because they do not belong to him, like the offerings of animals, or for sacrifice (Lev. 27:26) or because they are abominable to him, as the hire of a religious prostitute of either sex (1:23:12) or a kind of votive-offering frequent in that world.

A vow of abstinence of a peculiar kind is that of the NAZIRITE (Lev. 19), for which there are special laws in Nu. 6:1-21.

A man might not only vow to 'hallow' some object to God (עֹלָה *hekdish*), he might devote it (עֹלָה *hekdish*) by his vow so that it became *hekdish* (see BAV, and cp Nu. 21:2). What was so devoted became intensely 'holy,' that is, God guarded his rights in it most jealously; it could neither be sold nor redeemed. Lands or animals so dedicated belonged irrevocably to the sanctuary, that is, to the priests (Nu. 18:14 Ezek. 41:20); men thus devoted must be put to death (Lev. 27:28 f.). The last provision can hardly be an actual provision for a private ban.

Vows, like oaths, were frequently made rashly and about trivial matters; indeed, they often became a mere form of speech to testify an asseveration or a declaration of purpose, as 'I vow, if I fulfil not a snake as big as the beam of a wine-press' (*II. Nidarium*, 3:2). With a lurking simile such as among us gives rise to unneeded oaths, men in NE times said *hekdish*, *hekdish*, or the like, instead of *hekdish*. The rabbis discouraged the practice by requiring the fulfilment of unadvised vows, and declaring the clipped formula equivalent in force to the proper word. They had to distinguish, however, between vows the fulfilment of which, though inconvenient, was a proper punishment for the rash undertaking, and such as ought not to be kept, and to provide some way of absolution for the latter (*II. Nidarium*, 3:1-3:12). In this endeavour they were led into a casuistry not always accordant with sound ethics. The example given by Jesus in Mt. 5:34 f. Mt. 15:4 f. of the way in which they nullified the law of God by their traditions has been discussed under CORNAR (7:25).

The commonest vow in all ages was doubtless a sacrifice, and votive offerings were probably the commonest of private sacri-

¹ The provisions of the law are not clear; see the commentaries. For the rabbinical elaboration of these rules see *II. Arikin*.

VULGATE

fices. The votive sacrifice might, according to the terms of the vow, be a burnt-offering or a peace-offering, or both combined, and consist of any kind or number of sacrificable animals, or simply of an oblation. The rites were those appropriate to the species of sacrifice and the victim (see SACRIFICE); a votive peace-offering was subject to the ordinary rule that the flesh should be eaten on the day of the offering or the next, not to the narrower restriction of the thank-offering (todah), and to the general requirement of ceremonial purity in those who partook of the feast (Lev. 7 10 ff.). Nu. 15 3 ff. prescribes an oblation with every victim in the case of votive as of other sacrifices. Offerings of wine and oil were also made in the fulfilment of vows (see SACRIFICE, § 51 a).

3. Bibliography. J. Neiderm, 'Arakim, cp also Nehalim, 468; the works on biblical archeology, especially Naelschütz, 'Mosaisches Recht', 135 ff.; Nowack, 'Hebr. Arch.', 1; Ben-zinger, 'Hebr. Arch.'; articles 'Gefühde' in 'PKE', Richin, 'HBA', Schenkel, 'BL', 'Vow', Hastings, 'DB', G. F. M.

VULGATE. See TEXT AND VERSIONS, §§ 21, 59.

VULTURE. Of the four species of Vulturidae

WANDERINGS, WILDERNESS

described by Tristram from Palestine, three *Fulvus*, *Neophron percnopterus*, and *Cypactus barbatus* are treated under the headings (1) EAGLE [KITE] (Great Vulture), (2) GIER-EAGLE and (3) OSSIFRAGE. The fourth species is the black vulture, *Vultur monax*, the only living representative of its genus. This inhabits the countries surrounding the Mediterranean and extends eastward to China. It is not common in Palestine, and does not seem to be mentioned in OT or NT.

4. The 'vulture' (דָּאָה, *da'ah*) in AV of Lev. 11 14 is rendered 'kite.' Its identification can only be conjectured. See KITE.

5. The 'vulture' (דָּאָה, *da'ah*), another form (עֲלָפּוֹס) above) of Dt. 14 13 (om. Di. after Sam. B), Is. 34 (עֲלָפּוֹס) is also rendered KITE in RV. See above.

6. דָּאָה, *da'ah*, Job 28 7, AV (RV 'falcon'), but else KITE (g.v.). A. E.

W

WAFERS. 1. וָרֶקֶק, *rīkīk*, Ex. 29 2, EV, etc., 1 Ch. 23 29 RV. See BREAD, § 2 (c).

2. וָרֶקֶק, *sapphath*, Ex. 16 31 (ἐκφύς; see BAKEMEATS, § 3 (3), where, however, וָרֶקֶק is to be read for 'קֶרֶק . . . BREAD.'

WAGES. See, generally, TRADE AND COMMERCE, § 83 (c) 4. The words are:—

1. וָרֶקֶק, *sīkār*, μισθος, *merces*, of the hire of a servant (the 80 32 Ex. 29 Dt. 24 15 1 K. 5 20 [1] [1] om. μισθόν), etc.), the 'reward' of priests (Nu. 18 31), passage-money (Jon. 1 3, ταύλον), etc.

2. וָרֶקֶק, *sīker*, Prov. 11 18 Is. 19 10; on the latter passage see SLUCES.

3. וָרֶקֶק, *maškōreth*, μισθος, *merces*, Gen. 29 15 31 7 41 Ruth 2 12 f.

4. וָרֶקֶק, *šullāh*, μισθος, *opus*, Lev. 19 13, etc.

5. μισθος, *merces*, Jn. 4 35, etc. See above, 1.

6. ὄψωνιον, *stipendium*, ἀπένδια, 1 Esd. 4 56 1 Macc. 5 28 14 32 1 K. 3 14 Rom. 6 23 1 Cor. 9 7 2 Cor. 11 8 (cp ὄψων 'meat' Tob. 1 [ὄψωνιον κ] 78, [om. κ] ὄψωνιον Judith 12 1, ὄψων = 1 Nu. 11 22).

WAGON. 1. וָרֶקֶק, *agalah*; see CHARIOT, § 2.

2. וָרֶקֶק, *sabbim*, Is. 66 20, EV 'litters,' but better, following G (ἐν λαμπήραις [ἡμιόρωσι]), 'cars' such as are drawn, for swiftness, by mules (cp Pind. *Pyth.* 464 f. ἀπήρη); cp. Ass. *sambu* (from *sabbu*), a car drawn by mules, as distinguished from *narkabtu*, a wagon drawn by horses. At the same time, the 'cars,' like the 'chariots and horses,' in Is. (*l.c.*) are very possibly due to an editor; the original text gave the names of the peoples whence the Jews were to be brought; see *Crit. Bib.* 49.

In Nu. 7 3 וָרֶקֶק EV 'covered wagons'; but this is merely a syn. for וָרֶקֶק 'cars.' Cp וָרֶקֶק Tg. Is. 49 22 Nah. 2 8 (the queen sitting in a וָרֶקֶק).

3. וָרֶקֶק, *nikel*, Ezek. 23 24 AV, RV CHARIOT (g.v.).

4. וָרֶקֶק, *galgal*, Ezek. 23 24 RV, Ezek. 26 10 RV, AV RVmg. 'wheel,' cp WHEEL.

On the 'place of the wagons' 1 S. 17 20 etc. RV, AV 'trench,' see CAMP, § 1.

WAIN. THRESHING (וָרֶקֶק), Job 11 30 [22] RV. See AGRICULTURE, § 8 β.

WALL. 1. On הוֹמָה, *hōmah*, see FORTRESS, *passim*.

2. חֵט, *hēl* (חֵט), a surrounding wall, defined by Jews as חֵט הוֹמָה—*i.e.*, 'a little wall' (see HDB), a *glacis*; see FORTRESS, § 5, emd, col. 1557.

3. וָרֶקֶק, *gādir*, is rendered 'wall' by AV in Nu. 22 24 Ezra 9 9 Is. 55 Ezek. 42 7 Hos. 2 6 where in each case RV or RVmg. prefers 'fence.' See HEDGE, 2, and cp the place-names Geder, Gederah, Gederath, Gederotaim, Gedor. RVmg. suggests 'walls' for 'hedges,' גָּדֵרֹת, in Nah. 3 17.

4. וָרֶקֶק, *hir*, of a town-wall in Josh. 2 15, etc.; of a house-wall

in 1 K. 6 5 f, etc., of a room-wall in 1 S. 18 11 20 25, etc. HOUSE, § 1.

5. וָרֶקֶק, *šār*, Gen. 49 22 Ps. 18 7 [29], 2 S. 22 30; in Jer. 5 17 וָרֶקֶק is suggested—*i.e.*, rows of vine-plants; see GES.

5. v., וָרֶקֶק, and cp Duhm, *ad loc.*

6. וָרֶקֶק, *kelhel*, Cant. 2 6 f of a house-wall.

7. וָרֶקֶק, *uššarād*, Ezra 5 3 9 f. Word of uncertain meaning. See Ges.-Bu. who suggest 'Gebälk'—*i.e.*, 'timberwork.' It has ὀργάνων; 1 Esd. 6 4 has τὴν στεγγὴν ταύτην. See M. KILC, *ad loc.*

WALLET (וָרֶקֶק), Mt. 10 10 RV, AV SCRIP (g.v.).

WANDERINGS, WILDERNESS OF. 'The Wilderness' (*ham-midbar*, וָרֶקֶק) was, in all periods,

1. Term standing phrase among the Hebrews for the scene of that epoch in the history which immediately precedes the settlement in (Canaan); in addition to the Hebraic narratives see, *e.g.*, Am. 2 10 Hos. 13 3 Jer. Ezek. 20 10 Neh. 9 21 2 Ch. 24 9 Ps. 107 4. Undenied reference to particular places, the Hebrew term is wide one. Agreeably to its etymological significance, 'the place where (cattle) are driven,' it denotes communities inhabited by nomads, and in actual OT usage includes the country stretching SW. of Canaan to Egypt, together with the Sinaitic peninsula, SE. to Arabia and to the Euphrates. (See CATTLE, § 5, DESERT, § 2 [3].)

The topographical problem, with which alone the present article is concerned, is to discover the limits of the district within this larger area of wilderness to which the nomads of the early Hebrews were referred; the memory or imagination of the various biblical writers. The difficulties and uncertainties attending the solution which probably will never be wholly overcome, are due mainly to the uncertainty in many parts (but chiefly in the case of J and E) of the analysis of the sources, of insufficient acquaintance with the actual historical conditions (cp SINAI), and the paucity of trustworthy identifications of particular sites. The literature of the subject, which is extensive, needs to be used with extreme caution on account of the general neglect of critical employment of the sources and the utter insufficiency—in some cases also, the thoroughly unphilological character—of the reasons for the identification [Textual criticism, too, may have to be applied methodically.]

2. Topographical problem.

The sites of the Egyptian starting-point of the Exodus of Sinai, and of the intervening stages, are discussed elsewhere (EXODUS, SINAI). We are here more immediately concerned with the district in which the people are said to have wandered for forty years between the first abortive attempt of

... three (*Cypripedium*),
... *barbatum* (L.)
... EAGLE (RV)
... (3) OSSIFRAGI
... *monachorum*
... This bird
... Mediterranean
... not common in
... mentioned in

... 1147 is in RV
... conjectural; but

... another form of
... (m. 5), Is. 31:15
... above.

... but elsewhere
... A. E. S.

... 20, etc., cp
... in Jer. 5:10 for
... see Ges.-Eu.

... uncertain meaning;
... 'work';
... See Matt.

... SCRIP (q.v.).

... The Wilder-
... periods, the
... the Hebrews
... epoch in their
... preceded
... to the Hexa-
... 13; Jer. 25
... Undoubtedly
... term is a
... signification,
... denotes country
... usage includes
... to Egypt, to
... Arabia and E.
... § 2 [3.]
... which alone the
... the limited
... larger area of
... the nomadic life
... was referred in
... biblical writers
... the solution,
... come, are due
... (but chiefly in
... the sources, our
... historical con-
... trustworthy
... literature of the
... be used with
... neglect of a
... the utter insuffi-
... unphilo-
... identifications,
... applied more

... of the Exodus,
... are discussed
... We are here
... with the distinct
... have wandered
... attempt on

WANDERINGS, WILDERNESS OF

Canaan from the S. and the final successful attack from the E. For this the most important site is KADESH (q.v.); long a matter of almost hopeless dispute, it is now, by general consent, identified with 'Ain-Kadis (50 m. S. of Beersheba), which was visited by Setzen in 1807 (*Reisen durch Syrien*, 343 [1850]), and then by Rowlands, who first identified it with Kadesh (Williams, *Holy City*, 1464 ff.), and by Clay Trumbull (*Kadesh Barnea* [1881]), who has elaborately and successfully vindicated the identification.

Now, what relation does Kadesh bear to the wilderness of Wanderings? In P, where the case is simplest, Kadesh is the stage reached immediately before Mt. Hor (Nu. 20:22-27; Dt. 32:51 and P in Nu. 20:1-13). Apparently, therefore, it was not visited before the fortieth year—i.e., the end of the nomadic period. For, according to P, the sentence of forty years wandering was given in the wilderness of Paran and was to be carried into effect in the same wilderness (Nu. 12:16; 13:1-26; 14:35), whereas Kadesh is in the wilderness of Zin (Nu. 20:1, 22, cp 33:36), which is distinct from the wilderness of Paran (Nu. 13:21). Doubtless, the fortieth year was originally mentioned in Nu. 20:1 (cp 33:38), and was subsequently omitted for obvious harmonistic reasons. In P the whole people in the fortieth year moved as the spies had done a generation earlier out of the wilderness of Paran into the wilderness of Zin to Kadesh.

From the foregoing representations all the remaining narratives differ; for all these, in spite of other differences among themselves, agree in associating Kadesh with the beginning of the 'forty years' wanderings.

In the combined narratives of JE—and probably also in both of the originally separate narratives J and E—

6. In JE. Kadesh is the place whence the spies were despatched (Nu. 13:26, from 'to Kadesh'; cp 32:3 ff.) and, presumably, where the condemnation to the forty years' wandering was pronounced (Nu. 14:33), where the people abode (23:7, 25:9), and where Miriam died and was buried (Nu. 20:13), and whence, at the close of the period, they made their request to pass through Edom (Nu. 20:14 ff.).² In brief, Kadesh was the goal of the people after the Exodus and their visit to Sinai, their headquarters while they were shepherds (23:2) for 'forty years,' and their point of departure for the final attack on Canaan. Cp also Judg. 11:16.

In D Kadesh is the goal of the people after leaving Horeb (Dt. 1:9, cp 9:23 Josh. 14:6 ff.), the place whence the spies were despatched (Dt. 1:20-24 Josh. 14:7), and the scene of their condemnation to a prolongation of the nomadic life (Dt. 1:34 ff.). There they abode for an indefinite period, not, however, exceeding a few months (Dt. 2:1, cp 7:14); but the main part of the period—thirty-eight years—was spent in compassing Mt. Seir (Dt. 2:14). Moreover, according to the only natural interpretation of Dt. 2:14, Kadesh, once left, was never revisited; there is no suggestion here (nor anywhere else) of a second visit to Kadesh after absence.

Thus in JE Kadesh is the (apparently) permanent centre, in D the starting point, and in P the final stage of the nomadic wanderings which intervened between the defeat of the Hebrews on their first attempt to conquer Canaan from the S. and the commencement of

¹ Nu. 20:22 has been generally assigned to P in its entirety. Carpenter, in the Oxford Hexateuch, assigns clause a to E. If this were certain, which it is not (see Gray in *Internal Crit. Com.*), it would still be clear that 20:22b-20 in P, as in the present compilation, was preceded by P's story of the sin of Moses and Aaron at Kadesh; cp 20:24 with 7: 23.

² It must suffice merely to draw attention to the theory recently advanced by Steuernagel (*Die Einwanderung der israelitischen Stämme*, 1907) that in J one section of the people (the 'Leah' tribes, according to his denomination) actually made their way into Canaan from Kadesh, whereas in E the 'Jacob' tribes, leaving Kadesh at the beginning of the nomadic period, spent their years of wandering in the deserts East of the Jordan and the Arabah. [Cp Exodus i., § 6, TRIBES, § 13.]

that definite march which led to the actual conquest from the E. a generation later.

We must now consider what hints the various narratives contain for the closer definition of the district in

7. Sinai to Kadesh in JE. question. JE contains no reference to places which directly serve to define the district; for Horeb is not mentioned as a place in the wilderness of Wanderings, but as a point connected with a definite attempt to gain an entrance into Canaan from the S., and all the other places referred to in JE are stages in the movements (1) from Egypt to Sinai, (2) from Sinai to Kadesh, which preceded the nomadic period proper, and (3) from Kadesh to the E. of Canaan, which succeeded it. For the first series, see EXODUS, i. §§ 10 ff. The second consists of Taberah (Nu. 11:3), Kibroth-hattaavah, and Hazeroth (Nu. 11:35). The identifications which have been offered of these sites have little more to recommend them than that they agree with a particular theory of a route from the spot identified as Sinai. In the only case where the similarity of the modern name ('Am el-Hadra = 7727; so Robinson, Palmer) appears to furnish an independent reason for the identification, this circumstance is far from conclusive, for names like Hazeroth were frequent (cp NUMBERS, § 105). The third series concludes with places

8. To E. of Canaan. which are obviously on the E. of the Arabah—the wilderness before Moab toward the sun-rising' (Nu. 21:10), the valley of Zered (Nu. 21:12), 'the other side of Arnon' (Nu. 21:13), Beer, Mattanah, Nahaliel, Bamoth, 'the valley that is in the field of Moab'—Nu. 21:10-25, cp further 21:21 ff.; for details reference must be made to the several articles. An isolated fragment, apparently of E, in Dt. 10:6-8 preserves the names of four places—Beeroth-Bene-Jaakan, Moserah, Gudgodah and Jotbathah—which were probably stages in the earlier part of the march down the W. of the Arabah; but in the absence of identification, we cannot speak with certainty.

Indirectly and negatively, however, the district of the nomadic period is, within broad limits, thus defined in JE. The country to the S. of Kadesh

9. Result for JE. is implied to have been effectually held by other peoples¹ (Nu. 14:39-45; cp 7: 25 13:29 —to the NE. by Edom—cp Nu. 20:16; see more fully Buhl, *Gesch. der Edomiter*, 22-26, and EDOM). The wanderings, therefore, in JE are conceived as taking place from Kadesh as a permanent centre over an indefinite part of the wilderness stretching to the S. and W. of that place—in other words, over the desert of et-Tih, and more immediately over that part now held by the 'Azazimch.

In D, as in JE, Taberah and Kibroth-hattaavah are stages on the journey from Horeb to Kadesh (9:25);

10. D's narrative. Hazeroth in Dt. 1:1 is either different from the Hazeroth of JE, or else the passage in question has ceased to be intelligible (cp Dr. *ad loc.*). D chiefly differs from JE in making the scene of the wanderings for the greater part of the period (thirty-eight years) distant from Kadesh, but immediately bordering on Edom. The command in Dt. 2:3 appears to be referred to the close of the period, and to have immediate reference to the final attack on Canaan; consequently, although the punitive wanderings extended up to the brook Zered (Dt. 2:14) on the E. of Edom, we must conceive the greater part of the period to have been spent on the W. borders of Edom. Removing from Kadesh at the beginning, the people are found at the close of the period at the SE. end of the Arabah (Dt. 2:3). (In attempting to arrive at D's view, Dt. 10:6 ff. must be disregarded; the verses form an isolated fragment out of relation to D's other statements; cp Dr. *ad loc.*)

¹ Thus much it seems safer to affirm of JE. It is unnecessary here to discuss at length the analysis of the several sources as between J, E and editors, for which the Commentaries must be consulted.

WANDERINGS, WILDERNESS OF

When we turn to P we have to distinguish between the general narrative and the summarising chapter, Nu. 33.

In the narrative, the Hebrews journeyed from Sinai to the wilderness of Paran. Here they encamped,

hence the spies were despatched, and hither they returned; and 'in this wilderness' (Nu. 14³⁵) the punitive wanderings took place. On the boundaries of the wilderness of Paran, see GEOGRAPHY, § 7. The remaining places in P's narrative appear to be referred to the final year. These occur in this order: wilderness of Zin (Nu. 20¹), Kadesh, Mt. Hor (20²²), Oboth, Iye-abarim (21¹⁰), plains of Moab (22¹), pointing to a northward movement (Paran to Kadesh) followed by an eastward (to the plains of Moab); and the latter movement was in all probability regarded as being direct across the N. territory of Edom (cp We. *CH* 110, Buhl, *Gesch.* 23, Gray on Nu. 21¹¹), not, as in JE (*e.g.*, Nu. 21⁴), or D (Dt. 23⁸), by means of a march round the S. end of Edom; for although the site of Oboth is uncertain, and Iye-abarim unidentified, yet the latter certainly lay, as its name indicates, on the E. of the Arabah (cp *ABARIM*). Thus, the main narrative of P, like JE and D, contains no topographical details of the scene of the wanderings proper. The district suggested by P is more southerly than in JE, less easterly—*i.e.*, less definitely associated with the borders of Edom—than in D.

In Nu. 33 the point of view is different. We have here a succession of forty places at which the children of Israel encamped, between the time

when they arrived at Kadesh and the time when they left Kadesh in the wilderness of Moab. Probably the number has been fixed at forty by artificial selection, to equal the number of the years of wandering; although the compiler clearly does not intend us to suppose that the people tarried at each place just a year, for seven of the stages clearly belong to the fortieth year (cp 2³⁸). The interpretation of the chapter must, to some extent, vary with our estimate of its historical value, and that, in turn, will depend on our general view of the antiquity of the priestly strata of the Hexateuch. One at any rate—and the chief—of Dillmann's arguments in favour of the antiquity of the itinerary is quite inconclusive (see below). Starting from the view that the chapter is a late compilation, the following points must be noted: (1) It is compiled from more than one of the literary strata of the Hexateuch; for it contains some names (*e.g.*, Pi-hahiroth, wilderness of Zin) peculiar to P, others unknown to him, but occurring elsewhere—*e.g.*, Kibroth-hattaavah (JE, D), Ezion-geber (D); (2) it also draws on an otherwise unknown source, for seventeen of the places are mentioned nowhere else; (3) it is dominated in its representation by P, for, like the main narrative of P, it makes Mt. Hor the death-place of Aaron (contrast Dt. 10^{6 f.}) and places the wilderness of Zin = Kadesh immediately before Mt. Hor; on the other hand, between Hazeroth and Kadesh, which are immediately connected in JE, this list inserts eighteen stages.

This being the case, the one striking divergence from P (claimed by Dillmann in favour of the high antiquity of the list) is all the more remarkable,

and probably contains the true clue to the view of the period underlying the chapter. *The wilderness of Paran, so prominent in P, is not mentioned in the list.* This will be entirely accounted for, in complete accord with the evident purpose of the list, which is to name, not large districts, but definite camping-grounds, if we assume that the stations mentioned between Sinai and Kadesh are conceived to have lain in the wilderness of Paran. Thus, the compiler derives from the other sources such places as are there naturally referred to the forty years between Sinai and Kadesh—*viz.*, from JE Hazeroth, Kibroth-hattaavah, and the four places mentioned in

the fragment Dt. 106 *f.*; Ezion-geber from D, thirteen places mentioned only in this list from sources unknown to us. Granted this single assumption, the view of the compiler is found to be in complete accord with P—thus 27¹⁻¹⁵ contain the stages of the straightforward march from Egypt to Sinai; 16-36 give the names of the camping-grounds during the forty years of punishment, the names of individual places being substituted for that of the general district—Paran; 27¹⁻³⁷⁻⁴⁹ describe the march from Kadesh to the plains of Moab, and this, as in the main narrative of P, is apparently across the N. end of Edom, not round Ezion-geber on the S. border. A recognition of a double tradition as to the route of the final march, the old difficulty occasioned by a comparison of Dt. 28 106 *f.* with Nu. 33 30 37, which is met by various unsatisfactory hypotheses (such as that there was a second Ezion-geber near Kadesh, or backward and forward movement from Ezion-geber to Kadesh, or that Nu. 33 30b-41a originally followed immediately on 30a) falls to the ground. Ezion-geber was considered by the compiler of the itinerary to have been merely a camping-ground during the nomadic period, not a stage in the final march from Kadesh to the E. of Canaan.

The question whence the compiler of this chapter derived the otherwise unknown names can only be conjectured.

Possibly it was from a now lost written source; but it is, perhaps, more probable that they are names of places known in his own day as belonging to that region. That names (or at least the great majority of them) are genuine names of places, there seems no reason to question; if, as is far from unlikely, they are names of caravan-stations (Masp. *Hist. Ancienne*, 2475, n. 1) given to travellers, but never used by the inhabitants of the district, the failure to identify the sites would be accounted for (cp Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, 149). It is, furthermore, quite possible that Alush and Dophkah (2¹³), stages in the movement from Egypt to Sinai, and Zalmon and Punon (2⁴²), stages in the movement from Kadesh to the E. of Canaan, are only accidentally absent from some of our present sources in which they originally stood. That the eastern traditions contain little or nothing to say of the places connected with the wanderings, is merely one side of the more general silence as to the period. In Nu. between the itinerary of the spies (13 *f.*) at the beginning and the event at Kadesh (20¹⁻²¹) at the end of the period, but chapters intervene. Two of these (15 19) contain miscellaneous laws wholly unrelated to the period, and remaining three (16-18) relate the revolt of Korah (Dathan, and Abiram) and the laws which were the outcome of it. But whether even this incident was referred to this period in the sources, or only by the editor, it is impossible to decide.

In conclusion, some of the general features of the country may be mentioned. In JE, as we have seen, Kadesh is the permanent centre. It harmonises with JE's view of the punishment as a postponement of the possession of the richer country of Canaan rather than the infliction of positive hardship. The people, for their unbelief, are to remain as they had been—nomads (22⁵). The punishment is not aggravated by their being condemned to a peculiarly barren tract of country. For Kadesh ('Ain Kadis) is a singularly fertile and attractive oasis; cereal crops even, in small quantities, can be raised in the neighbourhood. The Wady el-Kudeirat, to the W., with its important well, is fertile; less valuable, but also worthy of mention, is the *thumail* or shallow pits of water in the W. Kasameih, situated still farther W. Southwards westwards, whither according to JE the Hebrews have wandered, stretches the desert of et-Tih; according to the description of Palmer (*Desert of Exo-*

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286-288), is an 'arid featureless waste' marked by scanty lines of vegetation along the shallow wadies, but for the most part waterless. The ground is hard and unyielding and covered with small thints, and only in spring, after the rains, becomes covered with grass; cp also Seetzen, *Reisen*, 343 ff.

Thus, the discovery of the true site of Kadesh and the literary analysis of the Hexateuch have brought to light a very noticeable difference of general representation. In the earlier traditions embodied in JE, the Hebrew nomads had as their common centre a large and fertile oasis in the neighbourhood of two other fertile valleys and a vast roaming ground southwards and westwards, barren for most of the year, but, as is usual in these deserts, abounding with grass in spring. On the other hand, the greater part of the time in D, the whole of it in P, is spent away from this fertile centre on the arid and barren plateau described above.

Guthrie in *ZDPV*, 1883, pp. 122 ff.; Lagrange, 'L'itinéraire des Israélites du pays de Gessen aux bords du Jourdain,' *Rev. biblique*, 9 (1892) 273-277. On the literary analysis of the relevant works of Dillmann, Wellhausen, Kuenen, and Driver, should be consulted; Bacon's *Triplic. condition of the Exodus* is especially worthy of attention for his careful attempt to discriminate J and E; the frequent uncertainty in the analysis of these two sources may be seen by consulting the analytical tables in Holzinger's *Einl. in den Hex.* On the site of 'Ain Kadis (Kadesh) and on the character of this and the neighbouring valleys, see Clay Trumbull, *Kadesh Barnea* (which also contains a very full index of the literature); Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien*, 343-345, and on the character of the desert of et-Tih, E. H. Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, pt. II, chaps. 1-5.

[Cp. among other illustrative articles, KADESH I; MAKHELOTH; MOSES, § 24; MOSERAH; NAHALIEI; NEBO (MOSE); § 2; PARAN; REPHIDIM; REHABON-PAREZ; SIN; SINAI; ZIN.] G. H. G.

WAR. The ordinary word in Hebrew for 'war' is מלחמה, *milhāmāh*; to 'fight' or 'carry on war' is נלחם, *nilham* (*nif'al*), צָבָה, *ṣibā*, קָרַב, *kārab* (lit. 'advance to war,' followed by אֶל or עַל of the object), עָנְיָה מִלְחָמָה, 'āsāh *milhāmāh*, etc., 'to advance to war' is also expressed by עָלָה (with עַל, ל, or ב). The ordinary Greek equivalent is πολεμος, *polemos*.

1. **Palestine as a theatre of war.** Palestine and all its adjacent land bordering on the Mediterranean, including Tyre, Sidon, and Byblus (Gebal), was called by the 'Babylonian-Assyrians (māt Martu or Anurri, or, in its northern portion, māt Hatti, and by the Egyptians Rṯnu (see *WMJ. As. u. Eur.* 147). All this country stood in a position of great strategic importance in the mutual relations that subsisted between the Euphrates and Tigris lands on the one hand, and the Nile territory on the other. For Palestine possessed a fairly well-watered and fertile belt of hills and plains extending from the Lebanon mountains on the N. to the el-Arish stream on the S. Consequently Canaan became the natural highway for the trading caravans (Gen. 37:23-1 K, 10:15) that passed from N. to S. or from SW. to NE. (see TRADE).

It would also be the most fertile route for the Egyptian army as it moved to the NE., or for the Assyrian army as it advanced to the SW. to attack Egypt along its short vulnerable frontier defended by frontier fortresses, N. of the Gulf of Suez. For the empire on the Nile, on the one hand, and the empire on the Tigris or on the Euphrates, on the other, were, to adopt the language of modern politics, the two first-class powers, protagonists in the drama of Western-Asian history, whose mutual relations overshadowed and dominated all other political interests and combinations among the minor Western-Asian states. Unless this controlling factor be kept clearly in view during the larger part of the regal period, the history of Israel in its external aspects can be but imperfectly understood. For a time—e.g., in the days of David and Solomon—the power of Egypt or of Assyria may suffer decline, or lapse into quiescence,

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and the Hittite states or Syria (e.g., in the 9th cent.), or Israel itself, may come into temporary prominence, but this is only a passing phase. The more permanent and dominating factor, to which we have referred, is nevertheless ever present and reasserts itself.

No land, therefore, felt the pulses and tremors of war more acutely than the plains and mountains inhabited by Israel. Of this the prophetic oracles bear abundant witness. The prophet of Israel—which geographically stood so central to western-Asiatic movements—could not but be deeply interested in foreign politics. Hence the earliest prophet of Judah whose oracles have come down to us in separate collections (Amos), as well as the latest of the closing years of the monarchy (Jeremiah), uttered as a watch-tower for the inspired seer. Probably no other country on the earth's surface has been more frequently traversed by armies or has oftener resounded to the shock of battle or suffered greater hardships from the ravages of war. Belgium has been called the 'cock-pit of Europe' from the days of Louis XIV. and Marlborough to those of Napoleon and Wellington. But in a far truer sense, during the millenniums that separate Thotmes III. from the age of the Saracens, Palestine has been the cock-pit of Western Asia.

It was at Eltekeh (Altakū), not far from Ekron, that the power of SENNACHERIB (7:7.) recoiled from the onset of his southern enemies, and it was on the fatal field of Megiddo that Pharaoh Necho slew JOSIAH (2:2.) who resisted the endeavours of the Egyptian monarch to capture the spoils of the defunct Assyrian empire. The Palestinian towns, Samaria, Jerusalem, Ekron, Ashdod, and Lachish, were regarded by the Assyrian kings as outposts on the path of the invader of Egypt, whilst the empire on the Nile, on the other hand, would naturally regard with apprehension their possession by a foreign foe. It is difficult to over-estimate the strategic importance of Palestine.

The close vital bond that existed between the clan or tribe and the clan or tribal deity profoundly affected the ancient Semite conception of war.

2. **Religious significance of war.** 'Religion,' as Wellhausen says, 'was patriotism.' This war against a foreign nation, like other national acts, was only undertaken under the favour or sanction of the patron deity or deities.

Thus the inscriptions of the Assyrian monarchs preface the annals of a campaign with phrase, e.g. like this:— 'In my fourth campaign Āsur inspired me with confidence; then I summoned my mighty forces. . . . (Sennacherib's prism inscription [Taylor cyl.] col. iii., 42. Cp *Judg.* 11:29.) Kings in all their public functions, whether of building temples or conducting wars, like to describe themselves as under divine favour and guidance. Sargon opens his cylinder inscription by describing himself as šakm Bel isakku na'īl Āsur nišit inā Anin u Dagan, 'Bel's officer, exalted priest of Āsur, favourite of Anu and Dagan.' Cp also Nimrud inscription 1. On the other hand, Sargon's enemy Merodach Baladan, son of Jakin, king of Kalhu, is described as being under the influence of an 'evil demon' (*gallu limnu*), and 'showing no fear for the name of the lord of lords' (triumphal insc., 122). The Rassam cylinder of Āsur-bani-pal continually recites the names of Āsur, Sin, Šamaš, Raṁmān, Bel, Nebo, Istar of Nineveh, Istar of Arbela, Nergal, and Nusku. In fact, the king (or his tablet-writer) seems possessed with a nervous dread of offending any deity by omitting his name. Doubtless in all these cases the magic potency of the name operated in the recital.

Istar was the Assyrian war-goddess (*Jastrow, Rel. of Bab. and Assy.* 83, 204; Driver, 'Ash'toreth' in *Hastings' DB* 1:668). The Canaanite war-deities, ae-

1 It may here be noted that the deity of a defeated nation became relegated into the position of a demon, like the Titans overthrown by Zeus. It is to be observed in this connection that the Hebrews called the deities of the Gentiles *šēlīm* (שְׁלִימ) or demons (*Dt.* 32:17 Ps. 106:27, see *FRANKE*, §§ 2, 4), and we meet with several of their names as the demons of later Judaism—e.g., Rešpā is the flame demon, the old Canaanite flame-deity Rešep, the Rešpu of the ancient Egyptians (Baethg, *Bibl.* 50, Wiedemann, *Rel. Äg.* 83, and cp the present writer's article 'Demon' in *Hastings' DB*). Beelzebub is the most conspicuous example.

ording to Egyptian data, were the goddess 'Anat (represented as armed with helmet, shield, and lance, and in her left hand a battleaxe) and the god Resheph (armed with helmet and lance). See Wiedemann, *Relig. der alten Aegypten*, 83. The warrior Shargar was Ben 'Anat; see Baethgen, *Beitrage*, 52 f., *Judg.* 3:156.

The Moabite stone yields us other parallels (see MESHU).

Chemosh, national deity of Moab, says to Mesha, 'Go, take Xebai against Israel.' This time it is Yahweh, national deity of Israel, who suffers. His vessels (O) are dragged before Chemosh, and Chemosh drives the king of Israel out of Yahus, *Il.* 14:13 f. A high place is made for Chemosh because he had saved Mesha from all his foes, and had caused him to see his desire on all them that hated him. In former times when Omri reigned over Israel Moab was oppressed because Chemosh was angry with his land (*Il.* 4:4). The biblical parallels to this language are very close both in Judges, Samuel, and the earlier Psalms (e.g., Ps. 69, which may contain, as Ewald supposed, a Davidic fragment. (Cp MESHU; see also *Wi.* 61:2204 f.))

The name Israel may not improbably have originated with the early Hebrew battle-cry of the desert 'El fights'; and the cry 'for Yahweh and for Gideon,' and 'the Sword of Yahweh and of Gideon,' are the echoes of old Hebrew battle-cries.¹ All Israel's victorious wars were therefore wars of Yahweh. He was called in comparatively early times יהוה אלהינו, 'Yahweh, God of Hosts.' The view of Wellhausen, Smend, and others, that this phrase originated with the prophets of the eighth century, is hardly probable. The conception of Yahweh as an atmospheric deity is obviously ancient, and the designation of the Hebrew god as Lord of the heavenly, as well as the earthly, armies is in full accord, *Judg.* 5:20 (Deborah's song). That Yahweh was closely identified with Israel's wars is clearly shown in *Dt.* 20:4 *Josh.* 10:11 *Ex.* 15:3, etc. Like other Semites the Hebrews inaugurated war by sacrifices. This was said to consecrate war (קדש מלחמה, *qiddōš milhamāh*), *Mic.* 3:4 *Jer.* 6:4 cp *Josh.* 3:5.² Hence the burnt-offerings at the opening of a campaign (*Judg.* 6:20-26 20:26 1 S. 7:9 13:10). The sacrificial pieces sent round by Saul to the Israelites were probably intended not simply to inaugurate a war against the Ammonites (1 S. 11:7) but also to unite the warriors into a holy league of war under Yahweh by a covenant. Every war against a common foe thus tended to weld the scattered clans into a unity, and this union was cemented by the rites of sacrifice. Moreover, in war-time, in seasons of great anxiety or strife, special peculiar sacrifices would be offered. In times of special danger a human victim might even be sacrificed. Of this we have a remarkable example in 2 K. 3:27, which is the more significant as it reveals the Hebrew dread of its potency. (On the Hellenic belief in the efficacy of human sacrifice see *WRS Rel. Sem.* (2), 402 f., and n. 5.) In early Hebrew warfare the leaders would always be accompanied on the field of battle by the priest-soothsayer with the ephod and sacred lot, or, as in the early Philistine campaigns, with the ark of God (1 S. 4:3 f. 14:18 f. 23:6 f. 30:7 f.). What is probably meant by the use of his ephod in divination by the priest-soothsayer is that the sacred lot was used in the presence of the plated

¹ *Judg.* 7:12-20. Moore regards the introduction of מִלְחָמָה in the form given in 7:20 as due to a gloss.

² This use of the *Hithpaal* מִלְחָמָה shows that warriors consecrated themselves for war just as they would for the performance of a religious rite. This idea seems to underlie 1 S. 13:5, and Benzinger in *PKK* (2) would connect with this the ancient Semitic custom of sexual abstinence which prevailed among the Arabs; *WRS Rel. Sem.* (2), 455. It is in this sense we should understand 2 S. 11:7 f.; Uriah refuses to come to his wife as long as the ark of God and the army of Israel are on the field. Evidently there was a taboo on sexual uncleanness in war-time. Hence the strict camp-regulations with regard to uncleanness in *Dt.* 23:10-14. These were manifestly old Torah based on the conception that Yahweh was present in the camp (2 S. 14). Probably this is the underlying motive of *Dt.* 20:7. It is not easy, however, to follow Schwally (*Semit. Kitzigaller*) in his interpretation that in the other cases mentioned in *Dt.* 20:5 f. the individual was believed to be specially exposed to demons.

ephod image which gave the procedure divine sanction. Wellhausen reminds us (*Heid.* (2), 132, 136 f.) that near all the clan chiefs of the Kuraisch consulted lots before they marched on their expedition to Badr, though questioned by Abu-Suhaib, whom they sought to respect not to wait to consult lots. Similarly, though with an elaboration of detail, the Assyrian ruler questioned deity before definitely entering upon a fresh expedition; all possible contingencies being enumerated, so that there might be no loop-hole of escape, just as in a lawyer's deed.¹ As Yahweh, Israel's national deity, identified with the people, and especially with the nation, act of war which was undertaken in his name and under his auspices, so the booty, including the human captives as well as the cattle, belonged in a very special sense to him. This is evidently the underlying principle of *hērem*, which surrounded the objects captured in war with a sacred ring-fence which forbade their appropriation for human uses. This explains Samuel's action in slaying Agag in 1 S. 15:7-33, the whole passage viewed from this aspect being exceedingly instructive.

The language of 7:18 is exactly parallel to that of the stone Mesha, *Il.* 14:32. In the latter case Mesha devotes to Achemosh (*Il.* 17:22-27) the entire population of Xebai, both men and women. The inscription makes it clear that this wholesale slaughter (cp *Josh.* 10:17; see BAX). This tradition ancient Semites even persisted in Hebrew legislation. In 20:13-17, however, limit its application to Canaanite towns which near the close of the seventh century, practically meant not the maintenance of an old formula. Women, children, cattle were permitted to live and be divided as spoil of war. *SIEGE*, end, and cp *Nu.* 31:7 f. *Josh.* 8:2-7 f. *Judg.* 21:11 f.)

The negotiations which precede a declaration of war are set forth in fuller form in *Judg.* 11:12-28 1 S. 11:1-10

3. Preliminaries of war. The negotiations took place 20:2-11. word of mouth through messengers (*h.* 11:12 1 K. 20:2).

Proverbs or parables might be employed (2 K. 14:9 f. 1 K. 20:11). Proceeded of this kind are regulated in *Dt.* 20:10 f.; but we have no precise information as to the form in which war was declared. Probably the cessation of negotiations would be the indication that war was in preparation.

(a) *Provisioning of troops.*—On this subject we have very slight information. The methods consisted in rough and ready ones of provision.

4. Preparations for war. sufficient for the sustenance of an army for a brief space until it entered the enemy's territory; each family, household, or clan sending provisions sufficient for its own war.

Of what these consisted we may gather from 1 S. 17:17 *Kiln* or roast (parched) corn was the usual diet of workers who led an out-door life (*Ruth* 2:14) and the food of soldiers (cp 2 S. 17:28); and to this would be added curds and cakes ('rounds', מִנֶּחֱם, *Judg.* 8:5) of leavened bread;² see BREAD and MILK. In one instance (*Judg.* 20:10 f.) we read that a special corps, about one-tenth of the army, was told off for the express purpose of supplying the army with necessaries. These would be furnished without difficulty in ordinary circumstances to an expeditionary force at a short distance from its base. But when the territory of the enemy entered the simple method adopted was that of limited spoliation of the crops and fruit-trees, including the palm-groves and the vines, in the country through which the army passed (cp *Is.* 17). The Assyrian was specially destructive and left a wide tract of desolation behind it. *Is.* 7:20 compares it to a

¹ See Knudtzon's *Assyr. Gebete an den Sonnengott*, examples are given of prayers of this kind addressed to S. An excellent illustration is quoted by Jastrow, *Rel. Lab.* See also 'Soothsaying' in Hastings' *DB*.

² Also round cakes of figs—sinner figs dried into cakes used as an article of consumption, called *diblah* (1 S. 17:17) see FRUIT, § 7) as well as raisins (*gimmuk*; see 1 S. 17:17) which were also made into cakes (*šūšāh*; see FRUIT). Moreover the honey which came from trodden olives was boiled down into syrup called 'honey,' in modern Arabic (see FRUIT, § 3; HONEY, § 13). This may have been the honey which Barzilai bestowed on David and his warrior (17:29); see Whitehouse, *Heb. Antiquities* (K T.), 122 f.

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hired' by Yahweh for the infliction of his chastisements (cp Is. 169f.). Even the flocks and herds were not spared (Jer. 515-17). Israel's practice was in reality the same in the spoliation both of sheep (1 S. 159) and of fruit (2 K. 319), the trees being cut down partly for the timber, which could be turned to account (see SHAG), and partly to deprive the enemy of their use. This practice was forbidden in the Deuteronomic legislation (Dt. 2019f.); but it was recommended by Elisha to Israel in the war against Moab (2 K. 319).

(b) Muster of troops.—Troops were summoned in early times by the blowing of the trumpet or war-horn whereby the clan warriors were rallied together (Judg. 327 2 S. 291; cp 1 Macc. 351).¹ An alarm of war was usually sounded in this way, and was the function of the watchman (צֹפֵן, *sophel*). Compare Ezekiel's use of this metaphor for the prophet's vocation in 332-10. Frequent messengers were sent if the forces were to be summoned from a large district (1 S. 117).

(c) Spring-time would be the natural season chosen for beginning a campaign. The annual expeditions recorded by Shalmaneser II. probably commenced at that time. The reasons are obvious, and have been partially indicated in the previous section (§ 47). Troops on the march—especially in a hostile territory—were sustained by the crops and other fruits of the earth. Winter, to say nothing of its climatic rigours, was the time when the land was bare of subsistence for man. By the close of the month Tisri (Ethanim in the old Hebrew-Canaanite calendar) the troops would betake themselves to their homes. Thus in 2 S. 111 'at the return of the year, when the kings march forth' (cp 1 K. 2020-26) does not mean the beginning of the year in the old pre-exilic calendar—viz., Ethanim or Tisri—but about the time of the spring months.

5. Varied details.

The expression מִלְחָמָה in 2 K. 1320 cannot be cited in this connection since the passage should probably be emended, as Kital suggests, into מִלְחָמָה בְּמִלְחָמָה (battles of Moabites) used to invade the land yearly.

(A) Scouting was necessary in order to ascertain the strength and position of the enemy (1 S. 264 Judg. 124 710f. Josh. 21f., מַסְקֵי מַסְקֵי הָרֶמֶשׁ; cp SPIES); or strict inquiries would be made by the leaders of the army of those whom they chanced to meet (1 S. 3014).

(b) The camp (מַחֲנֶה, *mahaneh*) was carefully guarded, since it formed the base of operations (cp 1 S. 3024). We have very few details to guide us as to its character or shape. Nu. 2 would lead to the conclusion that it was square; but as this passage is late (belonging to a considerable P section) it should be cautiously used. The Egyptian camp was, however, four-cornered. See Erman, 530—a vivid description (see, further, CAMP).

Probably the camp was round like the encampments of the Bedouins (cp TENT). It is hardly possible to draw any particular inference from the *ma'atiz*, מַעֲזִיז, of 1 S. 1720 265. The word is found only in 1 S. in this particular sense of a 'waggon-lager.' Probably it would in many cases be fenced in with stones, like the *haher*, חָהַר, of the nomadic tribes (Gen. 2516) for purposes of protection. Dwelling in booths must have largely prevailed in the time of David, and the language of Uriah the Hittite (2 S. 111) shows that this was certainly the case in time of war. The camp was guarded by sentinels, who had three watches (Judg. 719 1 Macc. 1227). To the rules for the maintenance of purity in the camp (Dt. 2310 f. Nu. 31-4) we have referred already (§ 2, n).

The arms or weapons used in warfare would vary considerably at different periods of Israel's history. In the early nomadic stage of the nation's development the arms would consist of thesepar or lance, *hanith* (חַנִּית), a wooden shaft with a bronze or, in later times, an iron head (see SPEAR).

¹ The trumpet was also used in sounding a halt or a return (2 S. 220 18 16 20 22).

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We also read of the smaller *kakib* (קַכִּיב), or JAVELIN [צֶבֶן] (1 S. 17615; also a Babylonian weapon, Jer. 624 5012) and of the *shubh* (שֻׁבַח), difficult to distinguish from the *shubh*; see SHAKL. The sword (סֶבֶר), *shech* (שֶׁחַב), would be fastened to the girdle, and we likewise find in use the dagger, *shahab* (שָׁהָב; Judg. 322), so called from its glittering blade or point. The bow (see WEAPONS, § 2) and the STING (צֶבֶן) were also employed as weapons of offence, particularly by the Benjamites (cp 2 S. 122 1 S. 2020 f.). The use of the bow by the Josephite tribes is clearly indicated in Gen. 4914 f., cp 1 S. 780. The use of the sling is specially commended with the Benjamites whose left-handed slingers became famous (Judg. 206, cp STING). That the tribe of Judah also possessed slingers is evident from 1 S. 174 etc., and the constant presence of slingers in Assyrian warfare is certified by the figures on the monuments (see SHAG). They were specially formidable in sieges, and operated with the Israelite forces with potent effect against the Moabite stronghold, Kir Hara'seth. In early times we read little of defensive armour. The *shimron* (שִׁמְרוֹן) in use was the smaller and simpler *shimron* (שִׁמְרוֹן) employed to defend the bowman on the chariot (cp CHARIOT, § 9, and fig. 7). Neither chariots nor horsemen, however, were used till the time of Solomon. The shield was probably carried only by the more important warriors (2 S. 120). The BRASS-PLATE (צֶבֶן) was likewise a rarity in ancient Israelite warfare and, like the bronze HELMET (1 S. 174), would be the privilege only of the chiefs (1 K. 2240). Probably the Israelites were among the most backward among Semitic peoples in adopting these accessories of combat, and the story of David's proving the armour provided by Saul probably reflects old tradition and prejudice (1 S. 173 f.). The ordinary warrior wore only the *shimron* (see MANTLE, § 2, 1), which displayed the blood-stains of battle (1 S. 94). Even Joab merely wears the *shimron* (2 S. 208 text restored by Klostermann). We may therefore assume that in the earlier period of Israel's history, when the nomad clans were establishing their position on the hills of Canaan, all their fighting-men were light-armed. As soon, however, as they learned the arts and methods of the Canaanites and Philistines who inhabited the plain, the distinction began to arise between the light-armed (whose weapons would be the spear, bow, sling, sword, and smaller shield) and the heavy-armed, whose accoutrements were the larger shield (*shimron*, שִׁמְרוֹן; see SHAG), resembling that of the Assyrians, as well as the cuirass (*shimron*, שִׁמְרוֹן) and the helmet. According to the statements of the Chronicler, which in this case McCurdy (*Explos.*, Nov. 1891) has shown to be worthy of credence in the main facts, it was Uziah who first provided his army with helmet and breastplate (2 Ch. 2614), to what extent is uncertain. Previously they had belonged to the captains or chieftains only.

It is not easy to determine how the Israelite forces in early times were shod. But it seems fairly probable that they wore the ordinary sandals consisting of soles of leather or wool tied under the feet by thongs (Gen. 1424). From Isaiah's vivid description (527) as well as from the portrayal on Assyrian monuments, we gather that the soles were firmly and strongly made and the back was protected by leather, but the toes and upper part of the foot were bare, covered only by the thong that were bound firmly and tightly across. Not improbably the Hebrews had by this time (740-700 B.C.) learned the value of a strong, serviceable military shoe, and the Hebrew word *shimron* used by Isaiah in 544 is probably a loan-word from the Assyrian *shimron*. See SHAG.

It is by no means easy to ascertain at what time the wheeled battering-ram of the Assyrians (Assyr. *ar-shumma*, *shup*) was first employed by the Hebrews. Probably it was quite unknown to Israel until the sixth century, when it was employed by Assyria against the Syrian towns in the N. See STEGE.

¹ Regarded, however, as post-exilic by Hackmann and Cheyne.

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It has been pointed out already (see CHARIOT) that one powerfully determining factor in the advance of

7. Tac. Israel's military accoutrements and tactics was the great change brought about when the people ceased to be a band of hardy warriors armed with spear and bow who sallied forth from their mountain fastnesses, and became a disciplined force that waged aggressive wars upon the plain. It was the life and death struggle with the Philistines that first welded the Israelite clans into some semblance of unity under Saul, the representative of the hegemony of Benjamin, and subsequently under David of Bethlehem-Judah. The Philistines taught the Hebrews some severe lessons from the time of the destruction of Shiloh down to Saul's tragic overthrow at Gilboa. The Hebrews were able to hold their own with wonderful skill and persistence when the fighting was in mountain passes like that of Micmash (1 S. 14 *f.*) or in the forests of Ziph (1 S. 23 *f.*) or Ephraim (2 S. 186), or when sudden night attacks were made (Josh. 10 *f.*, Judg. 7 *f.*), or rocky citadels stormed (2 S. 56 *f.*); but their inability to forge their own weapons placed them at a great disadvantage (1 S. 13 *f.*), and their irregular guerilla tactics were utterly at fault when the Philistines managed at Aphek to concentrate immense forces around Saul (whose strength was weakened by David's defection), and to drive him from the open plain of Jezreel (where the methods of attack employed by Jonathan could not avail) into his last forlorn stronghold on Mount Gilboa.

The mountainous regions, where chariots and horsemen could not operate, afforded the best ground for the irregular tactics of the Israelites. Even as late as the time when the dynasty of Omri reigned (9th cent.), Israel's God, Yahweh, was regarded by the Syrians as god of the hills (1 K. 20 *f.*).

A change, however, begins to be apparent in the reign of David, whose wars of conquest led him beyond his own borders and who was seconded by one of the ablest and most energetic generals that the Hebrews ever possessed, from the days of the Exodus to those of Judas the Maccabee. What Hannibal was to Carthage in the latter end of the third century, Joab was to David throughout his stormy reign in the tenth. We have already seen (see SIEGE) that it was Joab who first taught the Israelites the regular methods of reducing a fortified town (2 S. 20 *f.*). Nevertheless, the equipment of Israel must still have remained primitive, for horses and chariots were not employed, and even the leader Absalom rides upon a mule (2 S. 189). In the reign of Solomon Israel began to enter into fuller intercourse with foreign peoples, and the dynasty of Omri united Israel closely with Phoenicia, and was able to wage successful wars with Syria and Mesha, king of Moab. Omri and Ahab were capable generals, and the strategic instinct of the former marked out Samaria as his royal fortress-citadel. Omri's name was dreaded by the Moabites, as the stone of Mesha clearly testifies (*l. 4 f.*), and became permanently identified by the Assyrians with the Ephraimite kingdom long after his dynasty had disappeared (see OMRI). Chariots and horsemen were now a recognised part of Israel's war-equipment, and in the Syrian coalition against Shalmaneser II. (as we learn from his monolith *insec. col. 291*) Ahab figures as Hadadezer's (see BENEHADAD, § 2) most powerful ally, furnishing a contingent of 2000 chariots and 10,000 men. Probably Ahab had brought Israel to a level of military efficiency fully equal to that of any other Palestinian state, evidenced by his brilliant victory at Aphek over much superior numbers (1 K. 20 *f.*). In the last fatal battle of Ramoth Gilead Ahab's value is so highly esteemed that the word of command goes forth among the Syrian ranks that he must be slain at all costs. See AHAH, § 8.

The term *milhāmāh* (מִלְחָמָה, 1 S. 17 *b* etc., 23 *a*) and the phrase [מִלְחָמָה] אָרַק, 'arak [*milhāmāh*] (Judg.

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20 *b*, 22 *b*, 30 *b*, 1 S. 42 17 *a*), show that in comparatively early times the fighters were drawn up in line.¹ In some instances we read that they were disposed in three separate divisions (Judg. 7 *b*, 20 1 S. 11 *c*). This seems to have been a favourite tactical arrangement of forces, and was adopted by David against his son Absalom to secure complete success in a country of wide extent covered by forest (2 S. 18 *a*).

The Hebrews remained throughout their history without a navy manned by their own sailors. The geographical configuration of the sea-coast of Palestine, S. of Tyre, with its almost utter absence of harbours, made the sea a strange element.² Naval warfare was therefore unknown to them. For even their expeditions were insignificant, and thus we never read of expeditions like those which proceeded up the Nile in the case of such naval battles as those which were waged by Ramesses III. in which he repelled the hordes of Libyans (who had defeated the Syrians and the Egyptians) from their descent on the mouth of the Nile (Herman, 540). It is true that Phoenician warships were utilised by Solomon; but this was not for military purposes. On the other hand Sennacherib (like Xerxes more than two centuries later) employed Phoenician ships and sailors in his expedition to Elam in 699 B.C. A vivid relief, now in the British Museum, exhibits a Phoenician galley armed with shields and propelled by two banks of rowers (bas relief from Knyunjik, the ninth century B.C. Shalmaneser II. describes in his annals how he crossed the Euphrates on boats of skins (ina clippāni ša mašak tabši;³ *cp* ASSYRIAN ANNALES, 359); but such details are entirely foreign to the annals of Israel. *Cp* SHIP.

When we come down to the second century B.C. we are brought into contact with Graeco-Asiatic civilisation and its military methods. 1 Macc. 6 gives us a description, garnished with some luxuriance, of the armament and equipment of king Antiochus.

The conquests of Alexander had extended to India, and Pyrrhus, in the preceding century, had made Italy familiar with the sight of Indian elephants in warfare. The army of Antiochus advanced against Judas the Maccabee in the year 118 B.C. A thousand men, armed with coats of mail and bronze helmets, accompanied each elephant. The number of troops of Antiochus that were engaged is computed at 100,000 footmen and 4000 cavalry and 32 elephants 'trained for war.' 400 horsemen were detailed for service around each elephant. Each elephant carried a wooden tower, 'strong and covered' and 'loaded with cunning contrivances,' containing 32 warriors besides the driver who managed the elephant. The remainder of the cavalry, amounting to 4000 men, were on the wings for the protection of the phalanxes. The army covering the hills and the plain moved with precision. One elephant was believed by Eleazar, surnamed Avatan, of the Maccabean brothers, to carry king Antiochus. It towered above the other animals and was protected by breastplates. Eleazar daringly broke through the phalanx, crept beneath the elephant, stabbed him, and was killed by his fall. *Cp* ELEPHANT.

(a) The conquerors were welcomed home with song and dance. Of this we have several examples in the literature of the OT; Ex. 15 and 18, and 1 S. 18 (Deborah's song) are songs of triumph and thanksgiving after victory. 1 S. 18 *f.* gives only the brief refrain of the song which the maidens who greeted Saul and David (*cp* Judith 13 *f.*, 1 Macc. 4 *f.*). Of such a character is Hannah's prayer in reality (1 S. 2 [ep. col. 2965]). Similarly Esau's song (*Prism Inscr. col. i., 53*): 'With singers (*zannān*) and playing on lutes I entered Nineveh.' See

¹ The procedure of battle even in the later regular warfare cannot be described in any but general terms, as we have no materials for an accurate and detailed portrayal. The following description (by Sir G. Wilkinson) of ancient Egyptian warfare (124) will serve as the best illustration: 'The army drawn up in line first discharged a shower of arrows, then the enemy's front, and a considerable mass of chariots advanced to the charge; the heavy infantry, armed with spears or clubs, covered with their shields, moved forward at the same time, close array, flanked by chariots and cavalry, and pressed the centre and wings of the enemy, the archers still galloping in hostile columns with their arrows.'

² See Nowack, *HA* 1247. ³ Monolith *insec. col.*

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in Music. The burial of dead warriors was a sacred duty (1 K. 11 15), and lamentations were composed and sung, 2 S. 1 17-27 3 11-16 (Ezek. 32 15-32).

(b) The darker reverse is presented when we deal with the treatment of the conquered. This was characterised by the utmost cruelty. The wars with the Canaanites are full of examples (Josh. 10 26 f., and passim). Also we have instances of mutilation of the captives (Judg. 1 6 f.; cp 1 S. 11 2 and 2 S. 12 31). Captured kings or generals were frequently slain (Judg. 7 25). Too often we read of wholesale slaughter (Judg. 8 7 2 S. 8 2) indicated by the phrase 'smote with the edge of the sword'. The feet were placed (in token of conquest) upon the neck or head of the conquered (Josh. 10 24). The dead were decapitated (1 S. 17 34 31 9 2 Macc. 15 10 Jos. H/ 1 17 2). The dead were often riddled of their property, and prisoners plundered (1 S. 31 8 2 Macc. 9 27). The horses of the enemy had their sinews severed ('houghed') that they might be rendered useless (Josh. 11 6 9). We also read of pregnant women ripped up, and infants dashed to pieces (2 K. 15 16 Is. 13 16 Am. 1 11 Hos. 10 14 Nah. 3 13 Ps. 137 3 2 Macc. 5 13). The land of the enemy was desolated, the trees cut down, and the wells stopped up (Judg. 6 4 1 Ch. 20 1 Dt. 20 10 f.). Towns and villages were burnt to the ground (Judg. 9 45 1 Macc. 5 23 10 34). The payment of large sums of money was imposed on the conquered, or a yearly tribute (2 K. 18 14 Is. 33 13), a custom which was universal and is constantly referred to in the Assyrian inscriptions.

A severe judgment, however, cannot be passed on the treatment by the Hebrews of their conquered. The universal custom of antiquity must be taken into consideration as well as the all-prevailing conception of war as a religious act in which the deity of the nation was deeply involved. The old Semitic conception of the *harem* explains much of the practice. In comparison with Assyrian usage the Hebrews must be called humane. By far the larger proportion of the captured were made into slaves. The women became concubines, and were treated with consideration.

The Egyptians also, according to Wilkinson's judgment, were humane as compared with the Assyrians in their treatment of captives (*Enc. Egypt.* 1 264). 'The cruel custom of flaying alive and the tortures represented on the sculptures of Nineveh show that the Assyrians were guilty of barbarities at a period long after the Egyptians had been accustomed to the refinements of civilisation.' Just as the followers of David reckoned up the foreskins of the Philistines whom they had slain, so the ancient Egyptians reckoned up the severed heads which were placed in heaps before the king and counted by his secretary (Wilkinson, *ibid.* 1 265).

The attitude of the Hebrew prophets towards the wars of their people against a foreign foe was at first one of unquestioning sympathy. This was inevitable in consequence of the religious aspect of war above indicated.

9. Attitude of Prophets. Elisha advises the allied monarchs of Israel and Judah to adopt a skilful ruse in their war against Moab (2 K. 4 13 f.), and on his deathbed he is greeted by Joash, king of Israel, with the same words 'The chariots of Yahweh and the horsemen thereof,' with which the prophet himself had greeted Elijah in the latter's closing hours (2 K. 2 12 12 4); and Elisha's last address to the king of Israel is one of passionate insistence on the need of persistent energy in prosecuting the war with Syria. More than a century later, Isaiah's powerful personality is Judah's strongest stay in the kingdom's darkest hour of conflict with Assyria. Towards the close of the eighth century, however, prophecy scanned more closely the religious and ethical aspects of national policy, and in the days of Jeremiah the divorce between nationalism and religion in its purest sense was complete, and the prophet saw nothing before the disordered and corrupt state but irrevocable doom. There gleamed also upon the distant horizon the vision of a pure, holy, and righteous rule, when men would 'beat their swords into coulters and their spears into pruning-knives' (Mic.

4 3 Is. 2 4), 'the image of Joel 3 13 reversed' (Cheyne), sustained also by the utterances of Is 63 and 11 9; cp Zech. 9 10. These are the ideals which Christianity seeks to realise.

In the moral world there is a constant opposition between the powers of good and evil, both in the individual mental life and in the life of society. Both the Old and the New Testament, therefore, inevitably employ the material terms of earthly warfare as metaphors. God is repeatedly called a 'shield' in this world of strife (Gen. 15 1 Dt. 33 7 Ps. 5 12 59 11 8 10 11), or his trust (or faithfulness) is so called (Ps. 144). These terms abound in the NT passages which deal with spiritual warfare. The apostle Paul is especially prone to their use (1 Cor. 9 26 2 Cor. 7 5 1 Tim. 6 12 2 Tim. 4 7 and in Eph. 6 11 [see BICKERPLATE]). In the Book of Revelation, which moves in the language and ideas of Jewish apocalyptic and Messianic eschatology, we have a 'war in heaven' (*πρόλεως ἐν οὐρανοῖς*) in which Satan and the Beast are finally quelled by God and his heavenly host, Abgdello being employed as the type of the great heavenly Armageddon (see Beyschlag, *NT Theol.* 11. pp. 399-408).

War in Islam, on the other hand, is chiefly regulated by *Koran*, *Sur.* 47, and is nothing but old Semitic warfare carried out beyond the distinctions of nationalism into that of believers and non-believers in the prophet. Allah is the Lord-protector of the faithful but not of unbelievers (*Sur.* 47 1). The *Jihad* should even be carried on against unbelievers during the four sacred months, while for all believers those months are exempt (*Sur.* 9 36 f.). Those who are slain in a *Jihad* have paradise as their reward (*Sur.* 47 5-7). See further Sell, *Faith of Islam*², 360 f.

11. War in Islām. The most important recent contribution is Schwally's *Semitische Kriegsaltertümer*, of which his first *Hef.*, dealing with the religious side, has appeared. Especially important is his account of the labours imposed during war, as well as of the apparatus of religious cultus in war. The writer, however, is somewhat in danger of finding religious motives connected with war where none such existed. See criticism by Volz (in *TLZ.* 1 1th Sept. 1902). Next in importance are the arts, 'Kriegswesen, etc.' by Reisinger in *PRE³*, and § 72 in Nowack's *Hebr. Arch.* 1 172 f. Respecting war among the Assyrians the materials are found in the royal annalistic insc., in Schrader's *KTB* 1, and in. For Egypt consult especially Eрман's *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 20 (520 ff.). O. C. W.

12. Literature. The most important recent contribution is Schwally's *Semitische Kriegsaltertümer*, of which his first *Hef.*, dealing with the religious side, has appeared. Especially important is his account of the labours imposed during war, as well as of the apparatus of religious cultus in war. The writer, however, is somewhat in danger of finding religious motives connected with war where none such existed. See criticism by Volz (in *TLZ.* 1 1th Sept. 1902). Next in importance are the arts, 'Kriegswesen, etc.' by Reisinger in *PRE³*, and § 72 in Nowack's *Hebr. Arch.* 1 172 f. Respecting war among the Assyrians the materials are found in the royal annalistic insc., in Schrader's *KTB* 1, and in. For Egypt consult especially Eрман's *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 20 (520 ff.). O. C. W.

WARD. See PRISON. The words are:—

- 1. מִיָּמָר, *mimmar*, Gen. 40 3 f., מִיָּמָרֶת, *mimmarēth* (§ 1).
- 2. מִיָּמָר, *mimmar*, Ezek. 19 6 f. (§ 2 a).
- 3. מִיָּמָר, *mimmar*, Jer. 37 13 f. (§ 2 b).
- 4. ἄμωρος (§ 2 13).
- 5. ὄλιανη (§ 2 13).

WARDROBE, KEEPER OF THE (שֹׁמֵר הַבְּגָדִים); 2 K. 22 14. ΤΟΥ ΞΑΜΑΤΙΦΥΛΑΚΟΣ [BAL.], 2 Ch. 31 22, ΦΥΛΑΚΤΟΥΣΑΝ ΤΑΣ ΕΝΤΟΛΑΣ [BAL.], see DRESS § 6. HULDMAN.

On 'vestry' (בֵּית הַבְּגָדִים) in 2 K. 10 22, see DRESS, § 8. VESTRY.

WARP (שִׁבְרָה), Lev. 13 42 ff. See WAVING.

WARS OF THE LORD [BOOK OF THE] (סֵפֶר מִלְחַמֹּת יְהוָה)

a book cited in Nu. 21 14 f. (E), according to RV, in the following terms. (We remove RV's poetical arrangement, however, and assume provisionally that the text of the formula of citation is correct; that the text of the passage quoted is not by any means correct, is maintained under VAREB.) 'Wherefore it is said in the book of the Wars of the Lord, Vaheb in Suphah, and the valleys of Arnon, and the slope of the valleys that inclineth toward the dwelling of Ar, and leameth upon the border of Moab.'

Kaenen gives the following brief statement of what is

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supposed to be known respecting the 'book' referred to. Evidence of the date of the 'book' is supplied by the title itself: the 'wars of Yahweh' are the wars of Israel against his neighbors in the period of the Judges, under David (1 S. 18:17-25:28), and later on. The collector of the songs referring to these wars presumably lived after their close, when Israel's heroic age was long gone by' (Hex. E. I., p. 35, n. 5). According to Stade (GTT 150), the fragments of song in 17b 13 and (probably) 17b 30-31 come from the same source as 17b 15. Dillmann, too, thinks it plausible to derive from this source 17b 13 and perhaps also Ex. 15:1-9. The 'book' referred to was therefore, these scholars think, a collection of songs, similar to the Book of JASHER (q.v.), and its date is variously placed, in the time of Omri, about 900 B.C. (Stade), the latter half of the ninth century (E. Meyer, ZLTH, 1881, p. 131), and the times of David and Solomon (Reuss, Gesch. der heil. Schr. A¹², 172; Dillm.).

There is, however, only one express quotation from the 'book,' and it is not certain that it is poetical or even metrical. Looking at the contents of the quotation, moreover, one would not judge it to come either from a history or from a collection of historical songs or ballads.

2. A geographical survey? Was the title of the 'book' really 'Wars of Yahweh'? It at any rate did not so understand it, for it renders thus, δια τοῦτο λεγεται ἐν βιβλίῳ [1] ἡ πόλις τοῦ κρηίου τῆς οὐραβ ἠβλαύσει. 'Another' version in the Hexapla agrees; it gives δια τοῦτο εἰρηναῖα ἐκ καταλύσει τῶν πάλαιοντων Ἰσραὴλ [= 17b]. ἠβλαύσει. Nor is the title 'Book of the Wars of Yahweh' a probable one. It says either too much or too little. The phrase 'wars of Yahweh' occurs elsewhere (1 S. 18:17) of the wars of Saul, and (1 S. 25:28) of David in his earlier period. But can a historical work, such as a 'book of wars,' must be supposed to be, have excluded the unsuccessful campaigns of the champions of Israel? 'Book of the Wars of Israel' is possible, but surely not the title which now stands in Nu. 21:14. What then is a possible title? The quotation suggests that it had reference to geography. Elsewhere (see VARIO) it is maintained that the Jerahmeelite Negeb is the region spoken of, and we have reason to think that David, after conquering a large part of the Negeb, took a military census of its inhabitants (see TAURIM-NOBISH). Both מְרַחֵם and מְרַחֵם have sometimes arisen out of מְרַחֵם. The one word represents מְרַחֵם, the other מְרַחֵם. Most probably the book quoted from by E. in Nu. 21:14 was called שֵׁפֶר יְרַחְמֵעַל—i.e., 'the book, or list, of Jerahmeel.' It was a geographical survey.

T. K. C. WASHINGS, CEREMONIAL. On the subject generally see CLEAN (§§ 15 and 17) and SACRIFICE; cp also BAPTISM, JOHN THE BAPTIST.

The words for 'washing,' whether ceremonial or not, are: 1. רָחַץ, rāḥaṣ, Ass. rāḥāṣu; ῥαῖνειν (Ex. 29:4, etc.), πλύνειν (of the feet, Lev. 19 etc.), ῥίπτειν (of feet, Gen. 19:2 etc.; of hands, Ex. 30:21, etc.; of face, Gen. 43:32), ἀποιῶνειν (Prov. 80:12). Mainly in P.

2. קָבַץ, kibbāṣ, πλύνειν (of garments, Ex. 19:14 Lev. 13:6 etc.), ἀποπλύνειν (of garments, 2 S. 19:24); Ass. kabāṣu, to tread. See FULLER.

3. טָבַל, ṭābal, βάπτειν, 'to dip' (in blood, Lev. 9:9 14:51; in water, Nu. 19:18 [hyssop], 2 K. 8:15 [coverlet]; in oil, Dt. 33:24 [the feet], etc.). Cp MEALS, § 5.

4. רָחַץ, rāḥaṣ (in Hiph.), ἀποκαλύσειν (of washing in the lavers, 2 Ch. 4:6), πλύνειν (hairt offering, Ezek. 40:3).

5. βαπτίζόμενος, Eccl. 34:30 || Nu. 19:11 f., יָרַח עֵינָי לְרַחֵם בְּיַד מַיִם.

6. λουτρῶν, Eccl. 34:30 [25], 'washing.'

7. ῥαῖνειν, Jn. 13:10 (ὁ λελουμένος, RV 'he that is bathed').

8. ῥιπτειν, Mt. 15:2 Mk. 7:3 (hands) Jn. 13:5 etc. (feet) Jn. 9:7 (in healing).

9. βαπτισμός, Mk. 7:4 (cups).

It is well known that man in a primitive state, but at the stage at which he has become a religious being and some degree of reason has succeeded to what was little more than instinct, looks upon rivers, springs, and wells as the abodes of gods or as being themselves deities (cp SPRINGS).³ To drink the water, to bathe in it, or merely to sprinkle the person with it, was to imbibe

1. The arrangement in RV is misleading. 2. So BF; AL, βίβλα. 3. See Frazer, Golden Bough, and Pausanias; Giant Allen, Evol. of the Idea of God, 388 (cp 405); Clodd, Primitive Man, 183 f. Cp WRS, Rel. Sem.¹², 135.

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or to cover oneself with a divine and mysterious power. Bathing was a religious act. Water therefore holy. Further evidence for the idea that a more than natural power was inherent in water would be seen in the refreshing, and sometimes healing, effect of it. Water was refreshing and healing because it was holy. When a reason was sought for the fact that water cleansed, the explanation would again be the same: it cleansed because it was holy.¹ Then, water is looked upon as purifying, as washing away impurity or cleansing from a taboo; and finally the frequent use of water becomes a social and sanitary, as well as a religious act. The order of ideas can hardly have been otherwise. Primitive man fears water, therefore makes a god of it, worships it (cp religio); this fear must have been overcome before he could make frequent use of it for other than strictly religious purposes.

Beninger tells us (Heb. Arch. 108) that in the ablutions of the Hebrews it is often difficult to distinguish between the washings performed purely for the sake of the body, and such as were purely religious. That no doubt because originally no distinction was made. The Hebrews, however, when we make their acquaintance, had already forgotten the true origin of ablution; it is the second idea that now prevails: cleansing by washing is a holy act, and water is holy because it cleanses.² In this sense for the most part ablutions play an important part in the religious and social life of the Hebrews, as in that of their neighbours (Egyptians, Arabians, etc.).³

The next step is for ceremonial washings to become symbolical. 'Water and fire,' says Jastrow, 'are two great sources of symbolical purification that meet with in both primitive and advanced rituals of past' (Rel. of Babylonia and Assyria, 276). This is amongst the Jewish ESSENES (q.v. § 4; cp De Quincey Works, vol. vii.), as already amongst the Babylonians (Jastrow, 276; see also RITUAL, § 10) and Persians (see ZOROASTRIANISM, § 16), washing as a religious act received quite a special importance.⁴

The ablutions of the Jews may be divided, as far as is possible now to distinguish them, as follows:—(1) The purely religious (magical) (2 K. 5:10 cp Jn. 2:2). In these we can still detect the primitive idea. (2) The purely ritual, which was suggested by the first. In these the idea is now that of purification. Under this heading come (a) washings of initiation or consecration (Lev. 8). With this is connected the washing of the Jewish PROSELYTE (q.v. § 5). (b) Washing with a view to the performance of a sacred function (Ex. 80:17). The Egyptian priests, too, were required to bathe frequently with cold water (cp Herod. 2:37; also the Mohammedan Hadith).⁵ The semi-ritualistic washings for the purpose of cleansing from uncleanness. Examples are: Lev. 13:6 34:54-58 (leprosy); 14:7 (clothes after contact with leprosy house), 14:8 (house—with running water), 15:6-8 10 f. 13 11 f. (clothes person), 15:12 (earthen vessel; wooden vessel) 15:18 (person) 22:27 (menstruous contact; cp Doughty, Ar. Des. 1:572); in Dt. 21:1-9 23:9-11; in JE, Ex. 19:10-15. Besides these, there arose (4) the purely social usage common to all eastern peoples. The hot climate and the wearing of sandals made the prac-

1. The writer in Schenkel (BL, 215 'Waschen') reverses the order of ideas. As a preparation for contact with holy things the body must be cleansed. Because water was used for purpose, streams, etc., were worshipped and men bathed in them as a religious act.

2. At a much later date, however, to perform ablutions was always considered a virtue. Cp Stanley, Christian Institutions, 6 f.: 'Cleanliness is a duty which some of the monastic communities of Christendom have despised, and so have even treated as a crime; also Socrates, HE 423.

3. For the Egyptians, cp Wilkinson, Anc. Egyptians, 2. For the modern Arabians, cp Doughty, Ar. Des. 1:2 where water is lacking or scarce they use sand (cp Doughty 1:536; Beninger, HA, 108 note), but the act is here no doubt symbolical.

4. For the Greek practice see Hesiod, Op. et Dies, 722.

5. See Th. Frede, Wunderglaube im Heidentum und in alten Kirche, 50 f.

6. For Mohammedan usage, see, further, Koran Surra, 5:8; Hughes, Dict. of Islam, under 'Ablution.'

7. The writer in Schenkel adds other reasons for washing: the clothing, of the whole body, or of particular parts of it, the East—viz., on account of the desert sand, and particularly as a protection against cutaneous diseases.

sterious power, therefore was t a more than ould be seen n effect of this because it was the fact that again be the Then, water away impurities the frequent use y, as well as a rldly have been herefore makes fear must have frequent use of s.) that in the cult to listinings performed the body, and gious. That is on was made, their acquaint- of ablutions; : cleansing or oly because it part ablutions and social life of uts (Egyptians, gs to become row, 'are the eason that we d rituals of the 276). Thus p De Quincey, e Babylonians and Persians as a religious s, as far as it s (i) The purely 5 to cp Jn. 2:67). ct the primitive meal, which were ow that of puri- of initiation and of the washing or). (b) Washings on (E. K. 80-21). e frequently in lan *Wudu*).⁶ (c) of cleansing from 58 (leprous gacious house), 14:2 f. (clothes) and 15:18 (person), 15:1 (cp Douglas). des these, there eastern peoples made the practice n-) reverses the with holy things, was used for the men bathed in ablutions was not *Christian Instituti-* h some of the spised, and some 1E 423. *Egyptians*, 247. *Ar. Des.* 1:25; id (cp Douglas). is here no doubt *Dies*, 722. *ntium und in do-* an *Sura*, 58, and s for washings- f ar parts of it is and particularly

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of feet-washing important, and the offering of water for the purpose a common mark of hospitality (Gen. 18:4 19:2 24:12). To the same category probably belong the washings before (Mt. 15:2) and after meals (*Bar. 1:20* 4:4, on which see MEALS, § 3.)

To the first of the social usages (§ 3, 4) Jesus no doubt conformed. The fourth gospel, which has to be used with the greatest caution, even tells us that he himself washed his disciples' feet (Jn. 13:2). To the second social usage, however, he seems to have attached little importance (Lk. 11:3). We are also told that he submitted to a ritual washing or baptism, and further showed his approval of such an act by making it a Christian institution. As, however, such a rite would be contrary to the general tenor of his teaching, so far as we can gather it from our imperfect sources (cp Tolstoy, *The Kingdom of God*, chap. 4), and cannot be certainly inferred from the passages in the Gospels which are generally adduced as evidence (see O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, p. 411; cp, on the other hand, BAPTISM), its adoption by Jesus himself must be considered extremely doubtful.² Moreover, Paul, or the Pauline school, does not mention it as an institution of Jesus. 1 Cor. 1:7 even makes Paul say 'Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel' (cp Ernst von Dobschütz, *Die Urchristlichen Gemeinden*, 22 f.). Feine, indeed, thinks that Paul implies it, while not actually mentioning it because it was not a matter of controversy in the apostolic church (*Thomas Christus und Paulus*, 243). And Dreschen (*Das Leben Jesu bei Paulus*) takes a very similar view. But almost anything might be implied (or read into) the NT, and the simplest conclusion is that it had not yet become a Christian institution. It has been contended that the rite was a natural development of the Jewish practice of baptizing the proselyte (see Stanley, *Christian Institutions*, 5; cp Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 244 ff.) or of the ceremonial washings of the Essenes (see E. Plautz Nesbit, *Christ, Christians, and Christianity*; De Quincey, *Works*, vol. vii.). The second suggestion is unnecessary (see von Dobschütz, p. 105). As to the first, it is much more probable that the rite, as in the case of the Eucharist,³ was taken over from the Pagans.

4. Washings in NT.

This, with other rites, was adopted at a time when the new sect was trying to win over converts among the Gentiles, and when the gap between Judaism and Christianity had widened. With that wonderful power of adapting itself which it once had, the new religion admitted the pagan ceremony of initiation.⁴ Cp Rom. M. A. C.

WASHPOT, a term of abuse applied to Moab in the expression 'Moab is my washpot' (כַּוְּאֵב כִּי־רַחֲוֵי; מוֹאֵב לְרַחֲוֵי); מוֹאֵב לְרַחֲוֵי; similarly Vg.; מוֹאֵב לְרַחֲוֵי; in Ig.=Heb. כַּוְּאֵב 'to trust'; Ps. 69:8 [10]

1 Cp, further, Kohler's art. 'Ablution' in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*.
2 Colenso (*Natal Sermons*, 1866, No. 10) thought that 'the command in Mt. 28:19, "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost," would be conclusive as to the fact of its having directly enjoined the practice, were it not that this formula, with its full expression of the name of the Trinity, betrays the later age in which the passage in which it occurs was most probably written.' Conybeare has recently shown (*Z.N.T.W.*, 2:275 ff. [1911]; cp *Hibb. Tourney*, 1:102 ff.) very strong reasons for believing that the mention of the three Persons in the Trinity is not original (cp col. 3790 [sup]). The passage as it stands, therefore, seems to have been edited for liturgical purposes, and it is likely that in the first instance there was no reference whatever to baptism. Apart from this we have no evidence, as Colenso again says (*ibid.*, No. 9), that any of Jesus' disciples were baptised.
3 This again has been looked upon as a development of a Jewish practice. See, especially, G. H. Box in the *Journal of Theolog. Studies*, 3:357-369, who thinks that the Last Supper was not Passover, as is commonly supposed, but the weekly *Kiddush*, a service in the house.
4 Cp Grant Allen, *Evol. of the Idea of God*, 388-405; Clodd, *Primitive Man*, 182 ff.; J. M. Robertson, *Short Hist. of Christianity* (see Index).

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1089 [1]. The commentators refer to the story told of Ananias (Heral. 2:2), or to the custom of Persian kings of having a footpad carried in their train when in the field. The latter illustration is preferred by Dehlesch.

This base image, however, is surely due to corruption of the text. Both 2:2 and 2:7 are corruptions of מִשְׁמַר, *Misshar*, or of מִשְׁמָר, *Mishmar*. See Che. *P.*, 2:117-118, and cp Moan, § 14 ('M'ob' and 'M'issur' table *cf. infra*).

WASP (צַפְחֵזָה), Wisd. 12:3 AV, also RV¹⁹⁰⁸, RV HORNET (7:7).

WATCH (שֹׁמֵר), Neh. 7:3. See GUARD, 3.

WATCHER (רִגֵּל, *rg* [Aram.]; ἄγγελος [G⁷] εἶρ [Theod.]; ἑρρηγορος [Vg. Sym.]; *regul*, in the Gk. Enoch ἑρρηγορος); Dan. 1:10 [our G] 2: [1:17 2:1]. The term reminds us of the מַשְׁמָר, *Missharim* (Is. 62:6) whom Yahwe charges to watch over the ruined walls of Jerusalem, and to remind him of their sad condition. We find it again in Enoch and in Jubilees. In Enoch it is used in a double sense. In 15:10-13 12:4 13:15 11:3 15:2 16:1 2:9 1:5 it designates the fallen angels; in 20:1 39:12 11:40:2 61:12 7:7 it belongs to the archangels. In Jubilees 4:3 (cp 8:3 10:3), in the explanation of the name Jared (which agrees with that given in Enoch 66, except that Mt. Hermon is not mentioned as the place on which they descended) it is said, 'in his days the angels of the Lord descended on the earth, those who are named the *Watchers*, that they should instruct the children of men, and that they should do judgment and uprightness on the earth.' A myth of the watchers which differs somewhat from that in the Ethiopic Enoch is given in the Slavonic Enoch (18:3 cp 6:3; see Charles's notes in *Secrets of Enoch*); they are there called the *Grigori* (Γρηγοριοί). In the Book of Adar and Eve (6th cent. A.D.) the watchers are also represented as the fallen angels, who, as long as they preserved their virginity, were called the 'sons of Seth.' See Charles's very full note on Jubilees 1:15.

WATCHES OF THE NIGHT. See DAY, § 4.

WATCHTOWER (מִצְפָּה, *mizpah*; Is. 21:8). Cp MIZPAH, MIZPEH. For מִצְפָּה *mizpah* (Is. 32:14) and מִצְפֵּי, *mizpeh*, see TOWER. In Is. 2:16 RV¹⁹⁰⁸ has 'pleasant watch-towers' for מִצְפֵּי חַיִּים, *mizpeh hayim* (AV 'pleasant pictures,' RV 'pleasant imagery'); but see 'Isa.' *SLOT* (Heb.), note *ad loc.*, and *Crit. Bib.*

WATER (מַיִם). On the 'holy' or 'bitter' water, called also the 'water of purifying' (AV) or 'of expiation' (RV) of Nu. 8:7 ff. see UNCLEANNESS [TRIM. OF]; on the water of 'separation' or 'of impurity' (RV¹⁹⁰⁸) in Nu. 19:9, see CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 17.

WATERCOURSE. 1. *al-ah*, מַעְיָן, see CONDUITS, § 2.
2. *phic*, פִּלְגַּגַּח, פִּלְגַּח, see RIVER, 5.
3. *mayā mayim*, מַיִם מְיֻסָּם, 2 Ch. 32:30 AV. See SPINGS, § 2 [6], and cp GIBBON.
4. *sinnor*, סִנּוֹר, 2 S. 5:8 RV, AV 'gutter'; meaning doubtful.

WATERPOT (γδρα), Jn. 2:7. Cp POTTERY, § 3 (1).

WATERS OF MEROM (מַיִם מֵרֹם), Josh. 11:5. See MEROM [WATERS OF].

WATERSPOUT. (1) *gōr*, סִנּוֹר, 1 S. 4:27 (RV¹⁹⁰⁸ 'cataract'). Cp WATERCOURSE, 4. (2) *tanin*, טַנִּין, Ps. 148:7 RV¹⁹⁰⁸. See SERPENT, § 3 f. n. 2; WHALE.

WAVE LOAVES (לֶחֶם תַּנְּקָה), Lev. 23:17. See SACRIFICE, § 34 f. **WAVE OFFERING** (תַּנְּקָה), Ex. 29:24. See SACRIFICE, § 14, and cp CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 3.

WAX (דָּגָנִי, *dānag*; κηρός), Ps. 22:14 [15] 68:2 [3] 97:5 Mic. 1:4; also Judith 16:13 Eccles. 24:20; also Ps. 58:8 [9] (see SNAIL, 2), Is. 64:1 [2] (see SPERM); and possibly Ezek. 27:17 (erroneous text; so Co.; Int see PANNAG), and Ps. 118:12 [see G]. Beeswax, which is secreted by

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all honey-bees and formed into the cell walls of their comb is intended. It melts at 144° F. See **BEES**.

WAY. On 'the way' (וַיֵּלֶךְ) Acts 9a, etc., see **HERESY**, § 1.

WAYMARK (וַיִּשָּׂא), Jer. 31:21 [20]. See **MASSEBAH**, § 1 c, col. 29; 8; also **Crit. Bib.**

WEAPONS. Cp **WAR**. Hebrew uses the general term *ahim* (Gen. 27:1) which means simply instruments or implements. In r. s. 20:45 AV renders by the more ambitious word 'artillery'. In the N.T. (Jn. 18:1; Rom. 6:13; 2 Cor. 10:4) the common Greek term *πλατα* is employed.

Naturally at first any implement or instrument would be used as a weapon, a club or a STAFF (q.v.); cp Darwin, *Descent of Man*, 81 (1890).

1. In general. But the natural weapons of the lower animals (horns, etc.; see Darwin, 500 ff.) would soon suggest to man the use of something more effective. Later, it is possible that one at least of the agricultural implements, the sickle (see **AGRICULTURE**, § 7, with figs.), gave rise to the scimitar or SWORD (q.v.). This would add force to the words in Is. 24. In no art, perhaps, has more ingenuity or more rapid progress been shown than in that of the manufacture of weapons (see Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, 138-59). As the Hebrews had no doubt to wage war continually, it would be no matter for surprise if they had displayed some skill in this art at quite an early date. Later, they would also be quick to note and to copy the equipment of more advanced neighbours (e.g. Canaanites, Egyptians, Assyrians, etc.), who realised more fully the value of well-equipped, organised, and disciplined armies. See **ARMY** and cp **WAR**. The more primitive weapons of offence, however, such as the CLUB (see **STAFF**) and SLING (q.v.) were perhaps never entirely displaced by the SWORD and DAGGER (see **SWORD**), JAVELIN (q.v.), BOW (see below, § 2), and SPEAR (q.v.); and instruments with flint edges or points, as has frequently happened, no doubt continued to be used side by side with those of metal. Of defensive weapons, a SHIELD (q.v.) of some kind was probably in use at a very early date; but we also hear in the O.T. of BREAST-PLATE, GREAVES, and HELMET (pp. 27).

On Egyptian and Assyrian monuments one of the weapons most commonly represented is the BOW (see **CHARIOT**, **SIEGE**, **WAR**).

2. The bow. The Hebrew term is *qeshet*, *qesheth*. With this are of course connected the ARROW, *yahz*, and the case for carrying it, *qeshet*, *qesh* (Gen. 27:1), or *qeshet*, *qesheth*—i.e., the QUIVER (q.v.); cp also **CHARIOT**. This seems to have been one of the earliest of the more elaborate weapons. The throwing of a small SPEAR (q.v.) or DART, *qeshet*, *qesh* (2 Ch. 35:5 AV, RV 'weapons'; cp Joel 2:25),¹ with the hand would soon give rise to a mechanical instrument (cp SLING), to which the dart would be suitably adapted, feathers being added to increase its flight (cp Taylor, *Anthropology*, chap. 8)². In this way we get the ARROW. The bow was commonly made of reed, wood, or horn. The Israelites used it both in war (Gen. 48:22) and in the chase (21:20); and seem to have bent it with the foot (for the Egyptian practice, see Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.*, 1203). The strings, *qeshet*, *qesh* (Ps. 21:12), were probably made of gut or hide. Here we seem to have a case in which an implement of war suggested an instrument of music (see **MUSIC**, § 2; cp Taylor, *Anthropology*, chap. 12). According to the A.V. of 2 S. 1:15 David 'bade them teach the children of Judah [the use of] the bow' apparently an irrelevant notice where it stands in 2 S.; hence RV substitutes 'song' for 'use'. The remedy, however, seems inadequate, and it is open to methodical textual critics to devise something more radical and effective. See H. P. Smith, *ad loc.*, and cp **Crit. Bib.** The bowmen of Elam (Is. 22:6 Jer. 49:35, if the text is correct), of Kedar (Is. 21:17), and of an unnamed people from the land of *qeshet* (Jer. 6:23) are specially mentioned in the O.T.

¹ Other words rendered DART are: *qeshet*, *qesh*, 2 S. 18:14 AV, RVmg 'staves'; see **STAFF**; *qeshet*, *qesh*, Job 41:29 [21] AV, RV 'clubs', but see **JAVELIN**; *qeshet*, *qesh*, Job 41:26 [18] EV; *qeshet*, *qesh*, Pr. 7:23 AV, RV 'arrow' (see above); *qeshet*, *qesh*, Eph. 6:16; and *qeshet*, Heb. 12:20 (but the clause should probably be omitted; see **Ti.**).

² In other respects the construction was no doubt similar to that of the SPEAR (q.v.).

WEAVING

WEASEL (וַיִּשָּׂא; *ḥam*; *mustela*), the name of a unclean animal, Lev. 11:29† (EV, C. Targ. Jon.; 16 Vg., and most Rabbin). There is some little doubt, however, whether the weasel is really referred to, various interpreters (Saadia, Bochart, Lag. AV) have preferred on philological grounds² the term 'mole' (but see below). The weasel is an animal hardly ever eaten, and its long body and short tail might be urged as justifying its position 'among creeping things that creep upon the earth.'

Zoologically weasels are placed with the pole-cats, martens and others in the family *Mustelidae*, of the order Carnivora. One species of each of the above-mentioned animals is recorded by Canon Tristram from the Holy Land. The southern weasel, *Mustela boscanella*, is found about Mount Tabor and probably in other wooded districts; the pole-cat, *M. putorius*, lives on Hermon and Lebanon, and the white-breasted or beech marten, *M. foina*, in the neighbourhood of Beyrouit. It is unlikely the Hebrews distinguished between these species, though their habits and habitat they may have separated off the *Lutra vulgaris*, which is common on the shores of the sea of Galilee. A. E. S.—S. A. C.

WEAVING

Raw products and their preparation (§ 1).	Warping (§ 5).
Spinning (§ 2).	Shedding (§ 6).
The horizontal loom (§ 3).	Passing and beating up of
Two types of upright loom (§ 4).	(§ 7).
Technique and terminology of weaving (§§ 5-8).	Direction of web (§ 8).
	Final processes (§ 9).
	Pattern and figure weaving (§ 10).

In the present study of the art of weaving practised by the Hebrews from the earliest times to the opening centuries of our era it is proposed (1) to glance briefly at the raw materials and the manner of their preparation for the loom, which will include the process of spinning; (2) to explain the construction *modus operandi* of the loom itself; and (3) to close with brief references to the further processes through which the web had to pass after leaving the loom, and to the more obscure subject of pattern and figure weaving.

Throughout the whole period of their national existence, the needs of the Hebrew households in the manufacture of textiles were supplied for the most part by WOOL and FLAX (pp. 27); frequently mentioned together in Gen. 31:13; Hos. 2:5; Prov. 31:13, etc.—with the addition, for coarser textures, of HAIR (q.v.) of goats and camels, and, in the later periods of their history, of COTTON and SILK (pp. 27).

In an interesting passage of the Mishna treatise *Shabbat* (7:2), among the various categories of work forbidden on the Sabbath—'forty save one' in number (cp 2 Ch. 11:24)—we find an enumeration of the chief processes of the manufacture of woollen cloth, including 'shear, scouring, teasing, dyeing, spinning, warping, attaching the leashes to the leash-rods (for these technical terms see below, § 5 ff.), weaving,' etc.

The fleece (וַיִּשָּׂא; Judg. 6:37), according to the statement in the Mishna, was first scoured (וַיִּשָּׂא) to remove impurities and restore the original white colour (hence the term), after which it was thoroughly teased (וַיִּשָּׂא) and carded (וַיִּשָּׂא) with a card comb. The latter operation is done at the present day in wool bazaars of the Levant (cp Jos. *R.* v. 8:1 [§ 331] *ἐπιπλάσσειν* in Jerusalem, the *וַיִּשָּׂא* of *Exod.* 10:9) means of a bow and its string. At this stage the wool is

¹ For proper names possibly derived from the name of animal see **HEBREW**, **HELDAL**, **HELDAL**.

² Cp *Ar. huld*, Syr. *huldā*, 'mole,' and *huldā*, an animal often mentioned in the Talm. (see *ib.* *ad loc.* A connection of *huldā* which means 'penetrate deeply' [cp *וַיִּשָּׂא* in Talm. *plunge in the sacrificial knife*], is probable); Lewysohn, *Z. Talm.* 101, and Hommel, *Saugethiere*, 337. It is, however, to be observed that, now, at any rate, no true mole occurs in Palestine. See **MOLE**. On a later Heb. word for weasel, cp. 1210 n. 1.

³ The standard work on this subject is still *Texturinum A. quoniam, an Account of the Art of Weaving among the Ancients*; Part 1 (all published); 'On the raw materials used in weaving,' by James Yates, 1843.

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be dyed, or this process might be deferred till after the spinning or even until it could be dyed 'in the piece' after leaving the loom.

In the case of flax, we can follow the similar processes by the help both of literary references (Mishna, *pesachim*; Pliny, *HN* 19, etc.) and of the graphic representations on Egyptian tombs (see Yates, *op. cit.* [p. 3, above], pl. 7; Wilkinson, *Jour. Eg.* 2:171). Here we see the stalks being pulled up by the roots, laid in order and rippled with a rippling comb, or beaten over a stick to free them from the seed capsules. After being exposed on the flat roof (see Josh. 2:6) or elsewhere until thoroughly dry, they were steeped in a trough to separate the inner fibres from the woody portions of the stalk, a process technically known as 'retting.' The stalks thus macerated were again dried in the sun or in an oven (*Sabb.* 16), and then beaten with a wooden mallet (Pliny's 'stumparius malleus') to complete the separation of the inner fibres. In the earliest period these fibres were sorted by the hand (Eiman, *Egyp.* 450); later they were 'heckled' or combed by means of a comb (קָרָבָה וְקָרָבָה, illustr. Wilkinson, 2:171), by which the longer and finer fibres were separated from those of inferior quality. Women as well as men were engaged in this process of heckling the flax, as appears from Is. 19:9, where the קָרָבָה of MT (AV 'fine flax,' RV 'combed flax'; cp Symm. κτεριστός) should be read קָרָבָה, the flax-combers (Vg. *pelentes*).¹ Linnen was preferably worn in its native whiteness; but, if required, the flax might be dyed before being spun, as in the case of the Tabernacle curtains (Ex. 35:23), or the dyeing might be postponed to a later stage as explained above for wool. To judge from an incidental remark in *Ribi Kamma* 10a, woollen garments were more favoured in Judea, whilst Galilee preferred linnen.

Goats' hair was employed for textures of the coarser sort, especially for the garb of mourning (see SACKCLOTH),² and like combs' hair was often mixed with sheep's wool (*Kilim* 91D). In later times Cotton and Silk (*app.*) (Rev. 18:12 but not Ecclus. 45:10 [AV], see RV, nor Am. 3:12 [RV]) were introduced; the *hindoo* (עֲבָרָה, *Yoma*, 37) or Indian fabric worn by the high priest was undoubtedly of cotton. To these the Mishna adds hemp (עֲבָרָה קַנְבִּית—but the 'henpen flock' of Ecclus. 40:4 RV is an incorrect rendering of ἀμυγδαίον for which see below, § 9) and the fibres of a species of mussel, for which see Yates, *op. cit.* 1:26 ff.

Whilst among the Hebrews, as among the Egyptians, both men (Ex. 35:33 1 S. 17 [and 5, 1 Ch. 12]) and women (Judg. 16:13 f. 2 K. 2:37 Prov. 31:24 1 Est. 1:7; cp Jos. *BJ* i. 243 ἀναταίς Ἰουδαίης) plied the loom, the art of spinning was peculiarly a feminine accomplishment (Ex. 35:25 f. Prov. 31:19 Tob. 2:11). The apparatus for spinning (עֲבָרָה Mt. 6:3 1 k. 12:27) both wool and flax consisted of the distaff (עֲבָרָה, עֲבָרָה [see *HDB* 5:7] Prov. 31:19 RV; AV spindle—in the Mishna עֲבָרָה, ἡλακάρη, *colus*) and the spindle (פֶּלֶק, עֲבָרָה, Prov. *l.c.* RV; AV 'distaff,' ἀπρακτος, *fusus*; Mishna, עֲבָרָה). In 2 S. 3:29 we should render 'that holdeth the spindle' (g. *tenens fusum*) for 'that leaneth on a staff' (EV) (though here—see STAFF—the suitability of the reading has been disputed).³ The distaff generally consisted of a piece of cane round the open head of which the wool or flax was wound. It is held in the left hand or fixed in the girdle, while the spinner draws out and twists the yarn between the finger and thumb of the right hand,⁴ with

¹ So modern edd. For the technical process disguised under the following עֲבָרָה see below, § 5.
² For the variety of haircloth named by the Romans *villicium*, and its interesting association with Paul, see CHURCH, § 3.
³ From the original significance of the root עָבַר in Semitic, viz. 'to be round, globular,' פֶּלֶק must originally have signified the round or spherical whorl with which the spindle was weighted, as the cognate form still does in Arabic, then by metonymy the whole spindle (see *Drive* 185 192 f.). Cp DISTAFF, 1.
⁴ Cp Jerome, *EA* 150 re 'habet loquam semper in manibus, vel staminis pollice fila deducto, etc.'

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which also the spindle is kept rotating. The spindle consisted of three parts (see Munson on *Lev.* 12:4 cp. Sarah *Mezbeah*): a hook by which the thread from the distaff was fastened, the wooden shank, 9-12 inches in length, and the circular or spherical whorl of clay, stone, or other heavy material which served to steady the rotatory motion of the spindle (cf. illustration of early Palestine in spindles-whorls see Bliss, *J. Monist of Egyptology*, 82, cp 86).

The word 'yarn,' in Heb. עֲבָרָה (Is. 35:2, li. that which is spun [עֲבָרָה] cp *Technologia*, 2:171 in AV only 1 K. 10:2 Ch. 1:1 as a curious rendering of עֲבָרָה, in which recent editors are innocuous in holding the name of the district of Kue in Asia Minor (see Mizrachi, *l.c.* and Benzinger and Kinkel *l.c.* [cp *Chaldea*, § 3, col. 270, 31, and *l.c.* 185]). It is introduced by the revisors in Prov. 7:30 as the rendering of the obscure קָרָבָה (for which see LANGE, 1), and Ezek. 27:17 where most scholars would read as in RV (from *Chal.* 185).

The art of spinning was carried to perfection in Egypt even under the earlier dynasties. Much of the linen used as wrappings for the royal mummies is composed of threads of almost incredible fineness. Thus it has been calculated that the bandages in which the hands of Photius III. were enveloped, and which shows about 150 threads of warp and 75 of weft to the square inch, was woven from yarn so fine that 60 miles of it would only weigh one pound avoirdupois (reduced to English measures from Braunk. *Altägypt. Gewebe*, 6; cp Birch's note, ap. Wilk. *op. cit.* 2:162). Such gossamer threads, however, cannot be identified with those of the 'fine-twined linen' (עֲבָרָה מְעִיבָה, עֲבָרָה) of Ex. 26:28 36:39, as a fabric of this sort would be entirely out of place as curtains for the court of the Tabernacle (for the most probable explanation of the term, see LANGE, § 7).

Probably no department of the technology of antiquity is so beset with difficulties as that which deals with the art of weaving.

3. The horizontal loom.

After all that has been done by Blümner (*Technol. Terminol. der Gewebe*, etc., 1875) and Marquardt (*Die webtechnische Terminol. der Griechen und Römern*, 1876) for the Greek and Roman looms, by Braunk (*Altägyptische Gewebe*, 1901) for those of Egypt, and by Rieger (*Technologische Terminol. u. Technol. der Handweberei* under *Mitteln*, 1:114, Spinnen, Weben, etc., 304) and others, there remains much that is uncertain, not only as regards the terminology, and *modus operandi*, but even as regards the details of construction. Were the ancients, for example, familiar with the mechanism of the treadles? Was the horizontal or low loom in use among the Romans of the republic and early empire? To the latter question Blümner and Marquardt reply in the affirmative, whilst Ahrens (*Philologus*, 18), Rich (in his excellent *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.*), Yates and Marindin (in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.*, 2:22, 'tela') present a good case for the exclusive use of the upright loom. Certainly no monumental representations of the horizontal loom, or for that matter few of the upright loom, have come down to us from classical antiquity.

Treating the question from the point of view of the history of man's progress in the arts of civilisation, we find that weaving is merely a development of the art of plaiting, and has been correctly defined by Plato as πλεκτική κρήνη καὶ στήμονος ('a plaiting of weft and warp,' cited by Marq. *op. cit.* 504). More precisely, the art of weaving, in its simplest form, consists in intersecting a series of parallel threads, called the *weft*, at right angles by another set of threads called the *warp* or *ressort*, in such a way that each weft thread shall pass alternately over and under each of the warp threads. In plaiting, this interlacing is done by hand, and even at the present day in some parts of Arabia and N. Africa—no doubt also among many other half-civilised tribes—the art of weaving has not advanced beyond this stage. The late E. H. Palmer thus describes the very primitive work of an old Babylonian woman in the neighbourhood of Jebel Misit. 'On one of these occasions I noticed an old woman weaving at the tent-door. Her loom was a primitive one, consisting only of a few upright sticks upon which the threads were stretched;

¹ For illustration of Egyptian distaffs and spindles see Wilk. *op. cit.* 2:172; 1 K. and Kinnar *op. cit.* Blümner, *Technologie*, etc. 1:112 ff. and the *Dicts.* of Class. Antiq. 2:270, 'colus' and 'fusus.'

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the transverse threads were inserted laboriously by the fingers, without the assistance of a shuttle, and the whole fabric was pressed close together with a piece of wood. Beside her stood a younger female spinning goats' hair to supply the old lady with the materials necessary for her task' (*The Inhabitants of the Kingdom*, 132). Between this incident and the first representations of the horizontal loom by Egyptian artists, there stretches a period of nearly 5000 years. Even at that early period, however, and, as the textile remains abundantly prove, for at least a millennium previously, the inventive genius of Egypt, which, according to Pliny, taught the ancient world the art of weaving, had furnished the loom with the apparatus necessary for more expeditious work. Putting aside the case illustrated by Wilkinson (*Proc. Eg.* 217^a), which furnishes no indication of any appar-

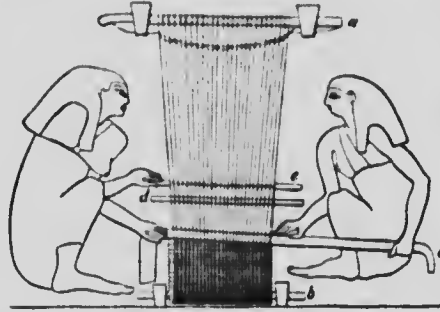


FIG. 1.—Women weaving

atus beyond a simple frame, and is therefore, in all probability, a case of mat-plaiting, we may take the familiar representation from the tombs at Beni Hasan of the two women squatting on the ground and engaged in the process of weaving (Wilk. *op. cit.* 137, Erman, *Ann. Eg.* 448, after Lepsius; Moore's 'Judges,' *SIOT Eng.* 89; Brandik, *op. cit.* Figs. 89-91, pp. 59 ff.). Till recently, it was assumed that this picture, which dates from the middle empire, represented an upright loom. It is evident, however, that this is a mistake due to the absence of perspective in Egyptian drawing. The loom is horizontal with a yarn-beam *a*, and a cloth-beam *b*, each fixed to the ground by a couple of wooden pegs. Between the beams the warp is stretched, and, if we can trust the artist in this detail, the cloth-beam is capable of revolving and winding up the finished web. The remaining parts of this instructive representation will require a more detailed examination in a subsequent section (§ 6).

Now, when we consider the antiquity and prevalence of the horizontal loom in Egypt,¹ and its prevalence in a variety of forms throughout the E., from Africa to India, at the present day,² it would be strange if the Hebrews were unacquainted with it. We have, however, no explicit testimony to the form and construction of the early Hebrew loom. Still, a study of the well-known passage which will engage our attention when we come to deal with the terminology of weaving (§ 7)—shows that the probabilities of the case are in favour of Delilah's loom being of the horizontal type. The operation of weaving the hair of a person asleep on the

¹ The apothegm dating from the twelfth dynasty, quoted by Brandik (*op. cit.* 83). 'The weaver is more intimate than a woman, he has his knees for ever reaching to his chin'—proves, as he rightly observes (1) that men as well as women exercised the art, and (2) that they worked in a squatting attitude, and therefore, like the women of the Beni Hasan picture (Fig. 1), at the horizontal loom.

² This was also the type of loom in use among the Aztecs of Central America; see illustration in Tylor's *Anthropology*, 242. A full description of the modern Syrian looms, with a valuable list of the Arabic terms and techniques will be found in the *ZDF*, viii., 1887, pp. 73 ff., 122 f.

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ground into the warp could be much more easily and naturally done on a horizontal loom such as that shown above.¹

Of the upright loom, which consists essentially of two upright posts joined at the top by a cross-beam, the

4. The two types of upright loom.

Of the upright loom (for this view of the *jacquard* see Smith's *Treat. of Tek. Rom. Ant.* (3) 2763), there are two main types, regarding which it is difficult to say which is the older. (1) There is first the type familiar to classical students from the representation of Penelope's loom on a Greek vase of the fifth century B.C. (see ill. *FR* (3) 2388; Blümmert, *op. cit.* 135, and often elsewhere), the distinguishing feature of which is the absence of a cross-beam below, the warp threads being kept taut by a series of small stone weights attached either to the individual threads, as in the case just cited, or to bundles of threads, as in the comparatively modern Icelandic loom (ill. Smith, *op. cit.* 277, less complete in Rich, *op. cit.* 'tbl.'). The Roman looms were also of this type, as were those of the lake dwellers of Switzerland in the neolithic age (Buschan, 'Die Anfänge u. Entwicklung der Weberei in der Vorzeit,' in *Verhandl. d. Berlin. Ges. f. Anthropologie*, et. 1886, pp. 227 ff.). In one of the strata of the mound of Tel-el-Hesi (*anna* 500-100 B.C.), Dr. Bliss found a large number of objects, some round, some pear-shaped of unglazed brick, which he supposed to have served as weaver's weights (*A Mound of Many Cities*, 113). In this view we must admit the existence of this type of loom in Palestine, although it has not yet been found in Egypt.

(2) The other type of upright loom is characterized by the presence of a second cross-beam below. When, as usually in Egypt according to Herodotus (235), the web was commenced at the bottom of the loom, such a beam was indispensable and served as a cloth-beam where, as was presumably the case in Palestine, the web was 'woven from the top' (Ju. 1923), the lower beam served as the yarn-beam. In either type of upright loom, however, an additional cross-beam might be provided—usually constructed so as to revolve—rendering it possible to weave a length of web greater

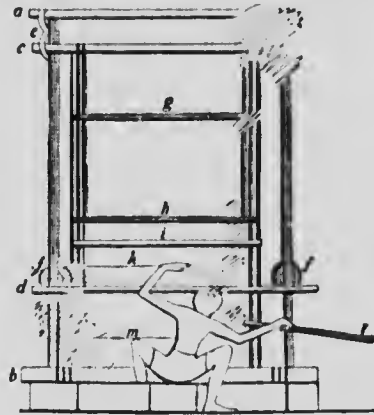


FIG. 2.—Upright loom. From Wilkinson, *Ann. Eg.* 217^a

than the height of the loom—as is the case in the earliest representation of an upright loom that has come down to us by an Egyptian artist of the new empire (here reproduced from Wilk.-Birch, *op. cit.* 217a).

This picture is unfortunately imperfectly preserved and the details of the construction are in several places uncertain. The weaver sits on a bench in front of

¹ Moore (*op. cit.* 280^a) gives this picture to illustrate Delilah's loom, but is in error in regarding both looms as consisting of simple upright frames.

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loom, the frame of which is composed of two upright posts, kept rigid by two cross-bars, *a* and *A*. The roller *c* serves as a yarn-beam and is suspended from the upper beam by twisted loops of rope *e*. But a revolving yarn-beam seems to imply a revolving cloth-beam as well, which makes it probable that the roller *d*, attached to the uprights by the loops *f*, serves this purpose. The functions of the three rods, *a, c, d*, suspended from the yarn-beam will be discussed in a subsequent section (§ 6).

There is no indication of the date at which the upright loom, which, to judge from the existing representations, was a later development in Egypt than followed by Harkki, was introduced into Palestine. It may have been in use from time immemorial along side of the horizontal loom. That the ordinary Jewish loom in NT times was of the second type above described is evident from various indications.

Thus the upper and lower beams (referred to in the Mishna, where also there is frequent reference to the 'standing warp' (שׂוֹרֵץ עֹמֵד, cp the classical *stansum* and *stima*, the warp, from the root *stn*); weaving was done standing as well as sitting (*Zak. 3.21*); the Latin translation of *jugum* and *stamina* to the cross-bar and frame of the loom is paralleled in late Hebrew and Aramaic by the transference, though in the contrary direction, of שׂוֹרֵץ (also שׂוֹרֵץ and שׂוֹרֵץ, Syr. *sa'ul*) to signify a loom, a phenomenon which points to the upright loom. The seamless cloth woven from the top throughout, finally, could only have been made on the upright loom, although this does not of necessity require that the looms for the manufacture of ordinary fabrics were of this type.

The loom in use at the present day in Palestine, as has been said, is uniformly of the horizontal type, and resembles our own handloom in being furnished with beads or heddles worked by a pair of treadles. The frame, however, is much lower, the weaver sitting on or near the ground, and the warp, instead of being wound round the yarn-beam at the opposite end of the frame, as with us, is usually carried upwards and passed over a roller attached to the opposite wall, a few stones fastened to the ends of the warp-threads serving to keep them taut. (For other forms with slightly different arrangements, see *1911* VIII, 1885, p. 73 f.)

To weave is, in the OT, generally שָׂרָה, a weaver שָׂרָה, *weaver* (Jesse, and fence), the latter supplanted to a large extent in later Hebrew by the loanword שָׂרָה (*serah, serah*). The loom is probably שָׂרָה, *serah* (Judg. 16.1) 'LV' beam,' perhaps also Job 7. E.V. 'shuttle').

In commencing a new web the weaver's first care is to stretch the warp in parallel lines evenly between the upper and the lower

beam (שָׂרָה וְשָׂרָה וְשָׂרָה וְשָׂרָה, *Kil. 21.1*

5. **Warping.** *ep. 110*), if the upright loom is adopted.

If we assume that the web is commenced at the top of the loom, these become the cloth-beam and yarn-beam respectively. The cloth-beam apparently is intended by the שָׂרָה, *serah* (a term used in the later chapters of Ex. to render שָׂרָה the poles for carrying the tabernacle furniture; in Ex. 26.26 the earlier translators of Ex used *ambulaculus*) of *Kil. 20.3*, from which we gather that it might either lie across the loked ends of the uprights or be passed through the latter. Fig. 2 shows, as we have seen, that a roller (שָׂרָה, *serah*, Tg. Judg. 16.1) S. 177) might be attached to the upper beam to serve as a cloth or yarn-beam, as the case may be. In five passages of our EV (S. 21.19; Ch. 11.21.20; and the two just cited) mention is made of a weaver's 'beam,' but in none of the cases is this rendering admissible, as will be shown in the following section.

The process of arranging the warp is technically known as 'warping,' the late Heb. שָׂרָה (*Sarrah. 7.2*, etc.), from שָׂרָה, the Gk. *διδραμαι*, Lat. *ordiri*.

This verb occurs in OT only in the metaphorical sense of the beginnings of the human fetus (Ps. 139.13, cp שָׂרָה in the same sense, Job 10.1) and the similar metaphorical use of the Lat. *ordiri, exordiri, exordia* q.

¹ In the vocalisation of the many terms in the sequel found in Lalmidic literature, the pointing adopted by Golan in his *Arabisch-Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch* has been generally followed.

² Rieger's suggestion that 'ר' may be the shuttle (*op. cit. 32*) is inadmissible.

The cognate שָׂרָה (Is. 25: 30) had originally the same signification. In Is 30 in particular as is shown by Aquila's and Theodotus's rendering *de pona*, and Jerome's *cardium teloni* we have a metaphor derived from the winding of the loom in commencing a new web for the beginning of political intrigue. So too in Is. 40. 22 Is. 40. 22 and *mal. 1. 4* (*et. 222*, Judg. 16.1) *Mishna. Sarrah* are both primarily the 'warp,' then, by metonymy, the 'web.' Another technical term for warping was שָׂרָה (*ep. Ar. 110* in this sense), which is to be restored for the corrupt *MI* in Is 13.15 (see modern ed. for reading שָׂרָה; to be rendered, 'thou shalt warp it [in the loom] as already by an early hand of *שָׂרָה*'), which has every probability of being near correct than the non-technical *שָׂרָה* of the other cognates. Here we find an unexpected confirmation of the traditional rendering of שָׂרָה (*Law. 13.1.1*, cp *Ar. Mishna*) as 'the warp' (the sense which it regularly has in the Mishna, but which the majority of commentators have refused to recognise here, a position reflected in RV 96: 'woven or knitted stuff' for 'warp or weft').

The obscure word שָׂרָה (Is. 38.12 AV 'pining sickness,' RV 'loom') seems also, from its etymology, cp Cant 7.6 [4] where it denotes the spreading tresses of a woman's hair, to have originally signified 'warp,' the שָׂרָה of the Mishna, then perhaps, by metonymy, the loom.

Now the essential movements in the process of weaving are three in number. These are (1) the 'shedding'

6. **Shedding.** of the warp, that is, in its simplest form, the dividing of the warp into two sets of the odd and the even threads respectively, to allow of the passage between them of the weft, the opening through which the latter passes being technically known as the 'shed,' (2) the passing of the weft through the 'shed' by means of a rod, needle, or other contrivance serving as a shuttle, and (3) the beating up of the weft to form with the warp a web of uniform consistence throughout. The first of these movements is the most complicated and demands a closer study. In the medieval and modern horizontal loom, as found from the Atlantic to the Ganges, the operation of shedding is effected by a pair of heddle or heddle frames worked by treadles underneath the loom. This arrangement, the result of a long process of evolution, is believed by some of the best authorities, as we have indicated in an earlier section, to have been adopted with the horizontal type of loom by the classical peoples before the Christian era. Rieger, in his frequently cited monograph on the arts of spinning and weaving in the period of the Mishna, even goes so far as to provide the upright Jewish loom with an arrangement of pedals (שָׂרָה וְשָׂרָה, *et. 30*). The evidence, however, for the presence of the horizontal loom N. of the Mediterranean before the middle ages is of the slenderest character, and for the use of treadles is absolutely non-existent (see Ahrens, *Philologus*, 35. 88 ff.; Yates and Marandin in *Sundi's Dict. Ant.* 2nd ed. 7.).

The various stages in the evolution of the apparatus for rapid shedding may be thus briefly traced. In the earliest stage of all, when weaving was scarcely as yet differentiated from plating, the transverse threads were inserted laboriously by the fingers, as in the case thus described by Palmer (see above, § 3). It was soon perceived, however, that by inserting a flat lathe or a roll over and under every alternate warp thread, so that, let us say, all the odd threads were above the lathe and all the even threads under it, a shed could be rapidly formed by turning the lathe through an angle of 90°.

¹ The introduction of 'knitting' here is a curious anachronism, this art, according to Beckmann's *History of Invention*, having probably been invented in Scotland not long before the year 1589 (Yates, *op. cit. 6 f.*).

² For what we believe to be the true explanation of this technical term, see below, col. 5285 f.

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and the weft passed through by means of a pointed stick with which (or with the lathe) it was then beat up. This stage is represented by the Arab horizontal loom described by Burckhardt (*Notes on the Bedouin and Hahabeh*, 67 f.): 'to keep the upper and under woof (read 'warp') at a proper distance from each other a flat stick is placed between them. A piece of wood serves as the weaver's shuttle, and a short gazelle's horn is used in beating back the thread of the shuttle.' With a single dividing rod, however, it must still have been necessary to insert every alternate weft thread by means of this primitive shuttle *over* the odd threads (in the case supposed) and *under* the even threads, since the formation of a second shed requires a second rod. This, however, was the next stage of the evolutionary process now being traced, and is already represented in the early Egyptian loom reproduced above (fig. 1). Here we note the presence of two rods in close connection with the warp; the one, *d*, a plain rod inserted between the two halves of the warp — let us say, as before, that the odd threads, 1, 3, 5, etc., pass over the rod, the even threads, 2, 4, 6, etc., under it — the other rod, *e*, which must lie outside and above the warp, crossed by a series of threads which are represented in the picture by short diagonal lines. The invention of this simple device for expediting the operation of shedding deserves to rank with that of the 'flying shuttle,'² for by this means almost twice as much work could be done in a given time. A single rod, such as *d*, as we have seen, is capable of forming but one shed, which allows the weft to be passed *under* the odd and *over* the even threads of the warp only. Now in order that warp and weft shall be properly interlaced to form the web, it is necessary that in returning the weft shall pass *under* the even and *over* the odd warp threads. To effect this each of the even threads passing under the rod *d* is attached by a loop to the rod *e*. Therefore by simply raising this rod — in the upright loom by its being drawn *backward* the operator standing in front of the loom — all the even threads are pulled upwards (or forwards) so as to be above (or in front of) the odd threads and thus a second shed is formed through which the weft is passed. Rod *d* is again raised, then *e*, and so on alternately. But this cannot be done with the rods in the relative positions which they occupy in fig. 1, for if the reader will make the experiment on a model with twenty or twenty-four warp threads, he will find that the shed formed by raising the rod *e* with its attachment of loops will not reach to the edge of the web owing to the obstruction caused by the rod *d*. Brawlik, who alone, apparently, of previous writers has attempted to describe the exact *modus operandi* of the Egyptian loom, has overlooked this defect in the artist's picture and has even gone so far as to assume, contrary to his own description of the drawing, that both rods were worked in the same manner as rod *e* (see Brawlik, *op. cit.*, fig. 92, p. 62). The true explanation is that the artist — if we assume the correctness of the reproduction in fig. 1 — being unskilled in the technique of weaving, has reversed the true position of the rods, since it will be found by experiment that with two such rods, the one separating the two leaves of the warp, the other attached to the lower leaf by a series of looped threads, the latter rod must always be placed nearer to the edge of the web. This holds good of both types of loom and of both methods of weaving on the upright loom, namely from above or from below (see below, § 8).

The principle here enunciated for the first time will be immediately recognised as indispensable from the following diagrams in which the letters correspond to those of fig. 1, with the addition of *x* to denote the odd, *y* the even threads of the warp, and *z* the web.

¹ The prepositions 'over' and 'under' are here used with special reference to the horizontal loom, fig. 1; but the principle of the upright loom in fig. 2 is essentially the same; only in this case the prepositions 'before' and 'behind' must of course be substituted for 'over' and 'under'.

² By John Kay of Bury in 1730.

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Fig. 3 shows the formation of the first or natural shed through the raising of the odd warp threads by the rod *d*, the formation of the second or artificial shed at *x* through raising of the even threads by the rod *e*.

The final stage, we are convinced, in the evolution of the shedding apparatus for plain weaving on the loom of antiquity was reached, when in the case of the upright

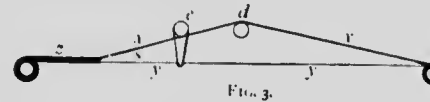


FIG. 3.

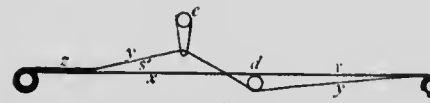


FIG. 4.

loom it was found expedient to attach *both* sets of warp, the odd and the even threads alike, by looped leashes to a couple of rods, which we shall henceforth call leash-rods, both being suspended in front of warp from the *magum* or upper cross-beam of the loom from the second of the top beams if there were two — in the case of the Theban loom in fig. 2. Here, so far as the imperfect condition of the picture enables us to infer, we have a rod *g* near the top of the loom, doubtless dividing the warp into two sets ('stamen serratum', Ovid, *Met.* 655) to facilitate the attachment of the leashes to the leash-rods *h, i*, all three suspended from the yam-beam *k*. By pulling forward *h* and alternately, are formed the alternate sheds through which the weft-thread *l* is passed.

We come now to the perplexing question of Hebrew terminology of the apparatus just described. The single reed of the more primitive loom was termed by the Greeks *καράβη*, by the Romans *arundo*; in the more elaborate looms, such as fig. 2, we find not only *καράβη* and *καλαμοί* but also in *ἑσπέρων*¹ (see below, in *Lecturae*), as the names of the leash-rods to which warp-strings were attached by means of loops or leashes of thread (hence called *αἰρέα*, *licia*), corresponding to the heads or heddles of the modern loom. Now *liciatorium* or leash-rod of the classical loom was named by the Jews of NT times not only *kaneh* *שֵׁבֶט* (*Ohol.* 1:10) here mentioned along with the *spatha* [see *infra*], *Shabb.* 105), but also as Jastrow (*Dict.*, vii.) and Rieu (*op. cit.* 29) have rightly perceived, *nir* (*שֵׁבֶט* *pl. nirim* and *in*). Etymologically identical with the Assyrian *nira*, a yoke, this term might be applied to any transverse rod or beam, hence to the leash-rods or shafts of a loom. This meaning alone suits the (textually corrupt) description of the veil of the temple in *Shekalim* 85, of which many wonderful renderings have been given by lexicographers and commentators.

This veil, we read, 'was a handbreadth thick and was woven upon 72 rods (*שֵׁבֶט*), and over each rod (*שֵׁבֶט* *לֵבַיִם*) were leashes (*שֵׁבֶט* lit. 'threads,' cp Gk. *αἰρέα*).² These two *nirim* of the ordinary loom might be suspended by cords passing over the cross-beam as in fig. 2, or from a peg (*שֵׁבֶט*) projecting from either end of the beam in question, two rods on one peg, and two pegs

¹ The conjecture may be hazarded that the *ἑσπέρων* was at first the rod which lay or hung outside, as if opposite to (*ἑσπέρων*) the warp (see *e* of fig. 1), as distinguished from the *καράβη*, *d*, which lay *in* again may be the *magnum* of certain MSS. of *Gen.* 1:8:17:18:19:20:21:22:23:24:25:26:27:28:29:30:31:32:33:34:35:36:37:38:39:40:41:42:43:44:45:46:47:48:49:50:51:52:53:54:55:56:57:58:59:60:61:62:63:64:65:66:67:68:69:70:71:72:73:74:75:76:77:78:79:80:81:82:83:84:85:86:87:88:89:90:91:92:93:94:95:96:97:98:99:100:101:102:103:104:105:106:107:108:109:110:111:112:113:114:115:116:117:118:119:120:121:122:123:124:125:126:127:128:129:130:131:132:133:134:135:136:137:138:139:140:141:142:143:144:145:146:147:148:149:150:151:152:153:154:155:156:157:158:159:160:161:162:163:164:165:166:167:168:169:170:171:172:173:174:175:176:177:178:179:180:181:182:183:184:185:186:187:188:189:190:191:192:193:194:195:196:197:198:199:200:201:202:203:204:205:206:207:208:209:210:211:212:213:214:215:216:217:218:219:220:221:222:223:224:225:226:227:228:229:230:231:232:233:234:235:236:237:238:239:240:241:242:243:244:245:246:247:248:249:250:251:252:253:254:255:256:257:258:259:260:261:262:263:264:265:266:267:268:269:270:271:272:273:274:275:276:277:278:279:280:281:282:283:284:285:286:287:288:289:290:291:292:293:294:295:296:297:298:299:300:301:302:303:304:305:306:307:308:309:310:311:312:313:314:315:316:317:318:319:320:321:322:323:324:325:326:327:328:329:330:331:332:333:334:335:336:337:338:339:340:341:342:343:344:345:346:347:348:349:350:351:352:353:354:355:356:357:358:359:360:361:362:363:364:365:366:367:368:369:370:371:372:373:374:375:376:377:378:379:380:381:382:383:384:385:386:387:388:389:390:391:392:393:394:395:396:397:398:399:400:401:402:403:404:405:406:407:408:409:410:411:412:413:414:415:416:417:418:419:420:421:422:423:424:425:426:427:428:429:430:431:432:433:434:435:436:437:438:439:440:441:442:443:444:445:446:447:448:449:450:451:452:453:454:455:456:457:458:459:460:461:462:463:464:465:466:467:468:469:470:471:472:473:474:475:476:477:478:479:480:481:482:483:484:485:486:487:488:489:490:491:492:493:494:495:496:497:498:499:500:501:502:503:504:505:506:507:508:509:510:511:512:513:514:515:516:517:518:519:520:521:522:523:524:525:526:527:528:529:530:531:532:533:534:535:536:537:538:539:540:541:542:543:544:545:546:547:548:549:550:551:552:553:554:555:556:557:558:559:560:561:562:563:564:565:566:567:568:569:570:571:572:573:574:575:576:577:578:579:580:581:582:583:584:585:586:587:588:589:590:591:592:593:594:595:596:597:598:599:600:601:602:603:604:605:606:607:608:609:610:611:612:613:614:615:616:617:618:619:620:621:622:623:624:625:626:627:628:629:630:631:632:633:634:635:636:637:638:639:640:641:642:643:644:645:646:647:648:649:650:651:652:653:654:655:656:657:658:659:660:661:662:663:664:665:666:667:668:669:670:671:672:673:674:675:676:677:678:679:680:681:682:683:684:685:686:687:688:689:690:691:692:693:694:695:696:697:698:699:700:701:702:703:704:705:706:707:708:709:710:711:712:713:714:715:716:717:718:719:720:721:722:723:724:725:726:727:728:729:730:731:732:733:734:735:736:737:738:739:740:741:742:743:744:745:746:747:748:749:750:751:752:753:754:755:756:757:758:759:760:761:762:763:764:765:766:767:768:769:770:771:772:773:774:775:776:777:778:779:780:781:782:783:784:785:786:787:788:789:790:791:792:793:794:795:796:797:798:799:800:801:802:803:804:805:806:807:808:809:810:811:812:813:814:815:816:817:818:819:820:821:822:823:824:825:826:827:828:829:830:831:832:833:834:835:836:837:838:839:840:841:842:843:844:845:846:847:848:849:850:851:852:853:854:855:856:857:858:859:860:861:862:863:864:865:866:867:868:869:870:871:872:873:874:875:876:877:878:879:880:881:882:883:884:885:886:887:888:889:890:891:892:893:894:895:896:897:898:899:900:901:902:903:904:905:906:907:908:909:910:911:912:913:914:915:916:917:918:919:920:921:922:923:924:925:926:927:928:929:930:931:932:933:934:935:936:937:938:939:940:941:942:943:944:945:946:947:948:949:950:951:952:953:954:955:956:957:958:959:960:961:962:963:964:965:966:967:968:969:970:971:972:973:974:975:976:977:978:979:980:981:982:983:984:985:986:987:988:989:990:991:992:993:994:995:996:997:998:999:1000

² The arrangement is not essentially different if *y* take the place of the threads of the warp, in which case *z* *over* *y* would resemble not *e* but *d* of fig. 1. For the *modus operandi* of such complex looms, but of the horizontal type, with as many as 100 shafts, see *EB* 244. Moore's rendering of the passage (*ib.*), 'and on every thread (*nima* of *textus* *recenset*) namely of the warp, were 24 strings (*ἑσπέρων*) of which as many different heddles' is unintelligible to the present writer.

influence of the early translators, who had formed a quite erroneous, though intelligible and consistent, conception of the details of the incident.¹

In the case of the older classical loom, the *tele pendula*, open below, the operator had no alternative

8. Direction of web. With the looms figured above, on the contrary, the web might be begun at either end of the low loom (fig. 1), and at either top or bottom of the high loom (fig. 2). According to Herodotus (235) 'other nations push the web upwards,' *i.e.*, commence at the top of the loom, 'the Egyptians, on the other hand, push it downwards,' *i.e.*, commence at the bottom. The position of the leash-rods in fig. 2, relative to the web at *l*, shows that Herodotus is right as regards the usual Egyptian practice, although absolute uniformity is scarcely probable. The operator, as we further see, was able to remain in a sitting posture while the lower half of the web, at least, was being woven, and if, as we have inferred in the case in Fig. 2, the loom was provided with a cloth-beam, he might at the expense of a yard of warp remain seated throughout. That the Jews in NT times wove from the top downwards is a probable, though by no means conclusive, inference from the description of the tunic of Jesus which was woven *ἐκ τῶν ἀνωθεν δι' ἄλιν* (In. 19:23, for which see also below), a phrase which strictly means—'from collar to selvage.' That the inference is a correct one, however, is attested by Theophylact, archbishop of Bulgaria, about 1070, who, with reference to the passage just cited, comments thus: 'Others say that in Palestine they work their looms not as with us (among whom) the leashes and the warp are at the top, the web being woven at the bottom and thence upwards, but on the contrary, the leashes (*μίται* = *bātē nīrīn*) are at the bottom and the web is woven from the top' (*Ad Joann.*, 18:25; cp the similar though less explicit testimony for Galilee, quoted from Isidorus Pelusiota by Ahrens: *Philol.* 35:399).

The web having reached the desired length, it was severed from the remaining warp threads (152. Is. 38:12,

9. Final processes. *ἐκτέλειεν*, Tob. 2:12 G), and rolled round the cloth-beam (hence the figure in Is. *ibid.*: *גָּרְדָּהּ*, RV 'I have rolled up like a weaver my life'), for removal from the loom. Linen in this undressed (*ἀγρᾶφος*, Mt. 9:16 Mk. 2:21 RV—AV 'new cloth') condition was termed *ἀβάδιον* (Eccles. 40:4 RV wrongly 'hempen frock'), and was exposed to less danger from shrinking, if exposed to wet, than cloth made from wool. The task of milling or felting the cloth (to use the modern terms) fell to the *FTLLR* (2:7), by whom it was steeped in water mixed with various alkaline ingredients, stamped and beaten to complete the felting process, then bleached with fumes of sulphur, carded to raise the nap, and finally pressed in the fuller's press. To enter into these processes in detail would extend this article unduly (see for full references Rieger, *op. cit.* 39-45, and cp Blümner, *op. cit.* 1:157-177).

In the preceding sections regard has been had only to the most ordinary sort of weaving, where the warp and weft are of the same material, the weft passing over and under each alternate thread of the warp. It remains now to refer briefly to a few of the more complex varieties of the textile art. The Hebrews were forbidden to follow a custom in vogue among all nations of combining a warp of flax with a weft of wool,

¹ The technical terms employed in the divergent renderings of G show that the Greek translators thought of Samson's hair as stretched with the warp of the horizontal loom, the end of which was fastened by a pin into the opposite wall (see above, § 2), while in NIT the braids are clearly intended to be used as *wef*.

which is probably what is signified by the obscure *קַנְיָה* (Lev. 19:9 Dt. 22:11). The reason for this was certainly not that given by Josephus (*Ant.* i [§ 208]), that garments of this sort were priestly but most probably be sought in connection with magical practices (see Goldziher, *Z. f. N. F.*, 1902, 36 f., for an Arab parallel, and cp the similar prohibition against seething a kid in its mother's milk; see C. 156, § 8 end). The simplest variation from the web hitherto discussed, was obtained by using alternate coloured wefts, say white and black, commencing the warp in alternate bands of white and black yarn, by which striped fabrics were produced similar to those so much in favour among the peasantry at the present day. It is very doubtful, however, whether the obscure and textually suspicious *קַנְיָה* of Prov. 7:16 (see LINEN, 1) means 'striped cloth of the yarn of Egypt' (so RV). The color representations of Syrians on Egyptian monuments show that they wore narrow close-fitting, plain cloths in which dark blue threads alternated with dark red and these were generally adorned with embroidery (Ermann, *Ex.* 216 f., where also illustration of Sargon, ambassador with dress as just described, the embroidery being in the form of stars, a form of ornament called *oculi* by the Romans, Marq. *Röm. Privatleben*, 526 f.). By having the warp all of one colour and the weft all of another, what is known as a 'shot' fabric was the result. Thus we read of garments 'of white and blue' (153. Gen. 41:14) 'warp is dyed and the weft white, or the weft blue and the warp white' (Aeg. 114). By alternating different coloured bands, both in warp and weft, further, a 'chequer' or 'chess-board' pattern is obtained. Such 'chequer' was in great favour in antiquity, as may be seen from the extant coloured representations, not only for everyday clothes (see e.g., in the procession of Semitic immigrants, part of which is reproduced in colours in *Kiepert's Atlas*, opposite p. 54), but as a pattern for the sails of vessels (see Wilk. *op. cit.*, frontispiece to vol. 1). Among the Jews we find mention of 'a summer garment of white and coloured cheeks' (*שֵׁטֶף צִבְיָה* [*ψήφος*]) read for *שֵׁטֶף צִבְיָה* (Aeg. 117). Joseph's 'coat of many colours' (*שֵׁטֶף צִבְיָה*), it need hardly be said, belonged according to one line of tradition (G, Vg., see Comment. on Gen. 37:3), to one or other of the categories enumerated.

What precise style of weaving is denoted by *Sibbes* (25. 29:39 AV 'embroider', RV 'weave in chequer work') applied to the high priest's tunic—hence its description as *שֵׁטֶף צִבְיָה* (25. 4 AV 'a brodered coat', RV 'a coat of chequer work')—is quite uncertain. The reverses, as we see, indicate their precise nature for some kind of check. *Iranian Gewerbe und Industrie*, 1: 367-354) argues at great length in favour of 'Maimonides' that a species of honeycomb pattern is intended, resembling the lining of the second stomach (*reticulum*) of ruminants.

From the earliest times in the E. we find evidence of the use of gold, and to a less extent of silver, to enrich the richness and value of textile fabrics. Thus, the 'gold thread', prepared by cutting finely beat plates of gold into narrow strips (Ex. 39:3), was directed to be employed in the manufacture of the robes of the high priest (25:5 f. 39:2 f.). It was chiefly used as weft (cp Verheyden, 'picturatas auri subtenime vestes,' *Ann.* 3:483), the wholly of gold thread being of late and rare occurrence (Marq. *op. cit.* 519). The ghostly horsemen of 2 Macc. 5:2 were arrayed in 'cloth of gold' (AV, *δαχρῶς σπολάς*), so, too, according to the Greek interpretation was the royal bride of Ps. 45:9 [10] (*ὀὐ ἵππῶν δαχρῶσις* = *ἵππῶν ἵππῶν*). Holofernes' mosquito curtain was of 'purple and gold' (Judith 10:21). Agrippa's royal robe (cp Acts 12:21), on the other hand, is described by Josephus (*Ant.* xix. 8:2) as woven throughout of silver thread.

The rectangular plaid-like upper garment or *simlith* of the Hebrews (MANTLE, § 2 [1]) was, of course, woven in one piece; the undergarment, *kithmēth* (TUNIC),

WEAVING

the other hand, which had to be more in accordance with the stature of the wearer, was apparently made by sewing together two lengths of cloth cut more or less to measure. This we infer from Josephus' description of the high priest's tunic (χιτών), which was 'not made of two pieces, so as to be sewed together up on the shoulders and down the sides, but was woven in one long piece, etc.' (Ant. iii. 7.4 [§ 161]). The tunic worn by Jesus at the close of his ministry was also of this sort; ἦν δὲ ὁ χιτῶν ἀραφός (without seam) ἐκ τῶν ἀνωτέρων ὑφαντός δὲ βίου (Jn. 19.23). For the manufacture of such seamless fabrics it was necessary to mount a double warp which was woven with a continuous weft. The warp threads, that is, were so arranged as to lie on both sides of the upper beam, each face of the warp being provided with its own set of leash-rods. The operator, if there was but one, had to pass the weft across first one face, and then the other in succession by going round and round the loom, a procedure which, of course, could be obviated by having two operators for the same loom. In this way a cylindrical web was produced. Whether the sleeves were worked at the same time, as Braun in his classical treatment of this style of weaving maintains (op. cit. with illustration of specially constructed loom opposite p. 360) is less certain. It may also be noted that Braulik (op. cit. with technical diagrams, 28 f., 77 f., 89 f.) has discovered that the Egyptians from, at the latest, the time of the twenty-second dynasty, were familiar with a similar style of seamless fabrics, as indeed might have been inferred from the extremely tight-fitting garments represented on some of the Egyptian statues.

The finest products of the textile art known to the Hebrews are evidently intended to be represented as the work of the craftsman designated by the authors of the priestly code the ἁβέζα (צבץ, Ex. 26.1.31, and often), literally, the designer, inventor, artist. Three grades of craftsmanship, it will be remembered, are mentioned together in the directions for the construction of the tabernacle and the priestly robes: the ordinary weaver (צבץ), the robe-maker (צבץ, Ex. 26.5, and often), and the ἁβέζα. The nature of the work (צבץ) produced by the second of these has been the subject of much discussion. German scholars, as a rule, understand merely colour-weaving (Buntweberei), such as we have discussed above; but various considerations which cannot be detailed here (see EMBROIDERY, and the writer's forthcoming commentary on Exodus in the Intern. Crit. Series) lead to the belief that embroidery, the opus plumarium of the ancients, is intended. There is a greater consensus of opinion in favour of identifying the צבץ (Ex. 26.1, etc. EV 'work of the cunning workman') with tapestry. This differs from ordinary weaving in respect that the weft is not thrown across the warp by a shuttle, but the design is traced by inserting short coloured threads by the fingers, or by a 'broach' or needle, behind as many warp threads only as may be required. The high loom in use in the celebrated Gobelin factory is almost an exact reproduction of the Egyptian loom of fig. 2 above (E. Muntz, A Short History of Tapestry, 5 'where, however, the reference is to our fig. 1), and especially 356 ff. with illustrations). Indeed, it is by no means improbable that the picture in question is that of a tapestry rather than of an ordinary weaver. The curtains of the tabernacle are clearly intended to be of tapestry with cherubim figures; so too, the veil both of the tabernacle (Ex. 26.31) and of Solomon's temple (2 Ch. 3.14; cp Heb. סָוּר with Ἐ καὶ ὑφανεν κ.τ.λ.). Jewish tapestry was celebrated at a later period, and noted for the unnatural figures of animals designed by the Jewish artists (Claudian in Entrop. 1.30 ff., cited by Marquardt). The tapestry worker was known to the classical world as polymiterius (Jerome's rendering of ἁβέζα), and his work polymitia (πολύμητρος, used by Symmachus Ezek.

WEEK

16.13.27.16), because as explained by Pliny (HN 8.196) he wove 'plumibus leas,' that is, with weft threads of various colours (cp Isidorus, Orig. xiv. 22.21: 'polymitus enim textus multorum colorum est'). In EV 'tapestry' is twice introduced (Prov. 7.16.31.22); but the sense and even the text of the original are doubtful (see the Comm.).

It only remains to add that the weavers as a class enjoyed a high reputation among their countrymen, many curious illustrations of which have been collected by Delitzsch (Jud. Handwerksleben, 45 ff.). Like other craftsmen, however, in NT times, those of Jerusalem formed a strong guild, the beginning of which may be traced back to at least the days of the Chronicler (1 Ch. 4.21).

The literature of the subject has been referred to with some detail in the course of the article. A. R. S. K.

- WEDGE. 1. יָבֵזֶה, Job. 7.21.24.
2. כִּרְבֵּץ, Kithem, Is. 13.12 RV 'pure gold'; see GOLD, § 1.0.

WEEDS (שָׁבִיב), Job. 25. See FLAG.

WEEK. The subdivision of the month into weeks, as also into decades (אֶשְׂרֵי יָמִים) - the week representing approximately a fourth, the decade a third, of 29-30 days - is of great antiquity.

1. Origin The old Hebrew for the week of seven days is שִׁבְעָתַי, šabbat - i.e., a seven, a heptad (= ἑβδόμη, Lat. septimana); cp Gen. 29.27 (Ἐ τα ἑβδομα). In later times שָׁבִיב, šabbath, also was currently employed, although only four instances of its use for 'week' are met with in OT - viz., Lev. 23.15 [cp Dt. 16.] Lev. 25.3 Nu. 28.19 and Is. 66.23 - and in Aramaic it became the ordinary word (אֶשְׂרֵי שָׁבִיב or אֶשְׂרֵי שָׁבִיב; cp also Arab. šamba and šambata = 'a short space of time'). Similarly in NT the week is never called ἑβδομα, but invariably only σάββατον or σάββατα (pl.); cp Mk. 16.9 Lk. 18.12 Mt. 28.1.

This quadripartite division of the month into weeks was naturally suggested by the phases of the moon and was far from being peculiar to the Hebrews. In particular it has been shown to have been an ancient institution with the Babylonians, and even in their case it had nothing to do with the number of the seven planets, after which at a later date the days of the week came to be named. Whether the Israelites used the week as a division of time even in their nomadic stage remains obscure. It is not impossible that they may have derived it from the Babylonians even before their settlement in Canaan, as the Canaanites also had done. However that may be, the development of the seventh day into a day of rest must certainly be referred to the time when the Israelites had already become an agricultural people (see SABBATH).

The mode of reckoning among the Israelites was originally doubtless the same as that of the Babylonians - viz., by dividing the first 28 days of each month into four weeks terminating respectively on the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th day, and by making the first week of the new month always begin with the new moon. This intimate connection, however, between the week and the month was soon dissolved (cp the expression 'feast of weeks' in Ex. 34.22 [1]). Whether the preponderance which the Sabbath day, as marking the close of the week, acquired over the day of new moon, was a cause or a consequence of the loosening of the connection it is impossible to determine; we are not precluded from supposing that quite other reasons may have contri-

1 Lēbion (= λέβιον), has this meaning here, not the special and technical sense which it had above.

2 In view of this original meaning of the word it becomes possible for שָׁבִיב in Dan. 9.24-27 to mean a week of years (annorum hebdomas). Cp the corresponding use of שָׁבִיב with the explanatory addition of שָׁבִיב (Lev. 25.4: שָׁבִיב שָׁבִיב, 'seven weeks of years').

WEEKS, FEAST OF

buted to the increased importance attached to the Sabbath; what is certain is that the week soon followed a development of its own, and it became the custom, without paying any regard to the days of the month that did not fit in with the four weeks, to reckon by regular periods of seven days so that new moon no longer coincided invariably with the first day of the week. After this the week of course, having no fixed point of attachment, became quite unsuited as a measure by which the dates of events could be fixed; on the other hand, however, it became useful for the measurement not only of comparatively brief intervals of time but also of periods exceeding a month; thus we not only have the week of marriage festivities (Gen. 29.27 f.), and periods of two weeks (Lev. 12.5) and of three (Dan. 10.2 f.), but also of a space of seven weeks (Dt. 16.9 f. [Ex. 31.22], Lev. 23.15).

When it was desired to specify the precise day of the week on which an event had happened or was expected

to happen, the ordinal numbers had to be used as long as the days remained unprovided with special names. Friday and Saturday are the only days that have names of their own; in the OT—if we leave the Apocrypha out of account—Saturday only.

Thus for Friday in OT we have merely *הַיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי*, *bayyom haššivī*, 'on the sixth day' (Ex. 16.52), and, for Sunday in the NT, *τὴν μετὰ τῶν σαββάτων* (Mk. 16.2 Lk. 24.1 Acts 20.7 cp 1 Cor. 16.2 Mt. 28.1) or *πρωτὴ σαββάτου* (Mk. 16.9).

Bible.	Bab. Planet Names.	Latin.	French.	German.	English.
	Šamaš	Dies Solis	Dimanche	Sonntag	Sunday
	Sin	„ Lune	Lundi	Montag	Monday
	Nergal	„ Martis	Mardi	Diens (= Zivis)-tag	Tuesday
	Nabu	„ Mercurii	Mercredi	Mittwoch (Wodanstag)	Wednesday
	Marduk (Bel)	„ Jovis	Jeudi	Donners(=Thors)tag	Thursday
<i>παρασκευή, προσαββατον</i>	Istar (Bel-tis)	„ Veneris	Vendredi	Frei(=Freias)-tag	Friday
<i>שַׁבָּת</i>	Nimb	„ Saturni	Samedi	Samstag	Saturday

Saturday is, in the OT, called *שַׁבָּת*, *sabbath*, or *הַיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי* *yom haššivīth* (e.g., Am. 8.5 Ex. 20.8); in the NT [*τὴν*] *σαββάτου* (e.g., Mk. 6.2), *ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν σαββάτων* (Lk. 13.1), [*τὴν*] *σαββάτου* (Mt. 28.1 Col. 2.1) or *ἡμέρα τῶν σαββάτων* (Lk. 4.1). Friday, as preceding, or as preparing for, Saturday is called either *προσαββατον* (as early as Judith 8.5; cp Mk. 16.4) or *παρασκευή* (Mk. 15.42 Mt. 27.62 Jn. 19.31; cp also Lk. 23.54 *ἡμέρα παρασκευῆς*, and Jos. *Ant.* vii. 62).

The naming of the days of the week after those of the seven planets (of which no instance occurs in OT or NT) has its explanation simply in the coincidence of number. The allocation of particular planets to particular days was, no doubt, determined by astrological considerations; the planet that presided over the first hour, presided over, and so gave name to, the whole day. Amongst the Sabians of Harrān in Mesopotamia we already find the seven planetary deities recognised as the deities of the days of the week in the order still current with ourselves: the sun, the moon, Nergal (Mars), Nabu (Mercury), Bel (Jupiter), Bel-tis (Venus), Kronos (Saturn).¹ It is worth noticing also that Jewish tradition assigned the care of a day of the week to each of the seven archangels (Raphael, Gabriel, Samael, Michael, Izidkiel, Hanael and Kepharel).² The divine names of the day passed from the East to the various nations of Europe, native deities in some instances taking the place of foreign ones, just as among the Jews the names of archangels were substituted. See the above table.

¹ See *K. A. T.* 21.

² Weber, *Altsynag. pal. Theol.* 164; (²) (1897), p. 169.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURE

Besides the articles in the various dictionaries of the and sections in the handbooks of Benzinger and Now-Schr. 'Der Bab. Urspr. d. sieben-tägigen' 4. **Literature.** in *St. Kr.* 1874, p. 343 ff. and *K. A. T.* 1907, p. 173; Mayer, 'Ursprung der sieben Wochentage', *ZDMG.* 1883, pp. 453 ff.; cp W. R. Smith in same volume, 476; Loiz, *Quest. de historia Sabbatho*, 1833; We. *Prod.* 2 116 ff.; *Heid.* 173.

WEEKS, FEAST OF (*תּוֹנֵי יְקָרְוֹת*), Ex. 34.22. PENTECOST.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. In view of the position of Palestine, lying between Egypt, Phoenicia and Assyria, it was to be expected that the systems of weights and measures there in use would have been derived from one or other of the systems belonging to the neighbouring countries. According to C. II. 1. 1. 'from Antos 85 we may perhaps infer that, as early as the eighth century B.C., the Israelites had a standard of weights and measures . . . it is possible indeed, that the Babylonians had introduced this into Canaan in or before the fifteenth century B.C. [the Amarna correspondence as a proof of Babylonian predominance in Canaan]. The literary evidence for Palestine itself, however, is often very unsatisfactory, and we are accordingly reduced to choosing between probabilities.

The most important measure of length is the *'ammah* (*אמה*), which contains 2 spans (*zefreth*, *זפרת*), the palm (*liphah*, *לפה*), or 24 fingers' breadths

(*אמה*). Above the *enbit* was the reed or *'am* (*אמה*) of 6 cubits (Ezek. 40.5).

1. Measures of length. The foot and the fathom, characteristic of so many other systems, are foreign to the early Jewish scale.

The old Hebrew literary data are as follows:—

The bedstead of Og was measured 'after the cubit of a man' (Deut. 3.11)—which gives us no exact calculation.

Solomon (2 Ch. 3.3) laid out his temple in 'after the first (=ancient) measure.' Ezekiel 43.13 describes the cubit of the temple of which foresees the restoration, as being 'a cubit and an hand's breadth.' It may be presumed (Hultsch, *Metra*), that this longer cubit is identical with the cubit of Solomon's temple, and that the common cubit of Ezekiel's time was only $\frac{1}{2}$ of the cubit of Solomon's time.² Certain views of Talmudic writers which explain this explanation may be satisfactorily explained, for instance, the idea that the short cubit contained 5 hand's breadths (Zuckermann, *Das jud. Maas*-s. 17) is due to an inverted conception of Ezekiel's measure. The idea of a cubit of one finger's breadth more than the long cubit is also mistaken. This (to argue on the basis of the royal Egyptian cubit) would be .54 which is nearly a 'simple' hand's breadth (.079).

¹ Note on Prov. 16.11 (*Internat. Crit. Com.*).

² In Egypt the short cubit (460 m. or 17.72 in.) was $\frac{1}{2}$ of the royal cubit (.525 m. or 20.67 in.).

MEASURES

aries of the Bible, er and Nowack, see ebentägigen Woche' ed *KAT* 19, ff.; E. en Wochentage' in W. R. Smith's *monistoria Sabbati libri* 9. K. M.

), Ex. 34.22. See

In view of the Egypt, Phœnicia, that the systems of would harmonise belonging to to C. H. Toy,¹ r that, as early as lites had a legal . it is possible, duced this system nth century' [cp op of Babylonian ary evidence from ansativity, and ng between mere

ngth is the CUBIT (cubitus, קוֹמָד) or 6 breadths (עֶבֶד,

English.
Sunday
Monday
Tuesday
Wednesday
Thursday
Friday
Saturday

reed or *šineh* (Ezek. 40.5). The characteristic of s, are foreign to

follows:— after the cubit of s no exact indi-

temple in cubits 'Ezekiel (40.5) ple of which he bit and an hand- (Hultsch, *Metr.* 440) ith the cubit of ommon cubit of bit of Solomon's ers which conflict torially explained; bit contained only ud. *Mias-system*, Ezekiel's meaning. eadth more than (to argue on the uld be .547 m., eadth (.0792 m.)

ur.). (2 in.) was similarly

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

more than the 'simple' cubit according to Julian of Ascalon (see below). This 25-finger cubit was therefore due to an attempt to interpret Ezekiel as speaking in terms of the 'simple' cubit.

It would be futile to discuss in detail the various attempts which have been made to ascertain the exact length of the Hebrew cubit. Since in Egypt the two cubits stood in the same relation to each other as the Hebrew (6:7) and were similarly divided into 24 fingers' breadths, it is natural to make an attempt to identify the two systems. Supposing the length of the Siloam canal, as stated in the inscription, to be really 1200 cubits, and accepting Conder's measurement (537.6 m.) we obtain a short cubit of .525 to .527 m.¹ Unfortunately, the distance stated in the inscription of Siloam is doubtful, and there is some reason to suppose that it is not 1200 but 1000 cubits (see, e.g., *PEFQ*, 1890, p. 209 f.), which yields .5376 m. for the short and .6272 m. for the long cubit. Among other attempts to deduce the cubit we may mention Petrie's measurements of tombs at Jerusalem (*PEFQ*, 1892, p. 28 f.).

One set of tombs seems to be planned on a cubit which is the same as the Egyptian; another cubit which he deduces measures 22.67.03 in. (about .575 m.); while there is one chamber which suggests 25.2 in. (about .641 m.). We must remember in dealing with deductions of this kind that it is not certain that buildings were always planned so as to contain an exact number of cubits in their various dimensions.

The method of ascertaining the length of the cubit from the measurement of grains of barley which, according to a recent attempt (*PEFQ*, 1897, p. 201), gives a cubit of 17.77 in. (.451 m.), is liable to objections (see Hultsch, *Metr.* pp. 434, 435); nevertheless the result helps to make the balance of the evidence incline in favour of the Egyptian cubit, although there may well have been other systems in use in early times. [For other discussions of the length or the cubit, see e.g., *PEFQ*, 1879, p. 181; 1880, p. 98; 1899, p. 226 f.]

Assuming the short cubit to be .450 m., and the long cubit .525 m., as in Egypt, we obtain the following values for early Jewish long measures.

	LONGER SYSTEM.		SHORTER SYSTEM.	
	Metres.	Inches.	Metres.	Inches.
Finger's breadth.	0.022	.86	0.019	.74
Palm	0.087	3.44	0.075	2.95
Span	0.262	10.33	0.225	8.80
Cubit	0.525	20.67	0.450	17.72

The Hebrew measures of length of later times are explained in the Table of Julian of Ascalon, a Byzantine writer of uncertain date (*Ἑλληνικά ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Ἀσκαλωνίτου Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἤτοι ἐθῶν τῶν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ*; Hultsch, *Metr. Scr.* 122 f.). It appears that that table, or its original, was drawn up for the purpose of legally defining the measures of the province. From it we obtain the following measures and equivalents:—

1. The δάκτυλος or finger's breadth.
2. The παλαιστή or palm = 4 δάκτυλοι.
3. The πῆγυς or cubit = 1½ ft. = 6 palms.
4. The βῆμα or pace = 2 cubits = 3 ft. = 12 palms.
5. The οὐρῖα (οὐρῖα) or fathom = 2 paces = 4 cubits = 6 ft. = 9 spans = 4 fingers' breadths.
6. The ἀκαῖα or reed = ½ fathoms = 6 cubits = 9 ft. = 36 palms.
7. The πλεθρον = 10 reeds = 15 fathoms = 30 paces = 60 cubits = 90 ft.
8. The στάδιον or furlong = 6 plethra = 60 reeds = 100 fathoms = 200 paces = 400 cubits = 600 ft.
9. (a) The μίλιον or mile, 'according to Eratosthenes and Strabo' = 81 stadia = 833 fathoms (more exactly, 831¼ fathoms).
- (b) The μίλιον, 'according to the present use' = 7½ stadia = 750 fathoms = 1500 paces = 3000 cubits.
10. The present μίλιον of 7½ stadia = 750 'geometric fathoms' = 2¼ (more exactly 2¼) 'simple' fathoms; for 100 geometric fathoms = 112 simple fathoms, or more exactly, 9 geometric = 10 simple fathoms.

¹ Cp the dimensions of the grave in *Rev. Archæol.*, 1886, p. 225 f.

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There can be no doubt that the 3000 cubits (4500 ft.) which make up the mile according to Julian (5) are the royal Egyptian cubits of .525 m. We thus obtain the following values for the two scales (geometric and simple) according to Julian.

	GEOMETRIC.		SIMPLE.	
	Metres.	Inches.	Metres.	Inches.
Finger's breadth.	0.022	.86	0.020	.79
Palm	0.088	3.44	0.079	3.11
Span	0.262	10.33	0.236	9.31
Cubit	0.525	20.67	0.473	18.62
Fathom	2.100	82.68	1.890	74.49

In this table, the span is taken as half the cubit, as in the earlier system; the passage in Julian (5) which equates 9 spans to the fathom is either corrupt, or an attempt to express the fathom of one system in spans of another.

Of the measures longer than the cubit, the kânch (ἄκαῖα) is equated by Ezek. 40.5 to 6 cubits (3,150 m. or 10 ft. 4 in.). It will be noticed that in § 6 Julian gives the ἀκαῖα 9 ft., whereas in § 8 he equates 60 ἀκαῖα to 600 feet. In the latter case he must be thinking of the ordinary Greek foot of .315 m., in the former of the Ptolemaic Egyptian foot of .350 m., the two standing to each other as 9:10.

Julian's plethron and stadion must be regarded as being on the Ptolemaic scale—i.e., 100 × .350 m. and 600 × .350 m.—i.e., 38 yds. 10 in. and 228 yds. 5 ft. respectively. The stadion thus corresponds very nearly to our furlong, by which it is generally translated. The mile of 7½ stadia on the same system is 1575 m. or 1722 yds. 1 ft. 5 in.

The 'pace' of Julian is a fixed measure of 2 cubits; but it probably did not belong to the original Hebrew scheme, and the pace (παῖς) of 2 S. 613 is probably not intended for a definite expression.

The 'Sabbath day's journey' (Zuckermann, 27 f.; cp *SABBATH*, col. 4175, n. 4) is equated by most Hebrew authorities to 2000 cubits; thus, too, Josephus gives us 5 stadia (= 2000 cubits) as the distance of the Mt. of Olives from Jerusalem, a distance which in Acts 1.12 is σαββαίων ὁδός. On the other hand the Talmud (Zuckermann, 27) equates Sabbath day's journey and mil—i.e., the μίλιον of 3000 cubits or 7½ furlongs; and we meet with measurements (such as the 'three score furlongs' of 1 k. 24.13) which contain this distance an exact number of times. Hultsch (445) accordingly thinks that this (1721.475 yds.) was the distance originally permitted for a Sabbath day's journey, and afterwards shortened by one third. There was probably much vagueness in the term.

Some way' (Gen. 35.10, 48.7 2 K. 5.13), if the text is correct (for criticism, see RACHIN, § 2), is still vaguer than the preceding; the fact that it was compared by the Syrian and Arabic translators with the parasang hardly justifies us, even if we adhere to MT, in regarding it as a fixed measure (Hultsch, 445). The same, or even greater, indefiniteness attaches to the expression 'a day's journey' (1 K. 19.4 1 k. 24, etc.).

Of measures of area, the only one which receives a special name in the OT is the *šemel* (שֶׁמֶל, 1 S. 11.14 Is.

2. Measures of area.—i.e., as such as could be ploughed in one day with a yoke of oxen (on Winckler's different view, see *ACRE*). The Egyptian ἀροῦρα of 100 royal cubits square was equivalent to .2756 hectares, or .6810 acre; but we have no authority for identifying *šemel* with *arour*.

1. *Š'ih*.—In Is. 5.13 G translates שֶׁה (ephah) by 'three measures' (cp Mt. 13.12, and the Talmud, Zuckermann, 427, 441). The 'measure' *par excellence*, or Hebrew modius, here mentioned is the *ših* (שֶׁה, μέτρον, cp *διετρον* [BA in 2 K.], σάτον [Hag. 2.17 (16)], cp Mt. 13.13; Gen. 18.6 1 S. 25.18 2 K. 7.11 (6)). This is described by Eusebius (Hultsch, *Metrol. Scr.* 1.100) as a μῶδιος ὑπερονομος—a modius of extra size—and is equated by him to 1½ Roman modius—i.e., 20 sextarii. Josephus

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on the other hand (*Int.* ix. 43) gives $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\nu = 1\frac{1}{2}$ mod. = 24 sextarii. Elsewhere, Epiphanius and other authorities equate the Hebrew modius with 22 sextarii. This last squares with the estimate of the Babylonian ephah at about 60 sextarii (Hultsch, 412). The seah was used both as liquid and dry measure, but more commonly mentioned as the latter, especially in the biblical writings.

ii. *Ephah*.—Like *hin* (see below, iv.) the word *ephah* is said to be of Egyptian origin (on which cp Hommel's remark, *MTT* 203, n. 1). The ephah ($\epsilon\phi\alpha$, Lev. 19.36, etc.; see *EPHAI*), as we have seen, was three times the seah; the name was confined to dry measure, the corresponding liquid measure being called *bath* ($\beta\alpha\delta\omicron\varsigma$, *patros*, etc., Is. 51) [$\kappa\epsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\nu$] Ezek. 45.11 [$\chi\omicron\iota\nu\epsilon\zeta$]—'the ephah and the bath shall be of one measure, that the bath may contain the tenth part of an homer, and the ephah the tenth part of an homer'; The ephah corresponds to the artabe (cp Is. 51) where, however, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\iota$ ξ = a homer), or Attic metretres; and it, or rather the bath, is equated by Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 26) to 72 sextarii, in accordance with his estimate of the $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\nu$. The bath was divisible into tenths (Ezek. 45.14); but the name for this division is not mentioned. It corresponded, of course, to the dry measure 'omer' (see below). On the other hand, we find the ephah divided into sixths (Ezek. 45.11; 46.14), which have no name, but correspond to the liquid *hin* (see below, iv.).

iii. *Homer* and *cor*.—The *homer* ($\omicron\mu\epsilon\rho$, Ezek. 45.11; 4 Hos. 3.2 etc.) was ten times the ephah or the bath, being used for both dry and liquid measure. The name *cor* ($\kappa\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$, Ezek. 45.14 [not in \mathcal{C}] Lk. 16.7, etc.; see *COR*) is an alternative, though this term is used more especially for a liquid measure.¹ Epiphanius equates the *coros*, which he derives from Hebrew $\chi\omicron\pi$, with 30 (Hebrew) modii. Josephus' statement (*Ant.* xv. 9.2) that it = 10 Attic medimni contains a slip for metretres; cp iii. 15 a. C. H. W. Johns (*Aegy. Deeds and Documents*, 2.245) suggests a connection between *cor* and the Assyrian *gurru*.

The half homer (dry measure), according to the tradition adopted in Vg. and EV, was called *letheck* ($\lambda\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$). But the only occurrence is in Hos. 3.2, where \mathcal{C} reads differently;² indeed, the whole passage labours under the suspicion of corruptness (see below,

There is evidence (from Epiphanius and Eusebius) of the existence in later times of a sacred hin ($\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha$) = $\frac{1}{2}$ of the ordinary hin, and a large hin ($\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha$) the ordinary hin.

v. *Omer*.—The 'omer' ($\omicron\mu\epsilon\rho$, Ex. 16.36) was $\frac{1}{10}$ ephah and hence is called assaron ($\omicron\sigma\alpha\rho\omicron\nu$, Ex. 29.40; Lev. 11.10; 23.13; 17 Nu. 15.49). Eusebius puts it at $7\frac{1}{2}$ sextarii (= $\frac{1}{16}$ ephah of 72 Eusebius at 7 sextarii (a mere rough statement) but calls it $\gamma\omicron\mu\omicron\rho$ $\mu\iota\kappa\rho\acute{\nu}$; as such it must be distinguished from the $\mu\iota\kappa\rho\acute{\nu}$ $\gamma\omicron\mu\omicron\rho$ of 12 modii, called in distinction from the 'large gomor' of 1 as Epiphanius calls the *letheck*—see above.] This is apparently wrong once more when he makes it *kytyle* (*Ant.* iii. 66). The name 'omer' is not a dry measure.

vi. *Cab*.—The *cab* ($\kappa\acute{\alpha}\beta\omicron\varsigma$, 2 K. 6.25¹) was both liquid and dry measure. Josephus (*Ant.* i.10) equates the fourth part of the cab with the $\xi\sigma\tau\alpha\rho\iota\alpha$ sextarius; thus the cab would be $\frac{1}{4}$ of the hin of the Talmud, see Levy and cp Zuckermann, 2. The cab is divided into halves, quarters, and eighths. Other values given for the cab are: (a) 6 seah, i.e., the Ptolemaic $\chi\omicron\pi$ (Heronian fragm. $\pi\epsilon\pi\iota$ Hultsch, *Metr. Scr.* 1.259; Eusebian fragm. 277); (b) 5 sextarii: 'great cab' of the Talmud as $\frac{1}{4}$ cab, Zuckermann, 37; (c) Epiphanius the cab $\frac{1}{4}$ modius (Hultsch, *Metr. Scr.* 262) may mean 4, 5, $5\frac{1}{2}$ or 6 sextarii according to the in which he uses 'modius'—i.e., the Roman modius any of the three values given to the Hebrew (see above, seah).

vii. *Lag*.—The *lag* ($\lambda\acute{\alpha}\gamma$, Lev. 14.10; 12) is mentioned as a measure of oil, and in the Talmud (Zuckermann) is made = $\frac{1}{2}$ hin or $\frac{1}{2}$ seah; if this is correct, it is $\frac{1}{4}$ cab.

Finally, we may perhaps mention the *rebel* $\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$, mentioned in Hos. 3.2 instead of the *letheck* of barley.² All the authorities agree in making it = 120 sextarii; but whether they mean many sextarii, or the larger Syrian sextarii of which to the bath (Hultsch, *Metr. Scr.* 261, 271, etc.), so that *rebel* ($\rho\epsilon\beta\epsilon\lambda$) would = 3 baths, it is difficult to say. On $\rho\epsilon\beta\epsilon\lambda$ 'wine-jar', see BOTTLE.

We thus obtain the following systems of dry and liquid measures:—

DRY MEASURES.										LIQUID MEASURES.									
Homer (Cor)	1									Homer (Cor)	1								
Letheck	2	1								Bath	10	1							
Ephah	10	5	1							Seah	30	3	1						
Seah	30	15	3	1						Hin	60	6	2	1					
1/2 Ephah	60	30	6	2	1					1/2 bath	120	10	3	1	1				
1/3 Omer (Issaron)	100	50	10	3	1					1/3 hin	180	12	4	2	1	1			
Cab	180	90	18	6	3	1				Cab	180	18	6	3	1	1	1		
1 cab	360	180	36	12	6	3	2	1		1/2 hin	240	24	8	4	2	2	1	1	
1/2 cab	720	360	72	24	12	6	4	2	1	1/3 hin	360	36	12	6	3	3	2	1	1
1/3 cab	1440	720	144	48	24	12	8	4	2	Log	720	72	24	12	6	4	3	2	1

on $\rho\epsilon\beta\epsilon\lambda$). Epiphanius gives 'large omer' as another name for the *letheck*, and equates it to 15 modii.

iv. *Hin*.—Of measures smaller than the ephah-bath, we have first of all, for liquids, the *hin* ($\eta\iota\nu$, [e] $\eta\iota\nu$, Lev. 19.36 [$\chi\omicron\iota\varsigma$])—'a just ephah and a just hin', a name apparently of Egyptian origin (see above, ii.). It is equated by Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 8.3; 9.4) and Jerome (on Ezek. 4.11) to 2 Attic *chores* = 12 sextarii = $\frac{1}{4}$ bath = $\frac{1}{2}$ seah = 12 \log (cp Talmud, Zuckermann, 40). The hin was divided into halves, thirds (= cab), quarters, and sixths (Nu. 15.9; Ex. 29.40; Ezek. 4.11, etc.).

¹ [Apart from Hos. 3.2, where, as shown in *Crit. Bib.*, the text is disputable, the *homer* is mentioned only in writings of late date.—T. K. C.]

² Neither is the text correct, nor, if $\rho\epsilon\beta\epsilon\lambda$ is genuine, do we know the capacity of the measure' (Nowack, on Hos. 3.2).

It is obvious that we have here a mixture of systems, the decimal and sexagesimal. The foundation of the whole seems to have been the sexagesimal position of the 'omer' (with the corresponding $\frac{1}{10}$ bath), and the *letheck* (the occurrence of which, indeed, as we have seen, is doubtful), being foreign to the original system (Nowack, *II.1* 202 f.).

To obtain the modern equivalents of these measures there are two equations which may be chosen of

¹ [The statement (in 2 K.), however, depends on later notices and elsewhere (see *CAB*) a more probable reading of 2 K. is indicated.—T. K. C.]

² [Here, as always, we are dependent on later notices elsewhere (*Crit. Bib.*) it is maintained that both $\rho\epsilon\beta\epsilon\lambda$ and $\lambda\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ (of barley?) and $\rho\epsilon\beta\epsilon\lambda$ ('a nehbel of wine?') are conditions which conceal something very different.—T. K. C.]

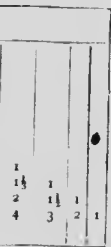
MEASURES

ius and Eusebius) of
sacred hin (ἀγίου ἴν)
e hin (μεγάλη ἴν) = 3/4 of
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omer is confined to
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1/2 of the hin (so in
ckermann, 37, 40).
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: (a) 6 sextarii—
fragm. *περὶ μέτρων*,
dian fragm. *ibid.*
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—T. K. C.]

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the many set forth by Hultsch (pp. 451 f.). These are
(1) the equation of the *log* with the græco-Roman
sextarius, of the bath with the metretre, of the o-log
cab with the Ptolemæic χοῖν. Assuming *log* and
sextarius to be exact equivalents, we should have an
ephah of 72 *log*-sextarii = 39.39 litres = nearly 8 1/2 gallons.
(2) On the other hand the connection of Hebrew with
Babylonian and Egyptian measures makes it probable,
in the eyes of many metrologists, that the *log* is only
roughly equivalent to the sextarius, and is really the
same as the Babylonian unit of .505 l. From this we
obtain an ephah of 39.37 l., or very nearly 8 gallons,
or about 66.5 sextarii.¹ It must be remembered that
it is perhaps more common to confound closely re-
sembling measures in cases of capacity than in cases of
length, and that for most purposes the equation *log*-
sextarius was near enough.

Assuming, then, the *log* to be .505 l., we obtain
the following values in *logs*, sextarii, litres, and
gallons.

	<i>Logs</i> .	Sextarii.	Litres.	Gallons.
Hömer (Cor) . . .	720	600	303.7	80.053
Lethék	300	330	181.85	49.026
Ephah-bath	72	60	39.37	8.005
Sēah	24	22	12.120	2.668
Great Hin	18	16.5	9.090	2.001
Hin	12	11	6.000	1.334
Sacred Hin	9	8.25	4.545	1.000
Omer	7.2	6.9	3.937	.800
1/2 hin	6	5.5	3.030	.667
Cal.	4	3.66	2.020	.445
1/3 hin	3	2.75	1.515	.333
1/4 cab	2	1.84	1.010	.222
<i>Log</i>	1	0.92	0.505	.111
1/2 cab	0.5	0.46	0.252	.055

The chief standards of weight in use in the East,
outside of Egypt, are explained elsewhere (SHEKEL).
It is there shown that coins struck on
the three standards, the gold shekel stan-
dard, the Babylonian, and the Phœnician, circulated in
Palestine, and these standards must therefore have
been understood by the Jews. It is curious that the
influence of Egypt does not seem to have made itself
felt in this sphere.

As already explained, the Phœnician and the Baby-
lonian system both used the same scale of denominations
—i.e., (a) for ordinary purposes, the shekel as unit, the

	BABYLONIAN.			
	Heavy.		Light.	
	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.
Shekel	336.6	21.81	168.4	10.91
Mina	20,166	1,308.68	10,098	654.34
Talent	1,211,700	78,520.77	605,880	39,260.38

mina of 60 shekels, and the talent of 60 minas; (b),
for weighing the precious metals, the shekel as unit, the
mina of 50 shekels, and the talent of 60 minas. The
mina, although it must have been well known, was, so
far as we can judge from literary sources, not employed
by the Jews until post-exilic times. The weights of the
shekels of the Babylonian and Phœnician standards
having been ascertained by the method already ex-
plained (SHEKEL), we obtain the following weights (in
grains troy, and in grammes) for the three denomina-
tions, reckoning 60 shekels to the mina, and confining
ourselves to the common norm, as this would presuma-
bly be used for ordinary transactions.

¹ Cp Epiphanius' equation of the sēah, or 1/2 ephah, with 22
sextarii.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Cp Winkler in *K. 177* 1317-347, and on the Ass.-Bab
metrology Julius, *Assyrian Prob.* 2134-211

As regards the extant weights, it must be admitted
that the evidence is somewhat unsatisfactory. A number
of them have been discussed by Clermont-Ganneau
(*R. e. d. Arch. Orient.* 124 f.). They are —

(a) 3 stone weights from Tell Zakariya reading ap-
parently *nešep*:—

A.	10.21 grammes	= 157.564 grains troy.
B.	9.5 "	= 149.087 "
C.	9.0 "	= 138.891 "

(b) A weight with the same inscription from 'Anatā
near Jerusalem:—

D. 6.91 grammes = 134 grains troy.

(c) A weight from Samaria (now in the Ashmolean
Museum, Oxford) reading apparently *ḡn ḡn* (1/2 nesepeh)
and *ḡn*:—

E. 2.54 grammes = 39.2 grains troy.

B and C are somewhat broken, D is pierced, and if
this piercing was not an original feature of the weight,
something must be allowed for the material removed.
The meaning of the inscription on E, and even the
genuineness of part of it, have been hotly canvassed,
Journ. Nov. 18, 1892, pp. 443 ff. (= *PEFQu. St.*, 1894,
pp. 225 ff.); Driver, *Inte. in 441*, n. 7; (see *PEFQu. St.*
1894, pp. 220 f. 284 f., and especially Keung, *Fund.*
425, n. 1; Lidzbarski, *Ephem. f. Semit. Epigr.* 1, pp.
13 f., cited in *Ann. Br. Sch. Athens*, 7, p. 131; but
the fact that the weight represents a quarter of some
denomination is not disputed. The denomination in
question must be not less than 4 x 39.2 grams—i.e.,
156.8 grams. We need not concern ourselves with
the meaning of the much-disputed word *ḡn*, which has
also been read *ḡn* and *ḡn* (i.e., silver). The highest
weight represented by these pieces is about 10 grains
below the light Babylonian shekel; at the same time
they are too high for the Egyptian standard (in which
the *ket* weighed about 140 grains), and we must there-
fore assume that they are meant to represent either the
Babylonian shekel or a local standard approximating to
it. If the latter, it is a heavy standard corresponding to
that which Petrie (*Vebsheh and Deffenek*, published
by Eg. Expl. Fund., 1888, p. 92) describes as being
usually 'smothered over' as a low variety of the Persian
unit; he prefers to recognise in his 80-grain standard
(which would be the light standard corresponding to
the one we are concerned with) a separate standard,
possibly 'Hittite,' from the fact that the tribute of the
Heta in the lists of Thotmes III. and Ramesses III.
appears to conform to it.

	PHœNICIAN.			
	Heavy.		Light.	
	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.
Shekel	224.4	14.54	112.2	7.27
Mina	13,464	872.45	6,732	436.23
Talent	807,840	52,347.18	403,920	26,173.59

Of other weights found in Palestine, we may mention
those analysed by Petrie (*PEFQ*, 1892, p. 114) from
Tell el-Hesi (Lachish). His results are as follows:—

STANDARD.	No. of Specimens.	Average Value in Grains Troy.
(a) Phœnician	27	217
(b) Aeginetan	18	192
(c) Attic	6	65.6
(d) Egyptian	4	151
(e) Assyrian	3	128
(f) Hittite	3	80.5

In estimating the value of such results, it must be

remembered that, in dealing with ancient weights, it is not so much the average of a number of specimens, as the highest, which must be taken as representing the normal. It is just possible that the 'Aegmetan' weights (*b*) are merely low examples of the Phoenician standard (*a*); that (*d*) and (*f*) are to be classed together as the unit and the half of the standard of something under 168 grains arrived at above; that (*c*) and (*e*) are the unit and the half of the gold-shekel standard of nearly 130 grains, or, if of comparatively late date, belong to the slightly higher Attic-Euboeic standard to which Petrie attributes (*c*). In any case, he justly calls attention to the weakness of Egyptian influence in the very S. of Palestine.

Most of the extant weights are of stone, a fact which illustrates the well-established use of אֶבֶן ('stone'), for 'weight'—e.g., 2 S. 14:26, 'after the king's stone' (EV weight); Pr. 16:11, 'all the stones (RV weights) of the bag.' Further, many ancient weights were made in the form of living creatures, such as lions and ducks. Probably this is the explanation of the fact that *kēšīth* (Gen. 31:19 Jos. 24:32, etc.) is translated 'lambs' by B. Ridgeway (*Origin of Metallic Currency*, 271) considers that the name was due to its representing an old unit of barter.¹

See especially F. Hultsch, *Griechische u. röm. Metrologie* (1822), and the Greek and Roman authorities in his *Metrologia* (*Scriptorum Keltique*, 2 vols. (1864-66).

6. Literature. Also, B. Zuckermann, *Das Jüdische Maasssystem* (1867); C. F. Lehmann, *Alt-babylonisches Maass u. Gewicht* (*Verhandl. d. Berliner Gesellschaft f. Anthropologie*, 1880); W. Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight-standards* (1892); C. F. Lehmann, *Das altbabylon. Maass- u. Gewichtssystem* (8th Oriental Congress of 1893), 1893; W. Nowak, *Lehrbuch der historischen Archäologie* (1904); C. H. W. Johns, *Assyrian Weights and Documents*, 2 (1901); A. E. Weigall, 'Some Egyptian Weights in Prof. Petrie's Collection' (Egyptian, Assyrian, Attic, Phoenician, Persian, Aegmetan), *JNB* 4 23 378-395 (1901); G. F. H.

WELLS (בְּרֵאשִׁית), Gen. 26:15. See SPRINGS; also CONDUITS, § 11, and NATURE-WORSHIP, § 4.

WEN (חַבְלֵת), *yabbbleth*, Lev. 22:27. See DISEASES, 5.

WEST, WEST WIND. See EARTH, FOUR QUARTERS OF, § 3, and WINDS.

WHALE (or חַיִּיתֵי הַיָּם). The 'whale' of AV has become, in RV, (1) 'sea-monster' (1 Gen. 1:21 Job 7:12), (2) 'dragon' (Ezek. 32:2); cp the 'jackal' of Lam. 4:3. See DRAGON, JACKAL. In Mt. 12:40, however, RV retains 'whale' (*kētos*) for the 'great fish' (סִיגִי דָגַי הַיָּם *gādīl, kētos méga*) in Jon. 1:17 [2:2], though this is as inappropriate as the rendering 'a whale' in AV⁹⁸⁶ of Job 41:1 for 'leviathan.' 'How,' says Hasselquist, 'could he (the author of Job) speak of an animal which never was seen in the place where he wrote, and at a time when he could have no history of Greenland and Spitzbergen?' (*Travels and Travels*, 1766, p. 440). The same remark applies to the author of Jonah. It may be doubted, however, whether we need trouble ourselves to make these obvious, but superficial criticisms, nor is it more to the point to remark that the Cetacea are represented by numerous species in the Mediterranean, and that Elasmobranchs (including sharks) are also to be found there. What we have to do is to find out to what class of narrative the Book of Jonah belongs, and to interpret the 'great fish' accordingly. See JONAH (BOOK).

WHEAT (חִטָּה, etc.; Dt. 8:8 etc.) has always formed one of the staple products of Palestine. In modern times the districts most suitable for its cultivation are Philistia, Esdraelon, the Mukhneh to the E. of Nablus, and, above all, Hauran, the granary of

¹ [Cp KESHITH, where the 'lambs' of B is otherwise accounted for, and the passages where *kēšīth* (perhaps a fictitious word) occurs are examined from the point of view of textual criticism.—T. K. C.]

² Cp CORN, also FOOD, § 1 (a).

Syria, which exports its produce through the n. Jaffa, Beirut, Haifa, etc. In ancient times G. regarded as the most fertile district; but Tyre on the N. Arabian Musri [(Che.] imported corn from the time of Ezekiel (Ezek. 27:17); cp also A. Though here there is express mention of wheat, Sidon inscription Dora and Joppa are termed 'arvith dagan, 'lands of grain' (CZS i. 370), though, if we adopt this highly probable rendering 984 n. 1, and see Dor, § 3), to the early fertile S. maritime coast.

WHEEL. 1. Of the words so rendered אֶבֶן, *aphan* (אֶבֶן, 'turn?') is of most occurrence; it is used of chariot 'wheels' (Ex. 14 and of the wheels of threshing wains (Is. 28:20-26); also in the description of Ezekiel's vision 10:2-12), and in that of the 'bases' of Solomon's temple (1 K. 7:10 etc.).

The component parts are: (a) אֶבֶן, *gōb*; אֶבֶן, 'navel' or 'back'; RV 'felloe'; 1 K. 7:31 Ezek. 1:17 אֶבֶן, *hissāh*; אֶבֶן, *paragmaria*; AV 'felloe,' RV 'spoke'; (c) אֶבֶן, *hissār*, אֶבֶן, *hissār*; AV 'spoke,' RV 'navel'; (d) אֶבֶן, *gōb*; אֶבֶן, *gōb*; EV 'axletree' (AV in Ezek. 10:12 1 K. 7:32 f. Ezek. 10:12).

2. אֶבֶן, *gōgal* (אֶבֶן, 'roll'), is applied to that of a war chariot (Is. 50:3 Jer. 47:4) and in Ezek. 2: may perhaps mean 'wagon.' So RV. In Is. 'like a wheel' render rather 'like stibble' (see 'I' end).

3 and 4. For the potter's wheel (אֶבֶן, of Jer. 18:4) see POTTERY, § 8, and in Judg. 6: read 'steps' (RV⁹⁸⁶)—i.e., 'hoofbeats' (Moore).

Three passages, not yet mentioned, deserve notice: (a) Eccles. 12:6, (b) Eccles. 36(33)5, (c) (a) 'The wheel (אֶבֶן) breaks down at the pit'—'machinery' of the body likened to a water comes to a stop. (b) 'The heart (אֶבֶן) of a man like the wheel (אֶבֶן) of a cart'—i.e., he next times long in the same mind. (c) The tongue member which 'sets on fire the wheel of nature' (אֶבֶן, *gōb* *gēvīstōw*)—i.e., the whole course of the life may be disturbed, ruined, by an unwise tongue.

In Ps. 77:19 [10] AV ought to have given in 'Heb., wheel,' to justify its very peculiar rendering. Its text runs 'The voice of thy thunder in the heaven' (RV 'in the whirlwind'). The development of the sense of 'wheel,' the heaven regarded as a round arch; it is an exegetical derivation from Kilmhi. The variety of explanation in this passage may well excuse AV; RV's 'wind' is itself a precarious rendering (see WIND). The variations in Hab. 3:10-11 suggest the probability of corruption. Read probably אֶבֶן, *gōb* *gēvīstōw* (God's no one could understand; but the phrase 'God's in (maths)' is plain enough in the description of a theophany).

WHIP (אֶבֶן, *hōt*, *μδστίζ*). Prov. 26:3 1 K. 1:2 Ch. 10:11-14 Nah. 3:2. Figured emblem, CHARIOT, fig. 7, Egyptian emblem of royalty, see Ermann, *Anc. Eg.* 60, SCOURGE, SCEPTRE, § 2.

WHIRLING DUST (אֶבֶן, Is. 17:13 Ps. 83:13).

RV. See WHEEL, 2, THISTLE-DOWN, end.

WHIRLWIND (אֶבֶן, etc.), 2 K. 2:1 etc. WIND, § 6.

WHITE. For אֶבֶן, *libān*, Gen. 30:35 37, and *hissār*, Dan. 7:9, see COLOURS, § 6 (d); and for אֶבֶן, Judg. 5:10, § 7. For אֶבֶן, WHITENESS, see COLOURS, § 6.

WIDOW (אֶבֶן). The earliest mention of a widow in the Christian Church is in connection with the meal in Jerusalem (Acts 6:1), when the Greek-speaking Jews were being neglected in the daily ministrations.

¹ For 'widow' in the OT, see MARRIAGE, § 7.

WILD BEAST

Here the widows come before us at the outset as the pensioners of the Church; but we are told no more about them. In Acts 9:39 we catch another brief glimpse of them in connection with the good deeds of Dorcas, who had supplied them with clothing. Peter is here spoken of as 'having called the saints and the widows,' the word being clearly used in a technical sense. In 1 Cor. 7:3 this technical sense is not equally clear; and we hear no more of widows till we come to the regulations regarding them in 1 Tim 5:9-16. [Cp N. VISBY, § 41.] Here we find that the church of Ephesus was liable to be burdened with pensioners of this kind who had no right to claim public support. Widows who had children or grandchildren should be supported by them and not thrown upon the Church. A Christian woman who had widows—i.e. a woman of property with aged dependants—should recognize her individual responsibility to maintain them. 'Widows indeed'—i.e. destitute and worthy of the name—Church must support; but for admission to the roll various qualifications were necessary—destitute, a piety, and prayerfulness, the age of sixty years, besides evidence of purity of life, and a record of good works such as women might be expected to perform for the common benefit. Younger widows were to have no recognition; they were a source of calamity to the Church for their idle and dissolute habits; they were to marry and bear children and rule their families.

No definite duty is assigned to widows, unless it be the service of continual prayer; they were aged pensioners, whose activity of service was past. At a later time more seems to have been expected of them in certain quarters of the Church; and a confusion consequently arose between widows and deaconesses. In the earliest period, however, the two orders were wholly distinct, the one consisting of pensioners, the other of active servants of the Church. This distinction is clearly maintained in the *Apostolic Constitutions* as late as the fourth or fifth century, and indeed never seems to have been lost in the Greek and Syrian churches. In Egypt, however, and in the Latin churches, there is no trace of deaconesses, except sporadically, and even so mainly for Gaul; and the work which deaconesses did in the East was done to a large extent by widows. Ultimately both orders were swallowed up by the monastic system.

For details, and for the clearing up of the common confusions on this subject, see *The Ministry of Deaconesses* by Deaconess Cecilia Robinson (1892).

J. A. R.

WILD BEAST (חַיָּוָה), Ps. 50:11 [12]. See BEAST, 6.

WILD BEAST OF THE REEDS (חַיָּוָה קָנֶה), Ps. 68:30 [31]. See CROCODILE; REED, col. 4024f.

WILD BEASTS OF THE DESERT (חַיָּוָה הַמִּדְבָּר), Is. 13:21. See CAT, end; DESERT, § 2 (5).

WILD BEASTS OF THE ISLANDS (חַיָּוָה הַיָּם), Is. 13:22. AV. See JACKAL (4).

WILD BULL (חַיָּוָה הַבָּקָר), Is. 51:20. AV, RV ANTELOPE (q.v.).

WILDERNESS (חַיָּוָה הַבְּרָדָה, etc.), Dt. 32:10 etc. See DESERT.

WILDERNESS OF WANDERING. See WANDERINGS, WILDERNESS OF.

WILD GOURDS. See GOURDS (WILD).

WILD OLIVE (חַיָּוָה הַזַּיִת), Eccles. 50:15. See OLIVE, § 2.

WILD OX (חַיָּוָה הַבָּקָר), Nu. 23:22. RV, AV UNICORN (q.v.).

WILD VINE (חַיָּוָה הַיַּיִן), 2 K. 4:39. See GOURDS, WILD.

WILLOW, WILLOWS, occur in EV as the rendering of two Hebrew words. 1. עֲרָבִים, 'arabim (Lev. 23:40

WIND, WINDS

Job 40:22 Is. 13:7 Is. 15:7 41:4. In each mention of this tree there is reference to its growing by river banks; and there can be little doubt that either a willow or a poplar closely resembling a willow (such as *Populus euphratica*, Oliv.) is intended.

The various renderings of עֲרָבִים point in this direction: *arab* and *arabos* (Lev. 23:40); *arabos* *arabos* (Lev. 23:40) [BB¹]; Job 40:22; *arab* Is. 13:7, and *arab* Is. 14:4.

The word is found in Arabic as *arab* and in Syriac as *arab* (ARABIC). The evidence as to species is conflicting. Thus both *arab* and *arab* are ordinary renderings of *arab*, 'willow' (Lev. 30:9 f., cp Cels 1:34 ff.), and the Arabic word is so explained by native lexicographers. On the other hand travellers find that in modern Palestine the name is that of *Populus euphratica* (ZDF 2:29), and fragments of *arab*, brought to Europe and examined, proved to belong to this plant (Weizstein, *op. cit.* Gen. 2:9), which is very common in Palestine, being found on the banks of the Jordan and all other rivers (LEP 414), including those streams E. and S.E. of the Dead Sea, of which the *nahal el-arabim*, of Is. 15:7 (**Brook of the Willows**; see ARABIM, n. and cp JERUSALEM, 2, Che. *Int. Is.* 84), is believed to be one. Willows are not very characteristic of the oriental region. Boissier gives only two as certainly indigenous in Syria proper: *Salix fragilis* and *S. alba*, and the former may not probably have been introduced. On the whole, therefore, there can be little doubt that the Jordan tree is *Populus euphratica*, which often greatly resembles a willow by the length and narrowness of its leaves.

The עֲרָבִים *arabim* of Ps. 137:2 have been in comparatively modern times identified as weeping willows (*Salix babylonica*), a tree which is originally a native of Japan and could not have existed in Syria in biblical times. If it be true that it is in Palestine now 'frequently found on the coast overhanging wells and pools' (Christ, VIII 415), it must have been introduced into Syria, as it has been into the Caucasus, at a later time. Here again it is most probable that *Populus euphratica* is meant.²

עֲרָבִים *arabim* (עֲרָבִים *arabim* Ezek. 17:5), the Ar. *arabim* may denote the willow, or more probably the *Populus euphratica* (see above). N. M.—W. 1. 1-10.

WIMPLE (obsolete, originally a covering for the neck, chin, and sides of face), AV for מִטְפָּחַת, *mitpachat*, Is. 3:22, RV SHAWL. See MANTLE, § 2 [3]; VAIL.

WIND, WINDS (רוּחַ; ANEMOS; ΠΝΕΥΜΑ [in G. Gen. 8:1 Is. 7:2 Job 30:15 Ps. 104:3 Wisd. 13:2 in NT, only in Ju. 3:8 Heb. 1:7]; ΠΝΗΧ [Acts 2:2]; *ventus*, *aura*,⁶ *spiritus*). The four

1. Hebrew conception. 'ends' of the earth, in the Hebrew mind, correspond to the four 'ends' of the heaven (see EARTH, § 1); and it might equally well be said that the four winds came from the ends of the earth and from the ends of heaven, the earth being a disk surrounded by an ocean, and the heaven a vault over arching that ocean. Hence 'Enoch' tells us (*Enoch*, 76). 'And at the ends of the earth I saw twelve portals opened for all the winds, from which the winds proceed and blow over the earth. . . . Through four of these came winds of blessing and prosperity, and from those eight came

¹ In Is. 15:7 it is taken as a proper name—'Αραβας.

² The text, however, is disputed (see Che. *Ps.* 137, who reads in v. 1 עֲרָבִים תְּרַבְּאֵם and in v. 2 עֲרָבִים תְּרַבְּאֵם referring to the N. Arabians). Tristram's identification of the עֲרָבִים with oleanders (*Nerium Oleander*) labours under this difficulty—that *arab* is not used in this sense. Winkler's view (*AF* 3:41) that the *arabim* of Lev. 23:40 are synonymous with the *hadass* of Neh. 8:15 ignores the arguments mentioned above.

³ Implying an erroneous derivation from *arab*.

⁴ Acc. to Frankel (14) this is a loan word.

⁵ Heb. 1:7 = Ps. 104:3; in Ju. 1:7 *pn* is suggested by symbolism. See SPIRIT.

⁶ Gen. 3:8, 'ad auram post meridiem'; EV 'in the cool (Heb. wind) of the day.' Cp Cant. 2:17 4o.

hurtful winds. This notion (on which cp DRW, RAIN) illustrates a number of biblical passages.

See, e.g., Jer. 10:13 31:17 (cp Ps. 135:7) 'he causes mist to ascend from the ends of the earth, . . . and brings forth the wind out of his store-chambers'; Jer. 49:13 'I will bring the four winds from the four ends of heaven'; Dan. 7:2 'the four winds of heaven burst forth upon the sea'; Rev. 7:1 'I saw four angels standing at the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth, that no wind should blow on the earth, or on the sea, or on any tree.'

This, then, would seem to be the Hebrew idea—that the winds are stored in chambers at the point where heaven and earth join. For though the circle down to which the vault of heaven reaches is 'marked on the surface of the ocean' (Prov. 8:27; cp Job 26:11), yet ocean and earth are not rigidly separated in the Hebrew mind, as we see from the (probably) fact that the Bab. *apau*, 'ocean,' has become in Hebrew 'apha' in the phrase 'the ends of the earth', which has arisen by a process of Hebrew adaptation. The idea in Rev. 7:1 seems to be that the angels placed over the respective store-chambers of the wind keep back the winds which are impetuously pushing forward, somewhat as Istar is said (IK 29; Karppe) to hold together the vault of heaven and earth (so that the upper waters cannot burst forth in excess).

Very different ideas were awakened by the thought of the wind. As 'Enoch' says, the wind might be either a blessing or a curse. Two of its characteristics were specially depressing: (1) its immense power, and (2) its apparent irregularity. (1) The early disciples of Jesus exclaim, 'Who then is this, that even the wind and the sea obey him' (Mk. 4:41 cp Ps. 107:26), and a poet, unable to find a worthy name for God, asks, 'Who has gathered (—can gather) the wind in his fists?' (Prov. 30:4). Certainly human power was baffled in presence of the wind. (2) And not less powerless here was human wisdom. Once allow the belief in God's love-directed wisdom to be obscured, and it becomes a most depressing thought that the wind is perpetually blowing toward the south, or 'turning about to the north,' in a series of revolutions devoid of apparent reason (Eccles. 1:6; cp 1:14). But there are more comforting associations of ideas than these. God 'created the wind' (Am. 4:13), and the cosmogonist who says that all God's works were attested by him to be 'very good' ascribes the growth of order and of life to a 'wind of God' which 'hovered' (the wind is imagined as a mighty bird) over the primeval waters (Gen. 1:2; see CREATION, § 10)—an old myth which has become a symbol of the highest spiritual energy (cp In. 3:7), and which was in the mind of Ezekiel when he wrote, 'Come from the four winds (= parts of heaven), O breath (רוח), and breathe upon these slain, that they may live' (Ezek. 37:9). See SPIRIT, § 1.7. And if the wind ever does harm, it is only at God's command (Is. 29:6 Am. 1:14 Eccles. 39:2¹); indeed, 'he makes winds his messengers' (Ps. 104:4; cp 148:2).

Such compound expressions as 'north-east' (*teipa-k'laww*; see ETRUGLADON), being impossible in Hebrew, the four great terms for winds had to be used freely. It was not always convenient to take two clauses to express the

2. Terms: *k'laww*; see ETRUGLADON, being impossible in Hebrew, the four great terms for winds had to be used freely. It was not always convenient to take two clauses to express the

north wind.

¹ (The phrase does not happen to occur in our oldest records [cp Genesis viii, § 1], but is evidently archaic.) So Himmelf, and Gunkel, *Schöpfung*, 46. Halévy (*Recherches*, 228), however, derives Bab. *apau* from a Semitic root ʔEN ; cp Jensen, *Kosmos*, 244. The original vocalisation of the above Heb. phrase may have been *ʔaphai ʔirai*. In course of time *ʔaphai* was interpreted as meaning 'ends (of) = ʔEN , as if syn. with ʔEN . But even if ʔEN or ʔEN is used in the sense 'ends (of the earth)' the old idea has not entirely gone. 'The creator of the ends (ʔEN) of the earth' (Is. 40:24) means 'the creator, not merely of the most distant countries, but of the confines of earth and heaven, where the store-houses of the winds and the rain are,' unless, indeed, we suppose that the writer does but repeat an old phrase taken from hymns to Yahwé, the sense of which he has forgotten.' So Karppe, *J. As.* 9:22 f. [1897].

simple idea that something was occasioned by a S.E. wind (see Is. 41:25 Ps. 78:26).

In the two following passages, N. = NW, and in the S. = SW: (a) 'The north wind brought both rain' (Prov. RV); (b) 'Awake, O north [wind], and come, thou south [wind]'. See below, § 5, and, for parallels, § 1.

The north wind proper is called by Josephus xv. D6, § 338 ἀρκτων αἰθῶνταρον, 'the wind most produces clear weather,' its contrasted impetuous south winds on the coasts of Palestine prevent ships from finding commodious anchorage. Still, it could be boisterous without being harmful, passing near Joppa called it *μελαγχολία* 'black N. wind' (Jos. *J. W.* 9:3, § 422). See Prov. 27:16 gives the emphatic words *σοφίας ἀνεμος*, and Jerome, describing the wind from years' acquaintance, calls it *ventus durissimus*.

Jerome was even misled by his local knowledge into rendering of ʔEN in Prov. 25:23, *desipit* (playful), 'away (train)'. The meaning of 'north' is explained (see EARTH AND WORDS). Cold comes from the north (37:9 emended text)—i.e., from the rough N. wind, which Sira tells us, covers water with a 'breastplate' (cf. Job 43:24). He adds that it 'burns up' the grass; cp Mill. 2:305).

the paraling air *Burns fierce*, and cold performs the effects of fire. Ezekiel, in his great vision, speaks of a 'whirlwind (*ʔirah* or *ʔirah*) coming out of the north' (Ezek. 14) suggests a correction of the Hebrew text of Eccles. 43:17 to the Oxford editors' render,

'The hot winds of the north, the tempest, and the whirlwind'; but where a reading given in the margin of the MS is preferable.

'The whirlwind of the north, the hurricane, and the tempest.'

For though soon after the parching effect of the cold to be referred to (Is. 29), yet *ʔirah*, *ʔirah*, a word the simoon (see below), could hardly be used of the N. wind, especially in combination with ʔEN , *ʔirah*, 'hurricane' and ʔEN , *ʔirah*, 'tempest.'

The parallel to the line with 'the whirlwind north' Eccles. 43:17 should probably be

At his will the south wind blows,

Just so in Job 37:9 the whirlwind is said to come from the 'chambers of the south' (1:10).

3. South wind.

[FOUR QUARTERS], § 2; cp Is. Zech. 9:14. Either the SE. or the SW. (strictly: wind may be meant; both these winds are called by travellers in Palestine, though etymologically the only belongs to the E. wind.¹ In Ps. 78:26 the wind is called first a S., and then an E. wind; (see Is. 10:13 11:1 Job 38:24 Ps. 78:26 Ezek. 27) becomes *ʔirah* or the S. wind. This is because paraling wind analogous to the sirocco blows in from the S.; it is there called *khamsin*, because it at intervals during a period of fifty days. In Palestine, however, in the south of which the 'sirocco' is troublesome, it does not often blow directly from the south so that when in Job (which was hardly written) Hitzig and Herz have supposed, in Egypt and Palestine, we find the sultry heat of the 'south' described (Job 37:17) in terms appropriate to 'sirocco,' we must suppose the SE. and the wind to be meant' Lk. 12:55 ('when ye see the S. blow, ye say, καίσιον έσται), requires a similar explanation. In Babylonia the SW. wind was represented as a ferocious demon, images of which are to be seen in museums. This does not, however, illustrate Is. which refers to the S. of Palestine (cp Zech. 9:14).

This wind blows from the Syrian and Arabian

¹ The form of the text, however, was, like MT's, corrupt.

² The Targ. (Prov. 25:23 27:17) gives the north wind the impressive title ʔEN , the scouring, or sweeping (wind).

³ Reading ʔEN (see below). ʔEN και καταις of Boppe.

⁴ Reading: as ʔEN . The text is disarranged (see Lev. Halévy).

⁵ Sirocco from Ar. *šarḥīyya* 'easterly.'

DS
stoned by a NE. or

7, and in the second,
north ram' (Prov. 25:2)
me, then south [wind],
lets, § 4.
Josephus (*Ant.*
'the wind which
contrasted with the
of Palestine which
odious anchorage,
out being rainy;
ἐπιλαυσταρον' the
422). So ὄ in
ἐπιλαυσταρον
wind from many
crisimus.²

knowledge into a false
physics), AV 'drivel'
explained elsewhere
on the north star (Job
wind, which, as Ben
plate' of the (Ecclus.
pass); cp Milton (*P.L.*

effects of fire,
whirlwind ἄνεμος
(Ezek. 14). This
Ecclus. 43:17, where

mpete), and the
of the MS is surely
ricane, and the
of the cold does seem
ἄνεμος, a word used of
ed of the N. or NW,
ἀνέμους, 'hurricane,'

whirlwind of the
ce
ows, 4

aid to come from
e south' (Ezek. 17
§ 2); cp Is. 21:1
' (strictly SSW.)
are called sirocco
ologically the term
Is. 78:26 the SE.
n E. wind; in ὄ
a Ezek. 27:26 it
is because a hot,
o blows in Egypt
because it flows
s. In Palestine,
'sirocco' is very
rectly from the S.,
ardly written, as
n Egypt but in
the 'south wind'
propriate to the
and the SSW.
see the S. wind
a similar ex-
I was represented
are to be seen in
ilustrate Is. 21:1,
Zech. 9:14).

d Arabian desert
MTS, corrupt,
north wind the ex-
ing (wind).
y's βορρην.
ged (see Levi and

WIND, WINDS

(Jer. 4:11; Hos. 13:1; Is. 21:1, cp Job 1:19) and, as

4. East wind. ὄ rendering *καταρῆ*¹ suggests, having
extreme heat, at any rate when it blows
for a length of time in the spring; in the winter, how-
ever, it brings agreeable, bright, and warm days between
the times of rain. For its purifying effect on vegetation, to
which ὄ's name refers, see Gen. 11:6-9; Ezek. 17:1-10; 20:2
Jon. 1:8 (where *καταρῆ*, *h. v. m. l. h.*, RV 'sultry,' is obscure;
see JONAH [Book], § 1 [1], n. 2). It is also commonly
found by critics in ἄνεμος, *ἄνεμος* 'ephoric' AV
'horrible, ang. burning' tempst'; RV 'burning wind')
in Ps. 116; see *o. g.*, Broughton, but on the text cp *P.*, 2.
In the Lebanon the E. wind is still used as a simile
for anything very disagreeable; there, as in Arabia, it
is called the *livanon* from *livanon* 'poison'.

Its effects are thus described by a traveller in the desert.
When this wind blows the atmosphere assumes a yell with
appearance, fading into gray, and the sun becomes a disk of
red. The smell is nauseating and sulphureous, the vapour
thick and heavy, and, when the heat increases, rain is almost
impossible. See Weizsäcker's instructive statement in *Jahrb.*
Hilfsch. 140, n. 1.

This wind, and the NW. wind, are prevalent in
Palestine in summer; we have already mentioned the
beneficent mists which they bring from
the Mediterranean. Those are generally
known as DEW (q. v.); in Prov. 25:11 they are
called *ἄνεμος*, *ἄνεμος* (so we should read, with Gräc.,
for *ἄνεμος*; ὄ *ῥέφην*; cp Prov. 25:11 ὄ). In Cant. 1:4
the bride calls the N. and the S. winds, by which she
means the NW. and the SW., to spread abroad the
fragrance of her garden.³ Both winds in summer
would be agreeable, and if at times they bring rain
respectively the SW., called in Arabia, 'the father of
rain'), yet rain is one of God's best gifts (Ps. 104:13
117:8); in Arabian style, it is 'the father of life.' On
the 'strong west wind' of Ex. 10:19, see LAMBERT, R. D.
SEA, and on the relative prevalence of winds throughout
the year, see *PEPES*, 1900, pp. 296 ff.

Reference has already been made to the 'whirlwind'
seen by Ezekiel (14), and to the 'whirlwind of the
north,' as we should probably read in
6. Whirlwind.

Ezekiel's word is *ἄνεμος*, *ἄνεμος* (if we are correct)
ἄνεμος, an Aramaic word, used in *l. g.* for *ἄνεμος*, *ἄνεμος*,
and *ἄνεμος*, *ἄνεμος*, and read by Perles (*Annalen*, 3), in Job
30:1, for *ἄνεμος*.

We will now survey the use of the Heb. words
rendered 'whirlwind.'

1. *ἄνεμος*, *ἄνεμος*, is in AV rendered 'whirlwind,' in
Job 37:9 (ὄ *ἄνεμος*) Prov. 1:27 10:25 Is. 5:25 21:1 26:13 Jer.
4:11 Am. 1:17 (ὄ *συνέλαση*, and in Nah. 1:11 Nah. 1:4, but
'storm' in all the other places where it occurs (Job 21:14 Ps.
81:6 ὄ *ἄνεμος* Is. 29:6 Hos. 5:7 (ὄ *καταρῆ*)). RV substitutes
'storm' for 'whirlwind' in Job 37:9 Is. 17:13, and 'whirlwind'
for 'storm' Is. 29:6.

That the Hebrew word is not always used in the
strictly technical meaning of the English expression
seems evident (ὄ uses *καταρῆ*; also *ἄνεμος*, *συνέ-
λαση*); Vg. *tempestas, turbo*. The whirlwind sug-
gested itself as an apt figure (1) for the rapid attack of
great conquering powers, like Assyria, Babylonia, and
the Syria of the Seleucids. Thus, in Am. 1:14, the
'day of the whirlwind' is parallel to the 'day of battle,'
and the next verse speaks of captivity. In Is. 5:23
Jer. 1:13, the wheels of war-chariots are 'like the whirl-
wind,' and in Dan. 11:40 'the king of the north' (Syria)
comes out 'like a whirlwind' (but cp ὄ).

(2) The whirlwind also symbolises the suddenness of
the divine judgments; nor can we forget that Yahwé,
1. *καταρῆ* or *καταρῆ* ἄνεμος in ὄ corresponds to three Hebrew
words, קטר, 'east wind,' קטר (Is. 49:10, see SHARAF), and
קטר (Gen. 31:45 [A]; cp Lk. 12:55).

2. *Fundgruben des Orients*, 6:305 (Rosenmüller, *Riff. Geogr.*
of Asia Minor, etc., 126). The illustration illustrates the effects
of the sirocco by the story of Jonah.

3. So Magnus and Grätz. The words are not a summons to
the N. and S. winds properly so-called (Decl.), nor yet to all the
four chief winds, represented by N. and S. (Siegfried).

WINE AND STRONG DRINK

in imaginative descriptions, lies in affinity to the termi-
nology of intoxicating composites. It has in fact become
in its unworthy sense of the term a common phrase to
say that Yahwé moves in the whirlwind (Ps. 18:1, 27:2
Nah. 1:1; cp *o. g.*, § 4). THROTTLEMAN, 20. This
accounts for passages like Is. 66:15 Zech. 10:1 (see ὄ),
and also, if we look closely, for Is. 17:1 Hos. 8:7 Prov.
10:1 Ps. 58, where the 'whirlwind' does not certainly
mean the divine wrath. Prov. 10:4, however, should be
understood as in RV, it states that 'in the whirlwind
of judgment *ἄνεμος*, *ἄνεμος* through the land' (Is. 28:17
30:1) 'the wicked will be swept away, but the righteous
will stand unshaken.' And with this we may compare
the first parabolic summit which closes the sermon
on the Mount (Mt. 7:1-27). The winds that 'blow a
bell upon *ἄνεμος*, *ἄνεμος* *ἄνεμος* *ἄνεμος* that
blow' in the words of the Messianic judgment,

2. *ἄνεμος*, *ἄνεμος*, is synonymous with *ἄνεμος* (cp. *o. g.*,
Zech. 9:14 ἄνεμος ἄνεμος with E. 21:1, ἄνεμος ἄνεμος) and when it
stands alone it is rendered 'whirlwind' (K. 1:11 1:13 2:1
4:1 Is. 41:16 49:17 54:11 57:16 60:16 65:17 66:15 67:16
107:3 Is. 27:1 RV 'whirlwind' as also in the compound ex-
pressions ἄνεμος ἄνεμος (Is. 40:24 48:18 48:19)
or ἄνεμος ἄνεμος (Is. 48:18 48:19) ἄνεμος ἄνεμος in
Is. 21:1 (*ἄνεμος*) 20:1 ἄνεμος is rendered 'whirlwind of the
land' by AV and 'tempest of the land' by RV. ὄ renders
καταρῆ, *καταρῆ*, ἄνεμος in Is. 29:6 ἄνεμος ἄνεμος ἄνεμος
Is. 41:16 49:17 54:11 57:16 60:16 65:17 66:15 67:16
107:3 Is. 27:1 RV ἄνεμος ἄνεμος ἄνεμος (ἄνεμος ἄνεμος);
Is. 41:16 49:17 54:11 57:16 60:16 65:17 66:15 67:16 107:3

3. According to RV we have once an expression for
'whirlwind' in the technical sense, *ἄνεμος*, *ἄνεμος* (cp. *o. g.*,
1:1, ἄνεμος ἄνεμος ἄνεμος ἄνεμος); RV 'whirling tempest'; AV wrongly 'greivous tempest'. But
the existence of *ἄνεμος*, *ἄνεμος*, though recognised by Gräc., Bull., is not
quite certain. In all the passages where it occurs, the text is
doubtful. Here, *o. g.*, it is possible to read *ἄνεμος* 'tempest'
(mpete) as in Jer. 24:1 (RV ἄνεμος ἄνεμος ἄνεμος); Vg. *procella
rampus*; if *ἄνεμος* 'rolling itself along' should not be preferred
(cp *o. g.*).

4. *ἄνεμος*, *ἄνεμος*, Dan. 11:40 (ὄ Thesol. om.; *quasi* 'tempest');
cp *Ass. Journ.* (Del. *Ass.*, III, P. 635), Is. 28:2 (*ἄνεμος* ἄνεμος) 'obstruc-
ting stream'; *ἄνεμος* ἄνεμος.

5. *ἄνεμος*, *ἄνεμος*, Ps. 77:7 (1). RV (AV 'heaven'). The
reading has some good authority (Hitz., Del., Kon.).
But nowhere else does *ἄνεμος* mean 'whirlwind'; the Vulg. adheres to
the sense 'wheel.' See further WITTEL, and THISTLE, *o. g.*
1, K. G.

WINDOW.

- The words so rendered are:
1. *ἄνεμος*, *ἄνεμος*, Is. 9:9. See LATTICE, § 2, 1, and GOAL, § 4.
2. *ἄνεμος*, *ἄνεμος*, Gen. 26:7. See LATTICE, § 2, 3.
3. *ἄνεμος*, *ἄνεμος* (pl.), Dan. 6:18 (1). See LATTICE, § 2, 3. On
these three words, cp H. 2:11, § 3.
4. *ἄνεμος*, *ἄνεμος*, Gen. 8:1. See LATTICE, § 2, 7.
On the *ἄνεμος*, *ἄνεμος*, and *ἄνεμος*, *ἄνεμος*, cf. K. 4:7 4:1,
see LATTICE, § 2, 6. On *ἄνεμος*, *ἄνεμος*, in Is. 51:1 see PISGACH.

WINE AND STRONG DRINK

Terminology (§§ 1-6). Varieties (§§ 7-7).
Winpress (§§ 11-16). Mixing (§§ 17-20).
Wine making (§§ 21-24). Metaphors (§§ 25-31).
Use of wine (§ 32).

In this article it is proposed to examine the terms
rendered wine or strong drink in EV and to discuss
the methods adopted by the Hebrews in the preparation
of these beverages. For the cultivation of the vine in
Palestine inference must be made to the articles
VINE, and NUTR., § 7, and for the various stages in
the growth of the fruit to the article GRAPE.

The first place in our study of the relative terminology
belongs to *ἄνεμος*, *ἄνεμος*, apparently a

1. *yáyim*.
οίνος. loanword in Semitic (see BDR, v. 7), with
references there to which add 11 S. 1:10 1:11 in
Heb., *Kulturgeschichte u. Haub. thiere*,⁶⁶ pp. XIV ff., also

1. For a complete list of passages with the renderings of the
principal versions (to be used with caution, however) see Lees
and Burns, *The Temperance Bible Commentary*, 4:12-425 (1868).

WINE AND STRONG DRINK

Miss-Arnolt, 'Semitic words in Greek and Latin' in *Publications of Amer. Philolog. Ass.* 1892 pp. 142-149. Occurring over 140 times in the traditional text of OT, *ayin* denotes, like its Greek and Latin congeners, *olivos* and *vinum*, the juice of the grape, fermented and matured in appropriate vessels. It is represented as in daily use, whether at the ordinary family meal and the more ambitious banquet (Mt. vs. § 12), or at the sacrificial feast and in the ritual of the sanctuary (Rit. VI, § 2. SACRIFICE, col. 403 etc.). *ayin* is uniformly rendered by 'wine' in L.V. by *olivos* in G except Job 32:19, where the sense is correctly given by ὑαίματος sweet [fermenting] must, and by *vinum* in the Lat. vers. In OT *ayin* is confined to grape-wine; but in later Hebrew it is extended to include both the freshly-expressed juice or must (see *tit* below) and the fermented juice of various fruits, such as the apple-wine frequently mentioned in the Mishna (see § 26). The corresponding *olivos* is found over 30 times in N.T., not reckoning its presence in compounds such as *olivosporin* 'winebibber' (Mt. 11:19 Lk. 7:34). In *ayin*

2. *tit*. *tit*, we have a word of uncertain etymology,¹ occurring 38 times in OT. A convenient summary of the various qualities predicated of *tit* is given in Driver's *Lecl. and Annot.* 79f.; for more detailed discussion see A. M. Wilson, *The Wines of the Bible* [1877] 301-310. In 11 places *tit* is associated with corn as a valued product of the soil, and in 19 other passages with corn and fresh oil (*zayit*, the raw, unclarified oil as it flows from the oil press, see Ott). Hence by analogy we ought to regard *tit* as primarily the freshly-expressed and still unfermented grape-juice, technically known as must, the Latin *mustum* (Mc. 6:15 Vg.). It is also applied, however, prophetically to the juice while still in the grape, as in Is. 63:8 (the new wine is found in the cluster) L.V., cp the Latin phrase *vinum pendens*, and by another figure to the grapes in the press-vat (Mc. 2: 2, 'thou shalt tread *tit* [RV the vintage], but shalt not drink the wine' [yayin]). On the other hand it is important, in view of the controversies to which the term *tit* has given rise, to note that in certain passages it clearly denotes the product of fermentation, or wine properly so called. Its application in this respect, however, was apparently limited to 'new wine,' as frequently rendered in AV and RV,² either while still in the fermenting stage or during the next few months, while the process of maturing was still incomplete. The grounds on which this conclusion is based are these:—

(1) In one passage where *tit* is associated with whoredom and wine (*yalayim*) as 'taking away the understanding' (Hos. 4:11 RV),³ intoxicating properties are unmistakably assigned to it. (2) *Tit* is repeatedly mentioned as subject to the laws of tithing of the first fruits (Dt. 12:17 14:23 18:4 Neh. 10:7 ff. and elsewhere). Now the later Jewish code specifies the precise moment when the expressed grape-juice becomes subject to the law of tithing: 'Must⁴ is tithable from the time that it throws up scum' (*Maiszer* 17, reading *tit*); so evidently Surenhusius' unpointed edition, as shown by the explanations of Maimonides

¹ The usual derivation from *yayin*, 'to take possession of,' though supported in Aramaic by the cognate *yayith* from *yayath*, is not convincing. Recently it has been suggested that *tit* is a loan-word from Sumerian through Assyrian (see Ball and Haupt, *SBOT*, Gen., note on 27:28).
² According to *Temp. Bib. Comm.* (at *supra*, 415) *tit* is translated in AV 26 times by 'wine,' 11 times by 'new wine,' and once (Mc. 6:15) by 'sweet wine.' A table of all the occurrences with their renderings is given in Eadie's *Cyclopaedia*, s.v. 'Wine.' RV adds to these the rendering 'vintage' Nu. 18:12 Mc. *loc.* and in several other passages in the margin. The American revisers would consistently render by 'new wine' throughout.
³ It is possible, however, that *tit* is here a clerical error for *yalayim* which the context certainly leads us to expect. G's rendering *pebana*, a ferment equivalent of *tit*, but not elsewhere of *tit*, supports this view. The other ancient versions follow G.
⁴ The original has *yayin*, *tit* having now become obsolete.

and *partemora*; cp also Levy, *NHWB*, s.v. *tit*.
 moment when it begins to ferment. The result is the same with later editions, we read the pal *tit* and read the time one begins to skim the froth (Hos. San. also *tit*, *Tit* of *Tit* *Tit*, etc.).
 interior wine made by pouring water on the refuse of had to ferment (12:7) before becoming subject to tithing (54:13) cp. for the heavy offering, *Tit*, 3:1.
 reference is to wine that had passed through the alcoholic fermentation and had become vinegar fermentation-out. Hence when it is said that *tit* shall be the courts of the sanctuary (11:32-33), the conclusion available that *tit* is not here the unfermented must fermented wine. The wine of the drink-offering (7:22) etc.; see under SACRIFICE, § 110) is never described thus as *tit*, except once when it is described as below, § 7). The *tit*, finally, which in an early (Judg. 9:11) is said to 'choke' (as a blundering) exultate man in the accompanying sacrificial feast understood, in the light of what has just been said, fermented wine. (1) The evidence of the version question must not be overlooked. With two exceptions (pal 'grape-stone' and Hos. 1:11, for which *tit* has uniformly rendered *tit* by *olivos*). The Targ. the Peshita with almost equal uniformity give fermented wine (see § 4 below), while Jerome, with exceptions, renders by *tit*, not as we might expect *mustum* (except Mc. 6:15), even where, as in 17:31, the sense seems to require *mustum*.

The word *tit* is found five times in OT. It is rendered in AV twice by 'new wine,' twice by 'wine' and once (ant. 8:2) by 'juice.'

3. *āsīs*; *yalayim*.
 renders uniformly by 'sweet wine' in the passage cited, where it appears in the margin.

Derived from the verb *ās*, to crush by treading, apparently a poetical synonym of *tit*, denoting juice freshly pressed from the grape or other fruit (see 'sweet wine'; marginal Job 34:11). In Job 1:4 and however, the context shows that, like *tit*, *āsīs* might denote intoxicating beverage, as it doubtless is in Cant. 8:2, which made from pomegranates (1:28). In this passage *āsīs* by *tit*, whence EV 'juice'; in Is. 49:2 by *olivos* *tit*; Job 1:4 is by *yalayim*, which recalls the *yalayim* 'new wine' of *Tit* 2:11. *Glukha* is used of the 'sweet juice' through all the stages of its passage into ferment. Thus the lexicographer Hesychius defines *yalayim* 'juice which drops from the grape, before trodden' (cp the explanation of Ex. 22:21[28], § 13 below). The word is used of must in the process of fermentation (2:19) (2:19 *āsīs* *yalayim* *glukha*), while in the passage Job 1:4 (2:13) the reference is clearly to the strongly intoxicating qualities of new and immature wines in this particular wine of the preceding vintage. Here may be taken the rendering in Neh. 8:10, to eating the fat and drinking the sweet (2:19 *āsīs* *yalayim*), evidently a variety of varieties of sweet recalling the *āsīs* of *Ménah*, 8:5.

Another poetical designation of wine is *hémér* which occurs only in the poem Dt. 32:14; for in we must read, for the MT *hémér* 'red wine'), with RV 'pleasant vineyard.' In Aramaic, however, as frequently happens, the Hebrew poetical term is the ordinary for wine; so six times in the Aramaic portions of (6:9 7:22) and Daniel (5:4 2:23). The etymology of *hémér*, *fervere*, to foam, ferment (cp *hémér* [Is. 7:22] 'wine foameth,' RV) shows that *hémér* and its cognate in Aramaic and Arabic specially denote wine a product of fermentation.

4. *hémér*, etc. 'red wine'), with RV 'pleasant vineyard.' In Aramaic, however, as frequently happens, the Hebrew poetical term is the ordinary for wine; so six times in the Aramaic portions of (6:9 7:22) and Daniel (5:4 2:23). The etymology of *hémér*, *fervere*, to foam, ferment (cp *hémér* [Is. 7:22] 'wine foameth,' RV) shows that *hémér* and its cognate in Aramaic and Arabic specially denote wine a product of fermentation.

Sōbb (2:22) occurs only in Is. 1:22 (EV 'wine'), Hos. 4:13 (their drink,' RV 'their care'), and Nah. 1:10 (their drink'); but in the last two passages is very uncertain. That *sōbb* was some strong intoxicating beverage the root-word, *sābb*, 'to drink excess,' abundantly proves (see e.g. Pr. 23:20 f.). cognate *sābu*, a synonym of *karūm*, denote Assyrian a drink from sesame (Del. *Ass. HWB*, 5).

In a small number of post-exilic passages, we

¹ For the methods adopted to increase the sweetness of see §§ 15-22 below.

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with a group of diluted terms derived from the verbal root שָׂרַב to mix (wine) with spices (I. 2, 5).
6. *méseh*, and the cognate מִיְסַח , which in the Hebrew of the Mishna period signified 'to mix with water'—viz. *mésék* מִיְסַח (Is. 753 [1] I.V. 'mixture'), *mimsák* מִיְסַח (Prov. 23:1), I.V. 'mixed wine', Is. 65:11 AV 'drink offering' RV 'mingled wine' [אַרְבַּחַיָּא] 'unto Dostay', and *mésék*, מִיְסַח (ant. 7:2, AV 'liquor,' RV 'mingled wine') מִיְסַח . The nature of the mingling or mixing here implied will be fully discussed later (§ 29).

In Is. 25 the word מִיְסַח *misák*, properly the lees of wine (Is. 753 [2] for Is. 1:11 Zeph. 1:12), is used for the sake of the association with מִיְסַח 'fat things,' to signify wine (E.V. 'wines on the lees') in a figurative sense. For the obscure or perhaps corrupt term מִיְסַח which AV following an erroneous tradition, has rendered a 'blagen of wine' (2 S. 6:9, cp 1 Ch. 10:7 11:5, 31 (ant. 25) see the discussions under ERTT § 5). In Nu. 6:3 wine and strong drink are both distinguished from the unfermented juice (מִיְסַח) (E.V. 'liquor') of the grape.¹

Our list of the words rendered wine in E.V. may close with a reference to three figurative expressions which are met with at very different stages of Hebrew literature. In the early book of the covenant we have the unique expression מִיְסַח literally 'tear' (Ex. 22:28), which includes the first flow of the juice of olives as well as of grapes (for a new suggestion as to the origin of this term see § 14). In the Gospels we first wine designated 'the fruit of the vine' ($\text{פְּרִי תְּבַנְיָהוּ תְּבַנְיָהוּ}$ Mt. 26:59 Mk. 11:25 Lk. 22:1) a periphrasis doubtless already current in Jewish speech, since it is found in the time-honoured benediction over the wine-cup in *Birkh.* 6:1 (מִיְסַח —for the words of the blessing see MEALS, § 7, end). In all periods, finally, we find the poetic designation 'blood of the grape' from the red colour of the expressed juice (Is. 63:2) derived from the stalks and skins of the fruit (Gen. 49:11 Job. 32:4 Ecclus. 39:20 50:15, cp Rev. 14:2) and the Arabic *damu-z-zikk*, 'blood of the wineskin).

There still remains for examination the important term מִיְסַח *šekar* (from the root שָׂרַב , common to all Semitic dialects, which supplies the Hebrew words for 'drink,' 'drunk,' and 'drunkenness'). In שָׂרַב the word has assumed the form *šikra*—but occasionally translated *uššara*, twice *uššar*, and once *uššar*, through the influence of the Aramaic *škrā*, שָׂרַב ; and in Jerome *uššara*. The etymology warrants the inference that *šekar* is to be regarded as a comprehensive designation for every sort of intoxicating beverage from whatever source derived, or, as Jerome has it, 'omne quod inebriare potest' (Vg. Lev. 10:9 Nu. 6:1 1 S. 1:15).

In one of his letters Jerome expands his definition as follows:—*Suava helena: sermone omnis potus, quia inebriare potest, sive illa quae fermento conditur, sive pomorum succo, aut quum lavi decouantur in dulcem et barbarum potumem, aut pularum fructus exprimitur in liquorem, cortisque fragilis*

¹ שָׂרַב has here the apparent contradiction $\text{פָּרְחַרְחַר אֵינָם אֲכָרְחַרְחַר אֲכָרְחַרְחַר}$ (cp Rev. 10:14 $\text{וְהָיָה אֲכָרְחַרְחַר אֲכָרְחַרְחַר}$), the explanation being that $\text{אֵינָם אֲכָרְחַרְחַר}$ is the usual designation of wine undiluted with water, whilst אֲכָרְחַרְחַר denotes the addition of aromatic herbs (see § 20).
² In Can. 2:13 etc. Sym. renders מִיְסַח (RV 'in blossom'; Ges., following Syr. authorities, *flor vitis*) by $\text{אֵינָם אֲכָרְחַרְחַר}$. It has been suggested that the 'impossible' מִיְסַח in Is. 16:8 should be corrected into מִיְסַח (GERTZ, 3), and a special reason for the mention of the vine-blossoms may be found in the use of these blossoms in flavouring new wine (cp Oupal, *REHM* 277). Such flavoured wine was called *oššar* *oššar*. Hasselquist thus describes the method employed, viz. 'hanging the powder produced by drying the flowers of the vine in the cask, when the new wine begins to ferment' (*Travels and Travels*, 1766, pp. 411 f.).

שָׂרַב *šakar* (cp שָׂרַב Neoplatonum, vii. Vallarsi, I. 1).
 From this specification, it may be noted, wine is apparently excluded, and for this exclusion there is a certain amount of justification. Thus in the priestly legislation affecting the Nazirites (Nu. 6:1-3) cognate of שָׂרַב is distinguished from vinegar (שָׂרַב), both being excluded by the early post-exilic period, in various articles of abstinence, שָׂרַב was no longer included in the category of *šakar* or strong drink. We are not inclined to infer from this, however, that the two designations wine and strong drink were in all periods mutually exclusive. Thus when the term *šakar* is first met with in the Mishnaic literature, it is used for 'drink' generally, and is repeatedly associated with food, oil, honey, etc. (see the Aramaic literature, *REHM*, notes 27-30). The fact that in all the enormous number of jars of wine which Theodosius III. received from Syria at an earlier period (see that the 'wine' or 'drinks' of the Aramaic letters must have included wine). In the Assyro-Babylonian contracts tablets of 700 B.C. and during beverages generally, and in particular wine made from dates (Del. *U. H. B.*, 20; see list in § 29). Indeed it is extremely probable that in pre-exilic times, while the Semitic terms were still confined to their primitive home in Arabia, the principal if not the sole, intoxicant was 'wine' from fermented date juice.² In this first of all the name *šakar* would be given. When at a later period the Semites spread westward and became acquainted with the vine and its fruit, it is only natural that the term should be extended to include the *šakar* of the grape, for which, however, the Hebrew שָׂרַב was by and by adapted to distinguish grape wine from the fermented juices of other fruits, such as pomegranates, quinces, etc. (see § 29) included under *šakar* in its wider application.

The distinction which has just been drawn between these various applications of the term *šakar* receives ample confirmation from a closer study of the O.T. data. Thus in the many poetical and semi-poetical prophetic passages where the word occurs in the parallelism alongside of שָׂרַב (I. 20:31 Is. 5:11 27:27 etc.) it is unlikely that *šakar* is more than a synonym of שָׂרַב , denoting 'strong,' 'heavy' wine or such like. Perhaps also 'spiced wine' for which see § 20, as stated in Suidas' definition, שָׂרַב *šakar*, שָׂרַב *šakar*, שָׂרַב *šakar*, שָׂרַב *šakar*. The Targums and the Peshitta frequently render שָׂרַב by 'old wine,' whilst the Mishnah regards the tradition that it denoted wine in the natural state (שָׂרַב as distinguished from שָׂרַב wine diluted with water (שָׂרַב); in both cases, however, we have probably nothing more than exceptional guesswork. Of much greater importance for our argument is the fact that in the unique passage, Nu. 28:7, the material of the drink offering is expressly designated שָׂרַב (AV 'strong wine,' RV 'strong drink'). Now it is difficult to believe that in the historical period any liquor other than the juice of the grape was so offered for this purpose, and still more difficult to admit that any other liquor than wine was intended in this passage of the Priestly Code. In other legislative passages, such as Nu. 6:3, and Lev. 10:9, and in 14:2, שָׂרַב must be distinguished from שָׂרַב in the direction suggested by Jerome, as a general term for all fermented beverages other than שָׂרַב , and in particular, though of this we have no positive O.T. evidence, for date wine. A land whose soil is rich in dates was certainly not ignorant of the methods of manufacturing wine from their juice, although the name date wine is first met with in the Talmudic period (see further, § 29).

Last of all, mention may be made of one or two more comprehensive terms. From the root שָׂרַב , 'to drink' we have

9. Some general terms. especially wine. These workers, receiving wages and everything found, have an allowance of 'meat and drink (שָׂרַב) and oil' (Exra 3:7; cp the parallel $\text{אֲכָרְחַרְחַר, אֲכָרְחַרְחַר, אֲכָרְחַרְחַר}$ of *Am. Targ.* 209 12 f. and elsewhere); also *Am. Targ.* with שָׂרַב 3:16, where the *šakar* is said to consist of wine). From the associated root שָׂרַב , we have both שָׂרַב , *šikra*, (I. 10:25 [7], where bread, oil, and 'drinks' are parallel to the 'corn, oil, and wine' of v. 8 [10]); שָׂרַב , *šakar*, and

¹ With this definition of *šakar* may be compared 'Onnar's' definition of *šakar* as including wine from grapes, dates, honey, wheat, and barley (Jacob, *Hebraica Bedeutenissen*, 97, quoting Buhārī).
² The distinction here so clearly drawn between the two kinds of vinegar is fatal to our acceptance of the tradition, represented in Onkelos and approved by Kasbi (Comm. in loc.), that the *šakar* is old wine.
³ For the importance of the palm among the early Semites see Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins*, 75 ff.; cp also PALM, § 1.
⁴ Date juice was of course accepted in the earliest times; in Babylonia indeed in all periods libations of date wine (*uššar šakar*) were common (see RTTU VI, § 2).

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figuratively Pr. 38) and מִשְׁכֶּה , *maskeh*. *Maskeh* is used comprehensively, as in Lev. 11:34, for 'every drink that may be drunk,' and in the later plural form (מִשְׁכֵּי) it becomes, in the Mishna, the general term for all sorts of beverages—water, wine, milk, etc. (see *Tirum*, 11:2). Hence מִשְׁכֵּי מַיִם is Delitzsch's rendering of the Gk. $\beta\rho\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ καὶ $\pi\acute{o}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ (Col. 2:16), whilst their respective plurals represent the $\beta\rho\omega\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ καὶ $\pi\omicron\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ of Heb. 9:13.

The economic use of grapes in ancient, as in modern times, was fourfold. The grapes might be eaten in their natural state (עֲצֵי זֵיתִים , Nu. 6:3, AV

10. Use of grapes. 'moist'), or they might be exposed to the sun and used as raisins (FRUIT, § 4), or finally they might be trodden in the press and the juice converted either into grape-syrup or *dibs* (HONEY, § 1 (3)) or into wine. The last of these processes alone concerns us here.

The ancient winepresses, traces of which are found in every part of Palestine, from Dan to Beersheba, have proved the most permanent memorials of the Hebrew occupation, and show that the land of promise was indeed a 'land of wine and vineyards' (2 K. 18:32). Two adjoining vineyards might have one press in common (*Jbna'i* 6:7). The typical winepress consisted of two troughs of varying dimensions, at different levels, hewn out (עֲצֵי זֵיתִים , Is. 5:3 RV) of the solid rock, the upper of the two having the larger superficial area, the lower the greater depth.¹ In the upper trough, which we shall call the pressvat (גַּת , *gath*, in AV variously rendered press, wine-press [sometimes in one word, sometimes in two] and winevat) men and women trod ($\text{תָּדְוּ$) the grapes, the expressed juice flowing by a channel (עָנָב , *Mad'ar*, 1:7) through the intervening rock into the lower trough or winevat (עֲצֵי זֵיתִים , *yeleb*; see Schick's diagrams reproduced below). This distinction between the *gath* and the *yeleb* is not always observed by the OT writers, *yeleb* being occasionally used to denote the pressvat (Is. 16:10 Job 24:11) whilst either may be used by metonymy for the whole winepress, as may be seen from the names of localities now with *gath* (Gath, Gath-hepher, etc.), now with *yeleb*, as Zech's winepress (Judg. 7:25) and the king's winepresses (Zech. 14:10) in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. A third term, קֵרִיבִים , *qaribim*, which may be rendered winevat, is used as a synonym both of *gath* (Is. 63:3) and of *yeleb* (Hag. 2:16 reading as in AV קֵרִיבִים —the RV rendering 'vessels,' following G and Vg., is not an improvement). By NT times *yeleb* as the name of the winevat had become almost, if not altogether, obsolete, its place being supplied by בֵּיר , *bir* (Mishna *passim*)—*seh*, however, remaining for the pressvat. Occasionally, however, we find *gath* used in the Mishna for the winepress as a whole, with the two troughs or vats designated respectively the 'upper' vat ($\text{עֲצֵי זֵיתִים אֲשֶׁר בְּעֵלְיוֹ}$, *Tirum*, 80 *Mad'ar*, 1:7 etc.). In G the uniform rendering of *gath* is ἀγρός (also Mt. 21:33 Rev. 14:18), which is also used to represent *yeleb* in some passages, whilst in others we find for *yeleb* the more exact προθήμιον (Is. 16:10 Joel 3 [4]:13 Hag. 2:17 Zech. 14:10; also Mk. 12:1).

Whilst a press with two vats seems to have been in general use, several instances are known of an arrangement with three and even four. Thus the late Dr. Schick has given a description (*PEPQ*, 1899, p. 41 f.), with plans here reproduced, of an elaborate press discovered by him at 'Ain Kārim, to the SW. of Jerusalem. Here we have a trough *a*, about 7 ft. square, into which

the grape-baskets were first emptied. This trough at once recalls the προθήμιον by which G renders *yeleb* of Is. 5:2, and is probably the 'abit, עֲבִית , of Mishna (Bib. *Mab.* 5:7 [where it occurs alongside of מִדְּבָרִים , עֲבִית , or trough for the olives; see Ori., *Tshdr.* 10:4 [the grape juice here trickles in drop by drop the 'abit into the *gath*] [et. *Mad'ar* *Kat.* 28:1a [2] trodden in the 'abit]).

The *prothemon*, *a*, is connected by a channel in the rock with a larger trough, *b*, 10 ft. by 8 ft., the floor of which is lower by 1 ft. than that of *a*. From *b*, again, two channels lead into two vats at a still lower level, connected with each other by a channel; the smaller of the two vats, *c*, is about 3 ft. square and 4 ft. deep, whereas *d* measures over 5 ft. square and 6 ft. deep. In the floor of the larger vat, a circular hollow has been sunk at one side, easily recognisable in the sectional view to allow the last drops of the must to be scooped out. This is evidently the 'little vat' ($\text{עֲצֵי זֵיתִים קָטָן}$) of the Mishna. A somewhat similar arrangement of three vats, the floors of which are paved with a mosaic of tough white tesserae set in plaster uncarved, with several other presses, in 1889 at Tell el-Felk (1890, p. 34 with plans, 32 f.; see this volume for numerous vats laid bare by the explorers).

In vineyards where the nature of the ground or other considerations did not permit of rock excavation,

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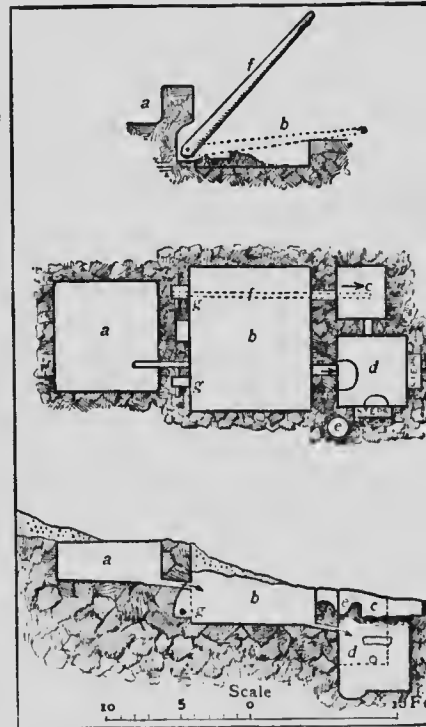


FIG. 1.—Ancient wine-press. (From the Palestine Exploration Fund, QS, 1899.)

were dug in the ground (Mk. 12:1 RV, 'a pit for a winepress,' Mt. 21:33), which were then lined with masonry or cement and coated with pitch (see *Zārāh*, 6:11, where the name *gath sel hēves*, עֲבִית עֵצִים , cement-vat, is given to this kind of press). An example, probably of the thirteenth century, was discovered by Bliss at Tell el-Hesi (*A Month in Cities*, 66 f., with illustr.). The vats, of which there were three, were circular. The uppermost

¹ That the ἀγρός of this parallel was not rock-hewn, as is generally assumed, is evident from the context of Mt. 21:33 the same expression, 'dug the ground,' ῥοψήσας γῆν (so used).

¹ Of the modern Syrian winepresses it is said that 'if the upper trough be 6 ft. long by 4 broad (and a foot and a half deep) the lower one will be about 4 ft. long by 2 ft. broad, but about 3 ft. deep.' G. M. Mackie, *Bible Manners and Customs*, 1893.

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This trough renders the *bit*, *שֵׁבֶט*, of the alongside of the [see O.H., § 2] in drops from *שֵׁבֶט* [grapes

in the rock with the which is lower by 3 ft. lead into two vats (other by a third about 3 ft. square circular hollow has the sectional plan, opened out. This is Mishna. A some-floors of which were set in plaster' was at Tell-es-Sâhi in this volume *passim*.

ground or other excavation, pits



the Palestine then lined with sitch (see *Abdik* 1913, *שֵׁבֶט* *שֵׁבֶט*, or ss). An excellent century B.C., was *A Mount of Many* ts, of which there uppermost had a

not rock-hewn, as is (see of Mt. *שֵׁבֶט* where *שֵׁבֶט* *שֵׁבֶט* (so B) is

diameter of 63 ins., walls of mud, and a floor of cement sloping gently towards a cup-like hollow, the 'little vat' described above. The second vat of the series had also a diameter of over 5 ft. and walls of brick with a floor of cement consisting of pebbles imbedded in lime, sloping rapidly towards the outlet into the lowermost of the vats, a small pit lined with rough stones and in the side of which was a stone spout.

A third species of press was used from time immemorial in Egypt, and is attested for Palestine, where it bore the name *gath* *שֵׁבֶט*, *שֵׁבֶט* *שֵׁבֶט*, or

13. Wooden press.

wooden press (*Ibid.*, *Ziv. Lc.*). As represented by Wilkinson (*op. cit.*, 1353) this was simply a large wooden trough raised considerably above the ground and furnished with spouts through which the must flowed into the receiving-jars. In the particular specimen reproduced by Wilkinson ropes are seen hanging from a wooden roof, by means of which those treading the grapes supported themselves. A modern press of the same type is reproduced in Van Lennep, *Bible Lands* [1875] 113. It is possible that the *yekeb* of Is. 52 is to be understood not as a whole press, but as a rock-hewn vat (such as vat No. 4, at Tell-es-Sâhi, *PEF*, 1900, p. 33 f.), and the *προσθήκη* of Mk. 12:1 as a cemented pit, both intended to receive the juice expressed from a wooden press such as that now described.

On the approach of the vintage season (*הָרֵבֶת* *תְּרוּמָה*, *Eccles.* 24:27, *ὁ καιρὸς τῶν καρπῶν*, Mt. 21:34, *הָרֵבֶת* *שֵׁבֶט*, *Chibzeleh* 34), which corresponded

14. Grape harvest.

fairly with our September, whole families repaired to the vineyards for the more expeditious gathering of the fruit, sleeping in booths, and living largely on the ripening grapes. It was the most joyful time of all the Hebrew year (Is. 16:13). The ripe clusters (*שֵׁבֶט*) were either nipped off (*שֵׁבֶט*, *Ps.* 74), or, more usually, cut off (*שֵׁבֶט*) with a curved knife (*שֵׁבֶט*, Joel 3[4]13, *Ohel* 181; *δρεπανον*, Rev. 14:10; EV 'sickle'). Hence is derived the special name for the grape harvest, *שֵׁבֶט*, *shisir* (cp *שֵׁבֶט*, the grape-gatherer, Jer. 69:49; *תְּרוּמָה*, *Eccles.* 30:25 [33:16]), although *שֵׁבֶט*, *shisir*, strictly the corn harvest, is sometimes applied to the vintage (Is. 169:17; 185 Joel 3[4] 13, 'put ye in the sickle for the harvest is ripe').

The grapes destined for the manufacture of wine were carried in baskets (*שֵׁבֶט*, Mishna *passim*, *שֵׁבֶט*, Jer.

15. Spreading-place.

שֵׁבֶט BASKET) to the press where they were immediately trodden out, or, as is still a common practice in Syria and other wine-producing countries, spread out for some days¹ on the *שֵׁבֶט* or spreading-place (cp *FRUIT*, § 4, with footnote), where the grapes were laid either on the bare ground or on vine leaves (*Tohar.* 104 f.). The *misrah* was generally, if not always, close to the press, so that the juice exuding from the grapes under their own pressure might trickle into the vat (*שֵׁבֶט*, *ib.* 105). The object of this proceeding was to increase the amount of sugar and diminish the amount of water in the grapes (see *Redding, A History . . . of Modern Wine* [1851], 53), with a view to the production of a specially sweet wine, like the *שֵׁבֶט* (*χλιαστων*) of *Mishnah* 85. An ancient *misrah* or spreading place with its adjoining vat

¹ It is possible that *shisir* (Is. 63:2; see above) was the special designation for a press of this description.

² The unity of the prophet's figure in this verse has hitherto been maintained by commentators taking *shisir* in its usual sense of corn harvest, and consequently rendering *misrah* by 'sickle.' In reality the reference is to the grape harvest and (*שֵׁבֶט* *תְּרוּמָה*) the gatherer's knife. This view of the passage preserves the unity of the figure and is confirmed by *Q* and the author of *Revelation* (14:10 f.), and by the fact that the only other instance of *שֵׁבֶט*, in the sense of 'to be ripe,' refers to the ripening of grapes (*Gen.* 40:10).

³ At present from five to seven days, near Hebron even for sixteen days *ZDPV* 11:170.

has, in the writer's opinion, recently been laid bare at Tell-es-Sâhi *PEF*, 1900, p. 31 f. with plans. It consists of 'a floor of rock, roughly rectangular, about 42 ft. long by 10 ft. 8 ins. broad. It has been smoothed level and sunk to a maximum depth of 5 ins. below the surrounding rock outcrop.' The many cups scattered over the floor (cp a similar series of cups at Tell-el-Judeideh, *ib.* 24), with illustrations were evidently for receiving the juice expressed from the grapes by their own weight. This has always been considered to produce a quality of wine superior to that obtained by treading the grapes, and was termed *πρόχρμα* by the Greeks, and *protropum* by the Romans (*Geopon.* 6:16, *Pliny HN* 14:85; cp Hesychius' definition of *γλαῖος* cited above, § 3).

The many cuplike hollows in the floor of the *misrah* suggest a new explanation of the unique term *שֵׁבֶט* (Ex. 22:29 [28] lit. 'the rear' [שֵׁבֶט] EV 'thy lipponds', *Ἐσάρχαξ* *ληϊοῦ*, so Pesh.). The hollows in question may very naturally have been termed the 'eyes' of the *misrah* (cp 'the seven eyes upon one stone' in the difficult passage *Zech.* 3:9), when the liquid collects in them and gies, as naturally have been called the 'tear.' There are analogies in other languages for this application of the word 'tear,' as in the Arabic *dam'at-ikarim* (Ksanz, *Silistak*, etc., 1:2) and the Spanish *lagrima*, the name for wine made from grape-juice which has exuded without pressure (*Redding, op. cit.* 52).

The treading of the grapes was accompanied by much merry shouting and singing on the part of the treaders (*שֵׁבֶט*—in later Hebrew *שֵׁבֶט*, women treaders *שֵׁבֶט*, *Terum.* 34), a proceeding several times referred to in OT. The vintage-shout even received a special name, the *hulal* (*שֵׁבֶט*, Is. 16:10 Jer. 25:30 43:34). A snatch of a vintage song is preserved in Is. 65:8: 'Destroy it not, for a blessing is in it.' The Greek translators, as is well known, read the titles of Ps. 8:81 and 84 as *שֵׁבֶט* *שֵׁבֶט*, which they rendered *ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁγῶν* (Jerome, *pro* [or *in*] *tricularibus*), evidently regarding the Psalms in question as vintage hymns, corresponding to the *ἕμνοι ἐπιθήριοι* of the Greeks, a view adopted in recent times by Baethgen (*IAK* 16).¹

The grapes having been trodden as thoroughly as possible with the feet—the juice thus expressed was

16. Qualities of wine.

termed by the Romans *mustum lividum*—a further flow was obtained by piling the husks and stalks in a heap (*שֵׁבֶט*, *ib.*, *Ziv.* 13 etc.) in the middle of the pressvat. Flat stones, or planks of wood, were laid upon the top of the *tappuah*,

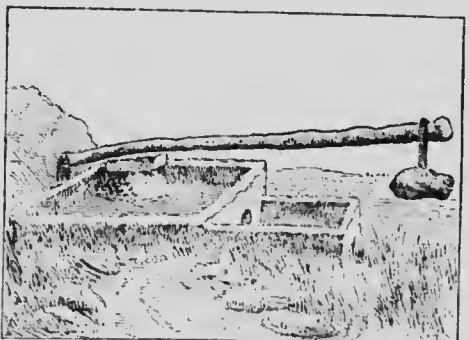


Fig. 2.—Modern contrivance for pressing grapes in Palestine.

and the whole was subjected to pressure by means of a wooden press-beam (*שֵׁבֶט*, *Shilo.* 19; *Tohar.* 108), one end of which was fixed into a socket in the wall of the pressvat, as shown in Schick's diagram reproduced above, whilst the other end was weighted with stones (see the illustration, fig. 2, of the same procedure at the present day, Mackie, *Bible Manners and Customs*, 45). The

¹ Specimens of modern vintage songs in Arabic are given by D. Hanan in his *Palaestinischer Diction* (1901) 28, ff.

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wine obtained from this second pressing, which produced the *mustum fortivum* of the Romans, of course much inferior to that obtained from the *mustum livivum*. Still lower in the scale must be placed the beverage termed *תמל*, *témed* (so pointed by Dalman, *Aram.-Neuhebr. Wörterb.*, s. v.), who derives the word from the Latin *temetum*), which was prepared by pouring water upon the skins and stalks after they had been pressed (*Má'sér.* 54 6), or upon the lees of generous wine (*Shabb.* 202) and allowing the whole to ferment (*תמל*, *Má'sér. Sh.* 13), precisely as in the manufacture of the *lora* of the Romans. *Témed* was also prepared from grapes that had become atrophied on the vine (*'Orlé* 18). Some such wine of poor quality may be intended in some cases by the *תמל*, *hómes*, of the OT (AV 'vinegar'), which like *lora* was the *vinum operarium* or workmen's wine (Ruth 2:14).

Proceeding now to the preparation of the ordinary varieties of wine, we are met by the somewhat remarkable fact that of the two hundred or more biblical references to wine, only two or three refer specially to any of the many processes in its fermentation and maturing. We are accordingly dependent on the more numerous and more explicit statements to be found in the Mishna, which apply strictly to the procedure of the second century A. D. But the methods then in use are of so primitive a character that they may safely be used to illustrate the procedure of a much earlier period.

17. Fermentation.

In the case of small vineyards, it was perhaps possible to allow the must to ferment in the winevat, fermentation, in the warm climate of Palestine in September, commencing a few hours after the expression of the juice. Thus in *Abth* 4:26 the man that learns from a young and immature teacher is compared to one 'that eats unripe grapes and drinks wine from his vat' (*תמל* *בביתו*).¹ After the first and most active stage of the fermentation, technically known as the 'tumultuous' fermentation (*Redding, op. cit.* 62), was completed in the vat, the new wine was drawn off (*תמל*, *Hagg.* 2:16, in the Mishna, *תמל*) and transferred to skins (Job 32:19 Mt. 9:17 and s. see BOTTLE, § 1) or jars for the so-called 'after-fermentation.' It is impossible that the must could ever have been put into skins to undergo the whole process of fermentation, as is usually stated, the notion of the gas given off in the earlier stages of the process being much too violent for any skins to withstand. Where a large quantity of grapes had to be trodden, it was necessary to relieve the winevat by transferring the must immediately to earthenware jars, of which the Jews possessed a large variety (see Krenzel, *Das Hausgerät in der Misnah*, pp. 48 ff.). The most frequently mentioned is the *תמל*, *hábith*, corresponding to the Roman *dolium*, a large full-bellied jar with a wide mouth, of the type represented under POTTERY, Fig. 3, No. 1, intermediate in size between the smaller *תמל*, *kad* (*κάδος*) and the larger *תמל*, *pitós* (*πίθος*). The jars, which had previously been lined with pitch, were placed beneath the spout of the vat if it had one (see the Tell el-Hesi vat above described), or were filled—but not to the brim (*Ménah.* 80)—by means of the *máhas* (*תמל*, *Tohá.* 107) or dipper, a bowl-shaped vessel like those used in Egypt for the same purpose (illus. Wilkinson, *op. cit.* 1:387; cp POTTERY, Fig. 2, No. 6). Schliek's diagram above shows at *c* a special cavity in which the jar was placed to be filled. The jars were then set aside² for the contents to ferment. The active fermentation of the Roman wines lasted about nine days, according to Pliny, whilst the

modern red wine of Syria is said to complete its fermentation in from four to seven days, and to be drinkable after the lapse of from two to four months (*ZDPV* 11:171; see below, § 21). The scum which was thrown up during the process of fermentation was removed from time to time, a technical term for which was

18. Straining, etc. (*Má'sér.* 1:74 etc.). The later Jewish legislation decreed that the new wine was not admissible for the drink offering until it had stood for at least forty days in the fermenting jars (*'Eduq.* 61; *Báb. Bath.* 97a; *Targ. Jerus.* 1 [Pse Jonathan] on Nu. 287, where after rendering *שכר* 'old wine' it adds: 'if old wine cannot be had, wine forty days old be poured out before the Lord. On the expiry of this period, then, the wine was assumed to have sufficiently settled to allow of its being racked off into smaller jars (*תמל* *בביתו*, for which see Krenzel, *op. cit.*) corresponding to the Roman amphora, and into wine-skins (*תמל*). The skins were preferred to the jars where the question of transport was concerned (*Josh.* 9:4 1 S. 124 *Judith* 10:5 etc.). In order to purify the new wine from the lees (*תמל* deposit of husks, stalks, etc., that had settled at the bottom of the fermenting jars, it was poured through a strainer (*תמל* *תמל*, *Kel.* 25:3 and often), which must be of metal, as in the passage cited (see Beel *Gallus*, Eng. ed. 490, for illust. of a fine metal *strainer*), or of earthenware (*Kel.* 38), or more frequently a plain linen cloth (*תמל*, *Shabb.* 202 = *σουδάριον* the Roman *saccus vinarius*). To strain wine was termed *תמל* (1s. 256 'wines on the lees well strained' and *תמל* (Mishna, *passim*), in NT *δυναμίζω* (Mt. 23:24

of Am. 6:6 *τὸν διαλισμένον οἶνον*, which suits parallelism better than the MT).¹ A striking figure employed by Jeremiah to denote the even tenor of Moabite history informs us that it was the custom 'to fine' the new wine by pouring it at intervals from one jar to another. 'Moab has been at ease from youth, and has settled on his lees [cp the similar figure in Zeph. 1:12] and has not been emptied (*תמל* *תמל*) from vessel to vessel, neither has he gone into captivity; therefore his taste remains in him, and his scent is not changed. Therefore he will not be humbled, for the days come, says Yahweh, when I will tilt the vessels (*תמל*, from *תמל*, to tilt over a vessel in order to pour out its contents; see RV^{mk}) and they shall be broken, and they shall empty his vessels and break his vessels' (*Jer.* 48:11 f.). Care had to be taken, on the other hand, lest this frequent 'tilting' should set up acetous fermentation and turn wine into vinegar. The frequent references to this danger in the Mishna show that the Jewish wines were calculated to keep for a long period. Indeed wine was already 'old' when a year had passed from the time when it had left the winepress. The word 'old wine' (*תמל*; cp the similar use of *παλαιός* absolutely, 1k. 5:30) we read in the Mishna (*Báb. Bath.* 6:3) 'is of the previous year'—i. e., of the vintage last but not this year—'very old wine' (*תמל*) is wine that is three years old, i. e., according to Jewish reckoning, of the vintage but two, in other words from two to three years old. 'New wine,' accordingly, would apply only to wine of the immediately preceding vintage. Probably the ordinary custom is reflected in the statement in the book of Jubilees (7:1 f.) that Noah prepared the wine in his vineyard in the seventh month, and kept it in jars until he offered it on the following new year's day, that is to say wine which had begun to ferment, say the first of October was considered ready for use at the middle of the following March.

19. No 'old' wines.

Ignatius is fond of the metaphor from straining or filtering (*ἀποδιαισμενός*) from *ad Rom.*, salutation, 'filtered' (*ἀποδιαισμενός*) from *ad Philad.* 3.

¹ Here, and elsewhere in the Mishna, however, *תמל* may be used instead of the now obsolete *תמל* to denote the unfermented must, in which case the aphorism throws an interesting sidelight on the Jewish appreciation of unfermented wine!

² From *Abdih Zarah* 4 to we learn that the jars were left open; see *תמל* in Strack's glossary to this tractate.

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When the wine had been sufficiently refined and clarified, the mouth of the amphora, which had previously been lined (רָפְּטָה) with pitch,

20. Storage. was closed with a lid (רָפְּטָה), probably in the shape of a hollow cone (Krenzel, *op. cit.* 50, illustr. 27; Wilkinson, *op. cit.* 137), or, if the jar had a narrow neck, it was corked (רָפְּטָה) with a stopper (רָפְּטָה; Mishna, *op. cit.*). Both lids and stoppers were carefully luted with gypsum or clay, pitch, wax, etc. (see the list in *Kil.* 10:2).¹ Wineskins were fastened with a knotted cord (*Shabb.* 15:2; cp *ἀσκός δεδεμένος*, Job 32:6). The jars were now ready to be stored in the wine-cellars (רָפְּטָה, 1 Ch. 27:27, Vg. *cellae vinariae*, by which Jerome also renders the רָפְּטָה of Cant. 2:4 'AV 'banqueting house'). Wine shops (רָפְּטָה, *Bib. Heb.* 4:11, *Ab. Zär.* 54) were common in Jerusalem in NT times. Those of Arabia—often kept by Jews, whence the name *hinut*—frequently had displayed a sign or 'bush,' with which some commentators have identified the obscure 'banner' of the 'house of wine' in the passage of Canticles just cited (cp ENSTIGS, § 18).

The process of wine-making as above described on the basis of the data of the Mishna may be illustrated by two brief accounts of the modern process in Eastern lands. Writing in 1824 Henderson in his *History of Ancient and Modern Wines* thus describes the method adopted in Persia (294):

'When the grapes are gathered, they are brought to the cellar, and introduced into a vat or cistern, formed of masonry, and lined with plaster, about 8 ft. in length and breadth, and 4 in depth, where they are trodden, and the juice which flows from them is collected in a trough at the bottom, from which it is immediately removed into large earthen jars, to undergo the requisite fermentation. . . . When the fermentation has fairly commenced, the must is stirred by one of the workmen with his arms bare; and this operation is repeated for eighteen or twenty successive days. The wine is then strained, through coarse sieves, into clean vessels, which are filled to the brim, and covered with light matting. In these it is allowed to remain for thirty or forty days, and when the secondary fermentation is thought to be completed, it is racked into smaller jars, or bottles in which it can be conveniently transported. . . . The following extract applies to the present day. "In Damascus the Christians use principally red grapes in the manufacture of wine. After the grapes have been trodden, the must is transferred with the husks to large earthenware jars, the mouths of which are closed with pieces of linen. Fourteen days afterwards when the fermentation is completed the wine is poured into smaller jars, stirred daily for two months with a rod to prevent acetous fermentation and then strained through a thick linen cloth. The wine is now drinkable. It is preserved in jars which are stoppered and sent to the cellar" (Anderlin in *ZDPV.* 11:71 [1838]).

In what has been said hitherto of the Jewish methods of manufacture, the ordinary quality of wine has been

22. 'Boiled wine.' excitedly in view. We have also seen

(§ 15) that it was usual to expose some part, at least, of the vintage, to the sun before pressing in order to increase the sweetness and strength of the wine; but with this exception the mode of manufacture was as above described. Another procedure which aims at improving a must that is poor in sugar is still in vogue in Syria and elsewhere.² The must is boiled in a caldron for a short time, until it is reduced four or five per cent in volume (see the directions from the geographic collection of Henderson, *op. cit.* 41), after which the liquor is set aside to cool and in due time to ferment. This is apparently the 'boiled wine' (רָפְּטָה, *Terum.* 20; *Ab. Zär.* 85) which the context shows to have been inferior to wine made and matured in the ordinary way from the best quality of must. The authorities, however, differed in their attitude to 'boiled wine.' It is not permissible to boil the must (רָפְּטָה) of the heave offering, because its bulk is thus diminished. But Rabbi Yehuda allows it, because it is thereby improved' (*Trenmäh* 11 r). The process

¹ There is a decided flavour of modernity about the precaution against 'boiling the admiral' or tampering with the wine *in transitu*, as detailed in *Iskrah Zäräh* 3:3 f.

² In some parts, e.g. Portugal, must which is too watery is concentrated by evaporation in a caldron' (Thudicum, *A Treatise on Wines*, 50 (1894); cp Wilson, *The Wines of the Bible*, 110 ff.

now described must not be confused with the much more elaborate process of the manufacture of grape-syrup, full details of which have been given under HONEY, § 1 (3) (cp also PANNADE).

The 'doctoring' of wines, as it is now called, was not unknown to the Jews, since we read of the lees of a more generous wine being added to a wine of inferior quality to increase its strength (see *Bib. Heb.* 1 r), where also is mentioned the familiar expedient of combining a strong, harsh [רָפְּטָה] wine with one of a milder [רָפְּטָה] quality).

The method of hastening the maturing of wines by fumigation (Henderson, *op. cit.* 54 ff.; Wilson, *op. cit.* 90 ff.; Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.* 2, 297 f.) was also practised; but such 'smoked wine' (*Ab. Zär.* 85) was, like the 'boiled wine,' admitted with a grudge as the material of the drink offering (*Ab. Zär.* 1 r.). The poet's comparison of himself to 'a bottle in the smoke' (*Ps.* 119:5) is generally supposed to refer to the fumigation of the wine-skin (so RV¹⁹⁰¹); but the terms are not sufficiently precise for this special application, and the reference is more probably to any skin-bottle exposed to the smoke of the hearth.

Of the wines most esteemed in OT times, only two are known to us by name, viz., the wine of Lebanon

24. Various 'brands.' (Hos. 14:7), but see Nowack, who suspects an error in the text [see further

Crit. Bib., and cp I. ANON, § 8], and the wine of HELBON (Ezek. 27:12), a locality about three hours distant from Damascus, to the NW. Its wine was greatly prized by the Assyrians and is frequently mentioned in the cuneiform literature (with nine varieties in the list R 416-11, *Del. Ins. HVB.* 5:2, 'karānu'). The Persian kings are said by Strabo (15:715) to have drunk only wine from Helbon, and even at the present day it is held in repute. In the Mishna treatise *Ab. Zär.* (85) five obscure localities are mentioned by name as supplying the wine most esteemed in the Temple service (see for discussion of these Neubauer, *Geogr. du Talmud*, 84 f.).

In discussing the signification of the term *sekiv* (§ 8), we found that both etymology and history

25. Date-wine. pointed to its being originally a comprehensive term for intoxicating beverages of all sorts, including wine, but that, with the popularisation at an early period of the word *dirin* as the exclusive designation for the fermented juice of the grape, the two terms came to be regarded as mutually exclusive. It was further pointed out that of all the intoxicating liquors, other than wine, likely to be known to the early Hebrews as a branch of the Semitic family, date-wine was historically the oldest. It is not till the Talmudic period, however, that we meet with its Hebrew name, רָפְּטָה, 'wine of dates' or 'date-wine.' This beverage is said by Herodotus (1:104) to have been the principal article of Assyrian commerce and is mentioned times without number in the cuneiform contract-tablets (*Del. Ins. HVB.* 5:2, 'sakar'). The greater part of the wine of Arabia Felix in Strabo's time was made from the palm (425; see, further, Law, *Asian. Plantenomenclon.* for the Arabic *saka*). The dates were first steeped in water—a mollius, or peck, of ripe dates to three congii (about 17 pints) of water is Pliny's recipe (*HN* 14:16)—then submitted to the press, after which the juice was allowed to ferment. The wine which Pliny mentions as being made 'from the pools of the Syrian carob' (see HENKS, FRUIT, § 14) was no doubt prepared in a similar manner.

Repeatedly in the later Jewish literature reference is made to a species of cider known as tuppah-wine

26. Apple-wine, pomegranate-wine. (רָפְּטָה, *Trenmäh* 11 r; *Ab. Zär.* 6 r, etc.). In the uncertainty that attaches to the identification of the רָפְּטָה (see APPLE, and cp FRUIT, § 12) we cannot be sure whether we have to do with true cider-

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or apple-wine, or with the *cydonium* or *cydonites* of the classical writers, which was made from the juice of the quince. In any case the beverage was intoxicating and therefore taboo to those who took a vow of abstinence from wine (see *Nehiv*, 69). From the kindred pomegranate was prepared the only fermented liquor other than wine mentioned by name in the OT (unless we are prepared to render *šakar* by palm-wine)—viz., the *šis rimmônim*, שִׁס רִמּוֹנִים (so read Cant. 82, AV 'juice,' RV 'sweet wine of [pomegranates]'). This beverage is described by Pliny as 'amum e punicis quod rhoiten vocant' (*HN* 1116), and is the *poirys aivos* of Dioscorides (534). Both these wines were prepared, like the English cider, we may assume, by crushing the fruit, probably in the oil-mill, as described in detail under Oil, § 3, and allowing the juice to ferment.

It is not surprising to find, in the later literature, reference also to various novel beverages either imported

27. Foreign beverages.

from abroad, or made at home in imitation of the imported article. Thus in the minute directions for the removal of every trace of leaven in the Mishna treatise on the passovers (*Pesāhim* 31), four foreign liquors are proscribed on the implied ground that fermented grain in some form or other entered into their composition. These are: 'Babylonian *kuttah*, Median *šakar*, Edomite (i.e., Roman) vinegar, and Egyptian beer' (שִׁבְרָה, *šibrah*). The *kuttah* is said to have had sour milk for its basis. The Median differed from the Palestinian *šakar*, in not being pure fermented fruit-juice, but having an admixture of malt. The Roman vinegar was also suspected of containing a similar mixture. The last of the four is the beer for which Egypt had long been famed. Herodotus (277) is the first Greek writer to refer to the Egyptians' fondness for 'wine made from barley,' whilst Diodorus styles it *šibrah*, declaring that its bouquet was little inferior to that of wine (134). This preparation, of which the native name was *beb*, is said to be as old as the fourth dynasty (Borch, *op. cit.* 1306) and to have been at all times the favourite beverage of the common people. It was made from barley, and flavoured by an infusion of various plants (for further details see the references, especially to modern investigations, in the list of authorities cited by Schürer, *GH*⁵⁶, 257, and for the *baza* of modern Egypt, see J. Death, *The Beer of the Bible*, 1837). The Alexandrian translators found a reference to the manufacture of beer in Egypt in the already corrupt text of Is. 19:16 (cf. *τοιούτους τὸν šibrah*; see *WEAVING*, § 5).

It is still an open question whether the Hebrews under the monarchy drank their wine neat or, as was customary among the peoples of classical antiquity, diluted with

28. With water.

water (see *MEATS*, § 12). From the quaint expression used by Isaiah to symbolise the degeneracy of his contemporaries (122, 'thy silver has become dross, thy wine mixed with water' [שִׁבְרָה, lit. 'circumcised']), it has been inferred that in the eighth century, at least, the addition of water was not the usual practice. That this is the significance of the unique phrase 'circumcised' the accompanying *šammayim* in the original is probably a gloss, is proved by many analogies both in the Semitic and in the non-Semitic languages, of which Pliny's *castrata vinum* is the most familiar¹ (see Marti's list of parallels in *KHC*, *in loc.*). In this connection it should be remembered that the ancient wines were not, like the modern, 'doctored' or 'rectified' by the addition of a strong spirit, and the wines of Palestine, in particular, may be assumed on the whole not to have exceeded the strength of an ordinary claret. It may be taken as a result of Hellenic influence that it

is in the late post-exilic period that we first find a clear reference to the diluting of wine with water. Thus the author of 2 Macc. remarks that 'it is not to drink wine or water alone' whilst 'wine with water *tolvos šdari anvaepasθeis* is pleasant' (cp. rendering of Bel, 33). In NT times we are taken that the Greek custom had become well established, since the diluting of wine is assumed the usual custom in the Mishna (*Bevāh*, 75 8; *Zer*, 53, and *off.*). Wine thus diluted with water (cp. *šibrah*); unblended or 'neat' wine, *šibrah* (lit. 'wine'). In *Niddā* 27 *mizug* wine is defined as consisting of 'two parts of water and one part of wine of Sharon.' In the *Gemārā* and in the *Midrāš* ever, Sharon wine is said to have been weaker than ordinary sorts, which were usually mixed in a proportion of three parts of water to one of wine (the commentaries on *Shabb*, 81). These are the proportions recommended by Hesiod for peasant dog-days (*Works and Days*, 596).¹ A similar custom consisted in mixing the wine with water (Ages, 12), a practice which some have found to be in Pr. 25:11 (see *Toy in loc.* with ref.). It is further attested that it was a common custom to dilute wine with hot water, so perhaps always at the supper (see *Pesāh*, 713, where the hot-water *šibrah* is specially named). Even the must in the Mishna is drunk mixed with water, either cold (*šibrah*) or hot (*šibrah*, *Māšēr*, 44). The Arabs also, in the period of Mohammed, mixed their wine with cold water (half) or with hot (Jacob, *Arab. Botānical*).

A study of the OT passages in which reference is made, either explicitly or by implication, to

29. With spices.

the mixing of wine with water but with various aromatic herbs for the purpose of heightening the flavour and the strength of the wine. Thus the 'men of the forest' denounced by Isaiah (522) did not, we may dilute their strong drink with water, but with appropriate spices. Indeed, we have ground for supposing that *šakar* itself may sometimes used to denote wine when treated with spices (see § 8, and especially the definition of *šibrah* quoted). This 'spiced wine' is plainly specified by name *šibrah šarā* of Cant. 82 and by the *šibrah šarā* (*Bathrā* 63) (cp. the special term *šibrah šarā*, the wine, *Māšēr*, 82, 21). Maspero thus states the Assyrian practice: 'The wines, even the most delicate, are not drunk in their natural state but mixed with aromatics and various drugs, which give them a delicious flavour and add tenfold strength. This operation is performed in the presence of the revellers. An emic before a table pounds in a stone mortar the ingredients, which he moistens from time to time with some essence. His comrades have poured the mixture of the ampicrate into immense bowls of clay (cp. Pr. 92, *ἐκίραρον εἰς κρατήρα τὸν οἶνον ἐκίραρον*) ready they put some of it into each bowl, and fully dissolve it. The cupbearers bring the wine, and the wine, and serve the guests' (*Ancient Assyria*, 370 ff., with illustr.). This beverage is styled *aromatites* by Pliny, who lists the various aromatics used in their country—myrrh, cassia, calamus, etc. (*HN* 1119). The authority has much to say of the fondness of the Romans for the special beverage known as *myrrh-wine* (*HN* 1415; cp. Smith, *Dictionnaire*, 2957:1), the *oivos ἐπιμυρρικτός* (AV 'wine mingled with myrrh'—see *CR*

¹ [Or we may read *šibrah*, which in MH means the dark turbid liquor pressed out from grapes. So Barth, Noldeke, Cheyne (*SBOT*, 'Isaiah,' Heb., 111)]

¹ For other proportions recommended by various writers see Iwan Müller, *Handb. d. klass. Alt.* 443b.

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and ep # Mt. 27³⁴), and the progress of later Jewish literature (*Shir Rabba* 4.14).

Here also may be classed another popular beverage of the first centuries of our era in Palestine, the foreign origin of which is betrayed by its name $\mu\epsilon\tau\omega\upsilon\tau\eta\kappa\alpha\iota$ (variously pointed as

30. With honey. $\alpha\iota\omega\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\alpha$, Ep. Ignat. ad Trail. 6.2), the favourite *mulsum* of the Romans. As the name also indicates, we have here a mixture of wine and honey (*Life*, 11.1), in the proportion of 'four by measure of wine to one of honey,' to which pepper was added as flavouring (*J. H. Ziv*, 30d).

It is a remarkable fact that the plain and literal references in the Bible to wine and strong drink are

31. Metaphors. exceeded in number by the illustrations and figures borrowed from their preparation and use. Only a few typical cases can be here adduced. Passing by the familiar designation of Israel as a vine and as the vineyard of Yahweh, we have in the treading of the winepress a frequent and expressive figure of the divine judgments (Is 63.3, Joel 3[4] 13 Lam. 1.15 Rev. 11.19 f.). The action of the must under fermentation suggests to a Hebrew poet a novel metaphor to express agony of soul occasioned by the calamities of his country (Lam. 1.25 2.11). The folly of attempting to force the 'new wine' of the gospel into the 'old wine-skins' (Mt. 9.17 and 1.8), the worn-out forms and formulas of Judaism, is illustrated by the familiar figure discussed above (§ 17). We have also seen how the treatment of the wine while maturing in the wine-jars supplied Jeremiah with an image for the easy-going Moab, who had not been 'emptied from vessel to vessel' (Is 11.1 f.), but had settled contentedly 'on his lees,' like the callous *insouciant* contemporaries of Zephaniah (1.12). By the superiority of old wine to new (ep Lk. 5.9) Ben Sira illustrates his preference for an old and tried friend over one whose friendship has still to mature ($\pi\alpha\lambdaαιο\phi\iota\lambda\iota\alpha$; Eccl. 9.15 G 10f). Perhaps the boldest metaphor is that in which the intoxicating properties of wine, as contained in 'wax's 'cup of reeling,' is employed by prophet and poet (Is. 51.17 f. Jer. 25.15 f. Ezek. 23.33 Hab. 2.10 Ps. 69.15 75.2) as 'a frequent symbol for confusion, bewilderment, and distress. . . . Drunkenness may typify spiritual blindness or perplexity (Is. 19.14 Jer. 23.9). It also supplies the figure for sailors of a ship in a storm at sea, who reel about the deck in bewildered witlessness (Ps. 107.27); and finally it is combined with the image of the wind-tossed booth to illustrate the convulsions of the earth upon the Judgment-day' (Is. 24.10²).

This symbolism may be said to reach its highest point in the institution of the Eucharist.

With regard to the attitude of OT and NT to the general question of the use of fermented beverages it is

32. Ideas about drinks. worthy of note that while *drinking* in the OT sometimes denotes the immoderate mist, there is no trace in Hebrew literature, from the earliest period to the close of the Mishna, of any method of preserving it in the fermented state. Indeed it has been maintained that 'with the total absence of antiseptic precautions characteristic of Orientals, it would have been impossible to do so' (Prof. Michler in Hastings' *DB* 2.415, in this agreeing with many modern authorities). Throughout the OT the use of wine as a daily beverage (see MEALS, § 12) appears as an all but universal custom (for the exceptions see NAZIRITE, and RECHABITE;³ priests also, while on duty, had to abstain from wine

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and strong drink: Lev. 10.9; ep Ezek. 41.20.¹ Even its use to the extent of exhilaration is implicitly approved (Gen. 34.11 Judg. 9.13 Ps. 104.15 Pr. 31.7), whilst the value of alcohol as a stimulant in sickness and distress is explicitly recognised (Pr. 31.6; ep 1 Tim. 5.23). The views of the biblical writers on this subject, in short, may fairly be summed up in the words of Jesus ben Sira (about 150 B.C.): 'Wine drunk in measure and to satisfy is joy of heart and gladness of soul' (Eccl. 31.2 RV; ep 7. 27, and for the converse *Pr. 20.1*), or in those of a somewhat later, or it may be contemporary, Jewish writer, the Pseudo-Aristotle: $\pi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\epsilon\upsilon\ \pi\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\ \mu\epsilon\tau\omega\upsilon\tau\eta\kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\alpha\lambda\alpha\sigma$ on all things [according to the context: eating, drinking, and pleasures] moderation is good; ed. Wendland, 223). Whilst this is so, the opposition of biblical writers to immoderate indulgence in wine and strong drink is too explicit and too well known to require further elaboration here.² The problems raised by the very different conditions of the modern world were of course undreamt of by the biblical writers.

A. R. S. K.

WINNOWING ($\mu\epsilon\tau\omega\upsilon\tau\eta$; Ruth 3. 18, 30.24). See AGRICULTURE, § 9.

WISDOM LITERATURE

Definition (§ 1). Early philosophy (§ 2). The Sage (§ 4). Their teaching (§§ 5-7). I. Philo's (§ 8). World-questions (§§ 11-13). The line (§ 14). Bibliography (§ 15).

'Wisdom Literature' is the usual designation of those old-Hebrew writings which deal, not with the Jewish national law and life, but with the universal

1. Definition. moral and religious principles of all human life. It is thus sharply distinguished from the PROPHETIC LITERATURE [*z. v.*] whose central theme is the obligation to serve Yahweh alone and no other god, from the LAW LITERATURE [*z. v.*] which is mainly concerned with ritual, and from the Liturgical Literature [see PSALMS, etc.] (which is the expression of religious emotion). As its lowest limit we may take the beginning of the Christian era—after this the Jewish thought occupies itself with other things; it may be considered to include all reflective writings before Philo, who forms a new category. Inasmuch as it seeks to discover what is permanent and universal in life (which is the aim of philosophy) it may be described as the pre-Philoic Hebrew philosophy. The books and psalms in which it is contained, arranged in what is taken in this article to be the general chronological order, are: Job, certain Psalms (such as 8. 19. 29. 37. 49. 73. 90. 92. 103. 104. 107. 139. 147. 148), Proverbs, Ben-Sira (Ecclesiasticus, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom of Solomon, to which may be added the earliest sayings of the heads of schools reported in *Levi's Precepts*). For details the reader is referred to the articles on the several books.

The Israelites, like all other peoples, must have reflected more or less, from the moment when they attained a settled civilisation, on

2. Early Jewish philosophy; origin. general questions of life. The lowest form of such reflection appears in popular proverbs and fables, which express, usually in a one-sided and superficial way, the result of the ordinary common-sense experience and observation; such are Jotham's fable (*Judg. 10. 1-16*) and the proverbs cited in 1.8. 10.2. 2.8. 7. 20.6. for 31.9 (Ezek. 18.1). Nathan's apologue (2.8. 12.1-4) and the allegories in Is. 5.1 f. Ezek. 16. 17. 23 are of a higher

¹ It has often been remarked that Ezekiel in his ideal sketch of the restored temple worship makes no provision for the use of wine, which had from time immemorial a recognised place in the ritual. For the daily libation of wine at the most 2 and evening sacrifices, see *SAVED* 10.8, § 35, and cp Eccl. 30.13 f.

² We may note in particular the deuterocanonical writers (e.g. 1 Esd. 3.4 f.), and the frequent denunciation of excess in Ecclesiasticus; also Philo's treatises 'on the planting of Noah' and 'Drunkenness.' In the latter occurs the fine saying (sect. 32) regarding ἀκατον καὶ πὰν ἀφόρουν φάρμακον.

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literary and moral character; but they are moral and religious discourses (such as form the staple of the prophetic books) directed against particular cases of sin rather than reflections on life.¹

In the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Historical Books there is frequent mention of 'wisdom' (חָכְמָה, *hokmah*) and 'wise men' (חֲכִמִּים, *hokimim*). In all these cases the connection shows that what is meant by 'wisdom' is either the skill of the magician (Ex. 7:11), or of the artisan (Ex. 28:33-35; 2 Ch. 26 [7] Is. 40:20), or the sagacity of the man of affairs (Gen. 41:33 Dt. 1:13 2 S. 13:14 Is. 3:1), or, with larger scope, the broad and high-minded intelligence of him who is in sympathy with the divine law of right (Dt. 4:6 Is. 11:2). In the passage Is. 11:2 the term seems to approach very near the meaning it has in Job and Proverbs, and this it might well do if, as is probable, this passage is later than the sixth century B.C.; but here also the context shows that the wisdom of the king is manifested in his equitable administration of affairs, not in his reflection on life. 'Wise men' are spoken of as a class by some of the earlier prophets (Is. 29:14 Jer. 8:8 f. 9:11 [12] 22 [23] 18:18, cp Ezek. 7:26);² but their wisdom lies in practical acquaintance with the affairs of the state and of life. A fundamental difference between them and the sages of Proverbs appears in the fact that the prophets are hostile to them; they were probably men of experience and practical sagacity whose views of public policy were opposed to those of the prophets, and in this regard they belong in the same category with the 'false prophets' (see Jer. 8:11). The opposition to the great prophets came from various sources—among others, it would seem, from men who rejected the prophet's claim of a divine revelation (Jer. 8:6), and interpreted the existing *torah* in their own way (Jer. 8:8). These may have been patriotic, conscientious, and able men in spite of the denunciations hurled at them by Isaiah and Jeremiah; but their wisdom concerned itself not with universal human life, but with the political, legal, and moral questions of Israelitish policy. Solomon's wisdom, in the only example of it given in OT (1 K. 3:16-28), is administrative; later Jewish legend (see Wünsche, *op. cit.*) represents it as skill in giving and answering riddles. Of the proverbs and songs and sayings about plants and animals ascribed to him in 1 K. 5:9-14 (4:29-34), nothing has survived. His reputation for wisdom rests, no doubt, on some real fact; he was, very likely, a man of sagacity, and may have been the author of some shrewd observations on men and things; afterwards it may have become the custom to ascribe to him all anonymous songs and apophthegms, summed up by the editor of Kings in large round numbers. In a later age, when his fame was established, his name was assumed in certain books (Ps. 72 Pr. Cant. Eccl. W. Sol., Pss. of Sol.) in accordance with a recognised literary habit of the times.

Outside of Israel the centres of wisdom mentioned in OT are Egypt, Edom or the East, Babylon, and perhaps Tyre (1 K. 5:12 f. [1:30 f.], Ob. 8 Jer. 41:49 Is. 41:25 Ezek. 28:1). Egypt, from a remote time, had its moralising sages,³ Babylon was the home of astrology (Is. 47:1-13), and Tyre was renowned for artistic and commercial skill (Ezek. 27); of Edom we know only its repute (Ob. 2 Jer. 49:1)—from it, at a later time, come apparently the Three Friends in Job. Of all Israel's neighbours it was,

¹ The riddle, which is a mere exercise of ingenuity, does not come into consideration here (see KIDDE). The same word (חָכְמָה) it is true, is used for Samson's riddle (Judg. 14:12) and the moralising discourse of Ps. 78; but the different application in the psalm is an indication of the advance of thought. (On Hebrew riddles see A. Wünsche, 'Die Rätselweisheit bei den Hebräern' (in *PL*, 138:1).

² Hos. 14:10 appears to be a late editorial addition.

³ For the Egyptian gnomic literature see *Records of the Past*, and Griffith, art. 'Egyptian Literature,' in the *Library of the World's Best Literature*. For Babylonian magical texts and riddles, see *RP*, and Jaeger, in *Beiträge z. Assyriologie*, 1892.

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so far as we have exact information, only from that she could have learned gnomic lore in the period, and it is precisely from Egypt (if we mark from the religious history) that she seems to have received the least intellectual stimulus. It thus appears that the history, as detailed in OT, gives no support for supposing that, down to the close of the sixth B.C., there was in Israel any universal or philo- treatment of moral and religious problems.

Though there were, however, no systematic discourses of these questions in the pre-exilic and exilic periods, there was the germ of larger thought.

3. Growth. There was the germ of larger thought in the prophetic declaration that God desired love, not their sacrifices (Hos. 6:6), the formula of the principle of individual moral responsibility (24:6 Jer. 31:30 Ezek. 18:4), and the announcement of obligation to love one's neighbour as one's self (Lev. 19:18) contain the substance of what was afterwards developed into a universal religion. To a man of the sixth century B.C. who recognised the significance of these principles it might have seemed that the process of national growth would carry Israel's thought beyond the limits of nationalism to a more universal religious system which would transcend all local and temporary. There is, in fact, every reason to believe that the growth of the Israelitish ethical and religious thought was sound and continuous.

After the heroic period of struggle for a unitary conception of the divine government of the world, in the fresh spontaneous prophetic feeling played a part, came a time of quieter reflection, when the prophet was obliged to face the question of orderly organisation on the basis of definite written law. The attempt to formulate principles of organisation must have involved the larger problems of life on the attention of the thinkers of the time. How far this process would go, and what direction it would have taken, if the Jews had been all massed in their own land and an independent national government it is impossible to say. From the sixth century, however, they were dependent except in a partial way for a century of Egyptian rule. Moreover, what is of more consequence, the old national isolation vanished for ever; Jewish scattered over the whole area of Western civilization and Judaea was a petty province exposed on all sides to the inroads of new ideas. Israelitism was a singleness hemmed in by great peoples, Babylonian, Egyptian, Persian, Greek—it maintained itself, but not without modification. The Jews were persistent and synthetic, gave and took, wove into their own system they got from without, and lived in an atmosphere of comparison and adaptation. From Babylonia they have received suggestions of literary work and regular liturgical cultus, from Persia the formal elaborate angelology and demonology and the doctrine of a bodily resurrection, from Egypt and Greece the idea in the ethical immortality of the soul, and from Greece further, a touch of philosophy. Out of all these influences sprang that attitude of reflection which permeates the Wisdom Literature. The experience of the repeated that of many other civilised peoples were educated by contact with their neighbours. The post-exilic Jewish thought, whose basis and soul was the native intellectual force of the people, was consequently stimulated and broadened from without, but received its direction from the course of the national fortunes.

In estimating the literature of the post-exilic Jew, the features of their social position should be borne in mind. Though, so far as records go, they were not persecuted by their conquerors till the beginning of the second century their political dependence probably exposed them in degree to oppression and humiliation on the part of foreign and apostate fellow-countrymen; (2) While not giving agricultural life in Palestine, they came more and more to be concentrated in cities—to no small extent in their own land, but especially in foreign countries (see Job 29:7 31:12 and Pr. and Eccl. 1:7)—and thus had occasion to observe and acquire the virtues of urban life. Hence, in part, the prominence given in wisdom books to the insolence of the rich, to sexual immorality,

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and to the duties and dangers of the business life; and hence, also, a more fuller opportunity of contact with the philosophical thought of the time.

The Jewish sages or philosophers formed a distinct class sharply differentiated from prophets (see PROPHET), priests (see PRIEST), and scribes (see SCRIBES) (274).

4. The Sages. The difference between the point of view of the sage and that of the prophet or the priest is obvious, and he is no less distinct from the scribe, if this term is understood to mean 'one learned in the scriptures.' A member of any one of these classes might, it is true, be also a member of any other class; a priest might be a prophet or a scribe or a sage, and so with the others. But in becoming a sage, one assumed a particular attitude toward life, and thought and spoke in accordance with that attitude. The cultivation of learning and thought began with the priesthood, which was the custodian of the *Torah*. The *Torah*, however, had two sides, the ritual or liturgical, and the civil and moral, and the priesthood soon split into two divisions which devoted themselves severally to these two classes of duties. The second class (which soon came to include others than priests), composite in nature, in its turn called for division; one set of men cultivated the study of the national code of law, becoming necessarily expounders of the national scriptures—these were the lawyers or scribes; others were attracted by the study of universal moral truth—these were the sages.

The aim and function of the sage are clearly described by Ben Sira (Eccles. 39:1-11): the wise man, whilst he meditates on the law of God, will search through the world for knowledge, and will gain honour and renown among all men for his acute sayings and his practical understanding. The sages made the pursuit of wisdom the chief aim of life. For most of them (for all, so far as our knowledge goes, except Koheleth and Agur) the basis of wisdom was religious faith. This conception was a necessary one for the devout Jew for two reasons: first, since God was held to be universal and absolute ruler, it followed that he was the bestower of all gifts of learning, including physical and psychological knowledge (Wisd. 7:16-21), and doubtless all the science of the time; and second, so far as wisdom was regarded as the guide to the best life, it must be founded on the divine moral law, which sprang from God's wisdom and was enforced by his power. This religious conception of wisdom, however, did not prevent the widest study of men and things, if we may judge from the examples of Ben Sira and the author of Wisdom of Solomon; there must have been many Jews, certainly from the fourth century B.C. onwards, who went outside of Israelitish learning.¹ There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of such men when they declared that the fear of Yahwe was the beginning of wisdom: they might hold to this central dogma, and at the same time yield to their thirst for the knowledge which was to be found only in foreign lands and books; they might believe that Yahwe was the teacher of foreign sages, or they might follow their bent without troubling themselves to solve the apparent contradiction that whilst Yahwe's revelation of wisdom to his people was complete and all-sufficient, there was also other wisdom which was good. A similar remark holds of the maxims of prudence and shrewdness which abound in Proverbs and Ecclesiastus; these, though they had no immediate connection with the fear of God, might be considered as a part of the scheme of life which God had ordained; more probably the moralists wrote what they thought desirable, and the question of logical harmony did not occur to them. Philosophic schools, in the full Greek sense, the Jewish sages did not form—they had no speculative philosophy proper. There were, however, theoretical differences

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among them, especially in regard to the nature of the divine government of the world, and in regard to the dignity and possible happiness of human life. It is probable that a sort of academic life gradually established itself.

Whilst in Job (12: 15-16; 32:7) the wisdom is that of experience and tradition, there is in Proverbs (1:20; 22:17-21), Ecclesiastus (8:21; 39:1-9), and Ecclesiastes (12:1) a distinct recognition of professional study and of a body of teaching. In the second century B.C. there existed an incipient University (Antigonus of Sokos and his successors), and before this there must have been some form of the teacher-teaching (cp. Ecc. 1:10; 1:5). The thought of the great scholars no doubt took a wide range; we have recorded only so much of it as survived the revisions of generations.

There was a stirring intellectual life, of which we find not a few traces in the extant literature.² When the Jews began to be influenced by organised bodies of foreign thought it is difficult to say. Of early Persian literary life we unfortunately know nothing, and it is not probable that Jews came into intellectual contact with Greeks before the time of Alexander. Immediately after his death Greek schools of philosophy sprang up abundantly in Egypt and Western Asia, and from them, it seems probable, Jewish sages got ideas which coloured their thought. No doubt they learned something of all the current science; but they have left no full statements of their non-religious opinions (but in Eccles. 4:3, Wisd. 7, etc.). Here we shall be obliged to confine ourselves to the main points of the moral and religious thought, referring, for other ideas, to the commentaries.

Part of the thought of the wisdom books they have in common with preceding and contemporary literature, and this may be dismissed with a brief mention.

5. Teaching of the Sages: the old material.

They inherited the belief in monotheism, and in the practically unlimited character of the divine attributes pertaining to knowledge and power.³ For them, as for the prophets, God is terrible to those who violate his commands (Job 6: 11-16; 12:23; Eccles. 2:7; Wisd. 5), a compassionate, forgiving saviour to those who fear and obey him (Job 5: 18; 10:3; Eccles. 2:11; 17:29; Wisd. 10:2). They take monotheism for granted, and recognise a well-ordered family-life and all the ordinary virtues. They retain the common view of man as a being made up of body and soul, and possessing conscience and freedom, while, at the same time, he is absolutely controlled by God; with their predecessors (Dt. 24: 16; Jer. 31:30; Ezek. 18:4) they reject the old conception of the solidarity of the family and the nation—or, more exactly, they ignore it. They, however, retain the traditional sharp division of men into the two classes of good and bad. Here also should probably be put their silence respecting the miracles. In the OT, miracles are described or mentioned only in works written long after the events described. There are no miracles between Hezekiah and the Book of Daniel; Nehemiah says nothing of supernatural intervention, and the Maccabean apparitions and signs are recorded not in 1 Macc., but in 2 Macc. Miracles play no part in the writings of the Prophets or in the Psalms, except as reminiscences (Is. 63:12; Ps. 105 etc.), or vague expectations (Is. 11; Zech. 14; Joel 3). In the Wisdom books they are referred to only as events of the ancient history, and only in Ecclesiastus (14:4) and Wisdom (10:19). In a word, whether in the gnomic literature or elsewhere in the OT does the miraculous enter into the texture of the thought.

Proceeding, now, to examine the characteristic thought of the Wisdom books, we have first to note its relatively non-national character: it lays little

6. Characteristic thought: the ritual.

stress on national institutions, laws, and hopes; but it holds, to some extent, to the moral and religious superiority of Israel over all other nations. The sacrificial ritual is referred to a few times as an existing custom (as in Prov. 15:3; Eccles. 34:13-23; Eccles. 5:1), but rather with the purpose of controlling it by moral considerations, and faithfulness in the payment of tithes (Prov. 3:9) and vows (Eccles. 5:4) is enjoined. The sages (like the prophets and the Gospels) recognise the propriety of observing the custom; but

¹ Cp. Plumtree's biography of Koheleth in his *Ecclesiastes* (in *Cambr. Bible*, 1881) and the criticism of it by Bois, in his *Origines d. l. Phil. Judéo-Alexandrine*, 1802.

² Cp. the evidences, in the Talmud, of thought which went outside of the current orthodoxy.

³ On the apparent polytheistic conception of Ps. 58:22 see the Commentaries.

⁴ Israelitish polygamy had probably disappeared by the beginning of the fifth century B.C.

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they do not put it in the same category with obedience to moral principles. Such things as circumcision and the Sabbath they take for granted, but find no occasion to mention. It is noteworthy that they do not refer to the private reading of the sacred books, or to synagogal services. It is certain that they were well acquainted with the old literature, and that this had, in their time, a semi-sacred character; but reading was an art confined to the few, instruction was largely oral, and the duty of reading was not a thing that could be insisted on for the masses, and for students it was taken for granted. Synagogues hardly existed before the second century B.C., and attendance on the weekly gatherings was a custom which did not need to be enjoined. Forgiveness of sin is not connected with sacrifice, but with the mercy of God and obedience to him (see, e.g., Job 8; Ecclus. 17 23 f.; Wisd. 11 23). This, however, is not peculiar to the sages; it is a part of the general Israelitish conception; in the Torah there is no sacrificial atonement except for sins of ignorance.¹ The negative attitude of the Wisdom books towards sacrifices and the Temple ritual in general must be ascribed to the progress of moral and religious thought. All the cultivated world of the time was moving away from this external sort of service. This was notably the case in Greece and Rome, and the same tendency (formulated in the Gospels) is visible in the sayings ascribed (in *Pirke Aboth*) to the early Jewish teachers. The moral side of the relation between man and God was of necessity emphasised.

The silence of the sages respecting Messianic hopes is to be explained partly by their philosophic individualism, partly by the circumstances of the times.

7. The nation. There are glowing pictures of the future of the nation in prophetic writings as late as the fourth century B.C. (Is. 11; Joel 3; Zech. 9-14); but of this there is in Job and Proverbs not a word, in Ecclesiasticus only a general wish (Ecclus. 17 22 50 22-26), in Wisdom only a look to the life to come (Wisd. 5). The sages held that the one thing necessary for all men was individual righteousness; they might thus have been comparatively indifferent to the loss of national independence and glory, they might sympathise with their suffering fellow-countrymen (Wisd. 1-6) without cherishing political dreams. They may also (like the Pharisaic party at a later time) have convinced themselves that resistance to the great military powers was useless, and that the true mission of the Jewish people was to cultivate knowledge. Their attitude towards foreign nations was not hostile, but friendly; they recognised the excellence, in certain regards, of the civilisation of these peoples, utilised them by becoming their pupils in philosophy, and thus, while remaining Jews, became in a measure cosmopolitan, and began the formal fusion of Semitic and Hellenic thought.

On the other hand, the belief remained that Israel stood in a peculiar relation with God, had a special revelation of his will, and was entitled to his special protection (Ecclus. 21 41-50; Wisd. 10-19). On this point there may have been diversity of view; there is no reference to it in Job and Proverbs. In these books the name 'Israel' does not occur, and the national Torah is not mentioned. It is hardly probable that the sages (except Agur and Kôheleth) were wholly without national pride; but their national feeling receded before their philosophic and religious devotion to virtue. It is to be noted that the prominence given in the wisdom books (omitting Ecclus.) to national topics increases as time goes on; there is nothing of it in Job, next to nothing in Proverbs, somewhat in Ecclesiasticus, more in Wisdom. This fact is probably to be attributed partly to a change in the condition of the Jewish people, and partly to the personal feeling of

¹ On this point, cp WRS *Rel. Sem.*, ch. 11; Smend, *Ätliche Religionsg.* § 21; Montchore, *Hilb. Lect. Lect.* 1; also SACRIFICI, §§ 12 ff.

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the writers. At the time when Job and the 31 of Proverbs were composed (that is, in the 4th or 5th century B.C.) the nation was tranquil—so 1 records go there was no persecution, there was to call forth an expression of national feeling. At Sirâ's time (about 100 B.C.), the Jews had been involved in the conflict between Egypt and Syria. Ode to Heroes (Ecclus. 14-50) seems to have been suggested partly by his patriotic feeling, partly by his admiration for the high priest Simon, then high priest. Wisdom was written at a moment when the memory of scorn, insult, and oppression was fresh. Kôheleth stood so far away from his own time that no reference to its fortunes could be expected.

What most particularly characterises the Wisdom literature is its conception of virtue, or righteousness, and its disapproval of the moral government of the world.

8. The nature of virtue. Literature is its conception of virtue, or righteousness, and its disapproval of the moral government of the world.

These points we may now proceed to consider. The sages do not enter into any formal definition of the nature of virtue. They assume, in general, a sincere adhesion to the moral law (Job 2; Ecclus. Wisd., *proem*). This definition is not given by their eudemonistic theory—one may be successful and yet be sincere; nor is its reality proved by the maxims of selfish worldly wisdom occasionally found in their writings (partly in Ecclesiasticus). But in Job and Proverbs succeeding books we meet a conception of life which, while not without a point of connection with the prophetic thought, still goes far beyond it. The earlier literature; virtue is practically identical with knowledge. Knowledge, it is true, is a necessary condition of obedience, and is so spoken of in the Law (Is. 1; Jer. 4 22 54); but the sages treat it as the same thing as obedience. The conception in the books just named is wisdom, which includes all the duties of life from the lowest to the highest. The ideal person, he who stands for God against and above the wrong, is the wise man. We recollect that in the Prophets, and to some extent in Job (5 13 37 24), human wisdom is looked on as alien to or opposed to God, it is evident that the thought, in representing wisdom as the necessary condition of obedience, has taken a new direction. This doctrine of Greek philosophy, and we there find it warranted in supposing that it was from the Greeks that it came, in its full form, to the Jews.¹ Instead of the simple demands of earlier times, the sole duty was now to obey Yahwê and obedience to his ritual and moral law. Philosophy has now arisen a science of living, in which the insight is the central faculty, it being assumed that only he, who sees will do. Wickedness is the result of ignorance; the guide to right living is the duty of the young is to seek his instruction in the moral and religious organisation of the Jewish people. This idea—that life is a moral training—permanent; the Jews never gave it up—it was an essential element in the growth of the world. A person Israelite, while he accepted wisdom as a guide of life, could not fail to identify it with the law of God, since he looked on it as the perfect expression of duty. This identification, accordingly made in Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, and Wisdom. The terms 'instruction' and 'wisdom' are used interchangeably, and 'wisdom' is said to be the same with 'the fear of Yahwê'. Freedom of ethical discussion is, how-

¹ A similar influence is visible in the stress laid in biblical Judaism, on knowledge of the Law (In. *Ab.* 25).

² *Wisd.* occurs only twice in Job (5 2 f.), and *Wisdom* the two terms are common in the other books.

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any formal investigation... (Job 29:31 Prov. 1:7)... (particularity in... and Proverbs and the... of connection with... beyond anything in... identified with... is a necessary con-... in the Prophets... as if it... The central fact... which is made to... on the lowest to the... stands for the right... the wise man. When... and to some extent... looked on as a thing... is evident that Jewish... as the one thing... This was the... and we therefore seem... from the Greeks that... Instead of the... the sole worship of... and moral laws, there... in which intellectual... being assumed that he... shrewdness is folly, the... right living is the sage... his instruction. The... of the Jews corre-... there were schools... Greek centres, and the... house of instruction... training—proved to be... it up—it was, in fact... of the world. But... ept wisdom as the... ently its moral code... on this law as... This identification is... Ecclesiasticus, and... and 'the law of... and 'wisdom' itself... of Yahweh.

the stress laid, by Rabe... Law (In 7.40, 179k...), and שָׁבִיב not at all;... books.

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diminished by this quasi-nationalistic definition of wisdom. The sages do not confine themselves to the Prophets and the Torah, but seek their maxims everywhere, chiefly by observation of actual life, possibly, also, in such Greek and other writings as they had access to. Nevertheless there is no reason to regard their acceptance of the law of Yahwe as a pretence. They were perfectly sincere in treating the divine will as the final standard of right, only they enlarge the definition of the 'law of the Lord,' making it comprehend all the deliverances of their moral consciousness; for those who would be faithful at once to their national traditions and to their own convictions there was no other course. The sages thus represent the ethical ideas and usages of their time, and are in this regard valuable as making a contribution to the history of ethical thought. It is also true that they assume the position of independent moral teachers, with reason and conscience as their guides; they do not lay claim to revelation or inspiration from God, and they appeal only to the good sense of their readers. All this is in accordance with their philosophical point of view; they wrote simply as moralists, never citing the Law as authority, yet by no means setting themselves above revelation—rather they accepted revelation, and believed in the rightness and authority of their own teaching, and saw no incongruity in these two positions. Of their books two (Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom) were excluded from the canon, two (Job and Eccl.) were substantially modified by interpolations and additions, and two (Prov. and Eccl.) reached canonical dignity only after a struggle.

The human quality of wisdom is sometimes treated as natural intellectual acumen and breadth, sometimes as the direct gift of God; but there is no discrepancy between these views. The latter belongs to the old-Israelitish theocratic faith, according to which all powers of body and mind come immediately from Yahwe. That the gnostic writers regard 'wisdom' (σοφία, *hokmah*) as primarily an intellectual faculty appears from its various synonyms, such as 'understanding' or 'intelligence' (בִּינָה, *binah*), 'shrewdness' (מִשְׁפָּט, *mispat*), 'sagacity' (מִשְׁפָּט, *mispat*), 'practical ability' (מִשְׁפָּט, *mispat*). They, in fact, treat it also as a purely natural power, subject to ordinary conditions of training and growth, and to a certain extent under the control of its possessor. They thus collocate the divine and the human points of view. This sort of collocation or combination appears also in the relation, as conceived by the sages, between human wisdom and divine wisdom. Whilst in the Prophets and the Law it is God's apartness, sacredness, or holiness that is put most prominently forward, it is of wisdom that the sages think as his chief attribute. By it he is said to direct the whole course of nature and the whole life of man. As in the beginning the breath of God gave life to man, so the divine wisdom, filling and ordering all things, yet able to choose its own course, enters into the souls of those who fear him, and brings them into unison with his thought. This conception, indicated in Prov. 2:5; Eccles. 1:2, is more distinctly stated in Wisdom (14), as, in fact, it belongs to the more definitely philosophical side of the idea, and is an approach to personification.

9. Human wisdom.

Delinite personification of Wisdom is found in Job 28: Provs. 8:22-31 Eccles. 24: Wisd. 7:8 (and also 10:19). In the first passage¹ she is extolled as a most precious thing, known to God alone, but she has no demarcating function; and, if the last verse of the chapter be genuine, the personification is half given up. In Prov. 8 she is the companion of Yahwe (though his creature) in the primeval work of creation, to which she takes part as sympathetic friend (not as foster-child). Ben Sira represents her as compassing the universe, only however, to take up her abode in Israel. The completest philosophical personification is found in Wisdom, in which she is substantially identical with the Stoic Logos. The progress in the conception is obvious; Wisdom is unspeakably precious (1 do), is the companion of the divine creative energy (Proverbs), is an effluence from the divine glory, the all-powerful maker of all things, material, intellectual, spiritual (Wisdom); only Ben Sira appears to interrupt the line of development by practically identifying Wisdom with the Jewish Law. This interruption will disappear if his description be earlier than that in Proverbs, or if the identification of Wisdom with the Law be regarded as showing a complete national assimilation of the conception. However that may be, the general advance in the thought remains unaffected. That its final form is Greek is universally held, and the same origin is probably to be assigned to the earlier forms. In the more definitively Israelitish parts of the OT (the Prophets and the Torah) there is no personification of a divine attribute,² and we here naturally think of foreign influence, Persian or Greek. The Jews may conceivably have got it from the Gathas (or, from the popular ideas therein represented) in which such personification plays so prominent a rôle; but in the Gathas wisdom is not personified, and is not the principal attribute of God, and to none of the Amshaspentas are cosmogonic or universal functions assigned.³ One of the most striking features of the biblical representation is the conception of the world as an orderly unity, a cosmos—a conception found, however, only in the Wisdom Literature (in which certain Psalms are to be included); it is clearly indicated in Job (28:38-40), and expressed more distinctly in Ecclesiasticus 124-42 43). Proverbs (the 'Righteous Order' of the Gathas corresponds to the Jewish kingdom of God on earth, chap. 8), and Wisdom (chap. 7). This conception is hardly Jewish or Persian; it is undoubtedly Greek. With it we must connect the disposition (shown in the passages just cited, and in Ps. 101-107-139) to make wide surveys of natural phenomena. The movement of thought to which it belongs was a scientific one, and rested on a serious contemplation of all the phenomena of the world, including the life and soul of man. It is no doubt to Greek influence that we must ascribe the selection of wisdom (rather than power, kindness, or holiness) as the attribute distinctively representative of God.

The philosophy of the sages does not include psychology or moral and religious inward experience. They have no theories of free-will, of the genesis of sin, of the way of salvation. Their interest is in practical questions of life, and in the pre-eminence of wisdom as the guide of man. Their theory of the ethical life is simple; every man may do right if he will, and, if he does wrong, he must bear the consequences; men are divided into two classes, the good and the bad—every man must belong to one of these classes, and is to be treated according

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or, indeed, with the tone of the rest of the book. For reasons stated above it seems to be earlier than Prov. 8:22-31; it is probably to be put later than the rest of Job. By Buckle, Budde, and others it is regarded as belonging, in part or in whole, to Job's address. This point does not affect the general view taken above.

The partial personification of the word of Yahwe in Is. 55:1-2 is not a case in point; the attribution of objective power to the spoken word belongs to the old popular belief (Gen. 27:33 Jude. 17: 2 S. 21:3).

¹ It must be recollected that at this time the full conception of revelation had hardly been formulated.

² The chapter, as it stands, appears to be an interpolation. It decidedly interrupts Job's discourse, breaking the connection between 27:6 and 29:2 (27:23 does not belong to the speech of Job), and does not accord with Job's words as elsewhere given.

³ (See CREATION, § 6, end.) The date of the Gathas can hardly be regarded as fixed with certainty. Cp ZOROASTRIANISM, §§ 7, 8.

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to his position. This neglect of the shades of men's characters was doubtless to some extent a feature of the times (the nice balancing of qualities and impulses is a comparatively recent mode of thought); but it was due in great part to the judicial nature of the moral teaching of the sages; in man, they appear to have held, must be judged by his deeds—we cannot see his heart, and we must estimate him by the total outcome of his thought, that is, by his act. In the same way we may explain the fact that no account is taken of temptation and struggle—that is the man's own affair, with which the judge has nothing to do. It cannot be denied that this strict external way of judging man has its advantages; weakness is as dangerous as badness, and we must face the facts of life. On the other hand, the gnomic writings lose educational power by their failure to take account (as, for example, Marcus Aurelius does) of men's inward experiences; they press the rule home, but do not come as sympathetic helpers of the inner life; they warn, but do not persuade, the bad man. Their appeal is simply to man's intelligence; if, they say, he does not see, there is no help for him. That they say nothing directly of the sense of duty is characteristic of OT thought in general, and of their point of view in particular.

The Hebrew language contains no specific terms for 'duty' and 'conscience'—a fact which signifies, of course, not that the Israelites did not have these ideas,¹ but only that their ethical point of view did not lead them so to analyse their experience as to create a demand for such terms. These words are lacking also in Wisdom, though the Greek language contained certainly one of them. The sages preferred not to rely on so uncertain a thing as sense of duty; to their exhortations they add a further consideration or motive. Two motives² for well-doing are presented in the Wisdom literature. One is the individual prosperity and happiness which it confers (so the Three Friends in Job, Prov., Eccles., Eccl., Wisd. 3-5); the other is the beauty of moral perfection (Wisd. 7); Job himself says nothing of motives, contenting himself with affirming his integrity. The eudemonism of the first group of books is that of the OT generally.³ There is no frank appeal to what is held, not without good ground, to be the most powerful motive for the mass of men—the desire for personal wellbeing. As in the Prophets national prosperity, so here individual prosperity, is the reward of a morally pure life. There is no reference to the public good, no recognition of the unity of the world or the solidarity of society, no mention of personal purity as in itself a desirable object of effort. Doubtless the writers of these books were in sympathy with the best practical morality of their time, and had aspirations after perfection; but, as practical moralists, they preferred to omit all that seemed theoretical or out of reach, and to confine themselves to what they thought would be immediately serviceable. The praise of wisdom in Wisd. 7 is Greek rather than Hebrew, and, from its sublimated form, could act as moral stimulus

¹ We may, perhaps, recognise the conception of conscience in Eccles. 14:2; 'happy is he whose soul (that is, whose self) does not condemn him.' Cp HEART.

² All ethical theories are eudemonistic—they must assign a motive for well-doing, and that motive must be happiness in some form. The important point is whether the eudemonism is individualistic or universalistic; in the former case the man looks to the satisfaction of his own immediate desires, in the latter case to the happiness of the world, of which he is a part. Under the second head comes the ethical system in which desire to do the will of God is the motive; for such a motive is morally pure only when the will of God is done because it is morally good, that is, because it seeks the happiness of the whole.

³ The NT system differs from that of the OT and the Apocrypha (except Wisdom) in that the reward offered is eternal salvation, and the obligation is more definitely pronounced to bring it within reach of all men, whereby a universalistic character is given to the desire for happiness. The later OT prophets also look to an impartation of Israel's blessedness to all nations.

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to very few men; and the author, in the practical of his work (chaps. 3-6) relies, for his motive-rewards and punishments dispensed by God.

The mingling of worldly shrewdness and elevation in the Wisdom books is a natural result of the circumstances. The

11. The moral code. These books were practical dealing with all of human life, and giving the results of their experience, non, and reflection; and they were independent not absolutely bound by any code. Their independence makes them all the more interesting and more and they must be treated not as mere maxims for individuals. Their observations are coloured by characters and surroundings. Ben Sira's shrewdness sometimes degenerates into meanness or cynicism (38:17), and Koheleth's experience made him more and cynical. But the prominence given to the virtues (especially in Proverbs and Ecclesiastes) is necessary. On the other hand, the Wisdom literature also represents the highest ethical of the time. Job's confession of ethical failure (31) leaves little to be desired, and the same said of passages in Proverbs (as 10:12, 24: Ecclesiastes (10:7, 50:7, 28:2, 29:2) and Wisd. 8:7); only Koheleth has nothing to say of the living and self-forgetting virtues. This higher was that which the world had reached. The practical and ethical implication, begun by the Persian empire, was carried on by the Persian and conquests, and the states of all lands were a incalculating justice and kindness. But no pre-Christian antiquity, as far as our records so varied and complete a collection.

The most important and the most interesting of the Wisdom-books are those which relate to the control of the world. First in time came the inquiry into the moral government of the world, somewhat later, the question as to the value of life.

The idea of a universal divine control appears as early as the first of the writing

12. Divine control of the world. (Am. 1:7, 9:7), but, for a considerable no difficulty seems to have arisen in connection therewith; the accepted practical theory, down to the middle of the century B.C., was that all things were ordered in the interests of Israel (Is. 10: Jer. 1 to 25:14 Ezek. 25: perplexing character was given to the situation national disaster of the sixth century, but it was not disturbed; and in none of the solutions of the problem of the day (Is. 40: Z. 52:13-53:12) was the divine justice called in. In the course of time the progress of thought turned the inquiry from the sphere of the nation to the individual; it was no longer 'why does righteous suffer?' but 'why does the good man suffer? bad man prosper?' The old arguments were discarded, and the philosophers addressed themselves to a candid examination of the facts of life. Before turning at their arguments we may recall the fact that is regarded by them as the sole agent in the control of the world. The old notion of his local dwelling (Eccles. 24:10, cp Wisd. 3:14), though prominent, and the purely spiritual conception seems not to have been reached; he is never spirit.² Nevertheless he is regarded as supreme.

¹ The 'Satan' of Zechariah appears, in larger form, in the prose introduction to Job (which is a recension of folk-story), but is not mentioned in the poem, nor, in connection, in any other Wisdom book.

² No formulation of this conception is found in a writing before the end of the first century of our era, at which time the local idea of God still existed (In. 4 doctrine of the immortality of God (as taught by Aristotle, and its adoption by Jews and Christians was furthered by the influence of the later Platonists and Stoics (Philo and the Fourth Gospel). On the position of the see Weber, *Jud. Theol.* chap. 11.

in the practical part of his motive, on the part of God. The authors of the Wisdom literature are not independent thinkers. Their independence is a mere mass, but as re-coloured by their own Sira's shrewdness and hypocrisy made him one-sided given to the economic (Eccles.) is legitimate hand, the Wisdom literature is the highest ethical standard of ethical faith (Job 10:12 21:7 25:2) and Wisdom (7:1) say of the self deny this higher standard. The process of the Wisdom literature is Persian and Greek hands were at one in But no people of our records go, made

interesting questions about the divine came the general of the world, and then, the value of human life, the control of things the writing prophets a considerable time, have arisen in con-accepted prophetic middle of the sixth were ordered in the (Ezek. 25:3 ff.). A the situation by the try, but the theory of the proposed (Is. 40:2 Zech. 3:1) called in question, of thought transferred nation to that of the does righteous Israel man suffer and the arguments were dis-pressed themselves to of life. Before look- all the fact that God out in the control of his local limitation (Job 14), though it is not conception of him he is never called a God as supreme and in larger form, in the recession of an earlier poem, nor, in this con- is found in any Jewish (Job 4:24). The existence (Job 4:26). The as (Job 5) is as early as Christians was probably Stoics and Sira's in position of the Talmud

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in himself sufficient, and the disposition of the sages is to ignore intermediaries between him and the world. The old 'spirit of Yahwe,' which plays so prominent a part in the early narratives, is here not mentioned. Angels appear rarely in Job, Ecclesiasticus, and Wisdom, and not at all in Proverbs and Ecclesiastes; when they are introduced, it is not as messengers sent to protect and guide heroes and prophets, but as attendants on the person of Yahwe.¹ Of the mass of demons of the old popular belief only Satan survives in the Wisdom Literature, and he is there (if we omit the prologue of Job) mentioned only once,² and in the latest book of the group (Wisd. 2:24). The rôle ascribed to him in this book is significant. The Hebrew heavenly Satan, the adversary of Israel and the accuser of men, passed gradually, probably under the stimulus and direction of Persian demonology, into the form of an independent Power, at enmity with God and man.³ Wisdom gives us the earliest extant formulation of the conception (forced on Jewish thinkers by their sense of God's absolute justice) of a demonic author of moral evil. In general, it may be said that the theology of the sages was free from ethically obstructive anthropomorphism. In their system the older apparatus of intermediaries was supplanted by the more refined conception of Wisdom; in Wisd. 10:6 that is ascribed to Wisdom which in Gen. 19 is ascribed to angels.⁴

It was doubtless the Jews' exalted conception of the moral purity of the One God that led them to the

13. Historical occasion for discussion.

discussion of the justice of his government of the world. The Greeks appear not to have gone into this inquiry. They were especially attracted by such problems as the constitution of man, the nature of virtue, the organisation of society. Their conception of God did not force them to hold him responsible for everything; when they considered his nature, they either (like Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics) contented themselves with assuming his perfect justice, and referring evil to other sources,⁵ or (like the Epicureans) rejected or ignored the supposition of a divine oversight of the world. For the Jewish philosopher, however, to whom life was God, it was a necessity to attempt to harmonise God and the world. The historical occasion for the Jewish discussion seems to have been given by the condition of society in the fourth century B.C., when Jews, scattered throughout the already decadent Persian empire, had frequent occasion to note the apparently irrational inequalities of men's fortunes; the question arose: Does a man's lot in this life bear any relation to his moral character?

We may distinguish four stages in the progress of the discussion; in the first three the future life is ignored, in the fourth it is considered.

1. In the Book of Job the question is argued from several different points of view,⁶ but without reaching a

¹ The expression 'spirit of God,' in which the 'spirit' is part of God's person, occurs rarely (Wisd. 17:24 12:1 Pr. 1:2; perhaps in Job 32:2; the genuineness of Job 32:4 is doubtful); its anthropomorphic tone may have made it distasteful to the sages.

² That they did not vanish from the popular faith is evident from Daniel, Enoch, and the later literature (see ANS 1:5).

³ Probably not in Eccles. 21:27.

⁴ This development appears to have occupied several centuries; Satan appears as a great demonic Prince first in the Similitudes of Enoch (3:1-54).

⁵ The question as to how God created the world is not discussed; the picture of the divine creative act in Job 38:7 (cp. 26:7) appears to be to some extent independent of the account in Gen. 1; God is conceived of always as standing outside of and above the world, except perhaps in Wisd. 7. On the use of mythological ideas in the Wisdom books see the Commentaries on these books, and on Isaiah and Psalms, and H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung u. Chaos*. See also CURTIUS, § 21.

⁶ As, for example, to matter and to bad men. Neither of these explanations could be accepted by a pre-Christian Jew who held with firmness the national faith.

⁷ The Book will here be treated simply as a collection of discussions without inquiry into its composition. The addresses of Elihu and Yahwe may be regarded as appendages to the

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definite conclusion. The imputation of the divine government is put sharply by Job who appeals to ordinary observation and to his own experience. The traditional defence, in the mouth of the Three is comparatively monotonous and weak, with the exception of the suggestion of Eliphaz (Job 5:17), that the suffering of good men is disciplinary, their discourse is little more than the assertion of a theory, and Job remains unconvinced (Job 31:3-9). Elihu, besides repeating the orthodox view, expands the suggestion of Eliphaz and declares that the inscrutableness of God is a sufficient answer to all objections, and this last is the point urged in the Yahwe-speeches.¹ The Book thus practically gives up the general question as insoluble; Job maintains, against the Friends, his sceptical position, and only yields to the representation of the divine government to be incomprehensible for man, and the explanation of Elihu, since it does not touch on the prosperity of the wicked, ignores half the problem.

The Book of Job is the only serious contribution made by the earliest generations of Jewish philosophers to the problem of a theology. It shows that the problem existed and was grappled with. The arguments of the discourses of Elihu and Yahwe were not doubt accepted, by some Jewish thinkers, as satisfactory; but those of Job must have appealed to others. His scepticism appears to be purely Jewish; there is, so far as we know, no outside source, Babylonian, Persian, Egyptian, or Greek, whence it may have come. The man Job was the creator of a Jewish genius, who, not affected by the culture of his time, boldly faced the problem presented by the monotheistic faith, but found no adequate solution. For a parallel to his thought in his own age we have to go to India. (Cp. Job [Book], §§ 8-15.)

2. The Book of Job had no immediate successor. For some reason it did not appeal to the next following generations.² It may be surmised that the practical moralists regarded such speculations as futile, as, indeed, they were not in keeping with the Jewish genius. The authors and compilers of Proverbs and Ecclesiastics, avoiding discussions of divine justice, assume that the government of the world is righteous; that the compensation, in this life, for virtuous and vicious conduct is moral. It is substantially the pre-exilic view; but it is refined and broadened. The earthly fortune of men is regarded not hardly as the result of an arbitrary divine decree, but as also the product of natural social laws. These laws, it is true, are thought of as made by God, so that all compensation goes back to him; nevertheless man's freedom and the control of natural law are recognised. This position, namely, that God works in and through society, relieves the old theory of much that is difficult. It was the product of deeper reflection on life, induced by the wider social connections of the Jews, under the more or less definite guidance of Greek habits of thought. Thus, for a considerable period the body of Jewish moralists appear to have come to the conclusion that speculations about divine justice were useless, and that the only practical position was the assumption that the world is governed morally.

3. It seems to have been during the second and the first century B.C. that doubt reappeared in Agur and Kôhéleth, under the form of philosophic agnosticism. The Book of Job had addressed the incomprehensibility of God as a motive for reverence and trust; Agur and Kôhéleth appear to make it a ground of indifference. The isolation and the consequent obscurity of Agur's words (Prov. 30:1-4) make it difficult to define his position with exactness; but he seems to be satirising or protesting against the pretensions of certain theologians who undertook to explain the method of the

dialogue; it is immaterial, for our purposes, whether they were aided by the author of the dialogue, or by other persons, nor will the bearing of the argument be seriously affected if the man Job be supposed to represent, in whole or in part, the nation Israel (cp. ANS 1:1).

4. The Prologue and the Epilogue appear to have nothing to do with the real argument.

5. The argument of the man Job is ignored in succeeding Jewish literature, except by Kôhéleth and Agur. In the NT Job is mentioned only (Jas. 5:11) as an example of endurance.

divine government. Kôheleth early sees in the control of natural law the impossibility of coming in contact with God.¹ Job had affirmed this impossibility in the form of an agonising cry over God; these men set it forth coolly as a philosophic thesis. Neither of them directly calls God's justice in question; but Kôheleth, in his sweeping and sardonic survey of the injustices of life, silently assumes that the world is conducted neither rationally nor morally. If he had not been a Jew, he might have passed lightly over the theistic difficulty; being a monotheist, he was bound to hold the creator responsible for his creation. He may not employ technical philosophic terms, but his whole conception of the world is philosophic. His book seems to have been an isolated thinker. His book was too interesting to be ignored; but it was greatly modified before it passed into the hands of the general public [cp. ECECIASITES, KÔHELETH].

4. It is possible that Kôheleth intends to deny and reject definitely the doctrine of ethical immortality which was probably in his time making its way among the Jews. Certainly his affirmations of the emptiness of the future life are many and pointed, and they stand, by their dispassionateness, in marked contrast with the passionate hopelessness of Job. However that may be, Kôheleth is the last of the Jews to ignore the life to come. The new doctrine gained general acceptance, is taken for granted in Wisdom, and its reception closed the discussion of God's justice. In declaring that the future will wipe out the apparent injustice of the present Wisdom virtually affirms, with Job and Kôheleth, that this injustice exists to human sight, and is inexplicable when the present alone is considered. It thus virtually denies the position of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes.²

The question of the value of human life was closely connected with that of the divine control, and its discussion followed the same lines. What may be called the healthy natural view—namely, that life may be honourable

14. Value of human life.

and happy if it is morally and religiously good—is taken in Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Wisdom, and the gloomier view by Job and Kôheleth. Between these two last there is the difference that is referred to above; one is tortured by the uncertainties and pains of life, the latter calmly affirms its emptiness.³ This difference is to be ascribed to the philosophic training or to the temperament of Kôheleth, or to both of these causes. The question was substantially solved, as before, by appeal to the life to come. No Wisdom book finds a source of happiness in man's love to God and communion with him. The germ of this conception is expressed by Hosea (Hos. 6:6); but it appears to have been overlaid by the sense of God's majesty. The nearest approach to it is made in Wisdom (7:10-82); but there it is not God but wisdom that is loved.

In all this discussion it is physical evil alone that is considered; the sages are at one with other OT writers in not undertaking to deal with the question of the origin of moral evil.⁴ They do not purposely avoid the question; rather it did not present itself to them. Man's liability to sin was accepted as an ultimate fact. The problem of the reconciliation of God's goodness

The problem of the reconciliation of God's goodness

1 This is clear when his book is freed from orthodox insertions.

2 Why Wisdom says nothing of a bodily resurrection is not clear; the idea had been accepted by some Jews (Daniel) long before its time. Perhaps the author thought of it as a relatively unimportant incident of the future life, and he might the more easily pass it by, as is probable, the resurrection was confined in the current belief to Israelites. Possibly he did not accept it. The future which he had in mind concerned the nobler life of the soul, and included Gentiles as well as Jews.

3 Kôheleth (Ecc. 2:24), like Ben Sira (Ecclesi. 30:23, Heb. of 40:1-3), advises enjoyment of the enjoyable things of life.

4 Gen. 2:7 describes the first human sin, but not the psychological beginning of evil; and its purpose is not so much to relate the origin of sin as to account for certain great facts of human experience, namely, birth, toil, and death. Wisdom 2:24, though it substitutes the devil for the serpent of Genesis, comes hardly nearer a solution of the question.

with the existence of moral evil was thus left until here, when, it was doubtless in large measure overwhelmed sense of divine absolute authority made the Jews intellectually unfriendly to such inquiry.

The phase of Jewish thought represented

Wisdom books lasted into the first century of our

ending with Philo of Alexandria.

however, to be observed that his

positions take the form of comment

on the Torah; he thinks it neco

to rest his conclusions on an inspired authority.

that, on the other hand, his system is simply

thought in a Jewish dress. The spontaneous

philosophical teaching of the Jews reached its culmination

the Wisdom of Solomon (which was probably compo

before the beginning of our era). As early as

middle of the second century B.C., the national in

terests began to shift their direction—political and

the Messianic enthusiasts wrote apocryphes and by

and those who were more concerned with the

organisation of the nation developed the jurispru

The troublous times which succeeded cramped

creative power of the people. Few of the gra

savings of the *Pirke Aboth* can be called philosoph

and later reflections, such as the *Alphabet of Ben S*

show no originality. The spirit of the Wisdom Litera

was not revived till long afterwards, when the

begin to devote themselves, under different condi

to the study of Greek, Arabian, and modern Euro

philosophy. The august figure of the creative Wis

(almost an hypostasis) is not referred to in the NT,

plays little part in later Jewish thought.⁵ The p

sophy of the earlier time remains a unique and insp

creation of the Jewish mind.

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16. Bibliography. (1891); Dahne, *Jahrb. Alex. Religionsg*

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C. H. T.

WISDOM (BOOK)

Name and plan (§ 1 f.).	Literary form (§§ 12-16, 18).
Structure and aim (§§ 3-5).	Legendary material (§ 17).
Position (§ 7).	Historical conditions (§ 10 f.).
Teaching (§§ 7-12, 18).	Text and Versions (§ 21 f.).
	Bibliography (§ 23).

WISDOM OF SOLOMON, or simply **Wisdom**, of the Apocryphal books of the OT (see APOCRYPH § 8).

The title varies slightly in different MSS of the Septuagint: *σοφία Σαλωμῶνος*, *σοφ. Σαλωμῶν*, *σοφ. Σαλωμῶν*, *σοφ. Σαλωμῶν*; the Latin has *Sapientia*; the Syriac, ed. Lagarde (Vat. 14,447), 'The great Wisdom of Solomon in Walton, 'The book of the great Wisdom of Solomon, son of David,' with the remark, 'concerning which there is doubt whether some other Hebrew sage, writing in the spirit of prophecy, did not compose it in the name of Solomon and it was so accepted.'

The book appears to have been written to comfort and instruct the Jews, and to warn their enemies, at a time of severe trial, the author's particular point of view is indicated by the title. The book divides itself by its subject matter, into two main parts, each of which may be further subdivided. Thus:—1. The part play

1. Name and plan.

1. However, the question stood outside the range of thought of the pantheistic systems of India.

2. The Sophia of the Kabbala is a different conception from the Wisdom of Proverbs and of the book of Wisdom, though the two doubtless spring in part from the same source, and have some things in common.

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WISDOM (BOOK)

by Wisdom in human life (1 3-11). Her moral demands and her rewards (4 5), (2). Her nature and powers of 9-11. Illustration of her power from the ancient history of Israel (10 20): (1) The patriarchs and the exodus (10 7-11); (2) The Canaanites (12); (3) Degression on idolatry (13 15); (4) Contrast between God's dealings with the Egyptians and his treatment of the Egyptians (14-19).

The author makes his first second-hand, so perhaps the whole book is to be considered an address to kings (1 9-21), apparently wishing to influence the political life of the Jews, but his discourse is of a general nature, applying to all men.

2. Outline. He begins by affirming that riches is not wisdom and is paid for with death by God, though, in truth, God does not desire the destruction of any, but the wicked, against his purpose, all downward in themselves (1); then, passing to the moral question raised by the absence of just compensation in this world, he observes that the wicked (by whom he appears to mean Jewish aristocrats) here use their deity future retribution, give themselves up to wisdom if convenient here, and, because they are reproved by the righteous, hate and persecute them, not knowing that God created man to be immortal (2); while, on the other hand, the sufferings of the righteous in this world are only a foretaste, their hope is full of immortality, hereafter they shall be honoured, and happy, and, in fact, the wicked even in this life are miserable, and their offspring is cursed (3-12); he adds (against a current view) that happiness does not consist in riches and old age, childless virtue is better than vice with children, and the truly virtuous life is wisdom and poverty (11-14); then, resuming the general argument, he observes that the value of righteousness will be demonstrated hereafter, when good men, here scorned by the bad, will be forced to acknowledge the folly of their course (14-21). In view of all this he proceeds to assure kings that they need wisdom in order that they may govern wisely and attain to immortality (21-22), and king Solomon (whom the author here identifies himself) describes his own experience, how he had loved and sought after wisdom, what great things she had taught him, with what wonderful power and beauty she is endowed, she being, indeed, an influence and image of God, how, therefore, he had desired to dwell with her always as his spouse, and he brought God, who alone could give her, to bestow her on him (22-28 21); then follows the prayer in which the young king, acknowledging and pleading human weakness, begs that Wisdom and God's Holy Spirit may be sent down to him from the holy heavens (24). The prayer concludes with the reflection that men of former generations were guided by Wisdom, and thus the author passes naturally to his second division, a review of the old history. Wisdom, he says, preserved and guided the patriarchs, from Adam to Joseph, and, by Moses, led the Israelites victoriously from Egypt (10). The remainder of the book (from chap. 11) is no longer occupying itself with wisdom, takes the form of an address to God, detailing his special miraculous care of Israel, particularly in the treatment of Egypt, with brief reference to the conquest of Canaan. The author, undertaking to give a religious-philosophical sketch of the history, points out that the Egyptians were punished by means of their animal gods, yet not wholly destroyed, but given space for repentance (11); that the Canaanites also were punished for their sins, but not blotted out at one blow, God doing all things in just measure, and training his own people in righteousness by the spectacle of the chastigation of their enemies (12-22), and (the main argument being now resumed) that the Egyptians, through the terrible punishment inflicted on them by means of their own gods, were compelled to acknowledge the true God, whom they had before denied that they did not know (12 24 27).

At this point the author passes in order to explain the nature and origin of idolatry (i.e., polytheism). The least blame-worthy (though still an inexcusable) form of idolatry, he says, is the worship of the powers of nature, by whose beauty men were naturally attracted (13 1-6), whilst the worship of beasts and stones and images made by human hands is ridiculous (13 6-13), as, for example, the homage paid by S. Amen to images (13 1-4), and all idolatry is denounced as having been the source of moral corruption (14 1-12); idolatry originated in a desire to honour dead children and kings, and was helped forward by the skill of artists, who made beautiful images (14 12-14), an 180 came all the frightful vices of society, for which men will surely be punished (14 22-24), from which idolatry Israel kept free, while Israel's enemies fell into this childish absurdity (15). Returning now to the history, the author declares that God did indeed send plagues on his people (in the wilderness), not dealing with them in destructive fury, but chastising them, and further, making nature fight for them (in Egypt) and giving them vessels of gold, that they might learn to trust in him (16); that the contrast in God's dealing further appears in his appalling the Egyptians with a horror of darkness and monstrous apparitions, while the Israelites had light and guidance and the comfort of a pillar of fire and a friendly sun (17-18 4), that it is visible in the fearful pest destruction of the Egyptian fish-brood (when the almighty Word, a fierce warrior, leaped down from heaven into the doomed land), whilst the plague (in the rebellion of Dathan and Korah), which devastated the Israelites, was subdued by

WISDOM (BOOK)

the intervention of Aaron (18 5-6), and finally, that it is to be seen in the words of the King S. when the Egyptians sought pardon for their treachery to strong as it were than that of S. Amen, whilst the final language is some five or six centuries, and this moral thing, God made, and Israel glorified. (19)

Central features of the book have given rise to its title, its aim to its complete and unity of character, and its subject

3. Unity. The nature of the historical sketch, and its unity with the entire work, of the Israelites into Canaan, has suggested the view that the work is not completely united, but the continuation of the historical sketch was abandoned by the author as too large an undertaking, or cut short by some accident (it remains, however, a libretto, or that, having been written by him, it was lost by the accidents of time (Hildebrandt)). This consideration, though not without force, is not decisive, the author may have stopped at this point because he thought the illustrations given from the earliest history sufficient, or because he wished to single out the Egyptians (Iwald), or (Dittmann) because he felt that the later history was lacking in picturesque and dramatic character, and that it chronicled chiefly the utterance of the Israelites to their enemies. The question of completeness may be left undecided; but it may be said that the work, in its present form, does not necessarily make the impression that it is a fragment.

Nor, perhaps, is it possible to decide with certainty whether the book is the production of one man. The two main divisions are not very closely connected; the history of the fathers in the second part (which is at once a glorification of Israel, and an attack on idolatry in general and Egyptian idolatry in particular) may appear to be quite distinct from the praise of wisdom in the first part, which is a philosophical consideration of the life of the author's own day; Solomon is not introduced till chap. 6; after 11 the narrative does not mention wisdom, but is wholly concerned with the history; and the style changes, being, in the first part, relatively simple and direct, with constant regard to the Hebrew principle of parallelism, whilst, in the second part, it is ambitious, grandiloquent, or turgid, complicated and artificial, often without parallelism. On the other hand, it may be said that a logical unity is recognizable in the fact that the two points of attack in the work, apostasy and idolatry, represent the two great enemies of the later devout Judaism, and that a consciousness of unity is shown in 9, which makes the transition from the first part to the 9, and has not the appearance of an editorial insertion; that the similarity between 11 and 11 suggests that the same speaker is intended throughout, that the non-mention of wisdom after 11 is due to the fact that the author became so immersed in his historical sketch (which he meant as an indictment of his own contemporaries) that he forgot the philosophical thesis with which he set out, that the change of style is a natural consequence of the change of subject matter, the moral and philosophical discussions falling more easily into the form of the Book of Proverbs, the dramatic scenes of the earlier history readily suggesting legendary touches and highly-coloured language, and that there are marked resemblances of tone and style in the two parts—e.g., the rush of thought of the second part is paralleled in the description of the wicked (5) and of wisdom (7 22-8 1), and the religiously elevated and dignified tone of the first part appears here and there in the second (cp. 1 23 15-6 with 11 2-3 12 16 15). On the whole it seems easier to account for the differences of matter and style under the supposition of one single author than to explain the unity under the supposition of two or more authors.

In the last century there were several attempts to ascribe the book to a number of hands.

This analysis was begun, according to Brötschneider, by Honbigan, who divided the work into two parts, chaps. 1-9 and chaps. 10-19, and was herein followed by Doerflerlein; only, whilst Honbigan ascribed the first part (written in Hebrew) to Solomon, and the second (written in Greek) to a later

4. History of criticism.

Augustine denied the
ed. Pater, 1882;
ibid., *ibid.*, 122;
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WISDOM (BOOK)

sent from heaven (as a divine breath or influence) to
consider men (9:27), and, as a divine teacher, cannot dwell
with mightiness (13). This representation does
not reach hypostatization; but it is a very vigorous
personification (cp Rom 8). A similar remark is to be
made of the conception of wisdom regarded as an
attribute of God, only the description is here more
elaborate, and there is a nearer approach to hypostati-
zation. Wisdom, it is said, was with God when he made
the world (cp Prov. 8:22-31) and knew his will, sits ever
by his throne, and is his intimate associate (10:10-8:4),
she is an effluence from his glory, the mirror of his
power, the image of his godliness (7:25-7:1), she is ani-
mated by an acute, vigorous, benevolent spirit, is of
perfect beauty, knows, directs, controls all things (7:22-23
11:8-1), transforming the souls of men (7:27), bestowing
on them all virtues (8:4-8), and guiding their outward
fortunes (10), coming to dwell with them as beloved
friend and counsellor (8:20), but bestowed only by God,
and to be obtained from him by prayer (8:24-9). She
is thus, on the one hand, substantially identical with
Philo's Logos, and, on the other hand, blends usefully
with the human quality of wisdom.

Other quasi-hypostatized intermediaries between God and the
world are recognised by some modern writers (s. Bois) in the
terms "power" (13), "justice" (13), "providence" (11), "mercy"
(16:10), "kind" (11:7), "hypostasis" (9:21); but this
seems to be reading too large a meaning into the terms in
question (see Wisdom LETTERS, § 1, 3, as to the "hypostasis"
or "substance" of 16:21) it appears to be simply nomenclature.

The conceptions of "wisdom" and "spirit" stand mid-
way, in the line of advance toward hypostatization,
between the earlier ideas of the OT and the later ideas
of Philo and of the NT.

Of other supernatural beings there is mention of only
Gentle demons and the devil. The former are declared,
with greater distinctness than is found in the OT, to be
nomenclatures, invented by the folk of men (11:17-18). The
existence of the devil is assumed, and he is identified
(2:24) with the serpent of Gen 3. The name for him
here used (διδάσκαλος) is probably taken from the Septuagint,
which so renders the Hebrew *Satan* in Ps. 109
(108) 6 Job 16:7, 24:1, 1 Chr 21:1 (3V, not 1), the
identification of the serpent with a supreme evil spirit
occurs only here and in Secrets of Enoch (31:1-6) in the
extant Jewish pre-Christian literature¹ and in both
books his seduction of Eve is ascribed to his envy.
This identification probably sprang from a deepening
sense of sin, and from a growing conviction of the
necessity of separating God from the moral evil of the
world. The author's silence respecting demons and
angels (in which he accords with the other wisdom
books) is possibly due to the philosophical nature of
his thought, in which wisdom takes the place of all
other good intermediary agents (see Wisdom LETTERS,
§ 1, 3, 11), and the one demon, the devil, is held to
be sufficient to account for the evil of the world.

The doctrine of the book concerning man is in part
an expansion of the teaching of the OT. There is

9. Man. no trichotomy (body, soul, spirit), only the
dichotomy of the inward principle of life (soul,
spirit) and its outer casement (body). The soul or spirit
the author represents (herein following Gen 2) as
breathed into the body by God (15:11), and, at death,
received into the other world never to return (cp the
avowal of ignorance on this point in Eccles. 3:11). The
question of human freedom is not formally discussed,
and probably did not present itself to the author's mind
as a problem to be solved. Free-will is assumed in some
passages, as in 1:6, in which it is said that had men call
down destruction on themselves, and in 5:6-11, in which
they attribute their wretchedness to their own folly. On
the other hand, man is said (12:1-13:1) to be foolish by
nature, unable of himself to know God, and yet (2:2),
which gives an interpretation of Gen. 1:27) the image of

¹ In the Sibylline oracles (1:4) the tempter of Eve is the
"serpent," and in the French Stobæus (100:4) one of the evil
"angels." (See note of R. H. Charles in his ed. of *Enoch*.)

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God's being. Of a control by God of human thought
and destiny nothing is said directly.

The work passes beyond the OT and Semitic thought
in general in its adoption of the Platonic theory of the
pre-existence of souls (8:2), and cp 15:10), and this
involves a sort of predestination; Solomon says that
being good he came into an undehiled body. Still, the
author's practical view of mortal life does not seem to be
materially affected by his philosophical theories; he holds
to moral weakness, general divine control of life, and
moral responsibility without troubling himself to define
the limits of these facts, and he appears to adopt the
OT division of men into good and bad, going beyond
the later OT books, however, in recognising the possi-
bility of passing from one class to the other.¹ But his
horizon is here limited; he has in mind the flagrant
sinners of his time, the apostates and the idolaters, and
he cannot be said to express a general view of the ethical
capacity of man. He holds, however (9:6), that the
corruptible body presses down the soul (cp 2 Cor. 5:4).

Sin, disobedience to God's moral law, is represented
in one passage (2:24) as having been introduced into the

10. Sin. world by the devil (our death is the result of
sin), in another passage (11:7) as the result of
idolatry. This apparent discrepancy does not point to

two authors, but comes from a shifting of the point of
view. Following Gen. 3 the author says that sin, as an
historical fact, made its first appearance in the world in
the disobedience of Eve, and, like the OT, he does not
think of explaining its psychological origin; but, looking
at the vice, at the society of his own time, he traces
them all to idolatry, which is the negation of the know-
ledge of God; the vagueness of his thought on this
point is apparent from the fact that he not only gives no
chronological beginning of idolatry, but refers it to an
intellectual weakness (13:14-15) whose origin he does
not explain. He falls back on the teaching of observa-
tion that men are by nature morally weak (5:6), and
must, in order to be saved from error, be instructed and
strengthened by God (15:1-7). This natural moral
weakness he like the OT does not bring into historical
connection with the transgression of Eve or of Adam.
The spiritual safeguard against sin, union of heart with
God, is truly expressed in 15:27: "even if we sin, we
are thine, knowing thy power [that is, submitting our-
selves humbly to thy righteous and merciful control];
but we will not sin, knowing that we are accounted thine,
for to know thee is perfect righteousness." Faith (only
3:1) is used in the general sense of acceptance of God's
will, and trust in him for protection.

For the wicked, it is said (3:6-7:17-18), there is
retribution in this life, and men are punished by means

11. Future. of their sins (11:6), but the real and
universal recompense of moral conduct
comes in the future life. Here the author passes quite
beyond the OT thought, in which Sheol has no ethical
character, and the resurrection (Dan 12) is confined to
Israelites. Hereafter, he declares (3:5), the position of
all men will be determined by their moral character—
the righteous will have peace and glory, the wicked
will be in misery (1:28-17:31), passages like 5:14-7
in which the transitory hope of the wicked is contrasted
with the everlasting hope of the righteous, must be
interpreted, from the general thought of the book, to
mean not the annihilation of the ungodly, but their
endless misery. Possibly the author here has in mind
the denial of future retribution in Ecclesiastes, more
probably he is opposing a general Sadducean opinion
of his time. He makes no reference to purgatorial
future punishment or to a bodily resurrection, unless the
latter be involved in the "glorious angels" (5:10-6:2-4)
and dominion over the nations (3:17) which the righteous
are to receive, and this is not possible, since if retribu-
tion had been meant, there seems to be no reason

¹ This possibility is assumed in a simple and definite way in
Ezek. 18.

why it should not have been distinctly mentioned. The conditions of the future life are stated in the most general way—there are no details of happiness and torment, only vague mention of light and darkness, with no clear indication of place, no distinct heaven or hell. The author contents himself with emphasising the fundamental fact of moral retribution; his reticence as to details may be due to his philosophical dislike of the crude pictures in such books as Enoch (see Eschta-totocay, *Index*, s. 22). 'Heaven,' 'Hell'. Man, he holds there again following Gen. 3), was created to be immortal (in this world apparently), and would so have been, but for the entrance of death through the envy of the devil, and the folly of the first human pair. All good ethical human qualities, wisdom and righteousness, are, according to the author, the gift of God, or of God's minister, Wisdom (7.6.8.4.9.4.12).

Besides general rightness of conduct he particularises (8.7) the four virtues of Greek philosophy—moderation, practical sense, justice, and courage or

12. Virtue. *σωφροσύνη, φρόνησις, δικαιοσύνη, ἀνδρεία*—as things than which there is nothing more profitable in life, and these also he represents as the gift of Wisdom. His more general catalogue of virtues (7.22 f.) embraces the gentler quality of 'philanthropy,' and the Hebrew idea of 'holiness,' and, following the OT, he represents the combination of justice and philanthropy (12.19) as something which is taught us by the example of God himself. His ethical code thus offers a happy union of Jewish and Greek elements; of ethical philosophy proper (inquiry into the basis of moral beliefs and conduct) he has nothing. On the other hand, in his ethical attitude toward non-Israelitish peoples he is narrow; like the prophets, he sees nothing good in other civilisations (as, for example, the Egyptian), but, from his national religious point of view, involves them in one sweeping condemnation. He was a pupil of the Greeks; but he does not, by a single word, express sympathy with their thought and life, or betray any suspicion that they have played an important part in the divine education of humanity. He recognises only one true law of life, and this, he says (18.4), is to be given to the world by Israel; this is the view of the exilic and post-exilic prophets, but in our author we expect some modification of the old statement. There is no trace of asceticism in the book; the passage (31.1-46) which has been so interpreted is really a protest against what the author regarded as the undue importance attached by some to the possession of children, and a repetition of the OT declaration (Is. 56.4 f.) that bodily conditions shall not determine membership in the Israelitish community. It was an old complaint of the pious in Israel that the wicked were often well provided with children (Ps. 17.14), a gift which was supposed to be a special mark of divine favour (Ps. 127.3-5, 128.3). Ben Sira had already (16.1-4) protested against the exaggerated form of this view, and our author makes a special application of the protest to the case of illicit unions; it is better, he says, to have no children than to obtain them by immoral unions; the virtuous woman, though barren, shall be blessed in the final divine visitation, and the cunuch, if he be righteous, shall have compensating part in the temple of the Lord (so Is. 56.5), that is, shall be deemed worthy of an honourable position in the public worship. Such an opinion cannot, therefore, be regarded as springing from Therapeutist hostility to marriage. The fine thought that honourable old age is not measured by number of years (18 f.) which is a correction or revision of Prov. 16.31 Eccles. 25.4-6, though, according to Philo (*De Vit. contempl.* 81), it expresses a principle of the Therapeutae, is of too general a nature to be regarded as borrowed from them; it is found in the Stoics (cp Cic. *De Fin.* 3), and looks not to contempt of life, but to emphasising the better side of life.

With all his strong national feeling, he, like the other

Hokmah writers (see WISDOM LITERATURE, § 6)

13. Worship. no stress on the national ritual worship; he mentions, as his facts, the offering of sacrifice by the Israelites (18) of incense by Aaron (18.21), puts into Solomon's (98) the words 'temple, alt., tabernacle,' and (21.4) a reference to the temple from the OT (18) but otherwise ignores the external cultus. He re-prayer and praise as the highest expression of religious feeling. He draws largely from the Pentateuch somewhat from Isaiah and the Psalms, but, after manner of the time, does not name them or sacred books, or make allusion to the existence of a sacred canon.

The book, in spite of some glaring faults, deserves to be ranked among the masterpieces of reflective

14. Literary form. If it cannot be called poetry, it is an admirable example of elevated symmetric writing, with not a few poetical passages.

The number of its *stichoi* is variously stated (in Swete of the Sept.) at 1124 [B], 1121 [R], and 1092 [A]. The translation has a few lines not found in the Greek.¹ The couplets, not metre, but the Hebrew parallelism, an Hebrew system of iktus, a certain succession of accented syllables, between which come varying numbers of unaccented syllables; in the passages (such as 10.19.21), in which the suggestions of Greek iambic, dactylic, and asynartete rhythms, the combinations of syllables are probably either accidental (such as are sometimes found even in modern prose work) or the occasional imitations which a writer acquainted with Greek poetry might permit himself.²

The construction of the book is skilful. After stating men's supreme need of righteousness, the author

15. Structure. dramatically introduces the two elements into which mankind is divided, describes their contrasted fates. On the basis of picture he appeals to kings to embrace wisdom whose exponent and laudator Solomon appears, gives his own experience, and extolling wisdom as the source of all knowledge, physical, moral, and religious, an effluence from God and his companion and co-worker and as the teacher and saviour of men of ancient times. In illustration of this last point he gives a sketch of history of the patriarchs and of the deliverance of Israelites from Egyptian bondage and their conquest of Canaan. This plan of the work was well fitted to commend it to the author's contemporaries; philosophical praise of wisdom is justified by the exhibition of its practical value, and the whole piece conveys encouragement to the suffering righteous, a solemn warning to all the enemies, apostate-Gentile, of the chosen people, whose special possession and guardian wisdom is.

The style varies in the different parts. The first part (chaps. 1-9) approaches the evenly balanced ap-

16. Style. listic form of Proverbs, with the distinctive characteristics of the Hebrew parallels but it is made up of connected discourses, each which aims at a definite demonstration or exposition and the style is far more flowing than that of Proverbs and Ben Sira, in this respect rather resembling Ecclesiastes. In the second part (chaps. 10-19), whilst stichometry is maintained with a flavour of parallels the nature of the subject matter produces an approach to simple prose, with an inflation born of the desire to make the history impressive. In both parts powerful imagination is conspicuous; the pictures of the final overthrow of the wicked (5.7-23) and the terrors of the Egyptians (17 f.) have the cumulation and rush which Ezekiel is a master, and many of the epithets have an Aeschylean force and majesty; it is perhaps this torrent-like movement that most impresses the reader in the author's descriptions. Nor is he lacking in something that resembles humour as, in the descrip-

¹ See Berger, *Hist. d. l. Vulgate* etc.

² On apparent examples of Greek metrical lines see Farrer and Bois.

ATURE, § 6), lays national ritual of ons, as historical oracles (189) and Solomon's mouth 'acle,' and quotes the OT (Is. 56s), tus. He regards sion of religions Pentateuch and os, but, alter the e them or other e existence of a

g faults, deserves f reflective verse. t poetry, it is an elevated stichonot a few really

ted (in Swete's ed. 2 [1]), the Latin reek. The author orabellism, and sion of accented bers in which there e asynartide notes, e either accidental n prose works), or imined with Greek

al. After show- ness, the author e the two classes is divided, and e basis of this ce wisdom, as e appears, giving m as the source e religions, as an and co-worker, e of ancient times, e a sketch of the ivergence of the eir conquest of e well fitted to eoporaries; the eed by the ex- e whole picture e righteous, and e apostate and eial possession

arts. The first e balanced aphor- e the distinctive e w parallelism; eurses, each of e or exposition, e of Prov. 1s imbling Ecclesi- (19), whilst the e of parallelism, e as an approach e the desire to earts power of e of the final e and rush in e of the epithets e it is perhaps e impresses the e is he lacking e in the descrip-

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tion of the manufacture of an idol by the carpenter (13:1-19), which is, however, only a slight expansion of an OT passage (Is. 41:2-17). He is fond of assonance, alliteration, and paronomasia, as well as of comparison and metaphor, and many instances of chiasm (as 3:15-17), and in one case (10:17-20) employs the sonnet. This last use is taken from Greek logic, and the others there are many examples both in the OT and in Greek writers. Throughout he shows fullness, richness, and vitality of conception, which is constantly in danger of running into exaggeration and bombast. The nature of his material does not call for direct descriptions of external nature; but in a number of passages he shows a fine feeling for colour form, and movement (see 5:9-12:21 11:13 13:2 17:13-21). The author's not-worthy command of Greek suggests that he was well read in Greek poetical and philosophical literature.

His vocabulary is rich and picturesque; he uses a number of uncommon terms, is fond of compounds, and has himself originated compounds or given peculiar significance to existing forms, as φιλόψυχοι (11:2), 'lover of souls' (so James, 2:2), and perhaps πρωτοπλαστὸς (7:10). He has taken a number of expressions from the Septuagint, as πνεύμα ἀγαθόνου (11:4, see Dt. 8:15); τὸν ὄρα (1:1, see Ex. 3:14); φαστήριος ὄρατος (13:2, see Gen. 1:14); σπόδος ἡ καρπία αὐτοῦ (15:1, see Is. 41:20). On the other hand, his frequent Hebraisms (most of which occur in chapters 1-9) show that he was deeply imbued with the style of the OT; thus words, as σκόλοι (1:1); σκουῖα (1:3); ἄνεμος πνεύμα (1:9-17); ἔσχατα (2:1); ἰκατηγοῦνται (2:2); ἔφατο (3:12); ἀνταρῶν (13:1); modes of expression, such as those in 4:17 (16:11 (p. 7, 8, 2)); and the use of the connectives καί, ὅτι, γάρ and the like.¹

The data for the determination of the origin of the book are found in its use of other books, the nature of its ideas, and the historical conditions which it implies.

17. Signs of date: ideas.

A comparison of 4:1 (on childless virtue) with Ecclus. 16:1-4 suggests that our author was acquainted with the latter work. It is generally admitted that he used the Septuagint translation of the Pentateuch and Isaiah; whether he had the Septuagint Psalms is doubtful (in 31 he has an allusion to Ps. 31:5 [2], in 15:15 he gives rather a paraphrase than a citation of Ps. 115:17 (= 135:15-17), in 16:22 (from Ps. 78:25) he has ἀγγέλωι τρέφει where ὁ has ἄγραν ἄ., and in 10:17 (from Ps. 105:39) he has εἰς σέσηρον μαζας where our Hebrew has simply 'covering' and the psalm in ὁ (Ps. 105:10 [1]) εἰς σκ. αἰῶνι, from which, in view of his fondness for paraphrasing, it cannot be shown that he did or did not have the Psalms in Greek. There is uncertainty also about the relation of 2:24 (the envy of the devil) to a similar statement in Secrets of Enoch 31 (and cp Jos. Ant. i. 14 *Sauheitun*, 50). The conception may have been an old one, derived by Wisdom and Secrets of Enoch from a common source, though, as it is not found in Enoch, it probably arose not long before the beginning of our era. The picture of reward and punishment in the future life is similar to that given in the Enoch similitudes. There is no reason to suppose that our author quotes from Philo.

Legendary additions to the OT narrative, so frequent in Wisdom, do not appear in any other book earlier than 2 Macc. (1:10-6 2:1-9).² It is only necessary to compare our author's sketch of the early history (10-19) with that of Ecclus. (14-19) to see the great difference between the methods of the two writers; the latter keeps himself strictly to the OT text, the former revels in fanciful embellishments (11:15 16:1 9:13 7:21 f. 17:9 f. 15:17 18:12 7:17-19 19:11 7:17-21). This may be accounted for in part by the supposition that the Alexandrian Jews were very free in their dealing with the sacred books; but, as 2 Macc. shows that there was a similar tendency in Palestine, we are led to refer it rather to a natural growth of legend, of which there are many examples in later Apocryphal books and in the Talmud.³

The allegorising method of interpretation, if found in Wisdom, would doubtless be Alexandrian, but would not give great aid in determining its date, since this method of interpretation was in use long before Philo's time. But it does not seem to be employed by our author.

¹ For full lexicographical lists see the commentaries of Grimm and Farrar.

² The treatment of Gen. 6:2 in Enoch is mythological expansion under Persian stimulus.

³ Cp also Gal. 3:19 1 Cor. 10:4 2 Tim. 3:8.

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The cases cited (by R. 45) are not properly allegorising; the pillar of salt (19:7) is a monument, not a symbol, of an unliving soul; the pillar of cloud and fire (10:17) is not a manifestation but a creation of Wisdom; the bronze serpent (10:3-5) is not a symbol, it is an instrument and assurance of salvation; the Egyptian darkness (17:21) is an 'image,' a faint physical suggestion, of the darkness of future punishment; on the high-priest's robe (17:24) was the adobe cosmes, and only as the glory of the fathers was on the four rows of stones, and the divine majesty on the gold cloth to the Lord. Keuss's remark, that the Egyptians are introduced through, not as a sort of persons in general, and that the history is regarded as a type of theory, is correct; though the Egyptians the author aimed at his own contemporaries. This, however, is not allegorising; it may be called a first step toward the method so fully developed by Philo, but it has not reached the point of seeing in things and persons merely presentations of religious truth.

The author's silence respecting Messianic hopes is a trait which he has in common with other sapiential writers (see WISDOM LIBRARY).

19. Eschatology.

§ 5 f., and is not an exact indication of date. His picture of the sufferings and future glory of the righteous (2-5), though it may be based on Is. 53 and has been regarded by some expositors as a prediction of the Messiah,¹ presents no individual human deliverer, but, after the manner of the prophets, simply represents pious Israel as destined to be glorified. In part of the late pre-Christian Palestinian literature also (as Dan., Sib. Or., 1 Macc., Ps. of Sol.) it is the notion that is the centre of hope; it is only in the later portions of Enoch (as chap. 46) that a personal Messiah plays a real rôle (see MESSIAH, § 7; ESCHATOLOGY, § 63 f.). That Wisdom has a well-developed doctrine of ethical immortality, and yet says nothing of resurrection, may be due to its Egyptian origin. The idea of resurrection was a Palestinian growth, based on Jewish convictions, but shaped under the stimulus of Zoroastrianism, and it may well have lagged behind in Egypt. On the other hand, Alexandria was the meeting-place of old Egyptian and Greek ideas out of which the monotheistic Jews could easily fashion an elevated moral conception of the world to come. Each Jewish centre would thus work out its own favourite idea of the future, and the fusion of the two ideas would take time. This fusion had certainly occurred before the composition of the earliest NT book, and apparently also before the time of the Enoch-section (chaps. 91-101, a tract which in some respects resembles our book, the date of which is, however, uncertain, though it may probably be put in the first century B.C. (cp Charles, *Book of Enoch*). Wisdom appears to have been written before the fusion of the two ideas was accomplished in Egypt; but, on the other hand, the author's Hellenising tendency may have led him to discard the notion of a kingdom of the righteous on earth, though such a notion may have been known to him (cp 37 with Dan. 12:3). It is difficult to say when the Egyptian Jews began to formulate a doctrine of ethical immortality; it may, perhaps, be surmised that, since the editor of Ben Sirā, writing 132 B.C., says nothing of it, it did not appear before the first century B.C.

An indication of date might be obtained if we could determine with exactness the relative development of

20. Greek conception.

Greek conceptions in our author and in Philo. It is generally admitted that Wisdom is deeply imbued with Greek philosophical thought; the conceptions of a beautiful and logically arranged cosmos, and of a wisdom which is the divine agent in creation and in the control of the world besides the minor points referred to above betray the influence of the Platonists and the Stoics. The same general ideas are found in Philo, as whose contemporary, accordingly, our author is regarded by some expositors. On the other hand, the differences between the two writers are obvious,² besides many divergences

¹ So Tertullian, Cyprian, Hippolytus, Origen, and many interpreters of the Church of Rome; see Westcott's note in *2 Pet.*, 2:7, and *Wisdom of Solomon*.

² The two are compared by Grimm, Hammond, Menzel, Farrar, Buns, and others. Siegfried, in *Drings' DB*, notes differences between the two.

in explanation of particular points (which, however, would not necessarily prove them not contemporaries), there is, for example, the great difference in the employment of the allegorical method of interpretation, which probably, though not certainly, points to the precedence of Wisdom in time. The main point of comparison is the conception of the divine self-manifestation through intermediate agencies, and herein Philo and Wisdom differ in two respects: first, whilst Philo names as chief agent the Logos, and has comparatively little to say of Wisdom, Wisdom gives the first place to Wisdom (not going beyond the OT in his conception of the 'word'), and thus appears to range itself along with those earlier more Hebraistic books (Proverbs and Ben Sira) in which the divine attribute plays the most important rôle, Philo, on the other hand, advancing to the more definitely Stoic idea; and secondly, Philo treats the conception in a more scientific way, undertaking to state with philosophic precision the nature of the relation between God and his personified energy, whilst in Wisdom this relation is assumed without explanation. From this it may probably be inferred that our author had not grasped the Stoic doctrine of the Logos, which, seeing his fondness for Greek ideas, he would hardly have failed to do if he had lived as late as the first half of the first century of our era.

The historical conditions to be accounted for are: the persecution of faithful Israelites by Gentiles and apostate Jews, and the author's special grudge against the Egyptians. There was a

21. Outward conditions.

class of apostate Jews from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, 187 B.C. (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 5) down to the time of Philo (Philo, *Confus. Ling.* 2; *Ignit.* 2). The account in 3 Macc. of an Egyptian persecution in the time of Ptolemy IV. (221-217 B.C.) being generally admitted to be legendary, the periods of persecution which may come into consideration (see Jos. *Cont. Ap.* 25) are the reigns of Ptolemy VII. (145-117 B.C.), Cleopatra (47-30 B.C.), Caligula (38-40 A.D.), and (Jos. *Ant.* ii. 187 f.) Nero (63 A.D.). There is not much ground for choice among these periods, at most it may be said that the comparatively calm tone of our book (as in 14:6-20) does not favour the seasons of bitter distress (under Caligula and Nero). But it is not necessary to suppose that the work was composed in the midst of one of the violently hostile movements. The author, even if he lived in a relatively quiet time, would know enough of the general fortunes of his people to print his pictures of suffering (2:5-14). Nor is his reference to the worship of the statues of kings (14:16-20) chronologically decisive, for divine worship was paid to Ptolemy I., and probably to Antiochus II., as well as to Caligula and other Roman emperors. The author is, in fact, as Grimm remarks, giving a learned account of the origin of idolatry, and it is unnecessary to assume that the deified princes to whom he refers were his contemporaries. There appears to be nothing in the historical situation depicted to prevent our following the literary indications and assigning the work to some time before that of Philo, probably to the first pre-Christian century.

Of the author all that is clear is that he was an Egyptian Jew. His strong Jewish feeling appears on every page of his book, and his Greek training and his hearty dislike of the

Egyptians point to Alexandria as his residence. The unsuccessful attempts to identify him with some known person are detailed at length by Grimm and Farrar.

The reference of the work to Solomon,² found in early versions (Sept., Syr.), and in a number of Patristic, Rabbinical, Roman Catholic, and Protestant writers (as late as 1848 by the Catholic

¹ Grimm's remark that in the time of Nero the spirit of the Jews was too much broken to produce so talented a book as Wisdom is not convincing; we know too little of the times to make such a judgment.

² [Revised by D. S. Margoliouth who holds that there are references to this book in Isaiah.]

J. A. Schmid), was rejected by Augustine and Jerome, no longer seriously considered. Very early critics thought Ben Sira as the author (see *Agg. Post. Chr.* 2:3; *Retract.* or of the famous Philo (see *Jer. Pref. in Lib. Sal.*), and latter view was adopted by Luther and a number of other logians; but the differences between these two writers are so glaring that they absolutely exclude such an identification. Other Jewish names which have been suggested Zerbabel (by J. M. Faber), Aristobolus, the friend of Ptolemy Philometor (by Lutterbeck), an older Philo (by Drusius) who is said to have written a poem on Jerusalem (Jos. *Cont. Ap.* 1:23 where a non-Jewish 'older Philo,' appears an historian, is mentioned), and Apollon, before his conversion (by Plumptre), on the ground that he wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews, and that the similarity between the epistle and Wisdom is so great as to suggest a common origin. None of these suggestions except the last has any show of probability, and hardly be called probable, since the two books, though without a certain resemblance in style, still have differences both of style and of manner of thought, too great to be explained by a writer's change of religion. The author has been held to be a Christian (by C. H. Weiss and others) on grounds as his supposed reference (3) to the Messiah, his notion of God as 'father' (14:3), his doctrine of future retribution (3:5), and the supposed mention of his book as a Christian writing in the Miratorian Fragment (but the supposition is probably erroneous—see above, § 6, n. 2), and authorship has been assigned (by Noack) to Apollon, after conversion to Christianity. But a Christian book with a single distinctively Christian idea (and none of those added by Weiss) are distinctively Christian would be an incomprehensible anomaly; the book is intelligible only on the supposition that it was written by a non-Christian Jew. Finally, as has been pointed out above (§ 12), there is no reason for supposing that the author belonged to the sect of the Therapeutae; he has none of their teaching, and it does not seem probable that a member of that sect would have imbibed Greek learning as our author has done.

The Greek text is given entire in the initials A (Mond. 1883), B (Rome, 1870), R (St. Petersburg, 1862), in part in (Leipzig, 1845), entire in the cursives H (1872), I (1872), J (1872), K (1872), L (1872), M (1872), N (1872), O (1872), P (1872), Q (1872), R (1872), S (1872), T (1872), U (1872), V (1872), W (1872), X (1872), Y (1872), Z (1872), AA (1872), AB (1872), AC (1872), AD (1872), AE (1872), AF (1872), AG (1872), AH (1872), AI (1872), AJ (1872), AK (1872), AL (1872), AM (1872), AN (1872), AO (1872), AP (1872), AQ (1872), AR (1872), AS (1872), AT (1872), AU (1872), AV (1872), AW (1872), AX (1872), AY (1872), AZ (1872), BA (1872), BB (1872), BC (1872), BD (1872), BE (1872), BF (1872), BG (1872), BH (1872), BI (1872), BJ (1872), BK (1872), BL (1872), BM (1872), BN (1872), BO (1872), BP (1872), BQ (1872), BR (1872), BS (1872), BT (1872), BU (1872), BV (1872), BW (1872), BX (1872), BY (1872), BZ (1872), CA (1872), CB (1872), CC (1872), CD (1872), CE (1872), CF (1872), CG (1872), CH 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(1872), XM (1872), XN (1872), XO (1872), XP (1872), XQ (1872), XR (1872), XS (1872), XT (1872), XU (1872), XV (1872), XW (1872), XX (1872), XY (1872), XZ (1872), YA (1872), YB (1872), YC (1872), YD (1872), YE (1872), YF (1872), YG (1872), YH (1872), YI (1872), YJ (1872), YK (1872), YL (1872), YM (1872), YN (1872), YO (1872), YP (1872), YQ (1872), YR (1872), YS (1872), YT (1872), YU (1872), YV (1872), YW (1872), YX (1872), YY (1872), YZ (1872), ZA (1872), ZB (1872), ZC (1872), ZD (1872), ZE (1872), ZF (1872), ZG (1872), ZH (1872), ZI (1872), ZJ (1872), ZK (1872), ZL (1872), ZM (1872), ZN (1872), ZO (1872), ZP (1872), ZQ (1872), ZR (1872), ZS (1872), ZT (1872), ZU (1872), ZV (1872), ZW (1872), ZX (1872), ZY (1872), ZZ (1872).

22. Greek text. 23, 55, 68, 146 and 155 (not entire), 157, 253, 254, 261 (not entire), 266; nine MSS.

lated by Thilo (but not published) are in some passages added by him (*Specimen exerc. crit. in Sapient. Sal.*, Halle, 1825) by Grimm. Sweet gives the various readings of MAC. The is well preserved; A in a number of places offers better readings than B. That the Greek is the original text is now generally believed. Faber's argument to prove a 'Chaldee' (that is, Jewish Aramaic) original is successfully rebutted by Hase; thus in the Syr. for Greek $\gamma\pi\alpha\sigma$ is explained by Faber as coming from confusion of Aramaic $\gamma\pi\alpha\sigma$ and $\gamma\pi\alpha\sigma$, but it is rather, says Hase, a misreading of the Greek ($\gamma\pi\alpha\sigma$ for $\gamma\pi\alpha\sigma$); in 18:15 Syr. 'command' for Greek 'death' comes, according to Faber, from a misunderstanding of $\gamma\pi\alpha\sigma$ (which, however, is not Aramaic but Hebrew), but may be naturally regarded as a scribal error repetition of the preceding 'command.' So also, recent H. S. Margoliouth, whose examples are not more convincing than those of Faber. In Wisd. 1:12-14 the Greek is superior as it stands; and the identity of the expression in with that in Is. 8:20 (noted by the Schlegel) may be understood as a borrowing on the part of the former, or as a very late insertion in the latter. Greek is too free and idiomatic to be taken as a translation; its Hebrew colouring belongs rather to the thought than to the style.

The Old Latin Version was adopted by Jerome with slight changes; the Clementine text of 1592, with corrections by Mercellone's edition of 1861, is given in

24. Versions. edition of Heise and Tischendorf (Leipzig, 1873), with the readings of the Codex Vaticanus in the margin; the Cod. Amiat. has been edited by Lagarde (in *Mittel.* 1). It is in general a literal, faithful, intelligent translation of the Greek. It occasionally (as in 4) inserts an epithet, and has a number of words and clauses not found in our Greek, as 1:15 (one word), and in some MSS. one line) 2:8 (one line) 2:17 (one line) 3:1 (one word) 4:14 (6 phrase) 6:1 (one couplet) 6:20 (one word) 8:11 (one line) (two words in the Clem. text, but not in Amiat.) 11:5 (one and a half lines) 11:8 (one clause) 17:7 (several words). Some of these additions (as 3:1 4:14 17:7) are explanations of the translator, and none of them commended themselves as probably belonging to the original text; thus in 1:15 the *perpetua* weakens the *adapros*; in 2:8 the line 'let there be no meadow which is jolly does not traverse,' though in itself appropriate and good, mars the couplet-arrangement (three couplets in 7:2 7:9); aphorism of 6:1, 'wisdom is better than strength, and a man more than a strong,' interrupts the connection of thought and obviously a gloss, as are the insertions in 8:10 10:1 11:5 (11 glosses) and 11:9. A certain number of words also are omitted in the Latin, the translator allowing himself some freedom. On a list of the version see Berger, *Hist. d. l. Vulgate*, 1891, a copy on the MSS. Thielmann, *Bibl. ht.*, etc. 1900. On the vocalization of Grimm, *Comm. Kistl.*, pp. 5 ff.

¹ In *JR.A.S.*, 1890, and in 'Lines of defence of the biblical revelation,' 1891.

² Cp J. Freudenthal in *JQR.*, 1891.

WISDOM OF JESUS

The Syriac is made directly from the Greek, following a MS resembling Codex Alex. Whilst in general it renders the ideas and expressions of the original with fidelity, it diverges therefrom far more than the Latin. It adds explanation and other explanatory words, inserts the proper names (Cain, etc.) in chap. 10, transfers a number of Greek words, gives free translations, mistranslates and omits. (On the attempt to refer it to an Aramaic original see Hasse. For the Arabic version cp Hasse, for the Armenian cp Weite, and F. H. Reusch, *Zuber Sapient. grece*, etc., 1833; these also both come from our Greek.)

For general works on the Jewish conception of wisdom see WISDOM LITERATURE, § 15. For lists of critical and expository works up to 1865 see Hirschneider and Grimm. Among these the following may be mentioned: Rabbinus Maurus, 1726;

the earliest extant commentary (in Migne); Grotius, *Annotations*, 1654; Cornelius a Lapide, *Comment. in Lib. Sap.*, 1711; Cappellus, *Comment.*, in 1774, 1782 (scattered observations); J. M. Faber, *Professio*, 1770-72 and 1776-77; J. L. Hasse, *Sulamo's Wisdom*, 1785; J. G. Eichhorn, *Einführung i. d. Apok. Schr. d. A. T.*, 1795; C. G. Hirschneider, *Lib. Sapient.*, 1804; C. L. W. Grimm (in *Kurzgef. exact. Handb. supersedes his work of 1817). Since 1860 have appeared commentaries by E. C. Hissell, 1880 (in the volume on the Apocrypha added to the Lange series), F. W. Farrar, 1883 (in Waack's *Apocrypha*), and Siegfried (in Kautsch's *Apok.*); articles in Smith's *DB* (by H. F. Westcott); McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopaedia*; Herzog-Hauck, *KE* (by E. Schürer, see also his *GH*), etc.; *Hist. of the Jewish People*, etc.); Hastings' *DB* (by Siegfried); and annotated editions by W. J. Beane (*The Book of Wisdom*, 1881), W. R. Churton (in his *Unconquered and Apocryphal Scriptures*, 1884), and C. J. Ball (in his *Expository Apocrypha*, 1893). On the ethical ideas see Kübel, 'Die Ethischen Anschauungen d. Weisheit Salomons,' in *St. Kr.* (1865).*

WISDOM OF JESUS. See ECCLESIASTICUS, SIRACH.

WISE MEN (חֲכָמִים), Gen. 41:3. See MAGIC, § 3; STARS, § 5; ZOROASTRIANISM; cp also WISDOM LITERATURE, § 2.

WITCH (שִׁדְדָה), Dt. 18:10, **WITCHCRAFT (שִׁדְדוּת),** 1 S. 15:23. See MAGIC, §§ 2 & 3 f.

WITHES, GREEN, אֲרָגָה 'green [moist] cords,' RVmg. 'new bowstrings' (קִיָּים יָרִיחִים, *qethim yarim*), Judg. 16:7. On the meaning of אֲרָגָה, *lath*, see COLOURS, § 17; for יָרִיחִים, *yether*, see CORN. Bowstrings of 'green' gut, not yet dried, are probably meant.

WITNESS. The part played by witnesses in Jewish legal procedure has been dealt with in LAW AND JUSTICE, § 10 f.

The Hebrew word is עֵד, 'ed, the Aramaic *sihdā* (שִׁדְדָה); and in two passages in (OT) these two terms are treated as synonymous (Gen. 31:47, עֵד וְשִׁדְדָה; Job 16:19, עֵד וְשִׁדְדָה). The Arabic word is *shid* or *shidh* (cp Pahlmyr, שִׁדְדָה; see Cook, *Arabic Gloss.*, s.v.). The root *shidā* (=Aram. *shidā*); cp שִׁדְדָה with Ar. *shadā* seems to have meant originally 'to be present' (cp the use of *shid* in Koran, *Sur.* 74:13), and then 'to bear the present as) witness.' *Shidh* is both a witness in general, and one who witnesses to the truth of his creed by dying (see *Sur.* 4:71-39:69). The original meaning of the Hebrew root was perhaps (as Gen. 31:47 Job 16:19 suggest) the same as in Arabic.

Gen. 31:44-45 describes how a heap of stones was witness (עֵד) was present to remind) of some transaction; Dt. 31:19-21 was that the song of Moses was witness to (עֵד) existed or was present to remind) the Israelites of a great achievement. For other instances of the use of עֵד in a similar sense see BDB, where, however, the idea of the root is taken to be that of 'reiterating, hence emphatically affirming.'

The word used in the NT is μαρτυρῶν (μαρτυρῶν). It was employed by Christians, as by Muhammedans, to describe (1) simply one who witnessed to the truth, and then (2) particularly one who gave evidence of the truth by dying, and so 'a martyr.'

For (1) see Acts 1:22. The word is already used in the second sense (2) in the NT. So in Acts 22:20 (AV; RV 'witness'), καὶ οὗτοι ἐξήγγιστον τὸν αἵμα ἑσθλαίου τὸν μαρτυρῶν σου; Rev. 2:14 (RV 'witness'), Ἀρχὴν ὁ μαρτυρῶν μου, ὁ πιστὸς [μου], ὁ ἀπακτάθη παρ' ἐμῆ; Rev. 17:6 (RV), καὶ εἶδον τὴν γυναῖκα καθισμένην ἐπὶ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν μαρτυρῶν Ἰσραὴλ.

WONDERS

In ancient times the heroes of mankind were commonly represented as being distinguished from other men by (amongst other characteristics) the manner in which they entered and departed life. They were not born in the usual way or, if so, out of due course; they disappeared from life in a mysterious way, or they showed themselves superior to death by dying cheerfully under painful circumstances. Thus both by their birth and by their death they witnessed to their superiority. This was specially the case with founders of religions. But 'the faithful' were also called upon to bear witness. While, however, the master gave evidence of the truth of his claims by the wonderful words and works of his whole life, 'the faithful' could in most cases only witness to the truth of them by following the master's teaching even unto death. Disciples, therefore, in some cases, sought and actually found martyrdom; in other cases they are represented by tradition as having so suffered, whether they did so or not. The idea of witness by miracle and martyrdom is confined to no single religion. Cp WONDERS.

WIZARD (שִׁדְדָה), Lev. 20:27. See MAGIC, § 4, iii.

WOLF (זָבִי; ἄγριος λύκος). This is the usual word for 'wolf,' though in 1 S. 13:22 RV renders זָבִי, 'tyym, and שְׂבֹף זָבִי, *tanum*, by 'wolves'; see JACKAL, and, on the variety of terms for wild animals, CAT. In 1 S. 11:6 a notable reference is made to the wolf, which as a type of ferocity is brought into contrast with the lamb.² The full force of the phrase employed is that the wolf will, as it were, become a *gor* or client of the lamb (cp STRANGERS).

The wolf (*Canis lupus*) has a very wide range, extending practically throughout North America (N. of Mexico), Europe, and Asia. Many local varieties occur, which have been by various authorities raised to the rank of species. The wolf is still found in Palestine and Arabia, cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1:327. It is there somewhat lighter in colour and has a stronger and stouter build than in Europe, rarely moves in packs, and prowls, sometimes in pairs, round the sheepfolds at night. By day it frequents the rocky valleys. Naturally it plays a large part in the life of the Israelites, and the references to its boldness and ferocity are frequent (cp Gen. 49:27 Jer. 5:6 Ezek. 22:27 Hab. 1:8 Zeph. 3:3). However, if the cubs be removed at a very early age they are susceptible of training, though they can rarely be trusted with strangers.

The word for 'wolf' is frequently used as a personal and clan name (cp Cook, *Arabic Gloss.*, s.v. זָבִי, and see ZUBI,³ and it has accordingly been held that it was a totem-animal among certain communities (at least) of the ancient Semites.⁴ For the wolf in Semitic legend and folklore see WKS, *Kinship*, 198, *Ryl. Sem.* 2:83.

WOMAN (אִשָּׁה), Gen. 2:22. See FAMILY, especially §§ 4-6; MARRIAGE, esp. §§ 4-7; LAW, § 14-7; SLAVERY; and cp ADAM, esp. § 3d.

WONDERS. The EV shows some uncertainty as to the translation of the Hebrew and Greek synonyms.

(1) מֵוֹדָע, *motheth*, is rendered by 'wonder' in 14, 131 [2] 28 f. EV, but in Ex. 7:9 Dt. 26:9 EV by 'miracle.' The meaning of the root is uncertain, but see BDB and cp below under (3).

¹ According to Hamel (*Silvestere*, 192 f.), זָבִי is the jackal; see on the other hand *JDMG*, 1882, p. 371, and cp JACKAL. The Ass. cognate *shu* appears to denote also a kind of prey.

² Compare the contrast in Mt. 11:16, 'sleep in the midst of wolves,' and Acts 20:29, where Paul at Miletus warns the 'flock' against the *λύκοι βαπτιστῶν*.

³ The fact that the name 'wolf' is given to a sickly child, 'that their human frailties may take on as it were a temper of the kind of those animals' (cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1:327) does not weaken the above argument, since, in some cases, this name is borne not by individuals but by whole clans (cp *Kin.* 137 f.).

⁴ See Robertson Smith, *J. Phil.* 975 f. and cp Frazer, *Paganism*, 2:105 f.

of the biblical

WONDERS

- (1) *ḥāz, pālā*: lit. 'wonder,' so EV Is. 29:14; cp Judg. 6:13, *naphthali*, AV 'miracles,' RV 'wondrous works.'
- (2) *ḥāz, pālā*: lit. 'sign,' so commonly in EV, Dt. 13:1 [2] 29:4 etc. In Nu. 14:22 Dt. 11:3, RV 'signs,' AV 'miracles.'
- (3) *ḥāz, pālā*: lit. 'power.' In Mk. 9:39, AV 'miracle,' RV 'mighty work.' Cp Acts 2:22 'a man, approved by God among you, by miracles (RV 'mighty works'), wonders, and signs, . . . ḥāz, pālā, and ḥāz, pālā, and ḥāz, pālā—a suggestive passage. In Acts 7:36 1 Pt. 1:11 1 Cor. 12:10 2 1 Th. 3:5, EV 'miracles'; but in Heb. 2:4, AV 'miracles,' RV 'powers.'
- (4) *ḥāz, pālā*, Acts 2:22 (9 15:12) Heb. 2:4, EV 'wonders.' Two derivations are noted in Grimm-Thayer (*Lexicon*, s.v.), neither of which can be pronounced very satisfactory. They are: (1) 'apparently akin to the verb ḥāz, pālā; accordingly something so strange as to cause it to be "watched" or "observed";' (2) connected with *ḥāz, pālā*, etc., hence 'a sign in the heavens.' If the Heb. *naphthali* (1, above) be connected with *ḥāz, pālā* 'to suffer evil' (see BDB, s.v. *ḥāz, pālā*), we might perhaps compare for *ḥāz, pālā* the root *ḥāz, pālā* 'to suffer distress'; the idea would then be 'a calamity or catastrophe—a portent.'
- (5) *ḥāz, pālā*, lit. 'sign,' like (1) above. So in Mk. 8:11 f. Lk. 11:16 20 f. Mt. 12:18 f. 16:14, Jn. 2:18 6:30, 1 Cor. 1:22, Acts 2:22 Heb. 2:4. But AV 'wonder,' RV 'sign,' Rev. 12:1; EV 'miracle,' Lk. 23:8 Acts 4:16 22; AV 'miracle,' RV 'sign,' Jn. 4:4 10:40 21:23 22:8 26:26 7:31 9:15 11:47 12:37 Acts 6:8 8:15 12 Rev. 13:14 16:13 19:20.

The original idea in the word 'wonder' (Lat. 'miraculum,' Angl. 'miracle') seems to have been that of turning aside through a feeling of fear or awe (see Skeat, *Etymol. Dict.*, s.v.). The savage 'ignorant of the very rudiments of science, and trying to get at the meaning of life by what the senses seem to tell' (to quote Tylor, *Anthrop.*, 343) would often turn aside when he came face to face with something new, unexpected, or extraordinary.

The emotion named Wonder is founded on relativity. It is more than simple novelty. One degree beyond novelty is surprise, or the shock of what is both novel and unexpected. . . Wonder contains surprise, attended with a new and distinct effect, the effort of contemplating something that rises far above common experience, which elevates us with a feeling of superiority' (Alexander Bain, *The Emotions and the Will*, 85 f. [1899]).

A wonder then is something which cannot be explained from the ordinary experience of mankind in general at a given time, but, as Hobbes pointed out (*Leviathan*, chap. 27), 'seeing admiration and wonder are consequent to the knowledge wherewith men are endued, some more, some less, it followeth that the same thing may be a miracle to one and not to another.' As regards many of the wonders that surrounded them (the wonder of life, the wonder of creation) primitive men would be very much on a level and would all be satisfied with a fanciful explanation; but with regard to others (the wonder or effect of certain herbs, for instance) some men would soon, at first by chance, attain some measure of knowledge and thereby themselves become relatively wonderful and wonder-workers (medicine-men, obi-men). In the eyes of his admirers, however, the man who is relatively wonderful, soon grows to be very much more than this. Obviously, therefore, there is a very close connection between wonders or miracles and myths; the growth and development of both would go on almost, if not quite, simultaneously. Obviously, too, the wonder is closely connected with exorcism and sorcery.

Exorcism and sorcery pass insensibly into miracle. . . If the marvellous results are ascribed to a supernatural being at enmity with the observers, the art is sorcery; but if ascribed to a friendly supernatural being, the marvellous results are classed as miracles' (Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, 124).

The very word in English, as we have seen, indicates the way we must take if we wish to understand the meaning of wonders. It is clear that a thorough examination of the subject would involve an investigation into the evolution of ideas in general, into psychology, anthropology, comparative religion and mythology. If Dr. Bacon in his new definition of higher criticism is thinking of the comparative method, such an investigation would indeed come within the province of that science. 'If a new definition of the higher criticism may be permitted so late,' he says, 'we should call it the study of the origin and development of ideas' (*Triple Tradition of the Exodus*, xxxiii.).

WONDERS

In any case, in view of the results of the comparative method of study,¹ it is impossible to treat the wonders or miracles on the old lines. Here, it need only be pointed out that it is now evident that no religion can be isolated and treated separately, myths, and wonders, whether natural (epiphanies), supernatural, are not peculiar to any one system; that the ideas of primitive man, or the savages, left their mark even on the most advanced religions.

Comparative mythology shows that man has explanations of the universe which indicate that his mind moves everywhere along very similar lines. Comparative religion teaches that even when a religion has attained to no small degree of general culture, it still demanded outward and visible signs of the truth of its faith. The sage, or the founder of a religion, who claimed to enlighten his fellows, was expected to produce evidence, apart from his teaching, that he was endowed in a peculiar and extraordinary way, that he was witness to his superiority, he was expected to perform wonders (or give a sign, cp [3] and [6] above), as such a one was in most cases, owing to his superior knowledge, on a higher level than his contemporaries; he was, no doubt, often as a matter of fact able to do things which to them appeared wonderful; he was able to have been able to cure diseases, perhaps even to raise to life a body that was to all appearance lifeless; he was, no doubt, often able to exercise a real influence over men's minds, and perhaps to cure certain mental diseases. It is difficult to understand the effect that such a display of power would have on those who did not understand its nature, but it is easy, on the other hand, to understand the effect of evidence of a power out of the common having been furnished, wonders of a different nature would be ascribed to the master by his disciples, especially after his decease. His works and his teaching would be combined to suggest that he did not belong to the life of the earth; he must be a favourite of the gods, or deities, or of the Deity, or a son of one of the gods, or of the Deity, or even an actual deity clothed in flesh. The wonders with which he would now be credited would no longer be relative and natural, but absolute and supernatural (i.e., miracles). His life would be represented, especially after his decease, in a manner of his appearance in the world, and his disappearance from it when his mission had been accomplished, were alike remarkable; that his mother was human, his father was divine, that he seemed to die like other men, it was not so important. He would no longer be described as merely a man, but as a deity, physical and psychical, by natural, but by supernatural, means. He has become superior to the life of nature. He walks upon the sea and stills it, he commands the wind and the storm, cures insanity, the deaf, the dumb, and the blind, brings back to life those who have actually died.

This process went on even in the middle ages. 'Primitive mythology, belonging properly to the mental stage of savagery, were by its aid [the doctrine of miracles] personified in the civilized world. Mythic episodes of European world have retained contemptuously if told of deities or heroes, only required to be adapted to actual details, and to be set forth as miracles in the life of a superhuman personage to obtain as of old a place of honour in history' (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, ch. 1). Writings in which miracles figure are not historical, but mythical and scientific sense of the word.

Many of the OT and NT narratives in which miracles figure have been treated in special articles, and from different points of view. See, for instance, CREATION, DELUGE,

¹ Prof. Cheyne was one of the first critics to apply the comparative method in the case of biblical study. See in *ERB*, the 'Cosmogony' (649 ff.), 'Deluge' (654 ff.), 'Jonah' (661 ff.), 'The Resurrection' (687 ff.). For more recent work see CREATION, DELUGE, JONAH, PERMIA, etc., and cp. TEMPTATION. See also S. A. Cook, 'Israel and the Tenth Generation,' *JQR*, April 1902; A. S. Peake, art. 'Unclean,' in *JQR*.

WOOD

DIVINATION, MAGIC, PLAGUES, ACTS, GOSPELS (cp JESUS), JOHN, LAZARUS, MARY, NAIN, RESURRECTION, SIMON, PETER, SPIRITUAL LIFE, TEMPTATION. See further R. W. Mackay, The Luberon School and its Antecedents (1921); Hugo Winkler, Geschichte der Kulte, 2 (1923); Th. Trede, Wunderglaube in Heidentum und in der alten Kirche (1921); Jersu. The following works, amongst others, have to be taken account of: Grant Allen, Evolution of the Idea of God; Child, Myths and Dreams; Frazer, Golden Bough; Huxley, Hume, also Science and Hebrew Tradition and Science and Christian Tradition; Lang, Custom and Myth, and Myth, Ritual, and Religion; Laidlaw (Avelury), Origin of Civilization (2 vols.); J. M. Robertson, Christianity and Methodology (1923); Herbert Spencer, The Study of Sociology (1883) and Principles of Sociology; Tylor, Early Hist. of Mankind (3 vols., 1878); Durbin, Præsent of Man; Quatrefages, The Human Species (1855); Tolstoy, What is Religion? M. A. C.

WOOD (עֵץ), Gen. 6:14. See FOREST, and the special articles.

WOOF (טָרֵב), Lev. 13:43 RVme. 'knitted stuff.' See WEAVING, § 7.

WOOL (צֶמֶר, Amer.; ΕΠΙΟΝ). The sources of wool available in ancient times to the inhabitants of Palestine were three in number—the sheep, the camel, and the goat; but, except where another animal is distinctly mentioned (Mk. 16 Mt. 34 1 S. 19:13), we may assume that the wool of the sheep is meant. An Arabic saying (cp Bochart, Hieroz. 2:42) declares that the best wool is that of the nakal (see SHEEP); it was this wool which Mosha, king of Moab, sent as tribute to the king of Israel (2 K. 3:4 RV). Wool is probably the worst conductor of heat of all the materials used for clothing, and for this reason amongst others has from the earliest times been used as a covering. The finest wool is that cut from the young sheep of about eight months old, and is known as lamb's wool (Prov. 27:23 29:1); later shearings yield the wether wool, which is either unwashed or washed, the animal in the latter case being washed before submitting to the shears. As is still the case in pastoral countries, the annual sheep-shearing was in ancient times an occasion of great gatherings and rejoicings (1 S. 25:2 2 S. 13:23; see FEASTS, § 2/1). The wool is usually cut a few days after the washing, by which time it has dried. A skilful shearer will remove the whole of the fleece in a continuous sheet, which is then sorted according to its quality. The wool-stapler, whilst doing this, removes the larger and more conspicuous impurities, bits of straw, etc. The wool is then carefully washed with soft water and soap, and dried. At this stage it is still in the condition of matted locks as they come from the body of the animal, and before it can be woven it must be teased, combed and spun into a thread (see WEAVING). According to RV the wool of Damascus was especially prized at Tyre (Ezek. 27:13); G, however, substitutes 'wool from Ailetus,' and Davidson says, 'possibly, wool of Zachar.' It is a matter for the textual critic (see JAVAN, § 128). On the prohibition to wear 'a mingled stuff, wool and linen together' (Lev. 19:19 Dt. 22:11), see LINEN, 7, n. 2, and Crit. Bib. ad loc. A. I. S.

WORD (to λογος). On 'the Word' see LOGOS.

WORLD. The words are: (1) עוֹלָם, Eternity, Gen. 1:21;

(2) עוֹלָם, Eternity, 1 S. 28; (3) עוֹלָם, Eternity, Ps. 73:12; (4) עוֹלָם, Eternity, Job 17:14; (5) עוֹלָם, Eternity, Is. 38:11; (6) עוֹלָם, Eternity, Heb. 1:12; (7) עוֹלָם, Eternity, Job 18:3; (8) עוֹלָם, Eternity, Heb. 2:5. See ETERNITY.

WORM. Worm is the rendering of the following Hebrew words:—

1. עָרָב, sibilant in Is. 51:8, where obviously the

1. 'Wool is a modified form of hair, distinguished by its slender, soft, and wavy or curly structure, and by the highly imbricated or serrated surface of its filaments' . . . 'At what point indeed it can be said that an animal fibre ceases to be hair and becomes wool it is impossible to determine, because in every characteristic the one class by imperceptible gradations merges into the other, so that a continuous chain can be formed from the finest and softest merino to the rigid bristles of the wild boar.'—Ency. Brit., 1911, 'Wool.'

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or caterpillar of some clothes-moth is intended. See MOTHS.

2. עָרָב, 'Lili' (also עָרָב and עָרָב, from a root meaning 'to gnaw' [Del. Heb. Lang. 1907, 173, 113]; cp עָרָב and עָרָב as applied to the tooth), and

3. עָרָב, 'rottenness' (cp AV עָרָב 'to rot', עָרָב 'rottenness'), are the words most commonly employed, and—in vulgar speech—indicate not so much earth-worms (which indeed are found in Palestine, cp below), as any kind of crawling animal. G renders generally by σαλπιγξ, and in Job σαπια, and less often עָרָב, Ag. 10:10, 11, strada, tinea. The 'Lili' which was bred in the manna (Ex. 16:23, in 7, 24 עָרָב) means obviously the larva of those flies which breed in organic matter. In hot countries flies breed with extraordinary rapidity, and maggots not uncommonly appear in sores, etc.; whence several allusions are made in the OT and Apocrypha to their parasitical tendencies and especially to their habit of preying upon the dead (Job 7:5 21:26 24:2 but cp Is. 14:11 cp also 1 Mac. 2:62 Ecclus. 10:19 19:1). In this connection we find in pre-Christian times the first reference to the 'fire and worm' which afterwards became popularly connected with the notions of a future punishment (Is. 66:24; cp to Is. 7:17 Judith 16:17 and Mk. 9:44 ff.).

Death by worms, regarded with special horror by the ancients (Herod. 4:208), is said to have been the fate of Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Mac. 9:5 ff.), and of Herod Agrippa (Acts 12:2); but it must not be forgotten that such statements about eminent but unpopular characters were frequently made by their political opponents in order to discredit their memory. Cp DISEASES, ad fin., and Herod., 2:12, 17, 18.

The reference to the destruction of vineyards (Dt. 28:30), or of gourds (Jon. 1:7), by a 'worm,' probably indicates some beetle—or rather insect-larva—which injures roots or other parts of plants; but it may refer to certain members of the Myriapoda (Centipedes), which have similar destructive habits and are very numerous in Palestine. With the former we may compare the Gk. ἰσχυρὸν and Lat. consuetulatus, a kind of vine-wool (cp Pliny, II, 22:47).

Wool-worms, the larvae of wool-boring beetles, though unmentioned in MT, are referred to in Bar. 6:14 12:3, in Prov. 12:4 G, where a bad woman is likened to ἐν εὐλαί σαλπιγξ (ἐν-εὐλαί-σαλπιγξ), also 25:20 G. ὄψορ σπῆ [ἴ]ματι καὶ σαλπιγξ ἐλάω ἄνθρωπον ἀσπῆ ἀσπῆ βαλακτῆ καπνῆ, and the V. of 2 S. 23:8 (type-stones) tenuerrimus ligni vermiculus, qui obtingentibus interfecit impetu suo.

Finally we may note the metaphorical use of 'worm' to denote a man of low estate or in a miserable position, Job 25:6 Ps. 22:17 Is. 11:14 [10 G], cp Is. 13:54; ὡστε σαλπιγξ ἐν γαστρὶ κερτο τρέχει.

4. עָרָב, עָרָב, 'worms of the earth' (Mi. 7:17), might possibly refer to true earth-worms (Oligochaeta); but the literal meaning is 'crawling things' (cp ἰσχυρὸν γῆς) of the earth,' and it is more likely that serpents are intended (so RV, cp Dt. 32:24).

Of the Oligochaeta, a dozen species from Palestine have been described, all belonging to the genus Allolobophora, to which fourteen out of the nineteen British species belong. Five of the dozen—viz., A. caliginosa, A. longicollis, A. ruficornis, A. ruficornis, and A. ruficornis—are also British. They are not found in the arid and sandy regions, but are by no means uncommon in the more fertile districts. Cp T. G. C. 1:4, 1:4, 1:4.

5. עָרָב, עָרָב, Hos. 5:12 AVme (κερτο[BAQ]) 22:7. The word properly means 'rottenness' (see BHD); in Prov. 12:4 11:30, however, G gives σαλπιγξ, σπῆ, just as in Job it renders עָרָב by σαπια (see above). עָרָב also occurs in the Hebrew of Ecclus. 13:20, where Taylor (P. O. 10:471; Wisdom of Ben Sira, 13:20) adopts the rendering 'skin-bottle,' and refers to Collier's view of Job 13:20 (σάκος, G), which he apparently favours. The text, however, is most probably corrupt; for עָרָב we should read עָרָב, עָרָב, rendering 'and he congeals ponds by his cold.'

A. E. S. S. A. C. 1:4; 1. K. C. 1:5
WORMWOOD (עֵצֵי עָרָב) Dt. 29:17 [17] Prov. 5:1 for
Pr. 5:14; 25:15 Lxx. 5:15 12 Am. 5:7 6:12; 17 and ἄδωρος Rev.

1. In the difficult passage Job 19:24, 'worms destroy this body,' no mention of worms is made by the MT; cp RV, and see Job. 6:6, col. 24-4.

2. In this last verse AV has 'hemlock.'

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8114). The Hebrew word *la'dabak* is in \odot variously rendered *weep* Dt. 29.19 (17) Lam. 3.19 Am. 6.12, $\alpha\sigma\alpha\gamma$ Prov. 5.4 Lam. 3.15, $\alpha\sigma\alpha\gamma$ Jer. 9.15 (14), $\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma$ Jer. 23.15, and $\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma$ Am. 5.7. The word $\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma$ nowhere occurs in \odot ; but Av. had $\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma$ for *la'dabak* in Prov. 5.4 Jer. 23.15 Lam. 3.19 P), for *sol* in Jer. 9.15 (14). Av. has *amaritudo* in Dt. 29.19, but everywhere else *absinthium*—a rendering which is also supported by Pesh. and Lg.

The origin of the word *la'dabak* is obscure, and the references to it in OT are so purely symbolical, that we learn nothing but that it was an edible substance of extreme bitterness; it is usually coupled with $\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma$, *sol*, or $\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma$, *mi sol* (see GALL.), and once with $\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma$ *mi sol* (Lam. 3.15, see BITTER HERBS). But a consensus of ancient tradition is in favour of the identification with wormwood, and it may well denote the product of one or more species of *Artemisia* (perhaps *Artemisia judaica*) of which as many as seven are enumerated by Tristram (FFP 331) as found in Palestine.

S. M.—W. T. T. D.

WORSHIP. See TEMPLE, §§ 34 f.; SACRIFICE; also SYNAGOGUE, PRAYER, and SALUTATIONS.

WORSHIPPER (ΝΕΩΚΟΡΗC), RV TEMPLE-KEEPER. See NEOCOROS.

WREATH. 1. $\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma$, *gādil*, 1 K. 7.17.† See FRINGES.
2. $\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma$, *lyāh*, 1 K. 7.29 30 36, RV 'wreaths of hanging work'; but the meaning is doubtful and even the reading uncertain. See under LAYER, § 1.

WREATHEN WORK. (1) $\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma$, *lyāh*, Ex. 28.14, etc. See CORD. (2) $\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma$, *lyāh*, 1 K. 7.17, etc. See NET, 5.

WRESTLING. It is reasonable to assume that the early Hebrews had wrestling-matches. The story of Jacob wrestling with the *elohim* or divinity (Gen. 32.24-31) seems to presuppose this. If the cycle of Jacob-narratives were as near to the original folk-tales as the cycle of Samson-narratives, we should perhaps have found Jacob indulging like Samson in sportive exhibitions of his strength, for the ancestors of the Hebrews (not Samson alone) were imagined as endowed with Herculean strength (cp Gen. 29.10 31.45 f. 32.26). It is, however, no sport—this wrestling of Jacob with the divine being; it is the conquest of the god of an already conquered people which has to be effected. This is the historical meaning of the story. Peniel was possibly the citadel of Succoth (cp Gen. 32.1), and within the precinct of the citadel was the sanctuary (see TEMPLE, § 2). The Jacob-tribe had 'contended with men' and had 'prevailed'—i.e., had conquered Succoth and Peniel externally (Judg. 8.16 f.); but its admission to full religious privileges had, according to the myth, to be obtained by force. Sargon carried away the deities of conquered places; but the Jacob-tribe meant to remain at Succoth and Peniel, and consequently had to convert a hostile divinity into a friend. Cyrus did the like at Babylon by genialty towards the priesthood (CYRUS, § 6); the Jacob-tribe chose to describe its victory in the symbolic language of mythology. The myth grew pale, and the later writers did not understand it. Hosea thought that Jacob's conduct was blameworthy; a later writer modified the story by the statement that Jacob 'wept and made supplication to him,' and it is this later writer whom modern preachers justifiably follow, for he has shown them how to 'turn dross into gold.'²

The word rendered 'wrestled' in Gen. 32 ($\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma$ v. 25 [24]; $\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma$, v. 26 [25]) has been connected by some with $\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma$, *lyāh*, 'dust, as if = 'to dust oneself'; others compare MH $\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma$, *lyāh*, 'to entangle.' But probably the word is corrupt (see *Crit. Bib.*).

¹ The translator seems in this last case to have read $\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma$ and in the two cases in Jer. to have wrongly connected the word with root $\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma$.

² Hos. 12.2 f. [1, 2] belongs to Hosea, who blames Jacob; the confirmation is in Jer. 7.9 12.10. $\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma$ and $\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma$ are euhemistic of Jacob. The expression 'turn dross into gold' is from Einkel, whose treatment of the story shows much insight, though he has missed the probable historical origin of the story.

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In Gen. 30a the right word is used—viz., $\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma$, *pr*, twisted together; see NARITAL, § 3. Cp, further, M 84.

In the NT $\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma$ 'wrestling' is used as a fig. spiritual struggle (Eph. 6.12); we might have $\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma$ (Dehntsch, in his Heb. NT, renders $\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma$ 'Christian's struggle not being against flesh and can hardly be called a 'wrestling.' But the word naturally to his lips. The palaestra was not forbidden to Christians; the writer of 2 Mace. 4. CAV) was naturally more sensitive, and denoted priests of Jerusalem who, in the Hellenising age under Antiochus Epiphanes, 'hastened to take the unlawful provision for the *palaestra*.' The happily adopted by RV, following the prec. 'synagogue'; primarily it means a wrestling school.

Wrestling was a favourite exercise in ancient (Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 247 502). It is said to have introduced into the Olympic contests in the eighth Olympiad, from which date it continued to form the five games of the *pentathlon*.

WRITING. In the study of writing it is important to remember that the word has several meanings which must be carefully distinguished.

1. **The alphabet.** which in its widest sense, it includes both *graphic* and *phonetic* writing. Ideographic writing consists in the use of symbols to represent visible objects or the ideas which are associated with those objects; by phonetic writing is meant the use of symbols to represent the sounds or combinations of sounds, which constitute some particular language. When each symbol denotes a single sound, the system is said to be *alphabetic*; when each symbol denotes a syllable, the writing is called *syllabic*. It is generally held that writing was at first purely ideographic; the oldest systems of writing known to us, namely hieroglyphic writing of Egypt and the cuneiform writing of Babylonia, consist of ideographic and syllabic symbols combined in various ways. Both in Egypt and in Babylonia the art of writing was practised considerably more than three thousand years before the Christian era. With these systems, however, not at present concerned, since there is no reason to believe that they were at any time in use among ancient Hebrews, who, like their neighbours, the Phoenicians, the Phoenicians, and the Aramaeans, employed purely alphabetic systems, consisting of two letters, usually known as the *Semitic alphabet*. In the Phoenicians this alphabet was borrowed, with important modifications, by the Greeks; from the Greeks it passed on to the other nations of Europe that in popular language the term 'writing' is applied to alphabetic writing. When we speak of the writing of Egypt and Babylonia, we are liable to forget that in this case 'writing' means something quite different from that which we ordinarily understand by it.

The origin of the Semitic alphabet is extremely obscure. In the ancient world the invention of writing is commonly ascribed to the Phoenicians, sometimes to the Aramaeans,² Egyptians;³ but these theories seem to have been based upon mere conjecture, as was the case with many other beliefs current among the ancients concerning the origin of arts, institutions, and the like. In modern times also the theory of the Phoenicians of the alphabet has been frequently maintained, and many scholars have endeavoured to show that the Phoenicians simply adapted to their own use certain

¹ *Phn. Nat. Hist.* 5.12 [13] (see also 7.57); Lucan, 3.270.

² *Diad. Sic.* 5.74, *Clem. Alex. Stromateis*, 1.16.

³ *Plato, Phaedrus*, 58, 274 D; *Cicero, De nat. deor.* 2.

⁴ That any genuine tradition about the origin of the alphabet should have survived must appear highly improbable, considering that the inventors of the vowel-points were forgotten, although they lived in a much later and a civilised age.

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phonetic signs employed in Egyptian writing.¹ Others have supposed that the alphabet was developed out of the Babylonian cuneiform character.² But as Winckler has recently observed, the arguments for attributing the invention of the alphabet to the Phoenicians are far from satisfactory.³ We have, it is true, no right to maintain, with Winckler, that the hypothesis is improbable in itself, for mere generalisations, such as the statement that mercantile peoples are deficient in creative power, prove nothing at all. Nor is much to be said in favour of the rival theory put forward by him, namely, that the alphabet was invented in Babylonia, since the Babylonians, so far as we can ascertain at present, never made use of it for writing their own language. The inscriptions in the Semitic character which appear on some Babylonian and Assyrian weights and contract-tablets prove, indeed, that the alphabet was known in Babylonia; but as these inscriptions are in the Aramaic language it would seem that the Semitic character was introduced into Babylonia by Aramaeans. The arguments which Winckler derives from the shapes of the letters are likewise very precarious. From the fact that *ʾayin* is represented by a circle he argues that this letter was not originally included in the alphabet and that the Semitic character must therefore have been invented by a people to whom the sound of *ʾayin* was unknown. But the circular form of *ʾayin* may be explained by the obvious supposition that it is meant to represent an 'eye' (Heb. עַיִן), precisely as every other letter seems to have been originally a rude portrait of some well-known object, the name of which happened to begin with the sound intended. In some cases both the shape and the name of the letter clearly indicate the object chosen, and this serves to show that the inventors of the alphabet spoke a Semitic language. But whether they were Phoenicians, Aramaeans, or members of some other Semitic people it is at present impossible to decide.⁴

We are not to suppose that the inventors of the alphabet endeavoured to distinguish the sounds of their language with scientific precision. It would appear that when two or more consonantal sounds bore a certain resemblance to one another they were sometimes represented by a single letter; thus the ancient Semitic alphabet had only one sign for the two sibilants which were afterwards known as *Sin* and *Shin* and distinguished by a diacritical point (ע, שׁ). In this case the distinction of sound must have existed from the beginning (as is proved by comparative philology), and became even more marked in later times; we may therefore assume that it existed likewise in the intermediate period, when the alphabet was invented. Since the inventors of the alphabet ignored this distinction, they may have ignored others also, and accordingly the fact that the ancient Semitic character does not discriminate between certain sounds which are expressed by different letters in Arabic (e.g., ح and ح, ع and ع) is no proof that the alphabet originated among a people who in pronunciation assimilated these sounds to one another.

Of all known inscriptions in the Semitic character the oldest which can be dated with certainty, namely the inscription of Mesha' king of Moab, belongs to the earlier half of the ninth century B.C. See MESHU'. The inscription of Panamu, king of Ya'il, in the extreme N. of Syria, appears to have been set up about the beginning of the eighth century; it is written in a peculiar Aramaic dialect.⁵

¹ De Rouge, *Mémoire sur l'origine égyptienne de l'alphabet phénicien* (Paris, 1824); Maspero, *Hist. ancienne des peuples de l'Égypte* 748 (Paris, 1893).
² See also *ZDMG* 31 (1877) 102-116.
³ *Wi. Cz. 24*, 57, 111-113, 125 f.
⁴ The reasons which make it necessary to suspend our judgment on this question are well pointed out by Lidzbarski in his *Handbuch der arabischen Epigraphik* (1898), 1173 f.
⁵ See *HDM Die altorientalischen Inschriften des Soudan* (Vienna, 1893), and *EP-ARAMAIC LANGUAGE*, p. 2.

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Some Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions are perhaps rather older than these two, but there is no clear evidence to show how long before the ninth century the Semitic alphabet was invented. Noldeke has observed that the style of the inscription of Mesha' seems to imply the existence of a historical literature among the Moabites of the period, and what we know of the Moabites would lead us to suppose that their civilisation was decidedly less advanced than that of their neighbours to the W. Thus we may conclude with certainty that at the time of Mesha' the Semitic alphabet was not a very recent invention. On the other hand, the fact that in the ninth century B.C. the shapes of the letters were almost identical in regions so far apart as Moab and Yaudi does not favour the view that the alphabet had been for many centuries in common use, for in that case local types would have tended to diverge more widely, as is shown by the later history of Semitic writing. Moreover, the tablets discovered at Tell-el-Amarna in 1887 prove that about 1400 B.C. the Canaanite princes conducted their official correspondence with the Egyptian court in the Babylonian language and character. It would be very rash to conclude from this that the cuneiform character was then commonly employed by the natives of Canaan, for documents written in a foreign language and in an extremely difficult character can have been intelligible only to a small class of professional scribes, most of them, perhaps, slaves imported from other countries.¹ But it is evident that if the Canaanite princes employed, in their correspondence with Egypt, a language which was neither that of Canaan nor that of Egypt, we may with some plausibility conjecture that the Canaanites at that period had no writing of their own.

The O.T. does not supply us with the means of discovering how or when the alphabet became known to the Israelites. In Genesis, as has often been remarked, there is no allusion to writing of any kind, whereas Moses is represented, even in the older parts of Exodus (Heb. as practising the art (Ex. 24:4). But from this we cannot safely conclude more than that writing had been in use among the Israelites for some time before the period of the narrator, who probably lived in the ninth century B.C. Nor does Judg. 5:14 throw any light on the question; whatever the phrase עָבַד עֵבֶר may mean, it cannot be explained as 'the pen of the scribe,' since עָבַד never has this sense either in Hebrew or Aramaic. It is remarkable that the ordinary Hebrew noun for 'writing,' namely עֵבֶר, from which עָבַד 'a scribe' is derived, has no etymological connection with any of the verbs which signify 'to write' (עָבַד, עָבַד, עָבַד), and this fact tends to support the theory that עֵבֶר is a foreign word; whether it was borrowed from the Assyrian, as some scholars suppose, is uncertain.

The name of the old Canaanite city עֵבֶר (Josh. 13:17/Judg. 1:17) might suggest that the word עֵבֶר, in the sense of 'writing,' was known already to the Canaanites before the Israelite invasion; but since the root עָבַד has a variety of meanings (in Hebrew 'to count,' 'to relate,' in Aramaic 'to shave the hair'), it is altogether illegitimate to found any argument upon the name in question. Cf. KIRJATH-SERRUJ.
 In the days of the later kings of Judah, the art of writing must have been very extensively employed, to judge by the frequent allusions to it in the prophets, especially Isaiah. The oldest extant specimens of Israelite writing, namely the Sidon inscription² and a number of engraved seals and gems,

¹ Even in Babylonia itself, where the language of the Tell-el-Amarna tablets was actually spoken, the knowledge of the cuneiform character was, in all probability, confined to a small proportion of the inhabitants.
² It is possible that עֵבֶר in עֵבֶר עֵבֶר has no connection with the Heb. root עָבַד, since Phen. ע may correspond to Heb. א, e.g., Phen. עָבַד Heb. עָבַד. The existence of a root עָבַד may be inferred from the name of the place עֵבֶר (עֵבֶר), 'to Ziphron,' Nu. 31:6.

³ See Dr. TBS pp. xiv-xvii.

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seem to belong to this period. Here the shapes of the letters closely resemble those in the inscription of King Meshā'. One of the oldest Phoenician inscriptions, that which is found on the fragments of a bronze bowl dedicated to the Ilal of Lebanon (*CIS*, no. 5, see PRESENTA, § 18), exhibits much the same type. But the ordinary Phoenician writing has a decidedly more modern appearance; the down-strokes become elongated, so as to present to the eye a series of parallel lines, and the letters thus acquire an air of uniformity which is lacking in the older style. Another type is offered by the Aramaic inscriptions and papyri of the Persian and Macedonian period. The distinctive feature of these is that certain letters (2, 5, 9, 5) have open tops, as though their upper portion had been cut off. A further development of this Aramaic writing appears in the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions, of the first century B.C. and onwards, which are specially remarkable for their frequent ligatures or joining of the letters, a feature common to all the later styles of Aramaic writing in use among Christians. As the Aramaic language gradually superseded Hebrew and the kindred dialects spoken in Palestine, the Aramaic letters became more and more familiar to the Jews. The coins of the Hasmonean dynasty and those struck during the two Jewish revolts (66-70 and 132-135 A.D.) bear legends in the old Hebrew character, but some Jewish inscriptions of about the time of Christ are in the Aramaic writing, though the language is Hebrew. The particular variety of the Aramaic character which came into use in this period was called by the Jews *kithāb mērubbi'*, (קִּיבֻץ מְרֻבֵּב), 'square writing,' or *kithāb aššūri* (אֲשֻּׁרִי קִיבֻץ), 'Assyrian writing,' a name probably due to the fact that it was employed by the peoples of NE. Syria. One of the most ancient specimens of the square writing is the inscription over the sepulchre of the *Hēnē Hēzir* (הֵנֵה הֵצִיר), a Jewish family, near Jerusalem;¹ the character bears much resemblance to the Nabataean, but the lines are straighter and the ligatures less frequent. In the fully developed form of the square character the ligatures disappear altogether. There is reason to believe that at the time when the text of the OT was definitely fixed—i.e., about the beginning of the second century after Christ—the square character was generally, if not invariably, employed in MSS of the OT.² Since that period it has continued in use among the Jews with very little modification. Strangely enough, the Samaritans alone remained faithful to the old Hebrew writing, though in their attempt to adorn it they gave it a somewhat fantastic appearance.³

At a period which it is impossible to determine accurately, but in any case several centuries before the Christian era, the Semitic alphabet was introduced into Arabia and employed for writing various Arabian dialects, as is proved by many inscriptions which have been discovered in that country. Some of these were, until lately, known by the incorrect name Hiyaritic. The alphabet in which they are written is evidently derived from that of the northern Semites; but it contains several additional consonants, invented for the purpose of expressing certain Arabic sounds which

¹ See Chwolson, *Corpus Inscr. Heb.* no. 6 (St. Petersburg, 1872).

² In the recently discovered fragments of Aquila's Greek translation of the OT (ed. F. C. Burkitt, Cambridge, 1897) the Divine name *yahweh* is written in a corrupt form of the old Hebrew alphabet, not, as we might have expected, in the square character. But it does not necessarily follow that the Hebrew MSS used by Aquila were written in the old alphabet throughout; the Divine Name, which, it must be remembered, was not pronounced by the reader, may still have been written in the ancient style, after the rest of the text had been modernised.

³ Tables showing the forms of the letters used by the N. Semitic nations at different periods are found in Seider's *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Grammatik* (1879) and Nöldeke's *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik* (1880, 1883), but far fuller information may be obtained from the magnificent table by Euting in Chwolson's *Corpus Inscr. Heb.* See also P. Berger, *Histoire de l'écriture dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1891).

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were not represented in the older Semitic writing, so-called Hiyaritic inscriptions fall into two according to dialect—those in Sabæan and Mincæan. Both dialects seem to have been in S. Arabia at about the same period, and to have been carried northwards by mercantile colonists. In these inscriptions there are very few of which can be ascertained even approximately. The Glaser, Hommel, Sayce, and others, that the inscriptions are of enormous antiquity and the latest of them were set up about 1000 B.C., completely overthrown by the discovery of an inscription which is dated from 'the twenty-seventh century B.C.' so that it cannot be older than the third century B.C.¹ The dialect of the Thamudic inscriptions, recently discovered at Fih, about 150 m. NNW. of Medina, differs both from the Sabæan and the Mincæan; but it is nearly the same. Whether D. H. Müller is considering the Thamudic character an early form of the Sabæan is uncertain. By the beginning of the seventh century of our era both the Thamudic and the Sabæan writing had become obsolete in Arabia; the alphabet employed by the Arabs at that time was a parent of the Arabic character now in use—was derived from the Nabatæan. In Eastern Africa, however, the Sabæan alphabet left a descendant, namely a peculiar character known as the *Æthiopic*.

The names by which the letters of the alphabet known among the Jews appear for the first time in the LXX text of Lam. 1-4. Here the order is as follows:

5. Names of the letters. The order is as follows: \aleph , \beth , γ , δ , ϵ , ζ , η , θ , ι , κ , λ , μ , ν , ξ , \omicron , π , ρ , σ , τ , υ , ϕ , χ , ψ , ω . This is true, vary to a considerable extent. There can be no doubt that the order is substantially identical with those which were used by the Jews in the Middle Ages. It would seem, however, that in very early times certain of these names were pronounced otherwise, since the names of the letters, which were borrowed from the Phoenician, sometimes diverge notably from the ordinary form; thus $\Gamma\alpha\upsilon\mu\alpha$ (for $\Gamma\alpha\upsilon\lambda\alpha$) and $\Pi\omega$ (cp. $\Pi\omega$ 'head') appear to have a more primitive value than $\eta\gamma$ (Θ $\gamma\mu\alpha$) and $\gamma\omega\lambda$ and $\eta\gamma$ (Θ $\rho\eta\chi$). Accordingly the fact that $\eta\gamma$ is not a Hebrew name for the letter η cannot be regarded as proving with respect to the ultimate origin of the names of the letters were liable to undergo great changes in times and places is shown, moreover, by the order of the alphabet, in which several of the names are quite different. We must not therefore be surprised to find that the Jewish names of the letters there are some of the meaning is altogether obscure, namely, κ , λ , μ , ν , ξ , \omicron , π , ρ , σ , τ , υ , ϕ , χ , ψ , ω .

The order in which the letters were arranged in the necrostich poems in the OT (Pss. 25, 34, 119, 145 Prov. 31, 10-31 Lam. 1, 1)

6. Order of the alphabet. 2-4 the order is slightly different. ϵ precedes γ .² Among the Phoenicians the arrangement of the letters have been the same as among the Jews, for the alphabet in its primitive form corresponds to the Hebrew. By what principle the order was fixed it is impossible to discover.

Ancient inscriptions in the Semitic alphabet are of the oldest inscriptions in Greek, written from right to left. In the Phoenician inscriptions, exceptions to this rule are found among the Sabæan inscriptions, a few of which are written $\beta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\rho\phi\eta\theta\omicron\nu$.

¹ See the papers by DHM in the Vienna Oriental Museum, *Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 1, 6 (1894).

² Named after the *Thamud* (Gk. $\alpha\iota\theta\alpha\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\delta\eta\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$), a tribe who inhabited those parts about the fourth century B.C. The authors of these inscriptions, however, called themselves not *Thamud*, but *Lihyān* (לִּיחַיָּן); see DHM *Forschungen aus Arabien* (Vienna, 1889).

³ See LAMMUN.

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lines running alternately from right to left and from left to right, a fashion common among the Greeks in the sixth century B.C.¹ In the inscription of King Meshai a dot is placed above each word and a vertical stroke at the end of each sentence. Similar dots are found in the Sabaean inscriptions and in some others, but whether they were used by ordinary Hebrew writers may be doubted. In any case the OE contains very many textual corruptions which are due simply to wrong divisions of words.² Such mistakes were greatly facilitated by the absence of special forms for final letters, like those used in the writing of the later Jews, Syrians, and Arabs. In Hebrew, Phoenician, and Aramaic inscriptions a line frequently ends in the middle of a word; but in the later Hebrew style this is not allowed, and in order to fill up a line the scribes are accustomed to 'expand' certain letters, especially א, ש, ס, פ, and צ.

The letters of the Semitic alphabet were originally used as consonants only, the vowels being unexpressed.

8. Orthography. Such a system must, of course, give rise to endless ambiguities, for in the Semitic languages some of the most important grammatical distinctions (e.g., the difference between an active and a passive verb) often depend solely on the vowels. The reason which led the Semites to content themselves with this imperfect method seems to have been that writing was at first employed only for short and well-known formulae, such as votive inscriptions, funerary inscriptions, and the like, not for literary works properly so-called. At length certain of the consonants (א, ש, ו, and י) came to be used also as vowels; but this modification was introduced very slowly. In Phoenician inscriptions the vowels are never expressed save in a few cases at the end of a word. In the inscription of King Meshai and the Sabaean inscription the vowel-letters are inserted somewhat more freely, but very much less freely than in the present text of the OE.³ Among the Israelites, before the exile, the general rule seems to have been that no vowels were expressed in writing except the diphthongs *au* and *ai* which were represented by ו and י respectively, and most of the long vowels at the end of words. The use of vowel letters for *u*, *i*, and *i* in the middle of words—which is frequent in the MT—apparently came into fashion at a very late period, as a careful examination of **8** shows.⁴ The orthography of the present Jewish OE is probably the result of a revision (or of several revisions) by the scribes, for in all parts of the OE the use of the vowel letters (or, as they are often called, *matres lectionis*) is approximately the same, that is to say, the oldest books do not, in this respect, differ materially from the latest. But though we had a general uniformity of spelling throughout the whole of the OE, there are numberless inconsistencies in matters of detail, and it often happens that within the space of a few verses the same word is spelt in two or more different ways. In no case, therefore, have we any guarantee that the vowel letters in our text go back to the time of the author, and to base historical arguments on the spelling is quite illegitimate.⁵ Even

¹ The Ethiopic writing, as is well known, always runs from left to right; the oldest extant specimens of this writing, namely, two inscriptions at Aksum in Abyssinia, probably belong to the sixth century after Christ.

² See Dr. *ThS* xxxviii.

³ Thus the Sabaean inscription has **ש** (thrice) for **ש**, and **שש** (twice) for **שש**.

⁴ Dr. *ThS* p. xxxviii. It must be remembered that many words which the later Jews pronounced with *u* or *i* originally had the diphthong *au*. Thus when we find **ש** and **שש** in the Sabaean inscription, we are not to reckon these as cases in which *u* was expressed by *y*.

⁵ Thus the well-known fact that the form **ש** is sometimes employed in MT instead of the form **ש** proves nothing as to the usage of the ancient Hebrew, since the *y* in this case was probably inserted by late scribes (cp Dr. *ThS*, Intro., p. lxxviii). In Moabite the masc. form is written **ש**, and in Phoenician inscriptions we find **ש** for masc. and fem. alike, the pronunciation of course varying according to the gender.

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in the Middle Ages, long after the text had been fixed, there was still a considerable amount of divergence between the MSS as to the insertion of the vowel letters in particular passages.¹ In MSS of the Masorah and other post-biblical Jewish writings, the vowel letters are employed more abundantly than in the OE, and they often stand for the short vowels *e* and *i*, which is very rarely the case in copies of the OE.

Though the insertion of vowel letters doubtless excluded certain ambiguities, the writing was still very far from being an efficient representation of the language. Not only many of the vowels but also the doubling of consonants and other important phonetic distinctions remained unexpressed. At length several centuries after the Christian era systematic efforts were made by the Jews, the Syrians, and the Arabs to remove this practical inconvenience. It cannot be mere accident that among all these nations the introduction of the so-called vowel-points took place about the same period, but how and where the idea originated is quite uncertain. As early as the fifth century after Christ Syrian scribes had adopted the practice of distinguishing certain words, which, though spelt alike, were pronounced differently, by means of a dot placed above or below, and it has been conjectured by Ewald and others that this was the origin both of the Syrian and of the Jewish systems of vocalisation. In any case it would seem that at the beginning of the fifth century the vowel-points were unknown to the Jews, and that by the end of the eighth century they had been in use for some time. The Jewish scholars who introduced these signs into the text of the OE are commonly known as the *Masoretes*—i.e., traditionalists, from the late Heb. word *masorath* (מסורה), 'tradition.' Respecting their names and dates history is altogether silent. Though their work was of enormous importance, it must be remembered that among the Jews, as among the Syrians and Arabs, the vowel-points have never been regarded as an essential part of the writing; in particular the MSS of the Law and the Prophets, from which lessons were read in the synagogues, appear to have been generally, if not always, written without points, down to the present day. These MSS of the Hebrew OE which are 'pointed' fall into two principal classes, according to the method of vocalisation employed. The great majority exhibit the so-called Palestinian² system, whilst others, of which the best-known example is the St. Petersburg Codex of the Prophets written in 416 A.D. (published in facsimile by Strack in 1879), have the Babylonian (or superlinear) vowel-points. These two systems possess so much in common that they must necessarily be derived from the same original; but the precise relationship between them is still disputed. Both represent a very late stage in the pronunciation of the Hebrew language, or rather they express the language, not as it was actually spoken, but as it was chanted in the synagogues of the period.³ The most important difference between the Palestinian and the Babylonian systems is that the Palestinian alone has a special sign for the short vowel *e* (סֶghol). The Babylonian system underwent considerable change in course of time, as is shown by the different forms which it assumes in our MSS; but it was ignored altogether by the great Jewish commentators and grammarians of the Middle Ages, and at length sank into oblivion, until it

9. Vowel points, etc.

¹ See, e.g., *Cat. Bibl. Inscr. des Prophetes Ebraïques*, p. 7.

² Also called 'Tiberian,' from the fact that the city of Tiberias was one of the principal seats of Jewish learning from the second century onwards.

³ The pronunciation of Hebrew words given in the NT and other Greek sources is often more primitive than the pronunciation expressed by the vowel-points. It should also be noticed that the consonant text and the vocalisation are frequently at variance with one another, since the former presupposes a more ancient pronunciation than the latter. Thus in the very first word of the Hebrew OE, **ש**, the *h* must originally have been pronounced as a consonant, but is treated by the Masoretes as mute.

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became known to European Hebraists in the nineteenth century.

Both the Palestinian and the Babylonian systems of vocalisation are combined with an extremely elaborate system of accents, which were intended to indicate not only the place of the accent in individual words, but also the musical intonation adopted in chanting, and hence the greater or less degree of connection between the different

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parts of sentences.¹ A special method of accent employed in the poetical books of the OT—*i. e.* Proverbs, and Job.² It is scarcely necessary to state that for us the value of the accents consists not in which they throw, not upon the real meaning of but upon the manner in which the text was intoned by the Massoretes.

X

XANTHICUS (ΞΑΝΘΙΚΟΣ [XV]), 2 Macc. 11:33-35. See MONTH.

XERXES (ΞΕΡΞΗΣ), Esth 1: RV^{mc}, EV ERUS (7:1.)

Y

YARN. See LINES. 1. WEAVING, and on 2 S. 17:27. [ROGELIM] see BED, § 3.

1. **יָרְדָן**, *Yardān*, Prov. 7:15 RV. See LINES, § 14. 2. **עָרָב**, 27:19 RV (שָׂרָב). See UZAL. 3. **יָרְדָן**, *Yardān*, 1 K. 10:28 AV. See CHARDI, § 3, n. 3; WEAVING, § 2.

YEAR (שָׁנָה, *Shānah*). Day, month, and year are all indicated by nature itself as means for the measurement of time. These three units are quite independent, however, and stand in no direct or simple relationship to each other, and wherever an artificial reduction of the larger unit to terms of either of the two smaller is attempted in the absence of exact astronomical knowledge, inaccuracies and dislocations become inevitable. These are not so great when the largest of the three units—the year—is measured in terms of the smallest—the day; but they become serious when the middle unit—the month—is taken as the basis for establishing a ratio.

The former course (making the day the unit) was taken by the Egyptians; they had observed that after about 365 days the sun returns to the same position in the celestial sphere, and accordingly fixed their year as being 365 days. They altogether left out of account any reference to the course of the moon although some reminiscence of it may be preserved in their division of the year into twelve equal parts of thirty days each, to which were added the five remaining days as supernumerary (the so-called *epagomenai*). Even thus, however, it was an artificial product that had been manufactured from the natural year which contains 5 hours 48 minutes and 48 seconds more than 365 complete days; and the Egyptian year, which on every fourth anniversary began a day too soon, was still a vague year, although it was only after the lapse of 1461 Egyptian years—a so-called Sothis period (see CHRONOLOGY, § 191)—that the difference amounted to a year too many.

1. In Egypt. The second course (making the month the unit) was chosen by Mohammed, whose intention in prohibiting the occasional insertion of an intercalary month was to frame a rational calendar, but who thereby only succeeded in creating another artificial product completely differing from the natural year, namely the so-called purely lunar year which with its twelve lunar months (354 to 355 days) annually begins the new year some ten or eleven days too soon.

The calendar of Israel and the Jews avoided both the extremes just indicated, which are the necessary consequences of a too exclusive regard either to the day or to the month in determining the length of the year. With the Israelites the method to be followed was decided by practice, unhampered by any dominating theory about the natural year. This of course did not exclude modifications as time advanced, and ultimately the modifications led in the case of the Jewish calendar to a product

much more complicated than is exhibited either in Egypt or in the Mohammedan; it has, this advantage over both, that the Hebrews, at their reckoning of the years, though not at their determination of them, remained in agreement with the number of the natural years.

With the ancient Israelites, as probably at first with all peoples, the year was a solar one, *i. e.* say, a natural year which was determined for practical purposes by the regular recurrence of the seasons.

4. A solar year.

Thus also the Hebrew word for year seems to refer to a regular recurrence of the seasons; for in **שָׁנָה**, *Shānah*, at least, as in [שָׁנָה, *Shānah*], *shānah* [annuus], *jahr*, year (cp. Gk. *ἔτος*, *étos*), it seems permissible to conjecture some sort of return to a starting-point, a repetition of circular course. The solar character of the year, however, is demonstrated beyond all doubt by the annual determinations of time according to those of the year and the agricultural operations on these. Thus, for example, the annually harvest festival or feast of weeks, dated by the (Ex. 23:16; 34:22 Dt. 16:9), the feast of tabernacles by the ingathering (Dt. 16:13). It is proved by the indications which clearly show that stated religious actions—dependent in fact on the year—always occurred at the same time of year. Thus for example the autumn festival at the end of the year (Ex. 23:16; 34:22); the going of the king to battle at the return of 12 S. 11:1 1 K. 20:22, 26 1 Ch. 20:1 2 Ch. 36:10; it is shown by the ancient names of months unmistakably connected with the regular phenomena of the seasons (see MONTH, § 1).

The length of the year was hardly so determined as to render impossible all uncertainty of measurement. Probably its

6. Its length.

some extent depended on conditions and the labours necessitated by it, we have no indication from the calendar which would point to any exact definition of its precise number of days. Not till post does P¹ seem to betray acquaintance with the year consists of 365 days, when he says the number of the years of Enoch's life (Gen. Enoch, § 6) or when he represents the Flood began on the seventeenth day of the second month to an end on the twenty-seventh of the second month of the following year (Gen. 7:11). This last procedure is certainly to be taken

¹ As to the points in which the Babylonian accent differs from the Palestinian, see Wickes' *Treatise on the Accents of the Hebrew Language*, called *Præparatio* of the 1887, pp. 142-159. It should be mentioned that he uses the term 'Babylonian' as a misnomer.

² See Wickes, *A Treatise on the Accents of the Hebrew Language*, called *Præparatio*, Oxford, 1887.

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that, assuming as he did for primitive times an accurate dating according to lunar months of which twelve made an ordinary year of 354 days, he wished by adding on ten days more to bring the year thus reckoned, up to the full length of a natural year of 365 days. Whether also the first of the New Year (for which we have evidence from the exile period, Ezek 40, cp Lev. 23:9), which was observed not on the first but on the tenth day of the seventh month, is based on a similar reckoning, can hardly be made out. At all events, whatever may have been the freedom allowed in the measurement of any particular year, there are certain facts which show that the real length of the actual year was by no means altogether obscure even in the pre-exilic period.

According to the reckoning in use then (in the pre-exilic period) the change of the year took place in autumn, when all the fruits of the earth had been gathered in and the former rain (*ḥayy*, *moṣet*) was preparing the fields for fresh tillage and a renewal of the yearly cycle. The autumn festival, or feast of the ingathering (*ḥag ha-ʾaṣif*, *ḥag ha-ʾaṣif*), with which the yearly round of feasts was closed, was observed at the outgoing of the year (*ḥag ha-ʾaṣif*, *ḥag ha-ʾaṣif*, Lev. 23:39-41) at the year's revolution (*ḥag ha-ʾaṣif*, *ḥag ha-ʾaṣif*, Lev. 23:39-41).

These definitions of the oldest legislation are so clear and distinct as to make further proof unnecessary.

If any further proof were requisite, it might be urged that the passover could not have been observed in accordance with the precept of the newly-found law unless the new year was in autumn in the eighteenth year of Josiah (2 K. 23:21; cp 22:1), and that on no other assumption (in the fourth year of Jehoiakim he made it synchronous with the first year of Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. 25:1) and with the year of the birth of Cambyse (Jer. 40:1). Such inferential arguments are needless. Besides, the text of these passages (cp 2) is not in a satisfactory condition.

It is wholly unwarranted, however, to regard the autumn as marking the change of the economic year, and to set over against this, as the ordinary calendar year, a civil year that had its commencement in spring. There is absolutely no evidence for any such system of double accounts before the exile.

The expression 'at the return of the year' (*ḥag ha-ʾaṣif*, 2 S. 11:1; 1 K. 20:22), which is used more than once with reference to campaigns beginning in spring, does not speak of a beginning of the year, but is couched in such general terms as to contain a definite date only when one knows that the spring is the time for campaigns to begin, and in itself means nothing more than 'in the following year.'

There is all the less reason for this postulating of a beginning of the year in spring—in the interests of the late P (Ex. 12:2), and in contradiction to the terms of the oldest legislation (Ex. 23:16-31:22)—inasmuch as the period of the exile itself bears witness to the observance of the New Year festival in autumn, and in the end the old custom once more triumphed over the later innovation which for a time had held the year to begin in spring. See NEW YEAR, § 1.

The question as to the relation of the months to the year is more difficult. For the earlier ages it is impossible to say anything with certainty.

Probably the months and the years simply ran a parallel course, without any attempt being made to fix a point of coincidence at which the year and the monthly cycle might take a common beginning. The fact that in the exile the New Year festival was held on the tenth day of a month without any sense of strangeness (Ezek. 40, cp Lev. 23:9) seems to point to this. When necessity arose, doubtless no difficulty was felt in making a thirtieth month follow upon the ordinary twelve within the same year; but there was not as yet any definite rule, and the text of 1 K. 4:2-9, which speaks of the division of Solomon's kingdom into twelve districts, each of which was called upon to maintain the expenses of the royal household for a month, has unfortunately reached us in such an imperfect state of preservation

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that we are unable to see in it clear evidence of a year of twelve months. It is possible even that Judah may have been thought of as the thirteenth district, with this as its special privilege that it became liable to the tax only in intercalary months. In substance, then, what we are able to say is this: In the pre-exilic period it was natural years that regulated the chronology, the change of the year fell in autumn and the months, which followed the moon, were allowed to take their own way without concerning themselves much about the year.

As in so many other things, the exile brought profound changes into the Jewish Calendar. Away from their native soil, with which their worship had stood in such intimate connection, a question which Deuteronomy

indeed had already raised only seeking to solve—their were now able to take over the Babylonian calendar, which was reckoned by the moon—scientifically, and to change it into a solar year. Down to the present day the change announced by their ancestors in the exile continues to be observed, and the first month of the year is the month of the

Exile. The change of the year from autumn to spring, and the numbering of the months beginning, as in the Babylonian Calendar, with the spring month; but we have, besides, express evidence in the ordinance of P in Ex. 12:2. Thus [the current, Passover] month shall be unto you the beginning of months; it shall be the first month of the year to you. The evidence here supplied does not lose in weight even if the verse should prove to be due to a later editor. For in any case the change of the era is carried back to a divine command, given of old to Moses and Aaron while still in the land of Egypt. But this of itself proves that the Israelites had once made use of another era (that beginning in autumn), and that its place was taken by the spring era only at a later date.

In P's account of the deluge a further proof of this author's knowledge of the earlier employment of an autumn era is obtained, only if we hold ourselves shut up to the conclusion that he considered the flood to have begun in autumn. But in that case P has not only carried back the later designations of the months to that patriarchal period, but has also adapted these in academic fashion to the autumn era by designating, in accordance with this latter era, as the second month, that which by the spring era was the eighth (cp Gen. 7:11-24).

At what date this change came in cannot be gathered from the passage before us; but the whole manner of P, which is to carry back all the ordinances of the post-exilic community to Moses, renders it probable that in this ordinance also we see the sanctioning of an innovation that had been introduced at the time of the exile, and the date of which admits of being definitely fixed by means of the new designations the months then received.

The memory of the older custom of beginning the year in autumn was still vivid during the exile, and took concrete shape in an ecclesiastical New Year's festival (Ezek. 40, Lev. 23:9-29:1; cp Lev. 23:24). In this way from henceforward there was observed, alongside of the official civil New Year in spring, an ecclesiastical New Year in autumn, which was held by the ancient prosaic custom. The beginning of the civil year fell thus on the first day of the first month (or Nisan, corresponding to what had formerly been known as Abib).

1 In Zech. 1:7 the names of the months are a later insertion.

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The ecclesiastical New Year on the other hand did not remain unaltered. At first it was, as already stated, observed according to Ezek. 40: 1 (cp. Lev. 25: 9) on the tenth of the seventh month (Tishri), but afterwards it was transferred to the 1st of Tishri (Lev. 23: 24 Nu. 29: 11).

The day, in the passages last cited, indeed is called no longer יְמֵי תְּשִׁירִי , *yem tishriah*, as is the day of the new year in Ezek. 40, but $\text{יְמֵי תְּשִׁירִי הַשְּׁמִינִי}$, *yem tishriah hashemani*, 'day of blowing of trumpets' (Nu. 29: 1); cp. $\text{יְמֵי תְּשִׁירִי הַשְּׁמִינִי}$, *yem tishriah hashemani*, 'a memorial of blowing of trumpets,' Lev. 23: 24; but Lev. 25: 9 leaves no room for doubt that the 'trumpet-blowing' must be taken as the characteristic feature of the New Year's day, and that the eccle. New Year festival had to give up its place to the day of atonement (יְמֵי כִּפּוּרִים , *yem kippurim*, Lev. 23: 27 f.); cp. New Year's now transferred to 10th of Tishri.

How the insertion of a thirteenth month which from time to time was necessary was arranged, we have no means of knowing, the OT being silent on the subject. The fact, however, that such insertion was actually made in order to keep the beginning of the year in approximate concordance with the vernal equinox, does not admit of doubt; it was the practice of the Babylonians from whom the entire new calendar was borrowed.

The arrangement thus made was not disturbed till long afterwards, and even then probably only on account

9. Seleucid calendar

of the Seleucid calendar which made the beginning of the year in autumn. At the same time it remains a question whether any such alteration in the manner of reckoning time can be proved from 1 Mac., for there are two opposing views as to the interpretation of the dates there given. Wellhausen (*JH*: 208) maintains that in 1 Mac. also the Seleucid autumnal era is followed.

On the other side range themselves, amongst others, Cornil (*Die christl. Jahreszeiten*, 20 f., 1880) and Schurer with convincing reasons for concluding that 1 Mac. in its dates follows the Babylonian vernal era taken over by the Jews during the exile.

They urge (1) that the dates would not fit the events to which they are assigned, if the Seleucid era be assumed. To take a simple example, the events related in 1 Mac. 10: 21 imperatively demand a longer space than the fourteen days which are all that can be given in the view adopted by Wellhausen. (2) The designation of the months by ordinal numbers, of which the first is given to the month that occurs in spring, would be very strange if the year were held to begin in autumn, for in that case the seventh to the twelfth month of a given year would fall in point of time before the first to the sixth of the same year (cp. 1 Mac. 1: 2) where the ninth month is Chislei, 10: 4 where the seventh is the month of the feast of Tabernacles (Tishri), and 10: 14 where the sixth month is Shebat). (3) Similar indications of local calendars can be shown to have occurred elsewhere. In fact in the city of Damascus the use of exactly the same era can be proved (Schurer).

We may conclude that in the first century B.C. (as it is to be inferred) for the second at any rate from 1 St. 3: 1 the official era began in the year in the spring (on the 1st of Nisan); for it, accordingly, the spring of 312 B.C. marked the beginning of the first year of the Seleucid era. Nor is it necessary to assume any other mode of reckoning in 1 Mac., as a mere discrepancy about a single date is not reason enough for postulating a special era for the book.

When we come to the first century of our own era, however, the case is different. For Josephus omits the year that has its beginning in spring for religious affairs only, for buying and selling and all manner of secular business; on the other hand, the beginning of the year is in autumn (1: 19 f. 3: 1).² In full agreement with

¹ If in the present text of Neh 1: 21, Chislei precedes Nisan of the same year (the year that is described as the twentieth) the case is somewhat different from that referred to in the text, their respective designations as 'the ninth' and 'the first' month being avoided. But so much stress ought not to be laid upon these passages, inasmuch as in Neh 1: 1 the name of the king is not given where certainly it might have been expected, and thus the accuracy of the tradition as a whole becomes open to question.

² The passage runs: "But Moses appointed Nisan which is Xanthicus as the first month for their festivals, leading forth the

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this are the regulations of the Mishnah which (*Arachana*, 1) distinguishes four commencements, of which the 1st of Elul, the new year for tithing of cattle, and the 1st of Shebat, the new year for the fruit of fruit trees, may be left out of account as being merely the terms with reference to accurate reckoning of sacred dues was fixed. As important to notice here is that the 1st of Nisan is given as the new year for kings and for the sacred (that is, as in Josephus, for religious affairs), while the 1st of Tishri is the new year for the years, for Sabbatical years, for the years of jubilee, for trees and vegetables (and so for the enumeration of years). Hence the rabbinical formula explains: "Nisan is the first of the months of the year (Tishri) is the beginning of the year."¹ From that to the present the 1st of Tishri has continued to be the New Year's Day, and thus it is correct to say that the reckoning of the year according to the vernal equinox which was adopted by the Jews in the exile from the Babylonians, and afterwards received the sanction was only an episode—a large one it is true, from sixth to the last century B.C.—in the history of Hebrew and Jewish chronology.

Throughout all these changes the year had remained solar, owing to the very absence of any definite flexible rule,² which, had it existed in the early times, must necessarily have been incomplete and inadequate for the insertion of the intercalary months, the year was saved from becoming a vague year. This advantage was purchased, it is true, at some cost: the year of variable length, according as it had been inserted or not, and according to the number of months of twenty-nine days and thirty days respectively contained in it;³ and the 1st of Nisan, like Year's Day, the 1st of Tishri, did not always occupy precisely the same point of time, but varied within limited periods, just as the yearly Christian festivals (Easter, Ascension, Whitsunday) are not fixed movable feasts.

The same peculiarities are still displayed by the Jews even after the adoption of a special rule for intercalation, as is late a date as the beginning of the Christian era the part of the Sanhedrin in each individual case, to the ground of direct observation, whether the intercalary month was required or not, just as also the year of the crescent moon is decided whether or not the moon culminated on the twenty-ninth day. The intercalary month introduced after Adar and before Nisan, and the decision the insertion (הוּסַף) of a month and the conversion of it into an intercalary year (שָׁנָה חִסְרוּנָה) was effected in the year itself, often not till the month Adar, and even sometimes not till after the feast of Purim, in other words, fifteen days before the beginning of the intercalary month, which also bore the name of Adar ($\text{אָדָר בְּשָׁנָה חִסְרוּנָה}$).

Herodotus (1: 234) in this month; he also made the year begin from it as regards all the solemnities of divine worship, though as to buying and selling and all other affairs he preferred the common order (*Μετὰ τὴν Νέαν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπιφάνειαν*), *μετὰ τὴν Νέαν* (Μετὰ τὴν Νέαν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπιφάνειαν) means intercalation. It is that the idea was, by intercalation, to be introduced as an afterthought, to bring conformity with the solar year, the old year which was only assumed to have been lunar. What P has to say to the year of jubilee is learned theory, merely, that it was calculated in practice.

² No such rule can be found, as Klostermann has shown in the preface to his edition of the Mishnah. As any rule of the precept regarding it were ever observed is wholly without foundation, supposing what is not very probable (*398/2*) means intercalation. It is that the idea was, by intercalation, to be introduced as an afterthought, to bring conformity with the solar year, the old year which was only assumed to have been lunar. What P has to say to the year of jubilee is learned theory, merely, that it was calculated in practice.

³ The rule, naturally, was that each year (each 12 months of twenty-nine days and six months of thirty days) of 12 months (784 1/2); it is, however, assumed to be in the Mishnah (*U. S. 2: 2*) that a year may have at four months, or on the other hand as many as eight months, thirty days each. The length of the year thus varied to 356 days, an intercalary year from 354 to 356 days.

⁴ An ordinary year was called שָׁנָה חִסְרוּנָה .

ZABDIEL

a Zarhite (Che.). Cp the Syr. Zabdas in NT for Zebedee; זאבדעק [BAL.].

1. b. Zerah of Judah, an ancestor of ACHAN (Josh. 7:17 f., זאבדעק [HE], זאבדא [AD]; in 1 Ch. 26 his name appears as ZABDI (q.v.)).

2. Of BENJAMIN (q.v.), assigned to the line SHIMEI (q.v.); 1 Ch. 5:10 (זבדי [L.]).

3. The SHIMEITE (1 Ch. 27:27; זבדי, זאבדעק ו' רוד' סופרע [H], זבדי . . . סופר [A], זבדי . . . סאבאט [L.]), who was over the vineyard produce in David's time, perhaps a native of SHEPHAIAM (q.v.).

4. b. Asaph, an ancestor of MATTHANAH (Neh. 11:17, om. RV⁹⁵ A, זאבדעק [H, 4092] see ZICRRI (no. 11).

ZABDIEL (זבדיעל), either an expansion of the gentile ZABDI (q.v.), or a religious name = 'gift of God', §§ 21, 27; the attribution of Jashobeam [see 1] to the line Perez = i.e., probably [see PEREZ] to the Zarephathites—and the designation of Zabdiel, 2, as 'son of the [southern] Gileadites' [see below], and of Zabdiel, 3, as an Arabian, together with many plausible parallels, favour the former view (Che.); זאבדיעל [BAL.].

1. Father of JASHOBEAM (1 Ch. 27:2).

2. 'Overser' of the priests, temp. Nehemiah (Neh. 11:14). He is designated (at first sight very strangely) זבדיעל (RV⁹⁵ 'the son of HANGLIDOLIM' RV⁹⁵ 'one of the great men'; AV 'the son of [one of] the great men'; זבדיעל [B], זבדיעל [S⁹⁵], זאבדעק ו' רוד' טאב מעגאלאס [N⁹⁵ 4092 L.], זאבדעק [V]).

It can, however, be shown (cp SHUMAI, 3) that there was a Gilead in the Negeb, and the case of זבדיעל (Gedaliah) from זבדי = i.e., זבדי, 'the Gileadite' justifies us in reading זבדיעל = 'son of the Gileadites' (for parallels in Neh. 3, see PEREMER). See Crit. Bib. (Che.).

3. The Arabian, who took off the head of Alexander Balas and sent it to Ptolemy (1 Macc. 11:17; זאבדיעל ו' אראב [AV], זבדאי [Pesh.]; 2 Jos. Ant. xii 13; זאבדעל-אורי. Possibly the Diocles of Diod. (Fr. xxxii 101), see IMALCUE.

ZABUD (זבד), a name belonging to the same group as Zaldi, Zabdiel, Zabdiah, and in its origin therefore most probably a clan-name (Che.), but probably understood in later times as meaning 'given [by God]'; cp § 50; the fem. form is ZABDIA. The correct reading, however, both of 1 and of 2 may be ZACCUR.³

1. b. Nathan, priest (AV 'principal officer'; cp 2 S. 8:13, AV 'chief rulers') and 'friend' (i.e., 'chief courtier'), of king Solomon, 1 K. 4:5 f. (זבדו [B], זבד, [A], זאבד [L.]) = i.e., זבד, which is the reading of some MSS; cp זבד. 6, however (except A, which adds זבד), omits 'priest.' Probably 'friend' (זבד; on the pointing see HUSHAI, n. 1) is a gloss on זבד, or, as we should rather read, זבד (see MINISTER [CHIEF]); cp the paraphrastic substitute for זבד (rather זבד) as applied to sons of David, in 1 Ch. 18:17. The whole passage (1 K. 4:5 f. 6a) is thus read by Klostermann, 'And Zabud, son of Nathan, the king's friend [זבד; or 'adjutant' = זבד?], his (i.e., Azariah's) brother, was chief of the palace'; see MISHAR, but cp Crit. Bib. for another explanation of זבד (זבד). T. K. C.

2. A Jew belonging to the line Bigvai, who came with Ezra from Babylon, Ezra 8:14 (EV ZABUD, following the consonants of the Kr. זבד [B], Gmsh.) and the vowels of the Kr. זבד; זאבד [A]; om. B; זאבד [L.]; cp L. in no. 1) = 1 Esd. 8:12, where for 'and Zabud' we read 'the [son] of ESTALURUS' [EV] (εσταλκου [B], ο τος εσταλκου [A], but και זאבד [L.]), a monstrous name made up of 'lital' (a misreading of זבד, 'and Zabud') and 'ZACCUR' (זבד), the reading of the Kr. and EV⁹⁵ in Ezra.

¹ The β is to be explained in the same way as in JAMRI, μεσηβρια, etc., the confusion of β and ζ is phonetic, of γ and π graphic (cp ABUL, 'Chron.' ad loc., and see Dr. TRS p. lxviii).

² Cp perhaps with this the Palm. name זבד (Mordt. Beitr. z. Kenn. Palst., no. 6c).

³ Zabud, 1, is the זאבד son of Nathan ο σαβδουλος mentioned in 1 K. 2:45 b (B) where 82, 93, 1-8 etc. read זאבד, 52, 53, etc., זאבד. Note that in 4:5 f. זאבד is read by 82, 103, and זאבד by 97. See COUSSEMER.

ZACHARIAS

ZABULON (Ζαβουλων [T. WH]), Mt. 4:13 RV ZEBULON.

ZACCAL (זק) written זק; abbrev. from ZACHAR (q.v.), the name of a post-exilic family; (זאבד [H], זאב [AV⁹⁵ L.], זאב [L.]), Neh. 7:14 (זאבד [L], זאבד [L.]). In 1 Esd. 5:12 it is [AV] C [RV] C (ZACHAR (זאבד [H], זאבד [L.])). Zaccal is the in Neh. 3:20, where Kib, has ZABDAI (q.v.).

ZACCHEUS (Ζακχαειος [AV; T. WH] ZACCAI).

1. AV Zaccheus, an officer belonging to Judas (the M. 2 Macc. 10:15), identified by some with the Zacharias of 2:56.

2. A chief publican (ἀρχιτελωνης) who receives on his entry into Jericho (Lk. 19:1-10). There is picturesqueness in the narrative; even if only reflection of the more historical story in Lk. 5:27, one would wish to lose the beautiful picture of it of Jesus for the meagre and most despised improbabilities can hardly be denied. The complete parallel to Lk. 19:1 is in Jo. 1:47, which of the ill-attested narrative of Nathanael. Nor a crowd of curious followers (7:3) natural; it is object of Jesus on this journey to avoid observation. Zaccarius's solemn act of atonement for iniquity also very abruptly introduced, nor can one believe that Jesus, in his present circumstances, have openly announced his intention of lodging publican (see PUBLICAN). Zaccarius's name (= pure, innocent), as Kern (*Jesus von Naz.* 3:49) out, is suspiciously prophetic of his act of repentance. To identify him either with NATHANAEL (q.v.) or Paul (the little) does not help us at all. On L. see SYCOMORE.

A late tradition (*Usem. Rec.*) makes Zaccarius a copyist of Peter.

ZACCUR (זק), see NAMES, §§ 37, 52; 1 names with which Zaccur and ZICRRI (q.v.) are originally ethnic. It is plain that Zaccur and Zicrri, ethnic which have been converted into personal name ZACCUR, ZACHARIAS, and see below; זאבד [H, B, L.].

1. Father of SHUMAI (Shimei), of RICHES (1:17, 13:4 [L]) (זאבד [H], זאבד [L], זאבד [L], זאבד [L], זאבד [L]).

2. AV Zaccur, a Simeonite, brother of HANNUMEEL, and Shimei = Shimeoni; 1 Ch. 12 (om. B, זאבד [L.]). A Merarite Levite, brother of SHUMAI = MOSE, and 'Arabi = i.e., N. Arabian (1 Ch. 21:27).

3. An Asaphite Levite, brother of Nathaniah = Etha Asherah = Jizreel or 'Jezreelm' (1 Ch. 25:2; זאבד [H], זאבד [L.]; see ZICRRI, 11).

4. Ezra 8:14 (EV⁹⁵ ZACCUR [L.]). See ZABUD, 2.

5. b. Imri (= Amriah) = Jerahmeel in list of wall-builders NEHEMIAH, § 13; EZRA 10, §§ 16 (L), 15 (A), Neh. 3:2 (L), זאבד [H].

6. Levite signatory to the covenant, grouped with SIMEON and SHUMAI, both ethnic (see EZRA 1, § 7); Neh. 10 (זאבד [H], זאבד [L], זאבד [L], זאבד [L]).

7. b. MATHANAH (i.e., Eitan or Teman), and father of (q.v.); Neh. 13:13 (זאבד [L.]).

A writer in *JSB* has suggested that Zechariah a related names may be connected with Zakkara, the uncertain pronunciation of allies of the Purasati (= Pell see PHILISTINES, § 3). But if so, why do we not find these names given to Israelites of central Palestine (see § 2)? It is more probable that Zacher (Zecher), Zacc Zicrri with Zechariah were originally the clan-names and Zathi respectively. Cp ZERAH.

ZACHARIAH (זכריה), 1. 2 K. 11:29 15:8-12 (H) and (2) 2 K. 18:2; see ZACHARIAH, 2, 3.

2. (זאבד [H], זאבד [L], זאבד [L], זאבד [L], זאבד [L]).

ZACHARIAS, in NT RV Zachariah (Ζαχαρίας [BAL.; T. WH]).

1. A priest (1 Esd. 1:8). See ZACHARIAH, 10.

2. The name in 1 Esd. 1:8 corresponding to HEMAN passage 2 Ch. 35:15 (H, אהמאן = Heman).

3. RV ZARAIAS (q.v.) in 1 Esd. 5:8 (זאבד [H], זאבד [L]).

¹ Plummer, indeed (*St. Luke*, 4:14), thinks that 'they need to suppose that Jesus had supernatural knowledge of the name. . . . Jesus might hear the people calling to Zacc or might inquire. So Weiss (*Leben Jesu*, 2:47), 'Jesus learned the name and character of the notorious man; this is hardly in accordance with the intention of the evangelist or with the natural impression of readers.

ZADOK

chapel had satisfied the religious ideas of a simpler age, but did not by any means appear sufficient to one who had imbibed the ideas of Deuteronomy and regarded the priesthood as directly subject to divine regulation. Accordingly he puts into the mouth of an anonymous prophet the prediction that Eli's indulgence of his depraved sons was to be visited upon his descendants by the loss of the priesthood. Instead of the line Eli Yahwe was to raise up a new priestly race, and they were to perform priestly functions before the anointed king of Judah. The new family of priests was to share in the perpetual endurance of the royal house. In contrast with the Zadokites, the line Eli were to sink into obscurity and want. They were to petition their rivals for the most subordinate offices of the priesthood. Here perhaps the writer is thinking of the priests at the high places who had been driven by Josiah from their occupation, and had to depend for the future on the grace of the priests at Jerusalem. True, the Deuteronomical code had given the country Levites right to sacrifice at Jerusalem (Dt. 187/1); but though some provision was made for them, the generous rate of D proved impracticable. See ELI.

It is in any case certain that Ezekiel during the exile, in a prophecy which was written about 573 B.C., vindicated the sole right of the Zadokites to the priesthood. He draws the sharpest line of demarcation between the sons of Zadok and other Levites. In D all Levites form an ideal unity, all have in theory equal rights. Ezekiel, on the contrary, passes sentence on the mere Levites, holding them responsible for that worship on the high places which was to him no better than idolatrous. In time to come they are, he says, to be debarred from 'approaching' Yahwe in priestly service. They are to be content with menial work, such as the slaughter of victims and cooking their flesh, keeping guard over the temple doors, etc. Only such Levites as were sons of Zadok might presume to lay the fat and blood on the altar (Ezek. 41/5/7).

Two changes were yet to be made in the position of the sons of Zadok, one enhancing their prestige, the other modifying the exclusiveness of their claims. First, whereas Ezekiel frankly took for granted the novelty of those unique rights which he claimed for the Zadokites, the 'Priestly Code' somewhat later put the divine election of the priestly house back to the very dawn of Israel's history, back to the time when Yahwe chose Aaron as his priest. Hence the Chronicler (1 Ch 6/33) was obliged to trace the genealogy of Zadok to Eleazar the son of Aaron. In the next place the ideal of Ezekiel was not perfectly realised. No doubt few Levites of inferior family, in proportion to the Zadokite priests, returned under Zambabbel and later under Ezra and Nehemiah (Neh. 7/57/120/35/41). Thus the Zadokites cannot have had serious difficulty in securing that pre-eminence which Ezekiel claimed for them. Nevertheless it seems that a certain Daniel or the sons of Ithamar (1 Ezra 8/2; see DANIEL) accompanied Ezra and, owing perhaps to the wealth and consideration which his family enjoyed, contrived to share in those priestly privileges which D had assigned to all the Levites. Such, at least, is the ingenious theory of Kautzsch (*OT. A. K.*, 1890, p. 778/1), and we may in any case be sure that some Levites who did not claim origin from Zadok were priests in the second temple. In their favour then the theory of descent was modified. It was said that Aaron had two sons who left issue: Eleazar, father of that line to which legitimate high priests belonged, and Ithamar, the ancestor of legitimate priests but not of legitimate high priests (see P in Ex 6/23 Lev 10/6 Nu 4/2, so also 1 Ch 24/1). The Chronicler assigns sixteen classes to the sons of Eleazar, i.e. the Zadokites, and half that number to the descendants of Ithamar (1 Ch 24/4). In this way he has endeavoured to reconcile the double

3. **Zadok and Ezekiel.** He draws the sharpest line of demarcation between the sons of Zadok and other Levites. In D all Levites form an ideal unity, all have in theory equal rights. Ezekiel, on the contrary, passes sentence on the mere Levites, holding them responsible for that worship on the high places which was to him no better than idolatrous. In time to come they are, he says, to be debarred from 'approaching' Yahwe in priestly service. They are to be content with menial work, such as the slaughter of victims and cooking their flesh, keeping guard over the temple doors, etc. Only such Levites as were sons of Zadok might presume to lay the fat and blood on the altar (Ezek. 41/5/7).

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priesthood of Zadok and Abiathar with the no his own time, since, as descendants of Ithamar, Eli were often lawful priests, though not priests. See ELLAZAR, ELI, ITHAMAR, and cp. SAMUELITES.

- 2. Father of JERUSALEM (1 K. 15/31/2 Ch. 27/1, so also 3 Ch. 32/1). In list of wall-builders (see NEPHTHALI) EZRAH, II 6/14/17/21, Neh. 3/4 (σαδουκ [p. 1], he is not signatory to the covenant (see EZRA I, § 7) mentioned 10/21/22) (σαδουκ [A], σαδουκ [B], εδουκ [L]). In b the name occurs together with Meshhezobai.
3. ITHAMAR (1 Neh. 3/23, σαδουκ [p. 1]).
5. A scribe, comp. Ezra (Neh. 13/13, σαδουκ [B]).

ZAHAM (צחם), ρουλλαν [B], ζαλλαν [A] [L.], a son of Rehoboam (2 Ch 11/20). For the צחם = צחצח; note צח and צח KAHAM (C. he.).

ZAIR (in locative ציריץ; εϊρ, εϊωρ [B]; εκ εϊωρ [L.], a place on the way to Edom Jehoram, king of Judah, 'rose up by night and the Edomites who had surrounded him' (2 K. 8/2) JEHOHAM, 2. It is strange to find that he also 'the captains of the chariots,' and we are in the to the time reference of the following clause, 'people fled to their tents.' According to Benzinger Kittel, after 7/20, the original narrative must have stated how Jehoram was surrounded in Zair (Edomites; 7/20 (beginning ציריץ צר מן-עבר, E. he rose [up] by night it must relate a defeat of J which mainly issued in the death or captivity of the 'The people who fled can only be the men of Stade, in *Z. I. H.* 21, 17-14 (1901), once more of the passage, 2 K. 8/20-24, reaffirming his conclusion *Z. I. H.* 13/7, n. 1, so far as regards taking ציריץ subject of צר, and מן as an intentional alteration.

Instead of ציריץ צר קר, Benzinger and Kittel see something like (צח) צר צח צח. Both, however, identify Zair. I would though of Zair (צח); it is objected this place-name in צ is שגור or סגור (implying ש = צ). Zair is סגור, סגור (i.e., ש = צ); see Buhl, *Edomites*.

case, however, becomes entirely altered, if ציריץ has been written (as in other passages) for צח. It is a possibility that the passages relative to Edom in 2 Samuel and Kings if not all of them in their original form referred to 'Ma'rahaimel, rather than to Edomites; SAM. II 33; JUDG. 1/12; 1 SAUL, VALLEY OF ZABAD. 2 K. 8/21 now place Edomites, the text in accordance with another we get, 'And Jehoram passed over to Meir, and all the with him, and (Ma'rah) the Edomites: wrote him captains of the chariots, and the people fled to the Meir was presumably a N. Arabian town, so called region of Meir or Meirah (see MEIRAH). It may have originally introduced in the list given in Josh. 15/23-24 (7/7).

Muhlhan (Richm, *H. H. B.*, 1863) thinks Couder's identification of Zair with the pass צ-זיריץ, in the SW. of the E worth consideration; Buhl, however (*Edomites*, 65, n. 1) is inconsistent with צח (but צ has אצח, צח, which right).

ZALAPH (צלף); εελε [B], ελεεφ [S], -εελ father of Hanani (Neh. 3/10).

ZALMON (צלמן), see § 4). The name occurs in the OT more frequently in the LXX and in the Septuagint (d. in N. sub. *Gloss.* 273).

1. צלמן [B. A.], צלמן [C. in Moore], צלמן (OS 20/7), without indication of site). The name in ME to a mountain near Shechem (Judg. 9/4).

2. the underlying city, however, the sons of the Amalek seem to have been placed in the Negeb, in a place called Cushan; Jerahmeel, Cushan may also Sam. 10/1, 10/2 or be referred to. It is probably, however, a mention of a Jerahmeelite range, and צלמן's real

1. One might naturally think of *Edomites*; the argument is, however, that the name with the southern peak of H. perfectly absurd (see Moore, *Judges*, 265).

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ZAPHON

(ΖΑΦΩΝ ΖΑΦΩΝ; ΨΟΝΘΟΜΦΑΝΗ [-AF], ΨΩΜΘ. [I]; ΖΑΜΦΑΝΗ. ΔΣΑΜΦΑΝΗ. ΣΑΦΑΜΦΑΝΗ [Δφ]. ΣΑΦΑΘ-ΦΑΝΗ [Sym.]) the Egyptian name reported to have been given to Joseph by the Pharaoh (Gen. 41:45). For the older explanations see below. It has now become customary to seek explanations of the name from ancient Egyptian. Lencman compares the title of Ka-mose, a king of the seventeenth dynasty, 'zaf-u-to, 'nourisher of the world' (Hist. anc. de l'Or., 1869, I:61); this, he holds, explains Zaphnath. Since the time of Lepsius (Eint. in d. Chronologie der Aegypten, 1822) most scholars have explained ΖΑΦΩΝ by the Egyptian ps-anh (das Leben, la vie, life), Brugsch (Gesch. Äg., 1877, p. 248) formerly interpreted the whole name, 'governor of the district of the place of life' (i.e., of the Sethroitic nome); but in 1891 (Die Aegyptologie, 240) he adopted Sten-dorff's explanation (see ZA 27:42), which is also given by Cunn. Hastings' DBI 665d, is the only admissible one, under the form pshnute fshch (zaf-p-nute) [c]f' onh, 'God speaks (and) he lives.' Lelieblein, however ('Mots Égyptiens dans la Bible.' PSB., May 1898, pp. 202 ff.), criticises this, and proposes the form fsh ps-anh, 'he who gives the nourishment of life.' Finally, Marquart ('Chronol. Untersuch.', Philologus, 7:67 f.) thinks that Ζ (=[Ϝ]) indicates that Joseph was a worshipper of Ihen, the solar disk, the god honoured by Amen-hotep IV.; ΖΑΦΩΝ is misplaced, and belongs to the name of Joseph's wife (ΖΑΦΑ). The present writer held out as long as he could for an Egyptian explanation, regarding ΖΑΦΩΝ as a corruption of ΖΑΦΩ, and explaining the latter in Lepsius's way; he inclined to read Joseph's Egyptian name as Ps-anh, i.e. rather Phah, which is the name of a famous king of the twenty-fifth dynasty; this might mark the date of the Joseph narrative in its present form; see EGYP., § 306, JOSEPH II., §§ 4, 11. It is of course possible that the redactor of the beautiful Joseph-story may have had such a name as Phah in his mind. But it can be made highly probable that underneath our Joseph-story there was another, the scene of which was laid in the Negeb and in the land of Misram. If we accept this, we may reasonably suppose that ΖΑΦΩ is a corruption or alteration of ΖΑΦΩ, and ΖΑΦΩ of ΖΑΦΩ. The marriages of Joseph and of Eleazar to Miriam are plainly called. Eleazar (Ex. 6:23) marries a daughter of 1:104, (= Zarephath), and has a son named PUSHTIVAS (= Jerahmeel); Joseph marries a daughter of 2:6 (Zarephath), and his own name is called Zarephath-jerahmeel. The marriage of Moses will also be remembered; his wife's name was Zipporah, which (see Moses, §§ 2, 4) is most probably a modification or distortion of the place-name Zarephath.

The plausibility of Egyptological explanations must be admitted, even if we hold that the original narrators had a S. Arabian, not an Egyptian horizon. Already Jerome says, 'Interpretatur sermone Aegyptio . . . Salvator mundi, e quod orlem terre ab hinc hinc famis excidio liberavit.' Onk. gives, 'The man to whom mysteries are revealed'; ps. lon., 'the man who reveals mysteries.' Similarly Jos. Ant. 1:31, Pesh., Saad. See also Harkavy, Journ. As. 15 (1870) 178 ff.; Wiedemann, Sammlung arab. Wörter, 21; Levesque, Rev. Bibl., 1899, pp. 112 ff.

ZAPHON (זָפְוֹן) ep Sipina in the Amarna Tablets 1741b, a S. Bab. city (see KAT 370) and BAVAT-ZAPHON, a Gadite city—ep the Gadite names זָפְוֹן and זָפְוֹן lying 'in the valley'—i.e., of the Jordan (Josh 13:27).

1. The traditional facts. ΖΑΦΩΝ [B] ΓΩΝ [M.], and again, according to RV⁹², in the account of the quarrel of the Ephraimites with Jephthah (Judg 12:7) ΖΑΦΩΝ (to ZAPHON) ΚΕΦΕΙΝΑ [A] ΚΕΦΗΝΑ [L], 'northwards' [EV and G], but others question the text (see JEPHTHAH § 3 n. 2). It is mentioned after Beth-nurah and Succoth. The Jer. Talm. (Sach 92 fol. 13 d) identifies it with זָפְוֹן, the later 'Amathus, Amathus, and most 'Amath. A little to the N. of the Zerkā (Zalbak) on the E. bank of the Jordan, and at

ZAREPHATH

the mouth of the Wady er-Rugeib;¹ but Buhl con- this doubtful (Pal. 259; Ges.-Bibl. 373). Jos (Ant. xiii, 125) mentions Λαζαφωθ (S. blatter, Z 1922, Λαζαφωθ) 'not far from the river Jordan' (ἄρρηκτον τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ).

The occurrence of Zaphna as a S. Palestinian name and of Baal-zephon in the account of the E-

2. Later towards the statements of the trad- researches. text respecting a trans-Jordanic Za-

There is also strong reason to think that when Jer gives prophetic warning of an invasion of E. territory from the north (e.g., Jer 1:14 f., 46:6) it of the Scythians nor of any modern people that thinking, but of a people inhabiting a land Zaphon or Zaphan (ep ZEPHANIAU). So in Jo 'the northern [army], as EV renders, should rath 'the Zephonite,' and in Ezek. 38:6 it is from the Zaphon, in N. Arabia, that the terrible hordes of are to appear. In Jer. 15:2 too, 'iron from the r should not improbably be 'iron from Zaphon' following words 'and brass' remind us that T c MIS—i.e., the Kenite Tuhah according to the g view—was, 'the father of every artificer of brass iron'; and that Rehoboth was in David's time supplied with brass (see TEBATH).

It would take too much space to show what a bright lig theory (in connection with the larger historical theory relations between Israel-Judah and Jerahmeel) throws on passages. But it may be well to point out (referring for to Crit. Bib.) that underlying the story of the Gileadite that there is an earlier story of a Jephthah in the Negeb that the troublesome word ΖΑΦΩ (EV northward) in Jud should probably be rendered 'to Zaphon'; the original name meant a locality in the Jerahmeel Negeb. Also that in 13:27 the mention of Succoth and Zaphon is followed by rest of the kingdom of Sihon king of Hesbion.' It appear Phal access to early lists of names, the geographical refer of which he did not always understand.

ZARA (זָרָא [T. WI]), Mt. 13 AV, RV ZERAI.

ZARAKES, RV Zarakes (ΖΑΡΙΟΝ [B], ΖΑΡΑ [M.]), in 1 Esd. 1:3 represents the JEHOIAHAB by the corresponding passage 2 Ch. 30:4. According 2 Ch. Jehoiabaz was taken by Necho to Egypt in the 1 Esd. passage he is brought by Joakim to Egypt. This and other differences seem to be due to the fact that the author of 1 Esd. was copying from corrupt or illegible Hebrew MS.

ZARAH (זָרָה), Gen. 28:30 AV, RV ZERAH, 1.

ZARAIAS (Ζαχαρίας [B]), (1) 1 Esd. 5:8 = 1. SERAIAS, 7. (2) 1 Esd. 8:2 (Σαράϊος [A]); see ZERAIAS. (3) 1 Esd. 8:31 (Σαράϊος [B.M.]); see ZERAIAS (2). (4) 8:34 (Σαράϊος [B.D.]); see ZERAIAS (3).

ZARDEUS (Ζαρθαίους [A]), 1 Esd. 9:28 = EZRA AZIA

ZAREAH (זָרְעָה), Neh. 11:29 AV, Zareat (זָרְעָתָה), 1 Ch. 2:53 AV. See ZORAH.

ZAREPHATH (זָרְפָּתָה, Ζαρεφθα [B.M.]), a on the high road between Tyre and Sidon (ep Jer 15:4), where, according to the traditional text, resided with a widow after leaving the brook C (1 K. 17:9) ΣΕΦΘΑ [A n. e. g.], ep 1 K. 4:26 ΣΑΡΤΗΣ ΣΙΔΩΝΙΑΟΣ; RV Zarephath, in the last Salom 1.

But the difficulty of supposing that this Phoenician y was a worshipper of Yahweh is very great, and since (1) in (2:78) must certainly be Rehoboth, and (2) even the trad text elsewhere makes Elijah seek out a widow in N. (1 K. 17), see MIZRAIM, we are compelled to suppose (1) of the text, and to read in 1 K. 17:9, 'Arise, set thee to Zare-

¹ For Amathus, ep Burckh. Syr. 346, Buhl, Pal. 25 Schurz, GH 1221 f. It is often mentioned by Jos. (ep xiii, 3:1 xiv, 5:4, BTh. 85), and is placed by him on the E. coast. On the contrary, makes it 21 R. m. from Pella (OS¹).

² Lagarde (Ubers. 84, note 2) finds the vocalisation in Palestine we should expect זָרָא.

ZAREPHATH

which belongeth to Musur' (מְסוּר) Zarephath is also mentioned as a border-city of Canaan in Obad. 20 (זֶרֶפְתָּח מִבְּרֵית הַיָּם)...

It is also highly probable that the Zarephathites are the foes referred to in 2 S. 21:15-22. The nature of the war with the Philistines here referred to has surprised many readers; it contrasts strongly with the warfare described in 1 S. 31. If, however, Zarephath should rather be Zarephathim (as certainly in 1 S. 30:14), we can much more easily understand the narrative. That 'Gath' and 'Gob' should rather be 'Rehoboth' is pointed out elsewhere (REHOBOTH). It was the warriors of Musur (see MIZRAIM, § 2b), famous in later tradition for their unusual stature, who at the time referred to gave David some of his trouble. Musur may originally have included Zarephath and Rehoboth (see below, on Gen. 10:13-17). Not improbably 2 S. 21:15 ff. is properly the sequel of 2 S. 5:17-25. There is considerable reason to suppose that David conquered Rehoboth (misspelled in 2 S. 21:18 ff. as Gath and Gob) one of the chief cities of his foes - and fetched the ark of Yahweh from the house of Ophni from the Rehobothite (not 'the Gathite'). A series of important corrections should probably be made in 2 S. 5:17-25. 'Philistines' should probably be 'Zarephathites' (זֶרֶפְתָּתִים); 'the valley of the Rehobothites' should be 'the valley of the Bethmelchites'; 'over against the mulberry trees' should be 'over against [Dere of] the Jerahmeelites'; 'in the tops of the mulberry trees' should be 'in Perez of the Jerahmeelites'; 'Perez' is a note here again, is surely a corruption of Sarafah (Zarephath); see PEREZ. Consequently 'Baal-perazinim' may well come from 'Ba'al Sarafah (or 'Sarafathim')'. Lastly, in the descriptive phrase 'from Gath and Rehoboth' and 'Gadesh' = 'Kadesh' respectively. It also becomes probable that 'Perez-mizah' in 2 S. 6:8 has arisen out of 'Sarafah-zarah' (strong Zarephath). Cp. 1 S. 28:20, 21, 22, 23. This involves parallel corrections in 2 S. 23:22. The 'Philistines' should very probably be 'the Zarephathites'; 'in 1 S. 31: 21' 'Egyptian' should doubtless be 'Musur'. (see MIZRAIM, § 2b). David and his lions (cp. HANANIEL, IRAN-730L, 2181-62) to maintain their hold on the 'cities of the Jerahmeelites' (see 1 S. 30:29). The 'Valley of Rehoboth' should again be 'the Valley of the Jerahmeelites' and 'Bethlehem' (Gen. 14:18) is an early corruption (like Ir hamulduh of Bethelmelech. It may be added that it is probably the 'Zarephathites', not the 'Philistines', who fight against Keilah in the true text of 1 S. 21:18. This in the story of David, not less than in that of Jotham, there are traces of a more ancient and in some respects very different underlying narrative. Cp. also S. VI, 1. It is moreover in a high degree probable that the 'Emur-shug' of Gen. 14:7, which is hardly identified in an inserted gloss with 'Kadesh', should be corrected into 'Em' (or rather 'Ed') Zarephath - i.e. 'fountain, rather, city of Zarephath'. Certainly this helps to produce a consistent story; Kadesh and Zarephath will be found (see below) to be both mentioned in the more ancient narrative which underlies our text, 11:25, according to the view proposed above, both ones occur in the story which underlies 2 S. 5:17-25. And the only plausible explanation of 'Hassophereth' or 'Sophereth' in Ezra 2:55 Neh. 7:7 is that it is a corruption of the same ancient place-name Zarephath.

This latter correction points the way to another of much greater importance - viz. ZEPHANIM (Zarephathim) for ZEPHANIM (Zephaniah) in Gen. 10:13 (see P. VI, 13-15). That Mizraim, or Mizarim, was the son of Ham (Zephaniah) is a view which sheds a bright light on a series of obscure names (cp. 11:17, 18, 19). And no one can fail to see at once how easily Zarephath might be miswritten as PH (Gen. 10:8) and as ZEPHANIM (Gen. 10:13). The difficulties of the narrative in Judg. 1:7 are considered elsewhere (H. I, 20-21). It may, however, be pointed out again that the starting-point of the Judahites was Kadesh (Gen. 14:9; 11:21). There is a place on the way to Hormah, or rather Rahamah (see H. I, 20-21), which they would naturally attack in passing; it is Yehalia (24 m. NNE of 'Am Kadesh). The ruins of the Byzantine period are imposing; doubtless they stood on the site of much older cities. At the entrance of the narrow pass by which Sebilata can be approached is a ruined fort on the top of a hill; this was probably an appendage of the ancient Zephathim, which in spite of the superficial phonetic correspondence of the name must be the Zephathim Zarephath of the OT. We can now fully understand the journey of Eliab related in 1 K. 17:1.

1. See NEUBAUER, § 1. Cp. a monograph which treats the difficulty of the text of the Philistines' too minutely. The view here adopted is that by an error of the scribe גָּת has become גְּתָה. 2. We might also think of Mesraim, N. of Sebilata, but this is geographically less plausible. Least possible all sites in the Nakhel-Sayf, S. of Kurnub, though this commended itself to Robinson (REB. 2, 222). See Trumbull, loc. cit. 3. See Palmer, Desert of the Exodus, 171 ff.; Rowlands, the discoverer of the site, took the same view (cf. Williams, Holy Land, 1:474); also Furrer (Richm. HBW. 5:473).

ZARETHAN

It is an easy day's journey from Ruheibeh (REHOBOTH, MT's 'Cephith') to Sebilata, though Palmer was evidently misled by it. Possibly the name Zarephath, as applied to a Philistinian town, appears under the disguise of MISKELHOHEM in Josh. 11:3.

The Phoenician Zarephath is the Zarpna of the Egyptian Pap. Anast I (AR. 1:211-12) and the Siraite of the Taylor inscription of Semacherah (K. 7:268) Muhlan (III B. 2, 1814) supposes glass-manufacture to have flourished at Zarephath; Masius (in Pool's Sp. 1 thought of the smelting of metals. The modern name of Zarephath is Sarafath, which is now about a mile from the coast, but was on the shore in the time of the Crusaders. See Robt. 2 A 275; THOMSON, I and II, 195 ff. Cp. PEREZ, § 4, b. In 2 S. 8:12-16 we hear of a 'Hadal-ezer', 'king of Zobab', whose realm we must suppose to have been either Syria or N. Palestine (see ZANAN). It is however, somewhat more probable that זָבָב (Zobab) is a mutilated and corrupt form of זְרַבְבָּאֵל. The name Hadal-ezer for a N. Arabian king is perfectly credible. The 'images' of the Zarephathines (not 'Philistines') are spoken of in 2 S. 32:21 (an old narrative). An obscure passage in Judg. 17 became more significant if we suppose a reference to Zarephath. The young Levite there spoken of is described as 'out of Bethlehem-ephath, of the family of Judah'. As Riddle rightly sees, there is something wrong here; he would correct 'Judah' into 'Moses' (cp. 18: 1). More plausibly we may read 'from Beth-jerahim', from Zarephath (Judah) (עֶשְׂרֵים עָרֹת בֵּית יֶרְחִים), and כִּרְעֵם for כִּרְעֵם (cp. רְעֵם with Kadesh, which was not far from Zarephath. For other supposed disjuncts of Zephath/Zarephath, see STAMBAT, P. 100 ff.; cp. also MIZRAIM, loc. cit. § 4 (C); MEARAN; MISKELHOHEM, TIRZAN, ZAK UFAN, T. K. C.

ZARETHAN, RV of (a) Josh. 3:16 (b) 1 K. 12 (c) 7:21. The same name is clearly represented by ZARATHAN (b) 21 b, 17 and (c) 1 K. 12:21, probably also by ZAKATHAN (c) Judg. 7:21. In (a) and (c) MT has זְרַבְבָּאֵל; in (b) זְרַבְבָּאֵל (dative), AV ZORATHAN; in (c) זְרַבְבָּאֵל (locative). (a) gives צַרְבָּאֵל (D) צַרְבָּאֵל (E) זְרַבְבָּאֵל (F) which Hollenberg takes to be a development of צַרְבָּאֵל. ZARATHAN (D), צַרְבָּאֵל (E), צַרְבָּאֵל (F) are in (c) צַרְבָּאֵל (G), צַרְבָּאֵל (H), צַרְבָּאֵל (I), in (b) צַרְבָּאֵל (J), צַרְבָּאֵל (K), צַרְבָּאֵל (L); in (c) צַרְבָּאֵל (M), in the Eng. edition passage 200 twice has צַרְבָּאֵל.

Let us assume provisionally the correctness of the textual readings, and consider the great optical hoaxings of צַרְבָּאֵל and צַרְבָּאֵל. From (a), which corresponds with (c), it is plain that the Chronicler, or the compiler from whom he drew, identified Zarethán and Zarethán. From (b) we may at least infer that Zarethán lay to the S. of Abelmeholah. A more definite result is gained from (c), where (at the text is in the main corrected as stated that Zarethán was situated near Sebilata in the Jordan valley. From (a) no inference is possible in the present state of the text.

A still more important passage is Josh. 3:16-17. We learn from it that Zarethán lay beside the city called Admah or Admahah (see ADAM, I, 3). Between Admah or Admahah and Sebilata this passage (see H. I, 17, § 4) together with 1 K. 7:26 suggests that there was a ford by which the main road crossed the Jordan, and such a ford there is near the first ed-Damieh, at the confluence of the Tulek and the Jordan, 27 m. S. 70. We must therefore at any rate reject all forms of the theory that Zarethán, which lay 'beside' that city, was in the vicinity of Beth-shean. Most acceptably geographically is the view of Van de Velde, who connects Zarethán with the lonely Karu Surtalish on the NE of the Mishna, the great landmark of the Jordan valley. We of first ed-Damieh. To this we shall return presently.

We pass on to the difficult passage marked above as

1. D'Archi, des. V. L. V. des. B. 100, 17. 2. I. P. P. 20, 17, 18. Under finds a trace of the name in the 'Ara Zarah and the Lalul Zahrah, 4 m. W. of Basra. At this point the opposite cliffs approach so closely that a blockage of the river occurs, for a short time (not infrequently an occasion) would leave it but temporarily dry. 'Arwhit Dake (P.F.F.C., 1876, p. 23) thought of Tell Sarém, 4 m. S. of Beisan; but he relied on a corrupt reading צַרְבָּאֵל in 1 K. 7:21. 3. Rosh ha-Shanah, 23; cp. Neubauer, Géog. du Talm. p. 42.

ZARETH-SHAHAR

(z). It is plausible to infer from the fact that Jeroboam's residence at the time of his son's illness at סארטבה, whilst MT gives the name as Tirzah (1 K. 14:17), that the true name of Jeroboam's city was Tirzah. It is very possible, however, that both Zererah and TIRZAH (q.v.) conceal some other name, and if our view of Solomon's reign and of the extradition of Jeroboam is correct (see SOTOBANA), the name underlying them is ZAREPHATH (q.v.). This would not, however, justify us in substituting at once Zarephath for Zarethah in (a), (b), (c), (d), and (f). The text of these passages urgently needs to be examined with a more searching criticism. The claims of the Karn Sartabeh deserve at least a hearing (cp Jerk 110, § 2), and if this site be adopted, Abelmeholah will probably be the oasis of Kariwa, N. of Sartabeh. See JERKITE, § 2. It is not necessary to assume that Sartabeh and Sarethah are connected as names. The question is purely geographical.

Karn Sartabeh is thus described. The top of the mountain is a cone, artificially shaped, and some 270 ft. high. On all sides but the west this is practically unapproachable; on the west it has been cut, and the saddle thus made lower. The ruins on the summit consist of a central structure with a surrounding wall, and of an aqueduct with cisterns. An old road leads up from the south, with rock-cut steps in one place. The general appearance of the place is that of a fortress. (PEEMAN 177.)

We must not, however, treat this as more than a provisional and (in spirit) conservative conjecture, and it may be permissible to refer in advance to the treatment of passages containing Zererah in Crit. Bib. See also Strydom, and cp Buhl, Pal. 131, 1 K. 17.

ZARETH-SHAHAR (צרת השחר), Josh. 13:19 AV. RV ZARETH-SHAHAR (q.v.).

ZARHITES (זרחי), Num. 26:13 AV. See ZERAH, 1.

ZARTANAH (צרתנה), 1 K. 4:12 AV, RV ZARTANAH (q.v.).

ZARTHAN (צרתן), 1 K. 7:46 AV, RV ZARTHAN (q.v.).

ZATHOE, RV Zathoes (ZATHOIC [BA]), 1 Esd. 8:12 EZR 8:5. See JAHAZIEL, 5; SUREHAMAH, 3; ZATHU.

ZATTU (זטו), ZATHUYA [A], ZATHUYA [BN]. The line Zattu, a family in great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii, § 9, § 87), Ezra 2:28 (recombined at 107), Zathua [B], Neh. 7:11 (reckoned at 245 [137-141]; Zathuvena [B] = 1 Esd. 5:12, Zathui Garou [B], Zathuven [A]; represented among the signatories to the covenant (cp 1 ZER. § 7), Neh. 10:14 [13], AV Zattu (Zathuven [A], Zathuven [B]), and in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i, § 5; cp, Ezra 10:27 [Zathuven] AV = 1 Esd. 9:28, ZATHU [Zathuven] [BA]). The name is to be restored in the list of families in Ezra's caravan; see JAHAZIEL, 5.

ZAVAN (זבן), 1 Ch. 1:42 AV = Gen. 10:27 ZAVAN.

ZAZA (זז), § 58; aldehyd., cp ZIZA, זצא [B], זצא, זצא [A], זצא [B], b. Jonathan, a Jerahmeelite (1 Ch. 2:14). See JERAHIMEI, § 2 (c).

ZEALOT (α ζηλωτης), the Greek equivalent of the Semitic קנאניא (see CANANIAN). Apart from the use of the word in a theological sense (cp 1 Cor. 13:2 ζηλωται προσευχων = προσευχαιων, zealous, or emulous, of spirits) = spiritual gifts, and the OT use of קנא, zeal, of God's zeal for the keeping of the law, etc. (Ex. 20:31-32), it is applied distinctively to a sect whose tenet are virtually identical with those of the ASSASSINS (q.v.), of whom they are indeed the forerunners. As such it occurs only twice in the NT (Lk. 11:5; Mt. 23:17). AV ZELOTES with reference to SYMBON (q.v.), 10:32. For קנאניא see Mt. 10:4 Mk. 3:19. Of this sect JUDAS of Galilee was at one time a leader. Against the view that the author of the anonymous GOSPEL was a Zealot (Schmid, G. 172) (cp, see ANONYMOUS LITERATURE, § 6).

ZEBADIAH (זבדיה, זבדיה), properly an expanded N. Arabian clan name (he, see ZAVO and cp ZAVO 1; though see cp 1 of the religious expansion, 'Yahweh has bestowed,' cp Jehozabad, § 27, זבדיה [BA]).

ZEBOIM

1. 2. Assigned to the Benjamin (see HIRSHAMIRIAH (1 Ch. 8:15, זבוביה [B]), ... 4th [A]), b. EIPAAL. The context probably refers to the N. names are very nearly all unmistakably Jerahmeel as often, may have grown out of a mutilation of (Che.).

3. b. Jerham of Geshar, one of David's warriors Zeboda [B]. See DAVID, § 11 (a) iii.

4. b. Asabel, one of David's captains (1 Ch. 27:7).

5. b. Ishmael, ruler of house of Judah (2 Ch. 17:1 [BA], זבוביה [B]). Possibly originally the same as

6. The Levite who with others was sent to the city with the ark of the ארון (2 Ch. 17:7, זבוביה). The neighbouring names suggest connection with (Che.).

7. b. Meshelemiah, a Kothite (1 Ch. 26:2, זבוביה [B]).

8. b. Michael, one of the line Shephathiah, a post-exilic (זבוביה [B], זבוב [A], זבוב [B-D]; in ZARAKS (זבוביה [B]) om. A, זבוביה [B]).

9. b. IMMER (q.v.) (Ezra 10:27, זבוביה [BA], זבוביה [B], זבוביה [BA], זבוביה [B]).

ZEBAH (זב), זעב (ZEBE [BAK]). vic. hosta, Jer. Os. 49:9 a Midianite king or mentioned with Zalunna in the story (Judg. 8:5-21; cp Ps. 83:1 [12]). Just as Zalm responses to Oreb (the vowels in both name original) in the parallel narrative, so Zelah ce to Zeb.

The originals of the two former names are probably and 'Abel; the common original of the two latter names 'the long-haired.' See TIMOTH, OREB, ZALMUS, 2, Z.

ZEBAIM (זבאים), for 'Pochereth of Zela 257 AV. RV has POCHEETH-HAZZEBAIM (q.v.).

ZEBEDEE (זעבדע [E. VII]), § 52; see ZERUBBAH, of Galilee, the father of John (Mt. 4:21 etc.).

ZEBIDAH (זבדה, זבדה), 2 K. 23:30 ZEBUDAH (q.v.).

ZEBINA (זבנה), as if 'bought,' from Aram. cp Palm. זבנה, but perhaps really a popular corruption of זבנה (the Z in which name is often corrupted in the people into Z (Che.)); cp also Ass.-Aram. זבנה; gives the Jewish name Zalonā from Nippur, זלון זבנה [B], זבונה [A], om. A, זבנה [B], one of Zeb (cp, Nabul? see ZEBUIM, 2) who joined in agnostic alien marriages; Ezra 10:41.

ZEBUIM or Zebaim (זבאים), אים זבאים אים זבאים Kr. always Gen. 10:11 DL 29 Hos. 1 ADMAH AND ZEBUIM.

ZEBUIM. 1. The valley of Zebaim (זבאים) THN GABEIN [B]; om. A: פאגאן תהן גאבא a locality, apparently E. of Melchamah, meant the description of the path taken by one of the 197 bands of the Philistines (1 S. 13:15). The should perhaps read thus: 'another band direction of the Gulgath which looks down valley of Zebaim toward the wilderness.' The 'ness' is thought to consist of the summits and patches of the mountains between the central of Benjamin and the Jordan valley. There Grove, found a wild gorge bearing the name of Zebaim — i.e., 'ravine of lividness,' which exactly corresponds the Hebrew name. Up this gorge which is point at which the Healy el-Kill enters the valley, runs the path by which Grove was from Jericho to Mukhmur (Smith's D.P.) in Matti however (ZPP 7:125), thinks of the Abu Dabā, a lateral valley which joins the Healy. See Cook, Aram. Geogr. 71, who also quotes the זבוביה. The initial Z may remind us of the זבוביה and זבוביה (see MESHELEMIAM, MESHELEMIAM).

2. MT has זבנה, 'the border,' but this does not following participle. Hence some (We., 10., Ki., 232), rendering 'the hill,' and with doubtful justice of follow Z. But can זבנה be so rendered? H. P. Sm. reads זבנה [B], זבנה [B], but זבנה is mass. זבנה comes from זבנה (1 S. 13:15), which is itself most corruption of זבוביה. See RACHAB'S SERPENTINE.

EARLY UNIVERSITY

ZEBUDAH

from the S., and makes the plausible suggestion that in ancient times the present *Wadi el-Art* bore the appellation 'Valley of hyenas,' which now survives only in smaller gorges. (cp. L. A. Smith, *ibid.*, 291; Huhl, *Pal.* 98.)

2. A Benjaminite town or village, Nub, II 13 (20^a); om. LXX; *σβουδα* [g. mg. of]; *σβουδα* [f.], mentioned between Halid and Zebulun.

ZEBUDAH (זְבֻדָּה, נֹבָדָה, קְוֵדָה; given [by God], § 501, as AV, or ZEBUDAH (זְבֻדָּה), KI, which Vg. and Pesh. follow), as RV, mother of Jehonadab. 2 K 23 (9) יְחִיָּהוּ [H]; *επαλλαδα* [V]—i. e., *YUDAPH* [Y]; *ΔΑΜΙΤΑΑ* [L]—i. e., *HAMITAL* [Y]; in 2 Ch 36, however, GRY gives the name as *נֹבָדָה*—*Zonuth* [σβ]Χουδα, *ΔΑΜΙΤΑΑ* [L].

Hilprecht quotes a Jewish name *Zebud* on a tablet from Nippur (5th cent. B.C.). It is tempting to explain the name 'one given [by God]'

Some, however, of the names of the form (f) (y) clearly have a gentile meaning, and Jehonadab's mother (like several other queen-mothers) came from the Negeles (cp. KAWA, I, K.).

ZEBUL (זְבוּל, *ζεβουλα* [HAL]), a Shechemite, the 'ruler' (ἄρχων) of the city in the time of Manasseh, represented in the artificial spectra of *Ge. Ch.* as a more father (ἄρχων) of the king, *Judg.*, 9:27ff. See ABMELEH, *Ge. Ch.*, and cp. We. *ibid.*, 27.

See also SUEKTHAN, § 2; 'Zelul' is a possible corruption of 'Ismael'.

ZEBULON, but ZEBULON in AV of Mt. 4:13 and Rev. 7:8 (זְבֻלֹן, *Zebulūn*, eighteen times, especially in Ch. 18, Pt., זְבוּלֹן, *Zebulūn*, twenty-six times; זְבוּלֹן, *Zebulūn*, *Judg.* 1:11);

1. Name: *ζεβουλαων* [BAL]; Josephus also *THE ZABOYΛHC* [*Jos. Ant.* v. 7:14, § 272; *ZABOYΛY* [GOL], ix. 13:2, § 267]; gentile זְבוּלֵי, *ζεβουλαων* [HAL]; Jos.], *Zebulunite*, Nu 20:22, but *Zebulunite*, *Judg.* 12:11 A. A late writer adds the name of Zebulun in his reference (Is. 8:23) to the deportation of Ephraim-pubes described in 2 K 15:29 (see NABITHAL, § 3).

The 'land of Zebulun' he says 'had shared the dark fate of the land of Naphtali'. Only in one other place, however, do we hear of a land of Zebulun (see § 7). The real territorial name may have been Naphtali (see NABITHAL, §§ 2 and 4). One of the sources of Jesh, indeed, seems to have known of twelve towns (*Jesh.* 19:13-15) which were regarded as Zebulunite. Whether purposely, however, or accidentally, only five of the names have been preserved (see § 9:1).

Even the form of the name is rather uncertain. In the Hebrew consonantal text it is spelled in three ways (traditionally vocalised *Zebulun*, *Zebulun* and *Zebulun*—see above, § 7). The first of them would suggest a form *Zulun* like *Shulun*, SIMON (cp. v. § 8). MT, however, vocalises them alike, with a full vowel between the last two radicals, *Zebul*. The word *zabal* (Ba. AB 155) with the normal termination is always written זָבַל, זָבַל (without ה), like זָבַל זָבַל, whereas זָבַל as constantly has the ה. The *receptio Latina* may, however, be simply because *zabal* was an archaic word. Even if the old pronunciation was *Zebulun* (*Zebulun*), which would according to traditional pronunciation have given *Zebul* (like זָבַל etc.), the addition of the termination *-un* (*-un*) would give *Zebul-un* (like *Zebulun*). On the other hand, if the second vowel was *u*, the name might be from *Zubulun* (*Zubulun*), *aphe-* in Nu. 26:18 *with* from *U* (*U*), but (cf. H. Muller, *Hamelb. i. Ling.* *Semitic*, 183:24).

2. Form. Names ending in *-un* are common (see SIMON, § 8, and *apud* O.). Not so names in *-un*. *Israhun* and *Ishuhun* are no doubt exactly parallel, but till the literary history of those words is more firmly established they afford no sure basis for comparison.

3. Homel. Homel. finds names in *-un*, apart from such names as *Halūn*, in S. Arabia; *Kandān*, *Saywūn* (Glaser; Hommel, *Wort u. Abhandl.* 99), but only from *g*-roots.

4. So MT and Rev. So MT and Rev. would avoid the discrepancy by omitting the clause. Hommel finds names in *-un*, apart from such names as *Halūn*, in S. Arabia; *Kandān*, *Saywūn* (Glaser; Hommel, *Wort u. Abhandl.* 99), but only from *g*-roots.

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Unless the -un of the Greek *Zebulon* is due to assimilation to the Greek termination of that name, which is unlikely, since the -un is preserved in the Latin form of the gentile (see next section), the name must in the second century have been pronounced *Zabulun*. It should be noted, however, that Josephus twice gives the name without the termination (see above § 1; *Jos. Ant.* 7:14, 272). Moreover, would not an original *-un* have become *-on* (cp. KAWA, I, 202)?

If the name was pronounced at all like *Zebulun* it is difficult not to connect it with the divine name *Ikaul-zabul* (see Skopwra, *ZAW* 11:22 [1006]), and cp. *YAZZUBUN*, § 30, cp the Punic name (dom. 1: 220722 1728 + 1881) from *Tharinnis*, and 22022 inscription from *Gannim* 1: 4; Nodd *ZI* 2:4245, and see below, § 8. If the noun *ZIL*, designates a lofty mission, especially for a god (see § 1), it is difficult not to think of the mountain referred to in *De. 33:12* (see § 1), especially as the mountain names *Zebulun*, *Saron*, *Hemmon* all end in -on (cp. *Ibel*, *Hauran* and *Zonin*). *Zebulun* would then be, in a modified sense, a geographical name, like *Lephunim* and, perhaps, *Naphtali*. Of course there is no suggestion of that kind in *Gen.* There we seem to have, as often, two explanations of the name (Gen. 30:20). Yabvee had presented Leah with the name *Zebulun* (Le. 4); or her husband *Zabul*, in consideration of Leah's having presented him with a sixth son, would act (20 a) in a certain way. MT זָבַל (*Zabul*) translated by Jerome (*zabul*), the meaning of which is uncertain, as the verb occurs nowhere else.

5. OT explanations. *OT explanations* of the name *Zabul* (30:20). Yabvee had presented Leah with the name *Zebulun* (Le. 4); or her husband *Zabul*, in consideration of Leah's having presented him with a sixth son, would act (20 a) in a certain way. MT זָבַל (*Zabul*) translated by Jerome (*zabul*), the meaning of which is uncertain, as the verb occurs nowhere else.

6. Gives aliphi (which usually renders *צד*, 'chasse', but sometimes *זב*, 'spare') *זבול* 'delight in' of which Jerome says: *LXX interpretat sine dilige me*; cp. *Lih*, *zabulorani*, 'will love me'; Josephus, 'one born as a pledge of benevolence to me' (*γεννησθεστωρ ενωπιον εμοσ ποσ*); *Int.* 1:197, § 100. Apulla, however, has *zabulorani* 'will', which is followed by Jerome himself, 'habulorani mecum' (cp. *Pesh.* *methabuloph li*, 'will adhere to me').

7. ZAV, following Vg., renders 'will dwell with me'; and this rendering is retained silently by Frankel (*ibid.* 3 [1:52] *ad* *ib.*, also by Kell, *ibid.* 187ff. *ad* *ib.* [186]ff). Other recent writers, however, have adopted the suggestion of *Havard* (*Z. Tr.* 1878, k, pp. 220-5), that זָבַל is to be explained by *Ass. zabulu*, which usually means 'carry', 'bring' (cp. *Ar. zabala*, Syr. *zabal*), but sometimes apparently 'lift up'.

If *zabal* meant 'lift up' in Hebrew, זָבַל in *Gen.* 30:20 would mean 'will honour me'. The person named, writer or copist, to whom we owe the present text of *Gen.* 30:20 seems to have given ZIL its now traditional meaning of 'dwell' (cp. 22:29), on the other hand זָבַל in 2:18 (*Ishitar*) suggests the *Ar. zir* *Zabul* (see next §, mid.).

The history of the district inhabited by Zebulun was eventful enough (cp. NABITHAL, § 3; ASSACHAH, §§ 4-6; GAULTER, § 2; LEHMAN, *ibid.* 1:187).

8. References. The heavy road of Thebanes III (see the list of places, above, col. 3549), and became a part of the Egyptian empire. *Tinnia* Buryas, the Babylonian king (about 1100), regarded the district as in the Pharaoh's (Amenhotep IV) land, and complained to him that his agents had been maltreated at His dominion (see HANSAWON); and Imer 106 tells that its governor had rescued Lapaya and sent him home (cp. 2:1).

For a full explanation of a confessedly difficult name see below.

For example, Chevre (*Ann.* 2:106) and Delile (*ibid.* 1837, 3:17:1837) - *Prof.* (1:1837) D. Schneider (*Ar. Tr.* 1:1837).

Delile's *ibid.* 3:17:1837 *cp.* *zabul* in *ibid.* (1:1837) the lifting up of the breast. Moreover the *300* temple of Marsik at Eshvaton (cp. 4:3) was called *IB*, *IB*, of which *IB* is equated on the one hand to the Assyrian phrase *zabul* (*zabul* = *zabul*) 2 K 20:14 (cp. Br. 6:46), 'high [zabul]; *mabul* = *mabul* 2 K 20:16 (cp. Br. 6:46), 'lifting up the head, *zabul* = *zabul* 2 K 20:16 (cp. Br. 6:46), and on the other hand *zabul* in the phrase *zabul* *zabul* *zabul* 2 K 1:45 (cp. Br. 6:46). *Muss-Arnold* compares 2 K 47 *cp.* 12, where *mabul* (*zabul*) 'receiver of a bribe,' is equated with *zabul* (*zabul*), *son* *Peter*, *z.* *1*, 2208. Guyard's suggestion was contested by *Haley* (*KEL*, 1833, ii. p. 299; 1887, ii. p. 142); cp. also *Nishiké*, *ZAW* 4: 729.

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What elements were united in the population of the district in the times referred to in the earliest notices in the OT we cannot say. On a famous occasion they are said to have manifested a noble valour (Judg. 5.20) led by their leaders (v. 14b).¹ Cp also 46.10, and see NAPHTALI, § 3. According to J (Judg. 1.3) Zebulun was not able to expel the Canaanites from Kitron and Nahalol (§ 9.1.); but they had to join the labour gangs.² It should be noted, however, that whilst a similar statement is made about the Naphtalite Canaanites in v. 31, in Gen. 49.15 the subject of the sentence is an Israelite tribe (cp below, n. 3): it is the Issacharites themselves that join the gangs. Or should the last couplet of v. 15 (Issachar) belong to v. 14 (Zebulun)? 'to bear' (or should we read זָבִיל) would then be a play on the name Zebulun, if זָבִיל in Hebrew really meant 'to carry' (cp above, § 1, end). Moreover it is not at all certain that the subjects to the various verbs in Judg. 1.27-36 are original; they may in some cases be incorrectly supplied.³ We cannot tell how the newcomers came to terms with those who were already in possession. According to the 'Blessing of Jacob' indeed Zebulun plants himself on the sea coast (Gen. 49.13). At a much later time, too, 'the way of the sea' (צֶדֶן יָם) is a synonym for Zebulun or Naphtali. In Judg. 5.17 the saying is transferred to Asher (cp Gunkel, Gen.¹² 425f.). The ideas which underlay these statements are lost to us.⁴ The transit traffic was no doubt important. On the *via maris* from Damascus across the upper Jordan at Jsr el-Banāt and down through Galilee to the coast see Schumacher, *Jordan*, 55, and *PEFQ*, Ap. 1886, p. 78 f., GASN. III 425-30. This same overland traffic may be what is referred to in the grandiloquent terms of the saying in the 'Blessing of Moses' (Dt. 33.18 f.):

'The abundance of the seas do they suck
And the hidden things of the sand. . .'

No doubt the *Testament of Zebulun* has much to tell about successful fishing, and Targ. *Jon.* speaks even of subduing provinces with ships,⁵ whilst Talm. *Shabb.* 26, refers to the wealth derived from traffic in purple dyes (cp the Issacharite *Targ.* and *Prav.*; see ISSACHAR § 7), to which Targ. *pseudo-Jon.* adds the making of glass. The view suggested above, however, is perhaps more historical. Sunken, accepting the references to maritime life, connects Zebulun with the sign Capricornus (*Mittheil.* 1902, p. 129).

Dt. 33.19a, on the other hand, contains a couplet (see next §) which suggests that the population was mixed. The Aramaean element must have become strong. There would no doubt, however, be a strong Israelite party. It seems to have been able to make its voice heard (see JOSHUA, GATH-HEMER). On the possibility that 'a greater than Jonah' also came from a Zebulunite town see NAKARETH. The connection of Galilee with Judaea in later times (see GALILEE, § 3, NAPHTALI, § 3) seems to be reflected in Ps. 68.27 [28] (chiefs of Zebulun, chiefs of Naphtali).⁷ On Zebulunite 'judges' see below, § 7.

It is clear that Dt. 33.19a was meant to be read in uncertainty; but it appears to tell of comings of many to some

¹ Credit is given them for a share in another struggle (Goliath at Jerohaan) in the present text of Judg. 6.36, but not in v. 21.

² זָבִיל is the gang of the corvee, not the labour. Cp *severely* the Assyri. idiom *zab-il kaduri* used of the corvee, not the gang.

³ Cp for example how Targ. *Jon.* has inverted the saying in Gen. 49.15 referred to above.

⁴ Gen. 49.15 has been emended and will be emended again and again. It seems to contain doublets.

⁵ Bertholet suggests that זָבִיל represents a verb, preserved in *κατακοιλιω* זָבִיל, viz. the verb זָבִיל = זָבִיל, 'gather'. Ball had suggested זָבִיל ('pour out') or זָבִיל ('drain'). What זָבִיל represents is not clear. Cheyne (*Eip. T* 10.238 f.) suggested זָבִיל (wrongly for זָבִיל, whence MT זָבִיל). He restored: 'And the treasures of merchants shall they suck.'

⁶ Pesh. finds ships mentioned in Gen. 49, and will therefore (PESH. I 17.27 f. 18.25) and in Dt. 33 (PESH. I 18.20 f. 18.25).

⁷ The flattering account of the tribal eponym in T. 1, 12 Patr. (Zebulun) is remarkable.

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mountain¹ where sacrifices were offered. **4. Cult.** a religious fair, not at an unlike it would explain the inflow of wealth the mountain referred to is it is impossible to ISSACHAR, § 2);² we may only be sure that, as the Targum imagined, ZION. It must some mountain not far from Esdraelon. Perhaps the mountain where in the E. sacrifices were offered? Was the Baal, who was witnessed by Ahab known as Baal-zebul wife is said to have been called Jezebel. If when ill sent to inquire of Baal-zebul. No the story now reads, Baal-zebul was the *πρωτόθεος* = *πρωτ* of Ekron. That how be a gloss (or does Ekron come from Joknean edge of Carmel?); we have no knowledge rise of such a god at Ekron. The raffish Elijah calling down fire on the messengers very late accretion (He. K. 1); but the in which the prophet (originally Elisha?) was have been found sitting by the messengers of seeking king must surely have been some v sacred emme-me. May it not have been the Baal-zebul? And may that not have been the of Zebulun of Dt. 33.19a?

Baal-zebul would then naturally suggest the Baal CUSU, which Jensen identifies with the god Amnōn the mountain' (*Beit-Sa'at*: Z. 111. 105) the Aramaean say that Ahab's god is a 'god of the mountains' (2) west-Semitic form of the storm-god Ramman. In fact, Schumacher with Samat the title of *bel-hiri* ('coach-god'), and as 'god of the storm-flood' (*Beit-Sa'at* 111. 105) and the sea (cp. *Zimmer*, K. 1. 170. 431. 447 f.). When Elisha is laid the Aramaean it is 'the mountain' that is seen chairs of fire (2 K. 1. 17). Was it, in the original story, earth from that sacred mountain that the worshipper wanted (2 K. 5. 17) to insure his success? That the holy mountain was identified by itself need the prevalence of a less concrete, more mythical (SINAI, CONGREGATION) MOUNT OF BAAL-ZEBUL.

Of the place-names connected with Zebulun is not the only one to suggest a religious connection of Bethshean³ with LELIVANAN (§ 2, end). On suggested trace and Kasin see ETH-KAZIN. Cp von Gall, *Kultstätten*, 124-126.

How much significance, if any, is to be in the fact that Zebulun is classed with Issachar tribe whilst Naphtali goes with **7. A Leah-tribe.** A Bilhah-Rachel tribe, is distributed, § 1, ZUPHIM, § 2 f., and cp. TRIBES. The Bilhites, Naphtali and Dan, may have been as far from the centre; they were not in times of any importance. Zebulun, indeed, is more prominent. None of the great acts of Palestinian drama is assigned to the tribe (see, § 5 end). Its brother tribe, however, may have some part in the history of Israel (see ISSACHAR); it is mentioned before Zebulun not only in the Jacob's family but also in most of the lists of it. It is rather remarkable, therefore, that the reversed in five more important passages: poetical pieces (Judg. 5 Gen. 49 Dt. 33), and places dealing with the partition of Canaan (N

¹ For זָבִיל reads *ἱεραδοθεσσαυ* (*Lev.*, *enbo*, 23.5) or *ἱερα* (often), or (Ball) *ἱερα*—but the Greek to be preferred.

² Cp C. H. Graf, *Der Segen Moses*, 46; on religious Sprenger, *Alt. Geog.* Arab. 221 f. Unfortunately little direct information about the visitations of some distance. There was probably a good deal of it. Cf. Bereshelha, *Expositio*, 5th ser., 8. 11-12 (18.2).

³ It may be noted, however, that the boundaries of Naphtali and Issachar are represented as having met (cp TABOR, § 2). Cp Hos. 5.1, and see v. Gall, *Alt. Kultstätten*, 124 f.

⁴ The scene seems in the present text to be laid at Bethshean. The Bilhite site can hardly be supposed to be N. Palestine; otherwise the Zebulunite Bethshean referred to in connection with the suggestion in Issachar

offered. If there was an unlikely thing,² how of wrath. What possible to guess (ep sure that it was not. It must have been dracon. Was it per- the E'ah story the the Baal, whose defeat s Baal-zabul? Ahab's ezebel. This son too, zebul. No doubt, as I was the god (E'ah) That however, may from Joknean, on the knowledge anywhere embellished tale of messengers may be a but the mountain on Elisha?) was kind to messengers of the oracle- even some well-known ve been the height of ve been the mountain

uggest the Baal-behanon of the god Amurru, 'lord of the Amanean expressly mountains (2555 2556) a Rannûn, Rannûn, a Rannûn, Rannûn, a Rannûn (s R 632, 306), im-flood' (66) abah) he of the ase (cp 2 K. 6:2-7) Elisha is hard pressed by that is seen to be full of the original form of the fact that the Rannûn- his success (2 K. 5:10) locally need not prevent more mythological, idea BAAL-ZABUL.

with Zebulun Rimmon religious cult. On a with Zebulun, see ested traces of Ab- von Gall, *Altortak*.

is to be attached to th Issachar as a Leah ath goes with Dan as tribe, is disputed (see p) TRIBES, §§ 11 ff.). ay have been regarded were not in historical n, indeed, is not much great actors in the e tribe (see, however, 16), may have played (see ISSACHAR, § 11); t only in the story of e lists of the tribes, e, that the order is passages. the three 9. 33), and the two Canaan (Nu 31:19-29

either 255 (Josh. but the Greek text is not

46); on religious furs (p Unfortunately we have tions of sanctuaries at a deal of it. Cp Dan to ar (18:2). boundaries of Zebulun, as having met at Labor v. Gall, *Altortakische* to be laid at Danhan. be supposed to belong to e Bethlehem might be stion in ISSACHAR, § 2.

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Josh. 19,¹ Cp ISSACHAR, § 1, end; TRIBES, § 10, n.

On the assumption of the early arrival of Issachar and Zebulun, their being nevertheless 'younger' than the more southern tribes has been explained by Steu- nage] as due to their arriving later at their final seat (*Kritische Einleitung*, 33, c).² In fact he thinks he has found evidence that the Zebulunites settled in mid-Palestine for a time before moving northwards. The 'judge' Elon (Judg. 12:11) is obviously the eponym of a city or clan (or both) Elon. In any case he is said to have been buried in a city the name of which is vocalised in MT as AJJALON (17:1, 2), but should perhaps be ELON (17:1, 2). No such town being assigned to Zebulun in Josh. 19:25, Steu- nage] supposes that the Elon meant is the Elon assigned in 19:41 to Dan, and that the words 'for the land of Zebulun' were added to 'Elon' in Judg. 12:11 by a copyist who wished to exclude this very identification, which seemed to him obviously incorrect. Steu- nage] or, on the contrary, thinks that the excluded interpretation is correct, and therefore holds that Zebulun, like NAPHTHALI (19:2, § 1), held its central Palestine for a time. He admits, however, that the identification he assumes is precarious. This, moreover, the assertion that no town Elon is assigned to Zebulun in Josh. must be qualified by reference to the incompleteness of the list of towns (see below, § 9).

It has been customary to assign to Zebulun the judge Itham on the ground of his being called a Bethleheunte. Winckler, however, holds that the Bethleheun intended is the southern town, which at that time would be a part of 'Benjamin' (see above, col. 258) n. 1). On the other hand it is difficult to dis- sociate Itham (יִתְחָם from Ithaz יִתְחָז, Josh. 19:23, a town assigned to Issachar (cp ANEZE),³ and Zebulun there was probably no clear demarcation.

P's genealogy of Zebulun is slight. It contains three names⁴—Serai (or Sesai) and Ishihah, which we can hardly venture to distinguish from the towns Serai and Nahal of Josh.

19:10, in spite of the differences in the spelling⁵ and Elon, on which see above (preceding §). Gaidiel, too, the Zebulunite 'spy,' was perhaps assigned to one of these three (Seri, שָׂרַי = שֵׁרַי (Nu. 13:13).

Is Parnah, שָׁרַי, the 'father' of Elon (the Zebulunite delegate to survey W. Palestine (Nu 34:24), a companion of the same name? Helon (85) the 'father' of the Zebulunite census- delegate (Nu. 19:27, 29, 30) may come from Elon.

1. *Towns*.—Of the five towns remaining out of the list of twelve originally given as we have seen (§ 1) in Josh. 19 (1, 13) the only one that can be identified with certainty is

9. *Geographical*.—BETHLEHEUN (עֵי): *Bêt-Lahm*, 7 m. NW of Nazareth. On the other four, of which Nahal has been referred to (§ 8), and Shimon is of interest in connection with the Saimeun of Esarhadad (see SIMON, § 6 m. 1, see KATAHU, NAHALAH, SHIMON, and ZEBALAH. As often, two of the five (Kattah and Nahal, called Nahalot) are probably the towns which I tells us Zebulun did not secure (Judg. 1:3). P adds the information that of forty eight rites assigned to the Levites four were Zebulunite (Josh. 21:35) the Nahalot just

1 The accidental omission of Zebulun in 11:1, 20 and of Issachar in Judg. 1:27-30 may be in some way connected with this change of order.
2 Land, on the other hand, speaking of the name Zebulun, 'I dwell here.' 'Can the tribe at some time or other have been so named by its neighbours or kindred because it had a fixed abode earlier than they?' (*De Gids*, Oct. 1871, p. 21, n. 4).
3 Similarly Katan is assigned in Josh. 21:32 to Naphtali, Katan in 1:19 to Zebulun.
4 On its omission in 1 Ch. 2:50 see above, n. 1.
5 In Jubilees 34 as Zebulun's wife is שְׂרַיָה (Seri), Ahi (35:1), the lik of Jashai gives Manasa (cp Charles, *Jub.* 2:61.
6 For Nahalot = Jathel = Nemuel in REUBEN (§ 12).

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mentioned, two of the towns to be referred to immediately (Joknean, which according to Josh. 19:11, did not belong to Zebulun and Danah, Kinnonth) and KATAHU (Katan in Josh. 21:32 to Naphtali).

ii. *Boundary*.—According to Josephus (*Jub.* 3:122, § 84) the Zebulunites were settled as far as Gennesaret (גֵּנְזַרֵּת, Tiberias) and about 10 miles and the sea. The delimitation of territory in Josh. 19:1-14 cannot be really made out. The line is given first westwards (19:1, 11) and then eastwards (12) of a place already referred to (§ 8), called Sarid in MT, which may be *Tell Sâidat* (see SARID). Westward the line is drawn past 'Dabesheth' (see MAKALAH, DABESHETH) to the wady that is before Joknean (19:12) and on to DAVARATH (*Dabarath*) which belonged according to 21:2 to Issachar, thence (if the text is sound) and we do not suppose a fusion of two accounts, turning sharp W. to YAPHA (19:10), only to recover a position N. of Issal but W. of Dehonyah at DATH (19:10) *W. of Meshket* and continue a course due N. (see 1 CH. 2:10) to KIMON (RV. Kimon) (Kimon) on the S. margin of the plain of Hattai, across which it runs (see NEAL HANNAHOSH) to the valley of JUPHATH (19:11) somewhere near Tell Lifa, the E. of Hata. The intention appears to be to give the southern and eastern boundary. Real definite frontiers there cannot have been, as the discrepant data show (cp also ISSACHAR, NAPHTHALI, ASHER). Generally, Zebulun must have lain SW of Issachar, W. of the southern part of Naphtali and S. of Asher. On the exuberant fertility and busy life of the country, see 1 ASH. 16:1 chap. 20, and cp GALILEE, § 4.

iii. *ZECHARIAH* (זְכַרְיָה), more often זְכַרְיָה, as if 'Yahwe remembers' (§ 12, 32), but the original form of Zechariah was probably Zehri, which (see ZEHRI) is a common name. A study of the names with which Zechariah is grouped (e.g., Meshelamah, from Ishmah) strongly confirms this (cp 1:1, זְכַרְיָהוּ) whence the Greekised form ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑΣ (19:1).

1. b. Borschiah, b. Iddo (also loosely, b. Iddot), a prophet who together with Haggai, is our best authority for the religious state of the early post-exilic community at Jerusalem, and is the author of *Zech.* 1-8. To these prophets the rebuilding of the temple is largely due (1:2, 5:1, 6:15). It is probably this Zechariah who is mentioned as a *prophet* in Neh. 12:16 (cp no. 11).

2. Son of Ierobeam II, king of Israel, and the fifth and last king of the house of JATHI (2 K. 14:29, 15:8-12; AV ZACHARIAH, זְכַרְיָהוּ [10 in 14:29, 15]). He reigned but six months, and was then slain by Shallum b. Jabesh in IREEM (17:1). On the date of his accession, see CHRONOLOGY, § 34.

3. The father of Ahi or Abijah, the mother of Hezekiah (2 K. 15:2; AV ZACHARIAH, זְכַרְיָהוּ [A]; 2 Ch. 26:1).

4. A chief of REUBEN (1 Ch. 5:7).

5. b. Meshelamah, a Kohathite Levite, praised for his 'discreet counsel' (1 Ch. 9:22, 26:14).

6. b. DUMI, of BISHAYIM (1 Ch. 9:15; זְכַרְיָהוּ [A], זְכַרְיָהוּ [B], who in 1 Ch. 9:15 is called ZACHAR, RV. Zecher (27) in prose, זְכַרְיָהוּ [B]; זְכַרְיָהוּ [A]).

7. A Levite, a temple musician (1 Ch. 15:16, 20:16), perhaps the same as (6).

8. A priest (1 Ch. 15:24).

9. b. Ishlah, a Levite (1 Ch. 21:23).

10. b. Hukah, a Merarite Levite (1 Ch. 20:11).

11. Father of Iddoh, a Manasseite (1 Ch. 27:21; זְכַרְיָהוּ [B]).

12. One of Jehoshaphat's commissioners for teaching the Law (2 Ch. 17:9). See BISHAYIM.

13. An Asaphite Levite (2 Ch. 20:14). [cp. 6, see MARTINUS, NEAL.]

14. A son of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 21:3).

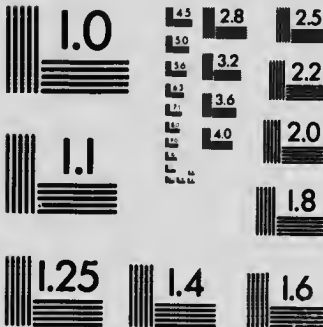
15. b. Jehohada, a reforming chief priest in the reign

1 Is the omission of a western boundary to be connected in some way with the references to the sea in Gen. 49:14, DL. 3, 18:7?



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ZECHARIAH, BOOK OF

of Joash, who was stoned to death in the temple court, at the king's command (2 Ch. 24:20 ff., ἀσάφιας [BA] Jos. *Ant.* ix. 86; cp references in Jer. Talm. *Taanith*, 69a 2, Bab. Talm. *Sanhedrin*, 96a, Lightfoot, *Temple-Services*, 39). It was a Jewish saying that the blood-stains were never washed away until the temple was burnt at the captivity. The Targ. on Lam. 2:20 ('Shall the priest and the prophet be slain in the sanctuary of Yahwe?') refers this especially to Zechariah, but through a confusion calls him the son of Iddo. On the possible reference to Zechariah's death in Mt. 23:35 Lk. 11:51, see ZACHARIAS (C).

16. A prophet who, according to the Chronicler, was as influential with Uzziah as the priest Jehoiada had been with Joash (2 Ch. 26:5). Probably 'in the vision of God' (יהוה) should rather be 'in the fear of God' (see RV¹⁹⁰¹)—i.e. for יהוה we should read יהוה (C). Tg. Pesh., Ar., and some MSS. According to Hitzig the author of Zech. 9-11.

17. An Asaphite Levite (2 Ch. 29:13, ἀσάφιας [B]).
18. A Kohathite Levite (2 Ch. 31:12).
19. A 'ruler of the temple' in the time of Josiah (2 Ch. 35:9); according to Berthelet, 'priest of the second order,' cp 2 K. 25:18 Jer. 52:24. In 1 Esd. 1:8, ZACHARIAS.

Among the lists of the exiles who returned in Ezra-Neh. we find several men of this name:

20. One of the bñe Parosh (Ezra 8:3, 10; Neh. 8:4, cp 1 Esd. 8:34).
21. One of the bñe Belai (Ezra 8:11, ἀσάφιας [B], cp 1 Esd. 8:37, Σαφάριος [B]).
22. One of the bñe Ekoi (Ezra 10:26, cp 1 Esd. 9:27).
23. A Judahite, ancestor of Athaliah (Neh. 11:4).
24. A Shilonite (Neh. 11:5, θασαία [B], θασαία [8]).
25. One of the bñe Beshai (Neh. 11:12, Σαφάριος [B]).
26. An Asaphite (Neh. 12:35-41 [om. B¹⁸ A] = 13).

27. b. Jeterachiah, a contemporary of Isaiah (8:2), who served with Uriah the priest, as a 'trustworthy witness' in connection with the sign Maher-shalal-hashbaz. Some identify him with the father of Abijah, 3; others, with the Levite, 17. Hitzig makes him the author of the anonymous chaps. 12-14 of Zechariah, Bertholdt, the author of chaps. 9-11. Observe that the name of his father is essentially the same as that of the father of the well-known prophet [1].

ZECHARIAH, BOOK OF. Zechariah, son of Berechiah, son of Iddo, or by contraction son of Iddo (see

1. **Chaps. 1-8:** in Jerusalem along with HAGGAI (7:7), contents.

in the second year of Darius Hystaspis (520 B.C.), to warn and encourage the Jews to address themselves at length to the restoration of the temple, which then still lay in ruins. Supported by the prophets, Zerubbabel, the governor of Judah, and Joshua, the high priest, set about the work, and the elders of Judah built and the work went forward (Ezra 5:1 ff., 6:14). The first eight chapters of the book of Zechariah exactly fit into this historical setting. They are divided by precise chronological headings into three sections—(a) 1-6, in the eighth month of the second year of Darius; (b) 7-8, on the twenty-fourth day of the eleventh month of the same year; (c) 9-11, on the fourth day of the ninth month of the fourth year of Darius. The first section is a preface containing exhortation in general terms.

The main section is the second (b), containing a series of night visions, the significant features of which are pointed out by an angel who stands by the prophet and answers his questions:

1-7:17. The divine chariots and horses that make the round of the world by Yahwe's orders return to the heavenly palace and report that there is still no movement among the nations, no sign of the Messianic crisis, seventy years have passed, and Zion and the cities of Judah still mourn. Sad news! but Yahwe gives a comfortable assurance of his gracious return to Jerusalem and the rebuilding of his temple.

7:13-21 [2:1-4]. Four horns, representing the hostile world-power that oppresses Israel and Jerusalem, are routed by four smiths.

2:1-13 [5-17]. The new Jerusalem is laid out with the measuring line. It is to have no walls, that its population may

ZECHARIAH, BOOK OF

not be limited, and it needs none, for Yahwe is its prince. The catastrophe of Babel (the land of the north) is near. The exiles of Zion shall stream back from all quarters, converted heathen shall join them, Yahwe himself will be the midst of them; even now he stirs himself from his habitation.

3:1-10. The high priest Joshua is accused before Satan, but is acquitted and given rule in Yahwe's courts, with the right of access to Yahwe in priestly intercession. The restoration of the temple and its service is a plea for higher things. The promised 'branch' (or 'shoot,' the Messiah, will come; the national kingdom is to be and a time of general felicity dawns, when every man shall be happy under his vine and under his fig tree. As by the Messianic kingdom should follow immediately on the establishment that the prophet designs to hint in a guarded way, Zerubbabel, who in all other places is mentioned as the high priest, is on the point of ascending the throne of his David. The jewel with seven facets is already there; the inscription has still to be engraved on it (3:9). The brought against the high priest consist simply in the that have hitherto hindered the restoration of the temple service; and in like manner the guilt of the land (3:9) is still continuing domination of foreigners.

4:1-14. Beside a lighted golden candlestick of seven stands two olive trees—Zerubbabel and Joshua, the two ones—specially watched over by him whose seven through the whole earth. This explanation of the separated from the description by an animated dialogue quite clear in its expression, in which it is said that the of obstacles shall disappear before Zerubbabel, and the began the building of the temple, he shall also bring in in spite of those who now mock at the day of small things.

5:1-4. A written roll flies over the Holy Land; this create representation of the curse which in future will fall on all crime, so that, e.g., no man who has suffered have occasion himself to pronounce a curse against the Judg. 17:2).

5:5-11. Guilt, personified as a woman, is cast into measure with a heavy lid and carried from Judah to where it is to have its home for the future.

6:1-8. The divine teams, four in number, again turn world toward the four winds, to execute Yahwe's. That which goes northward is charged to wreak in the N. country. The series of visions has now reached returning to its starting-point in 1:7 ff. (On the 'in brass,' see BRASS; and on the colour of the horses see An appendix follows (6:9-12). Jews from Babel brought gold and silver to Jerusalem; of these two must make a crown designed for the 'branch' who Yahwe's house and sit king on the throne, but returned under-standing with the high priest, Zerubbabel meant here, and, if the received text names Joshua him (6:11), this is only a correction, made for reasons under-stand, which breaks the context and destroys the reference of 'them both' in 7:13.

The third section (7 ff.), dated from the fourth year contains an inquiry whether the fast days that a captivity are still to be observed, with a comforting encouraging reply of the prophet.

Kosters (*Herbel van Israel*, 1894) laid stress on the fact that neither in Haggai nor in Zechariah find the Jews in Jerusalem as consisting of returned exiles; fact is as stated; but it does not exclude us from supposing that

2. Their historical background.

of a band of exiles may have marked the start of a new era of Jewish history. Few in number indeed were, and they did not assume an attitude towards the vastly more numerous exiles who had remained behind in Judaea, whom the contrary, they sought to win over to their and urged to congregate in and around Jerusalem as to make the desolate ruins once more their new theocracy. Stade thinks that the buoyant joyous hopefulness which we perceive in the Zechariah may have been due to the revolt of 520. But such a slaking of the Persian empire after the of Cambyses could not possibly have been still future (Hag. 2:6) two years after its occurrence at a time when it had already been almost from, and, moreover, the Jews could not have rejoiced so heartily over it, their feelings towards the Persians being friendly. It seems more likely that Jews heard with gladness of the conquest of Babylon that is to say, the second—under Darius. The vengeance on Babylon, which Cyrus had

1 [7:7-12]. The revolt of Sidintu-Bel in 520 suggested (Che. *Jews, Rel. Lit.*, 14.)

hwe is his protection, north is near to me; from all quarters, the himself will dwell in himself from his holy

used before Yahwe by in Yahwe's house and in priestly intercession. ve is a pledge of still (or 'shoot,' זרז) the on is to be restored; on every man shall sit ree. As by rights the ately on the exile, it is in a guarded way that mentioned along with throne of his ancestor already there, only the it (39). The charges simply in the obstacles in of the temple and is the land (39) is simply

stick of seven branches shua, the two anointed whose seven eyes run nation of the vision is unimpaired dialogue, not said that the mountain lebel, and that, having ll also bring it to an end y of small beginnings. uly Land; this is a con- future will fall (itself has suffered then will rise against the thief (p

is cast into an ephal- from Judah to Chaddaa, re.

uber, again traverse the ate Yahwe's commands. I to wreak his anger on as now reached its close. (On the 'mountains of the horses see CUTAKS.) is from Babylon have); of these the prophet branch' who is to build rone, but retain a good Zerubbabel is certainly nages Joshua instead of made for reasons easy to and destroys the sense and

the fourth year of Darius, days that arose in the h a comforting and en-

894) laid stress upon or in Zechariah do we Jerusalem represented returned exiles. The ; but it does not pre- posing that the an rked the starting point

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over to their own view, around Jerusalem, so ace more the focus of a that the buoyancy and erceive in Haggai and the revolt of Smerdis.

Empire after the death have been predicted as after its occurrence, and

been almost recovered ws could hardly have ir feelings towards the ms more likely that the conquest of Babylon—

nder Darius Hystaspis, ich Cyrus had not fully

ntu-Bel in 521 has also been

carried out, now at last seemed to be accomplished and the wrath of Yahwe against the land of the North to fulfil itself (Zech. 6:2 26 [1] Z.). Thereby also was quickened the more general Messianic expectation that all nations would at last acknowledge the supremacy of Yahwe.

Throughout the first eight chapters the scene is Jerusalem in the early part of the reign of Darius, Zerubbabel and Joshua, the prince and the priest, and the leaders of the community. The great concern of the time and the chief practical theme of these chapters is the building of the temple; but its restoration is only the earnest of greater things to follow—viz., the glorious restoration of David's kingdom. The horizon of these prophecies is everywhere limited by the narrow conditions of the time, and their aim is clearly seen. The visions hardly veil the thought, and the mode of expression is usually simple, except in the Messianic passages, where the tortuousness and obscurity are perhaps intentional. Noteworthy is the affinity between some notions evidently not framed by the prophet himself and the prologue to Job,—the heavenly hosts that wander through the earth and bring back their report to Yahwe's throne, the figure of Satan, the idea that suffering and calamity are evidences of guilt and of accusations presented before God.

Passing from chaps. 1-8 to chaps. 9-14, we at once feel ourselves transported into a different world.

Yahwe's word is accomplished on Syria-Plemonia and Philistia (HABRACI 12:7) and Damascus are first mentioned, and then the Messianic Kingdom begins in Zion.

3. Chaps. 9-14; contents.

of Javan is broken in battle against this kingdom (chap. 9). After an intermezzo of three verses (10:1-3) 'Ask rain of Yahwe, not of the diviners,' a second and quite analogous Messianic prophecy follows. 'The foreign tyrants fall, the Lordship of Assyria and Egypt has an end; the autonomy and martial power of the nation are restored. The scattered exiles return as citizens of the new theocracy, all obstacles in their way parting asunder as when the wars of the Red Sea gave passage to Israel at the founding of the old theocracy (10:4-22). Again there is an interlude of 17 verses (11:1-3); fire seizes the ceclars of Lebanon and the oaks of Bashan. This is followed by the difficult passage about the shepherds. The shepherds (rulers) of the nation make their flock an article of trade and treat the sheep as sheep for the shambles. Therefore, the inhabited world shall fall a sacrifice to the tyranny of its kings, whilst Israel is delivered to a shepherd who feeds the sheep for those who make a trade of the flock (12:7-13; 11:7-11) 'they that sell them,' 7:5) and enters on his office with two staves, 'Favour' and 'Union.' He destroys 'the three shepherds' in one month, but is soon weary of his flock and the flock of him. He breaks the staff 'Favour,' the covenant of peace with the nations—and asks the traders for his hire. Receiving thirty pieces of silver, he casts it into the temple treasury and breaks the staff 'Union'—viz., the brotherhood between Judah and Israel. He is succeeded by a foolish shepherd, who neglects his flock and lets it go to ruin. At length Yahwe intervenes; the foolish shepherd falls by the sword; two-thirds of the people perish with him in the Messianic crisis, but the remnant of one-third forms the seed of the new theocracy (11:4-17 taken with 13:7-9, according to the necessary transposition proposed by Ewald). All this must be an allegory of past events, the time present to the author and his hopes for the future beginning only at 11:17-13:7-9.

Chap. 12 presents a third variation on the Messianic promise. All heathendom is gathered together against Jerusalem and perishes there. Yahwe first gives victory to the countryfolk of Judah and then they rescue the capital. After this triumph the noblest houses of Jerusalem hold each by itself a great lamentation over a martyr (whom they have pierced) for whom men have pierced). It is taken for granted that the reader will know who the martyr is, and the excesses of the heathen applies the passage to Christ (cp. HABRACI 12:7). Chap. 13:1-5 is a confirmation of chap. 12; the dawn of the day of salvation is accompanied by a general purging away of idolatry and the enthusiasm of false prophets. Yet a fourth variation of the picture of the incoming of the Messianic deliverance is given in chap. 14. The heathen gather against Jerusalem and take the city, but do not utterly destroy the inhabitants. Then Yahwe, at a time known only to himself, shall appear with all his saints on Mount Olivet and destroy the heathen in battle, while the men of Jerusalem take refuge in their terror in the great cleft that opens where Yahwe sets his foot. Now the new era begins, and even the heathen do homage to Yahwe by bringing due tribute to the annual feast of tabernacles. All in Jerusalem is hallowed down to the bells on the horses and the cooking-pots (cp. Crit. Bib.).

There is a striking contrast between chaps. 1-8 and chaps. 9-14. The prophecy 1-8 is closely tied to the situation and the wants of the community of Jerusalem in the second year of Darius I., and all that it aims at is the restoration of the temple and perhaps the elevation of Zerubbabel to the throne of David. Chapters 9-14 contain no trace of this historical situation and deal with quite other matters. They are more obscure and more fantastic. There are corresponding differences in style and spirit; and it is particularly to be noted that, whilst the supercriptions in chaps. 1-8 name the author and give the date of each oracle with precision, those in the second part (9-14) are without name or date. That both parts do not belong to the same author must be admitted.

4. Character.

Most recent critics make the second part the older. Chaps. 9-11 are ascribed to a contemporary of Amos and Hosea, about the middle of the eighth century B.C., because Ephraim is mentioned as well as Judah, and Assyria along with Egypt (10:1-3), whilst the neighbours of Israel appear in 9:1, in the same way as in Amos 1:2. That chaps. 12-14 are also pre-exilic is held to appear especially in the attack on idolatry and lying prophecy (13:1-5); but, as this prophecy speaks only of Judah and Jerusalem, it is dated after the fall of Samaria, and is assigned to the last days of the heathen kingdom on the strength of 12:11, where an allusion is seen to the mourning for King Josiah, slain in battle at Megiddo.

It is more likely that chaps. 9-14 all together are of much later date. These predictions have no affinity rather with the prophecies of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, or with that of Jeremiah.

5. Probably later.

The kind of eschatology which we find in Zech. 9-14 was introduced by Ezekiel, who in particular is the author of the conception that the time of deliverance is to be preceded by a joint attack of all nations on Jerusalem, in which they come to find overthrow. The importance attached to the temple service, even in Messianic times (Zech. 14), implies an author who lived in the ideas of the religious commonwealth of post-exilic times. So also the use of 'Zion' as a name for the theocracy. The diaspora and the cessation of prophecy (13:6) are presupposed. A future king is hoped for; but in the present there is no Davidic king, only a Davidic family standing on the same level with other noble families in Jerusalem (12:7-13). The 'bastard' (mixed race) of Ashdod reminds us of Neh. 13:23; and the words of 9:12 ('to-day, also do I declare that I will render double unto thee') have no sense unless they refer back to the deliverance from Babylonian exile.

What chaps. 9-14, are thus all later than chaps. 1-8, they are not themselves homogeneous; they fall into two well-marked divisions—9-11 and 12-14.

The latter division [12-14] contains two prophecies which are little more than a standing dogmatic formula of eschatology filled up with concrete details, and can be understood well enough (if need be) without our knowing the historical setting. The actual situation at the time of composition discloses itself only in one or two features, as, for example, when the country of Judah is contrasted with the city of Jerusalem, and the deliverance of the city comes from the country—a feature which seems to indicate the Maccabean period.

6. Composite.

The former division (9-11), on the other hand—which again falls into two sections, 9-11:3 and 11:4-17+13:7-9—is much more concrete and cannot be understood at all if the date of its composition is not known. In 9:11:3 we find that it is the Greeks (9:13; cp. JAVAN) who are the heathen power, the enemy of God, which must be overthrown before the Messiah's kingdom can come. Assyria and Egypt, which take the place of Javan in chap. 10, are the kingdom of the Seleucidae and the Ptolemies. The region of HABRACI (12:7), Damascus, and Hamath, against which the wrath of Yahwe is, in the first instance, directed (9:1), is the seat, not of the old Assyrians, but of the Seleucidae.

ZECHER

And inasmuch as Assyria here takes precedence of Egypt

7. Date. we are able to fix the date of the present section more precisely as falling somewhere within the first third of the second century B.C., for it was not till the beginning of that century that the Seleucidae became masters of Judaea (SELEUCIDAE, § 77.). The second section (14-17 + 137-9) will also be of this date; for a right understanding of it a correct apprehension of the historical situation is still more indispensable, though, indeed, rendered very difficult not only by the bad state of the text, but also by our defective knowledge of this period of Jewish history. By the owners of the sheep who traffic in them we are to understand the Seleucid sovereigns who carried on a remunerative business in farming out their flocks to the shepherds. The shepherds are the high priests and ethnarchs of the Jews; by the rapid and violent changes of the shepherds the events which preceded and led up to the Maccabean revolt are denoted. They were all of them worthless whether they traced their descent from Zadok or from Tobias. At last the measure of iniquity was filled up by Menelaus, who may very well be meant by the last cruel shepherd who is to bring on the catastrophe and the judgment (1115 ff.). The prominent man, who is an exception to the rest, and does not come into the series, who takes upon him the office of shepherd in the interests of the flock, but gives it up when he sees that the flock is unworthy of his care, might be Hyrcanus the son of Tobias. According to the (legendary) accounts we have of him he was a man of proud disposition and lofty plans who lived in undisguised enmity with his brethren the Tobiaidae, overcame them and put two of them to death, and yet was unable to hold his own in Jerusalem (Jos. Ant. xii. 40 [§ 222], ed. Niese). In any case he was a person of quite a different sort from the ordinary Jewish aristocrat. It is natural to ask how we are to suppose that at his departure he obtained his reward for having been shepherd. For, as a rule, the order was reversed and shepherds paid for the right of feeding the sheep. But this trait in the picture is more easily understood in the case of Hyrcanus, whose position was quite exceptional, than in that of the other shepherds. Perhaps his adherents may in the end have given him money to leave Jerusalem when the good understanding between them had come to an end and various external dangers were threatening. It is worth noticing that the reward received by the shepherd is cast by him into the temple-treasury (1113); according to 2 Macc. 311, Hyrcanus, the son of Tobias, had a deposit there.

Literature.—The literature of the book is cited by C. H. H. Wright, *Zachariah and his Prophecies*,⁽²⁾ 1879. See also Stade, *Deuterozacharia* (*Z.ATW.*, 1881-2); and Wellhausen and Nowack's editions of the Minor Prophets. [Cp also G. A. Smith, *Twelve Prophets*, vol. ii., and Профетовъ, § 47.]

ZECHER (זכר), 1 Ch. 831, RV. See ZACHARIAH, i. 6.

ZECHRIAS (ζεχριογ [B] εζεριογ [A]), 1 Esd. 81, RV = Ezra 71, AZARIAH, 3.

ZEDAD (זדר); only in acc. צדרה; צדרה [Sam.]; צדרה [H.], צדרה [A], צדרה [F]. *Aradath* [H.], one of the points in the ideal northern frontier of Canaan according to P or the later redactor (Nu. 343), and also mentioned in the passage of Ezekiel (4715; for C see later). Robinson (*BR* 346 n. 1), Wetzstein (*Reisebericht*, 88), Furrer (*ZDPV* 827), Mühlau, and Socin, identify it with the large village *Sadad*, between Riblah and Palmyra (long 37° E.); but this is too far E. if it is considered that both Hamath and Damascus are meant to be excluded. It is also an objection, that the implied view of the northern frontier assumes a large part of the Lebanon district to be included within the Israelitish border. Many besides Buhl (*Pal.* 66) will think that this carries idealisation beyond what is probable (cp HOR-MOUNT).

ZEDEKIAH

Van Kasteren (*Rev. Bibl.*, 1895, p. 30) adopts the reading Zerad, and plausibly identifies with *Khurbet* between Merj 'Ayin (where he places 'the ent Hamath') and Hermon, to the S. of Kh. Sar (see SUBRAMI).

With regard to the second passage; Cornill thinks the original reading (see C) must have been simply 'to the of Hamath' and that 'Zedalah' (*to Zedad*) interpolated after 'Hamath' from Nu. 343. '(To) Hamath 'Zedalah' was thus rendered useless, and so the two changed places (see MI). The original C of Ezek. 0 is assumed, contain the interpolation. The scribe who simply made an insertion; hence the existing M represent 'Hamath' not only after but also before (μασελαδωμο [B], μασε'α [A], μασειλαωμο [Q], ad loc.).

According to the view of the geographical definition 31 and Ezek. 4714 ff. adyovda' elsewhere (see SUBRAMI) the region referred to in the original text 1 been, not the land of Canaan, but the Negeb. In Mt. Hor = Mt. Jerahmeel, Hamath = Maacath, Zedad probably = Mesir, and Ziphron or Sibraim (to be id. Zarephath). Cp ZEKOR.

ZEDECHIAS, RV Sedekias (ζεδεκιας 1 Esd. 146. See ZEDEKIAH I.

ZEDEKIAH (זדקיהו), also זדקיה, see 1 צεδεκια[c]; cp Sidka, the name of a king of Assyria, Semmatherith [*A. IT* 195].

1. The last king of Judah (597-586), a son of Josiah (2 K. 24 f. 2 Ch. 3610 ff.; in 1 Ch. 3151 J.

1. Name. 281 293 4914 זדקיה. According to 2 Ch. 2417, his original name was Mattaniah king of 'Babel' (522) 'changed his name' to Zedekiah (Sidkiah) when he raised this uncle of the king to the throne of Judah. This act of sovereignty in itself probable; cp the new name imposed on bani-pal on Necho I.² 'Limir-isakku-Asur, 'le viceroy see.')

The special appropriateness of the name selected is not Parallel names suggest that 'Zedekiah' (Sidkiah) properly 'Zidkite', and even if we suppose (rationally) that, when borne by the king, it acquired the new 'righteousness of Yaweh',³ that is by no means a clear explanation of this has been offered; and yet Hebrew etymology cannot afford to confess itself baffled. The theory many passages 'Babel' (522) זדקיה suggests an explanation. Since זדקיה is in some OT passages probably miswritten it follows that this great name may possibly be related to זדקיה. Now *Sidkiah*, 'righteousness of Jerahmeel' name that might conceivably be given to a royal Jerahmeel, after he had sworn fidelity (Ezek. 1714) to his suzerain.

Zedekiah was only twenty-one at his accession; it is probable that the queen-mother Hamutah managed her own energy for the weak king.

2. Dangers. son. This certainly seems to be by what Ezekiel says of her in one of his similitudes⁵ (Ezek. 195). Whether it was so there was on the part of the rulers no just insight. Fidelity to the suzerain, and a strict adherence of the old moral traditions of Israel, would insure a peaceful though inglorious existence, and people (cp Ezek. 17614). But the deportment a large part of the upper class brought with it political power to those who had had none necessary training. These 'new men' soon did in an intensified degree the views of the worst predecessors (Ezek. 2225 27 246), and, with an object which it is difficult for us moderns to understand, cherished the hope of quickly throwing off the yoke. Meantime those who had gone into ex-

¹ On the strange insertion of Zedekiah in 7. 16 a son of Jehoiakim, see Benzinger, who thinks that the text may really have supposed Zedekiah to have been son of Jehoiakim, but does not mention the possibility scribe may have mis-read the text before him. זדקיה would be a very possible name.

² Tiele, *BAG* 350.

³ Cp NAMES, § 36, and note also Sidkailu, the name of an Assyrian king (Del. *Ass.* III B 564 a).

⁴ Cp TERBAHAT. The same explanation applies to names ending in or beginning with זדקיה.

⁵ See Kretzeltschmid, *ad loc.*

ZEDEKIAH

Jehoiachin looked on at a distance with mingled attempt and indignation (Ezek. 11:13-14), and Jeremiah, not less than Ezekiel, recognised the moral impurity of the new lords of Jerusalem.

Whether, or how far, Nabuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, interfered in the affairs of Judah, remains obscure. The redactors of the narrative and prophetic writings certainly believe that the power which broke up the national existence was the Babylonian.

When we look beneath the surface, however, we suspect that there has been a great misunderstanding, and that, according to the extant fragments of the old Hebrew records, which need to be something not unlike their original purity, it was the king of Judah in N. Arabia who invaded Jewish territory, who besieged and took Jerusalem, and who carried away its inhabitants. We do not know enough of the political condition of N. Arabia to say what nation is represented by the archaistic name Jeremiah, but assume that there must have been some power capable of enforcing his will on S. Palestine. It is possible, of course, that the rule of the N. Arabians was subordinate to that of the Babylonians (cp. O. VON DER LINDEN, § 2); but this is only a hypothesis. All that we know is that N. Arabia was for a long time regarded as the great oppressor of Israel. There is to some extent a similar problem with regard to the captivity of the northern Israelites and the subsequent invasion (or invasions) of Judah in the time of Hezekiah. We are, however, in a worse position with regard to the captivities of Judah, for we have as yet no certain records of Babylonian interference with Judah at the reported times of these captivities.

Another troublesome N. Arabian potentate was the king of Mispur; here again the name is an archaism. According to our revised text of 2 K. 24:21 (thanks to Mispur's had already brought Judah very low in the reign of Jehoiakim; it is to such incursions, we believe, that the so-called Syrian prophecies of Jeremiah really refer (see PROPHET, § 29, end). But, according to Jer. 27:17 (substituting for the introductory verse the passage which now appears as 28:1), the king of Aram (i.e., not the great king of Jerusalem, but some inferior king of the border of Jewish territory) and the king of Mispur sent ambassadors to Zedekiah, to concert a revolt. Evidently a change of circumstances had occurred, and the Mispurites were now no longer anxious for the destruction or weakening of Judah. This king of Mispur is no doubt the personage miscalled Pharaoh Hophra in the common text of Jer. 44:30. For a time the siege of Jerusalem by the Jerahmeelites (which we refer to by anticipation) was interrupted by a friendly diversion on the part of a Mispurite army.

It appears to be a trustworthy tradition that the prophet Jeremiah exhorted the rulers and people of Judah to abstain from any act of rebellion, and that in doing so he was diametrically opposed to prophets of an inferior order (see JEREMIAH, § 2; PROPHET, §§ 24-26). We have also records of embassies of Zedekiah to the great king of בבל .

What messages were carried by these embassies, we cannot of course say; the embassies had for their primary object the conveyance of the annual tribute of Judah, until the fatal year when Zedekiah rebelled. According to Winckler (*K. 17*³, p. 278 ff.), who holds that Zedekiah's suzerain was the king of Babylon,¹ the embassies had another most important object, viz., the bringing about of the restoration of the cultus of Yahwe in the temple, which, he thinks, was in abeyance throughout the reign of Zedekiah owing to the destruction, or at any rate the removal, of the sacred vessels. He does not, however, say that the official worship of

4. Jeremiah, Zedekiah, and the war-party.

his accession and it is amply made up by the weakness of her one of his striking it was so or not. It is not just political and a strict maintenance of Israel, would have existence for king the deportation of brought wealth and had none of the men' soon displayed of the worst of their d, with an obstinacy rns to understand, wing off the foreign zone into exile with

h in 7: 16 among the links that the author of kiah to have been the possibility that the im. זְדַכְיָהוּ (Zedekiah) kiliu, the name of an ion applies to all the

1 Cp Winckler, *K. 17*³ 141.
2 See Dalman's commentary.
3 Only two kings are named, 'Edom' and 'Moab' should be 'Aram' (Jerahmeel) and Mispur. 'Blue Ammon,' 'Israel,' 'Zidon' are also wrong; read 'Blue Jerahmeel' and 'Mispur' (see *Crit. Bib.*)
4 בבל is a dittographed בבל , and this springs out of בבל בבל .
5 Zedekiah (Jer. 29:31) is, where, following בבל , we read בבל instead of בבל , 'from' instead of 'with' Zedekiah). Guthe, however (*Bibl.*, 27), thinks that Zedekiah went in person on the occasion referred to. Certainly Manasseh, when summoned by Esar-haddon to his durbur, was careful to obey. But the theory adopted in the text is safer.
6 In 51:5 read בבל בבל (Ὁ ἄρχων δούρων ; see SERAIAH).
7 Winckler's theory, however, could of course be accommodated to the view that the real suzerain of Judah at this time was the king of Jerahmeel.

ZEDEKIAH

Marduk and Nibā was introduced into the temple, or that Zedekiah's accession to the throne was without the sanctions of Yahwism. He thinks that it was only the 'orthodox, monotheistic Yahwe-cultus' which was abolished; the 'ordinary Canaanitish forms of cultus' (no doubt partly identical with those of Zedekiah) were either allowed to remain, or, as the case might be, set up anew. And when Jeremiah (27:17) urges the people to 'give up the hope of בבל that they might 'live,' he means, 'give up the hope of the restoration of the cultus in the sense of Josiah and of orthodoxes, and be content with what is left.' This, Winckler adds, is the precise opposite of the demands of the Yahwe party, to which Jeremiah, as a pro-Babylonian, is absolutely opposed.¹ This scholar's view of Jeremiah's attitude is altogether original, and the hypothesis of the abolition of Yahwe-worship is difficult to work out. For instance, why should Zedekiah have given his support (as Winckler's interpretation of Jer. 29:3) implies that he did) to a request for milder treatment by the Babylonians, when one of the chief objects of the party in favour of this request was the restoration of Jeremiah's attitude? And is there any trace in Jeremiah or in Jehoiachin of the supposed fact that the Yahwe-cult in the temple had been violently closed, or in the records of the life of Jeremiah that this enthusiast for Yahwe was content with what was left after this catastrophe had occurred? Cp SHU-SHABAZAR.

It is true, the popular cult, chief among which was the impotent Jerahmeelite cult of Baal (בעל), the sun-god, and the great 'Canaanite' or 'Ishmaelitish' goddess (אשתי), either the moon, or less probably the planet Venus,² attracted the majority more than that of Yahwe (as exhibited in Deuteronomy). Not only Jeremiah but also Ezekiel³ expresses the utmost horror at this apostasy, as they regard it. Both prophets are fully conscious of the connection between a low type of religion and immorality. It also appears that even those who professed fidelity to Yahwism had extremely callous consciences. Of this we have a striking evidence in Jer. 34:22. Certain rich citizens of Jerusalem, we are told, emancipated their Hebrew slaves at the beginning of the siege (according to the prescriptions of Ex. 21:1-4 Dt. 15:12), but after the temporary raising of the siege resumed possession of them. The motive which induced the masters temporarily to liberate their slaves was probably, not humanity, but the desire to increase the number of the available defenders of the walls of Jerusalem.

It was in the ninth year of his reign that Zedekiah finally gave way to the war-party and rebelled against his suzerain.

5. Religion and morality.

At first, however, taking the prescription of sending his ambassador to בבל (בבל), Mispur, not Mispurans, that they might give him horses and many warriors⁴ (Ezek. 17:14). A striking picture is drawn by Ezekiel (21:1-12) of the king of בבל (Jerahmeel) standing by the wayside, and shunting the army before the triumph, and then inspecting the liver of a sacrificed animal—two signs of divination, the first of which is specially characteristic of Arabia, not of Babylonia.⁵ There was a chance that he might have led his army against Babylon, or, as we should most probably read, Keloth, the land of the Ammon, by which is meant the capital of Mispur. But the oracle decided him on going to Jerusalem. So the Jerahmeelite army encamped against the strong fortified city. On his side, the king of Mispur was not idle. In the spring of 577 a Mispurite army advanced towards Judah, or perhaps towards Babylon—i.e., not the northern Babylon, on the E. bank of the Orontes, but a southern Babylon, or rather Jerusalem, in the

6. Rebellion.

1 Read בבל for the improbable בבל in Jer. 31:1 בבל בבל for בבל in 2 K. 23:21; and בבל בבל (Ishmael's (Ishmael) for בבל in Jer. 7:1-11:17. Cp also בבל בבל in בבל בבל בבל בבל in Jer. 1:1-7:1-19:443; probably comes from בבל בבל , 'the gods of Jerahmeel.' Cp also *Crit. Bib.* on Zeph. 1:5.
2 Ezek. 8 seems to have been much misunderstood by commentators. See *Crit. Bib.* and cp TAMMIZ.
3 Winckler, it is true, supposes this to refer to Sheshbazzar.
4 See DIVINATION, § 2; and cp Lyall, *Ancient Arabic Poetry*, 106.

ZEEB

southern Hamath or Maacath (see RIMMATH). It was a futile attempt; flushed by victory the Cushite invaders returned, and on the ninth day of the fourth month of Zedekiah's eleventh year, the city was taken. Zedekiah and his most faithful warriors took to flight. He was caught, however, and brought to Riblah. There his sons were put to death before his eyes; he himself was blinded (cp Ezek. 12 11), and carried in chains to the city of his foes. How Zedekiel regarded his fate, we know from a very denunciation (Ezek. 21 25 [30 17]). Cp ISKIAH, §§ 41/2, JEREMIAH, § 2.

2. b. Chenananiah, a leading prophet among those consulted by Ahub as to the success of his proposed expedition against Kamoth-gilead. By means of iron horns the prophet symbolically announced that Yahwe would grant Ahub successive victories over Aram. The dispute with MICAH (27 1) is told in 1 K. 22 11 ff. (27 75); 2 Ch. 18 10 ff. The passage not only throws light on the differences among the prophets, but also is important for the question of the origin of the prophethood.

See PROPHET, § 7, where it is maintained that the original name came from N. Arabia, and that the Aramaeans with whom Israel contended were, mainly at any rate, those of the southern Aram—i.e., the Jerahmeelite border-land. For 'Ben Chenananiah' we should probably read 'Ben Kemizah'; cp 'Elisha, ben Shaphat'—i.e., 'Elisha, ben Sepharah'. Elisha was known as a Zarephathite, Zedekiah as a Kemizite (or Kemite?).

3. b. Maaseiah, one who 'prophesied a lie' in the time of Jeremiah, Jer. 29 21 ff. See SEDECIAS, 1.

The passage has been much misunderstood. For 'roasted in the fire' (שָׂרַף בְּעֵשֶׂת) we should read שָׂרַף אֶת עֵשֶׂת 'killed in Ashur'. Ashur is a synonym for Jerahmeel—the name of the N. Arabian land whither (see ZELOPHEHAD, 1) the Jews were carried into exile. What follows שָׂרַף נָוִי is an interpolation (down to 29 22), on which see MEAL, 2.

4. b. Hananiah, a high officer, temp. Jehoiakim, Jer. 36 12, 5. AV ZIDKIJAH. Signatory to the covenant (see EZRA 1, § 7); Neh. 10 1 [3] (71 77); σεδεκίας [B&A], υἱος σαραῖα. He is placed together with Nechemiah, the Tirhatha, before the list of priestly families. Was he Nechemiah's secretary (Kassel)? or president of the council of the elder. (E. Meyer, *Entst.* 1, 90? See TIRHATHA.)

His reading is שְׁלֵמַיָּה (σελεCIAS), Shelechia; in 2: 4 we find שְׁלֵמַיָּהוּ, Shelaniah. T. K. C.

ZEEB (זֵב), Judg. 7 25. See OREB.

ZELAH (זֵלָה), a city of Benjamin, grouped by P (see TARAIAM, KIRJATH-JERIM) with 'the Jebusite, the same as Jerusalem,' and Gileah or Kirjath (Josh. 18 28; om. B, צְהַלָּה [A], צֵלָה [L]), also referred to as containing the sepulchre of Kish (2 S. 21 14; ΕΝ ΤΗ ΠΛΑΕΥΡΑ [B&A], RV here Zela).

We cannot avoid utilising the results of our criticism of the text. In the list of cities of Benjamin (as well as in some of the accompanying tribal lists) there seems to have been serious geographical confusion. The Gileonite cities, for instance—Gileon, Beeroth (from Rehoboth), Chephirah (a doublet to Beeroth), and Kirjath-jearim (68 later inquiry suggests, Kirjath-jerahmeel)—were originally represented as in the Negeb. So too the Zela of Josh. 18 28 was probably in the Negeb. It is, however, hardly possible to transfer the family of Saul from the territory usually known as Benjamin to the Negeb; the relations between Saul and David forbid this. To carry the names of the clans when they left the Negeb. This may well have been the case with Zela, or rather the name, like so many other names in Josh. 18 and in the story of Saul's personal history, being evidently corrupt—Shalishah. See LAISHAH, and SAUL, § 4, where it is pointed out that, according to what is supposed to be the true text of 1 S. 31 11-12, the bones of Saul and Jonathan were brought by the men of Beth-gilgal (in Benjamin) to the sacred tree at Beth-gilgal, and there buried. From 1 S. 25 44 it appears that Lailah, or rather Shalishah, was either identical with, or near, Beth-gilgal (see GALIM, LAISHAH, PALID). The same name seems to underlie 'Beth-pallid' in 2 S. 17 27 (see MEMPHOSITIC, § 2), 21 8 (see MERAB, and should be restored in Josh. 18 28, 2 S. 21 14. Cp ZILK.)

Some (e.g., Petrie) identify the Zelah (Sela) of Josh. with the Zila of the Amarna Tablets (18 41 45), a place which, like Lachish, threw off the Egyptian authority. T. K. C.

ZELEK (זֵלֶק), an Ammonite, one of David's heroes (2 S. 23 37 [36], ελεε [B], σβαλεγ [A], δ αμμου[ε]ιτη [B&A], σαλααδ δ αραμ [L]; 1 Ch. 11 39, σελη [B&A], σελληκ [L], δ αμμων[ε]ι [B], . . . εμ [N], δ αμμων [L]).

1 Josephus cleverly works out the narrative (*Ant.* x. 8. 2).

ZELOPHEHAD

זֵלוֹפְהָד (Anmonite) is probably here, as in some other cases (2 S. 11 28, 19 7, see RIMMATH, SAUL, § 1 1/2), one of זֵלֶק (Jerahmeelite) *etc.* 'Zelek' came from the mechie Nech. There are two place-names with which may be compared: (1) זֵלֶק (SAUL) (AID), B. name of 'cities of the kingdom of G2 in Cushan' (Gen. 10 10, 11, 12, 13; see Ob., and (2) זֵלֶק (ZILK), for a time city, a name which may be a corruption of זֵלֶק (AID). It is safer to choose the latter. זֵלֶק may be miswritten (11 10) which we know to be a Paltine *etc.* Zarep (2 S. 23 37) and Jerahmeelite (1 Ch. 2 30) name, indicate a connection with the city of Halush. (1 *ibid.* 2.), it is true, connects זֵלֶק (cp Ob. and זֵלֶק), but we do not expect David to have a come the centre of Saul's clan (see ZILK).

ZELOPHEHAD (זֵלוֹפְהָד; σαλπαδ [B, CA], Φ. A. in Josh., σαμφ. B. in Ch.), which

זֵלֶק (Zelphad)—i.e., perhaps 'protective shubaw'—] from terror,' § 43, or [Peterson on Nu. 27], 'the Dread One is shadowed';² ever, below. Zelophehad (Zalpalhad?) is represented as the second son of Manasseh (1 S. 26 ASKEL), and as b. Hopher, b. Gilead, b. b. Manasseh (Josh. 17 14).³ He is said to have sons, but five daughters—viz., Mahlah, Noah, Milkah, Tirzah (Nu. 26 33, 27 1, 36 11; Josh. 17 31) daughters are said (Nu. 27 1-4) to have applied to Moses, Eleazar, the princes, and all the congregation with a petition to be allowed to receive an inheritance as representing their father,⁴ who died in the war and had no sons. A favourable answer was given (Nu. 27 1-11); but the decision was supplemented (Nu. 36) by an order that heiresses should marry their own tribe. Accordingly Zelophehad's daughters are said to have married their father's brothers.

That P had access to old lists, is undeniable, but infrequently represents corrupt forms of name as independent members of genealogy, therefore not impossible that in the list of six by Zelophehad and his daughters, the same different forms may occur several times, plausibility in the view that the name which Zelophehad, Mahlah, and Milkah is Salhad, has been shown elsewhere (GILEAD, § 11, ma salahaba in Gen. 31 47, and appears in Dt. elsewhere as SALCAB (27 7). It is indeed that in one form of the patriarchal story Haman referred to (cp HARAN). The object Salhad was on the E. side of the Jordan, appears that P did not recognise Manasseh inheritances in Gilead,⁵ is not as important as for the tradition that Zelophehad was 'son of son of Gilead,' cannot be annulled by bracket of Gilead,' etc., in Josh. 17 31. In determining of Zelophehad and the other names, we can the asserted connection of Zelophehad with But further inquiry seems to be bringing results—that the school of writers represented had access to lists in which several tribes, Manasseh, were located in the Negeb, traditional kingdom was, not in Bashan, but and hence that Saleah is not the original Dt. 31, etc., but some Negeb name such as

This being the case, the name of Machir's (HAMMURITE) will be miswritten, not for Salor Jerahmeelite, and those of her sons, Ishlah (cp H Mahlah will stand for Ashlah and Jerahmeel respectively, of the five daughters of Zelophehad, the first-

1 PELETH (27 1) in 1 Ch. 2 34 is a 'son' of Jer Zarephath was the centre of a subdivision of the Je
2 For another suggestion see MANASSEH I, § 9 [1
3 On the analysis of Josh. 17 11—see Oxy. *Heb.* 2 nage], *HK Josh.* 217; Kuenen, *Th.T.* 11 47
4 This passage is inconsistent with Josh. 17 6, w that each of Zelophehad's daughters received a 'pa
5 This is Steuernagel's view (*HK Josh.* 215, foot, 6 Cp MANASSEH I, §§ 5, 9.

in some other passages (cf. § 17), corruption came from the Jerahmeel names with which זְבַד (the name of one of the זְבַד , not, as MT and LXX, for a time David's son of זְבַד (Halushah), may be miswritten for זְבַד (Halushah) — 240) name, and may זְבַד (Halushah) Manpari (cp זְבַד and זְבַד) with have a connection with T. K. C.

זְבַד [B.M.] but [the] which suggests 'protection' (זְבַד , cf. Peterson, *SBOT*, 'covered')² see, however, זְבַד is variously זְבַד (1 Ch 7:15; Gilead, b. Machir, said to have had no זְבַד , Noah, Heglath, 1 Josh. 17:3). These to have approached all the congregation receive an inheritance in the wilderness, answer was given supplemented later should marry within Zephaniah's daughters or brother's sons. is undeniable; but he pt forms of the same of genealogies. It is the list of six, formal s, the same name in al times. There is name which underlies is Salhad, which, as D, § 11, may underlie appears in Dt 3:10 and it is indeed probable al story Hauran was 'The objection that e Jordan, whereas it e Manasseh as having important as it seems, 'son of Hephher, d by bracketing 'son determining the sense nes, we cannot ignore pheid with Gilead,⁶ e bringing out these ers represented by P eral tribes, including e Neg'ib, that Og's ashau, but in Cushim, the original name in e such as Halushah. f Machir's sister זְבַד , not for Salecah, but for זְבַד (cp Hophan), and al name respectively. So, זְבַד , the first, the fourth,

¹ Son' of Jerahmeel—i.e., son of the Jerahmeelites. See L. § 9 [1].
² *Oxf. Hex.* 2:17; Steiner 1:47.
³ Josh. 17:6, which implies received a 'part.'
⁴ Josh. 21:3, foot.

ZELOTES

and possibly the third will present Jerahmeel, the fourth (Yizrah) will come from Zephaniah, the second (Nazarath) comes from Mamahath (cf. Steiner), and Zephaniah will presumably be a compound of two or three names, and since these names have to be Neg'ib names, the most probable explanation of the name is Ishmael-hadad (cp זְבַד with זְבַד (Sui. 1:10) and זְבַד [Ziphait], which almost certainly come from זְבַד (Sui. 1:10)). Hadad appears in Gen. 25:15 as the eighth son of Ishmael, Hephher and Hahad, with which Zephaniah is also genealogically connected, are Neg'ib names.

The meaning of the statement that Zephaniah had five daughters, of course is that there were five minor cities dependent on the great central city called Zaphaniah or Ishmael-hadad.

ZELOTES (זְלוֹתֵי), Lk 9:53, AV, RV ZELOI (זְלוֹי).

ZELZAH (זְלִזָּה), 1 S. 10:2. See RACHIEL'S SEPULCHRE.

ZEMARAIM (זְמַרַיִם); see Kittel, *SBOT*, Heb., on 2 Ch. 1:4, and on termination see NAIMS, § 107:1. The name of a city of Benjamin, grouped with Beth-arabath and Bethel (Josh. 18:22; זְמַרַיִם [B], זְמַרַיִם [A], זְמַרַיִם [1]).

The name of a mountain in the hill-country of Ephraim, from the top of which ABRAHAM delivered an address to Jeroboam and the Israelish army (2 Ch. 13:4; זְמַרַיִם [B.M.], זְמַרַיִם [Nose], or זְמַרַיִם [Naber], Jos. *Ant.* viii. 112 = § 274). See BERTHEM. Both 1 and 2 suggest most interesting problems.

Consider (*PEF.*, 1877, p. 291, following Van de Velde and Robinson, identifies 1. with the ruin es-Samir, 2-3 in W. from the Jordan and 15-16 in in a direct line E. from Bethel, and points out that there are two ruins close together bearing the same name—Samira, Buhl (*Pal.*, 189) inclines to accept this combination. Those, however, who take this line must, at any rate, separate the city from the mountain called Zemaraim, for a situation overlooking the Jordan valley will hardly suit the Chronicler's narrative; 7. 10 suggests that the spot was not far from Bethel. The matter needs re-consideration.

We have now to indicate the new position of the questions resulting from our criticism of the text, and first of that relating to 2. We have seen (*HEBREW*, 17; *ROMANIAN*; *SUMIRON*; *SUI*) that the scene of the narratives respecting Jeroboam and Rehoboam (and of course Abijah) was played by the original writers in the Neg'ib, the possession of which was coveted both by Jeroboam and by Rehoboam, as well as by the Jerahmeelites, because it was the 'Holy Land' of Israel and of Jerahmeel, containing the most ancient sacred spots of both sections of Israel and of the closely related people of Jerahmeel. Ephraim is as much a southern as a northern name, and, whatever be its origin (cp *REPHAIM*), is a synonym of 'Jerahmeel'. At the present time, Bethel (perhaps *HEBREW*, Halushah; see L. 27; *PROPHET*, § 15; *SUMIRON*), Jeshaba (perhaps misread for זְבַד , the southern Shimon, cp Sui vi. SUI-SIM), and Ephron (probably near the place miscalled S'chohem, but really named Cushan-ter-dimeel, see SUI-SIM, 2; *MAMAHATH*, see in the hands of Jeroboam. According to the Chronicler (2 Ch. 10:4), Rehoboam took these cities from Jeroboam.

Turning now to 1, we have seen that P, as a geographer, often works on lists which properly belong to an ancient geographical survey of the Neg'ib. This is the case not only with the name-lists of Judah, Issachar, Asher, and Naphtali, but also with that of Benjamin (cp ZEPH). The names Jericho, Beth-hoglah, and Emek-kezziz in Josh. 18:21 probably come from Jerahmeel, Beth-mehadad (cf. Beth-Jerahmeel), and Mamahath (Cush), places in the Neg'ib; whilst the Beth-arabath and Zemaraim in 22 probably come from Beth-arabath and Simon or Shimon. To say where these places stood, except that one of them is presumably Ramoth (זְבַד), is beyond our power. It is possible (though Gen. 10:18 confirms זְבַד) that har-shimon is the same as har-shiron in *Am.* 3:9 (4:9) (see *PROPHET*, § 15; *SUMIRON*). Perhaps Shimon was in the hands of Abijah (according to the Chronicler's authority), and Jeroboam had come with the object of besieging it. There is, at any rate, no reason why 1. and 2. should not be identified. Cp ZEPHANIAH.

ZEMARITE (זְמַרִּי), Gen. 10:8 1 Ch. 1:16. See GEOGRAPHY, § 16, 4.

ZEMIRA, RV *Zemirah* (זְמִירָה), זְמִירָה [B].

¹ For the southern Gilead cp RAMOTH-GILEAD, and *Crit. Bib.* on Jer. 8:22.

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זְפַנְיָהוּ (A), זְפַנְיָהוּ (A), b. Becher in a general ed. of *Brugnot* (*Gen.* 8:10, 10:10, 11:10, 12:10, 13:10).

ZENAN (זְנַן), a place (its text stands) in the SEPTUAGINT, mentioned with Hadashah and Migdal-gad (*CENNA* [B], זְנַן [A], *CENNA* [1]), Josh. 15:37, presumably identical with the *ZANAN* (זְנַן) of Mic. 1:10 (*CANAN* [A], and some MSS), *CENNA* [some MSS, SUI, Heb.], *CENNAAP* [B, C, Q²], *ZAN* [C²].

The probability is, however, that there is a mistake, and that neither *Zen* nor *Zan* is the *Zan* of Mic. 1:10, was in the Septuagint. Among the lists of tribal place-names, Ptolemy has been mentioned in Josh. 15:37 lists place-names (about 200 different forms) of the Neg'ib (see *W.*, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194). Among the names which, originally considered, are specially favourable to this view, are Ishad, Zeph, En-garim, Tappuah, Jaromth, Adullam, Seele, Mezah, Ekheel, Elishah, and we may now add Zenan, Hadashah, and Migdal-gad, which are grouped together in 15:37. That Zenan may be presumed to be identical with the *Zan* of Mic. 1:10 is, however, Now it is to be identified in connection with the people's relative to an invasion of Judah, it will appear that the invaders are more probably Jerahmeelites than the S. than Assyrians from the N. and, if so, Zenan may, at all events, probably be the place which has a melancholy precedence in Mic. 1:10—of those which suffer from the invasion is, not זְנַן (Sumaria), but זְנַן (Sui. 1:10) in the Neg'ib. See *PROPHET*, § 27, 28. זְנַן will therefore presumably be זְנַן (*ZAN*), and זְנַן (*ZAN*), both of which forms appear to have been passed on to Septuagint with the famous Kadesh (cp *PARVISE*, § 26; *SUI*). The original form, therefore, of the names in Josh. 15:37 was not improbably *Zan*, Kadesh, Jerahmeel-gad (or simply Jerahmeel), and in Mic. 1:10, besides Shaphir (Shamir) and Bethzeel, the latter of which is clearly a Neg'ib name, we may recognise Jerahmeel (זְמַרַיִם), *ZANAN* (*ZANAN*) and *ZAN*. It is probable, however, that *Zan* or *Zan* (*ZANAN*), like *Zin* (זֵין), comes from the widely-spread toponym Ishmael, through the intermediate form *Zibon* (זִבְוֹן). See *ZANAN*, and cp *Crit. Bib.*

ZENAS (זְנַס [Ti. VII]), abbess, from Zenoborus; cp *ARTEMAS*, *OLYMPAS*, and *NAIMS*, § 89, only. A lawyer (*νομικός*), is thus alluded to in Ti. 3:10: 'Be zealous in helping Zenas the lawyer and Apollas on their way that they want for nothing.' Whether he was a Jewish lawyer or a Roman juriconsult is uncertain; but the non-Hebrew name and the short criticism of *νομικός* in Tit. 3:10 (cp *Zahn*, *Krit.* 14:5) make for the latter, and the association with Apollas suggests that he was possibly of Alexandrian origin.

In the lists of the 'seventy' compiled by the Pseudo-Dionysius and Pseudo-Hippolytus he is made bishop of Diopolis, and he is mentioned in *Monna* of the Greek church as author of the (no longer extant) *Acts of Titus*.

ZEPHANIAH (זְפַנְיָהוּ , 'whom Yah. e. hides,' or 'defends,' § 39, to which add the references *CNS*, 1:2:7, etc.; *Lilzbarski*, *Hebr.* 3:59 [1] also below).

1. Name and date. זְפַנְיָהוּ (1:1, 2:3 of Cush), the month, according to the order of his book, among the twelve minor prophets, flourished in the reign of Josiah of Judah, and apparently before the great reformation in the eighteenth year of that king (621 B.C.). For various forms of idolatry put down in that year (2 K. 23:1-24) are spoken of by Zephaniah as still prevalent in Judah (1:4, 7), and are specified in such a connection as to imply that they were not the secret sins of individuals, but held the first place among the national inclusions that could, as the prophet teaches, be removed only by a sweeping judgment on the state. Of the person of Zephaniah nothing is known; but inasmuch as his genealogy, contrary to the usual practice in the case of the prophets (see Is. 1:1; Jer. 1:1; Ezek. 1:1; Hos. 1:1; Joel 1:1) is carried back four generations, it has been conjectured that his great-great-grandfather Hezekiah (1:1) is the king of that name, and if so he will have belonged to the highest class of Judahian society.

The genuineness and integrity of the short prophecy ascribed to Zephaniah do not seem to be open to reasonable doubt. Stade (*OZ* 1:644) suspects (on account of the ideas expressed in them) 2:1-3:11 and 3:1 and it is true, if 3 were a distinct oracle, there would be

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no cogent reason to ascribe it to the author of the two chapters that precede; for the book of the minor prophets is made up of short pieces, some bearing a name and some anonymous, and it is only old usage that ascribes the anonymous pieces to the last preceding prophet whose name is prefixed to his prophecy. But, though the sequence of thought in the book of Zephaniah is not so smooth as a western reader may desire, a single leading motive runs through the whole, and the first two chapters would be incomplete without the third, which, moreover, is certainly pre-exilic (17, 14) and presents specific points of contact with what precedes as well as a general agreement in style and idea [see further § 6].

The prophecy may be divided into three parts: (i.) the menace (1); (ii.) the admonition (2-37); (iii.) the promise (38-20).

3. Outline of contents.

The dominating motive of the whole is the approach of a sweeping and world-wide judgment, which the prophet announces as he at hand, and interprets, on the lines laid down by Isaiah in his prophecies about Israel and Assyria, as designed to destroy the wicked and prepare the way for the visible sovereignty of the righteous God of Israel (12/7 14-1). As regards Judah, which forms the subject of the first and third chapters, the effect of the judgment will be to sift out the idolaters, the men of violence and wrongdoers, the false prophets and profane priests, the hardened men of the world to whom all religion is alike ("the men that are thickened on their lees," 112), and who deem that Yahwé will do neither good nor evil (14/5-6, 12 3/2). The poor and lowly people, trusting in Yahwé's name and eschewing falsehood (2 3/12). To them a future of gladness is reserved, a peaceful life under Yahwé's immediate kingship and loving protection (3 13-17). Such an ideal necessarily implies that they shall no longer be threatened by hostility from without, and this condition is satisfied by the prophet's view of the effect of the impending judgment on the ancient enemies of his nation. The destruction of the Philistines on the W. and of Moab and Ammon on the E. (24-10) will enable the Hebrews to extend their settlements from the Mediterranean to the Syrian desert; and their remoter oppressors, the Ethiopians and the Assyrians, shall also perish (2 12-15). That Ethiopia appears instead of Egypt is in accordance with the conditions of the time. It was with Ethiopic dynasts holding sway in Egypt that Assyria had to contend during the seventh century B.C., when the petty kingdoms of Palestine were so often crushed between the collision of the two great powers, and even Tsammetibus, the contemporary of Isaiah, and the restorer of a truly Egyptian kingdom, was nominally the heir of the great Ethiopian sovereigns.

Zephaniah's conceptions are closely modelled on the scheme of Yahwé's righteous purpose worked out by

4. World-judgment.

Isaiah a century before, when Judah first felt the weight of the Assyrian rod; and they afford the most conclusive evidence of the depth and permanence of that great prophet's influence. But in one point there is an important divergence. In Isaiah's view, Assyria is the rod of God's anger; and, when the work of judgment is complete, and Yahwé returns to the remnant of his people, the theodicea is completed by the fall of the unconscious instrument of the divine decrees before the inviolable walls of the holy mountain. Zephaniah, in like manner, looks to an all-conquering nation as the instrument of divine judgment on Judah and the rest of the known world. He represents the day of Yahwé, according to the old meaning of that phrase (WRS, *Proph.* 307 f.), as a day of battle (not an assize day); he speaks of the guests invited to Yahwé's sacrifice (*i.e.*, to a great slaughter), of alarm against fenced cities, of blood poured out as dust, of pillage and desolation at the hand of an enemy (17 13-15). Beyond this, however, all is vague; we hear neither who the sword of Yahwé (2 12) is, nor what is to become of him when his work is completed. Isaiah's construction has in all its parts a definite reference to present political facts, and is worked out to a complete conclusion; Zephaniah borrows the ideas of his predecessor without attaining to his clearness of political conception, and so his picture is incomplete. The foreign conqueror, by whom Judah is to be chastised and Nineveh and Ethiopia destroyed, is brought on to the stage, but never taken off it. It is safe to conclude that the principal actor in the prophetic

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drama, who is thus strangely forgotten at the close, is not as real and prominent a figure in Zephaniah's political horizon as Assyria was in the horizon of Isaiah. At the same time, it is reasonable to think that a complete reproduction of Isaiah's ideas in the picture of a new world-judgment was not formed without stimulus from without; and this stimulus has been supplied with much plausibility, in the Scythian invasion of western Asia, to which some of Jeremiah's prophecies (as 515-17 61-6 22-25) also appear to refer (see ISRAEL, § 39, col. 2246).

Be that as it may, the comparison between Isaiah and Zephaniah affords an instructive example of the difference between original and derivative prophecy.

5. Contrast with Isaiah.

All the prophets have certain fundamental ideas in common, and each has learned something from his predecessors. If Zephaniah draws from Isaiah, he himself drew from Amos and Hosea. Isaiah, however, goes to his predecessors for general principles, and shapes the application of these principles to the conditions of his own time in a manner altogether original and independent. Zephaniah, on the other hand, to his predecessor for details; he does not distinguish between the form and the substance of prophetic ideas, and looks for a final consummation of the divine purpose, not only in accordance with the principles of Isaiah, but on the very lines which the prophet had laid down. These lines, however drawn on the assumption that the Assyrian judgment was final and would be directly followed by the righteousness. The assumption was not just the event; the deliverance and reformation were to be complete, and the inbringing of the reign of righteousness was again deferred. Zephaniah sees this, but draws the true inference. He postulates a new history similar to the Assyrian crisis of which he wrote, and assumes that it will run such a course as to fulfil Isaiah's unfulfilled predictions. But the conditions of history do not repeat themselves; the workings of God's righteous providence take form in each new scene of the world's life, so that a prediction not fulfilled under the conditions for which it was made can never again be fulfilled in detail. An essential feature of prophecy that all ideas are presented but thought out in concrete form, reference to present historical conditions, the difference between the temporary form and the permanent truth embodied in that form is also essential tendency to confound the two—to ascribe also to what is mere embodiment, and therefore unfulfilled predictions as simply deferred, even the form of the prediction is obviously dependent on mere temporary conditions of the prophet's own time. Zephaniah's conceptions are borrowed from the time of Zephaniah, and culminated in the Apocalyptic literature. The eternal ideas of the great prophet are the background, and were at length entirely lost in the Jewish conception of a Messianic age, little more than an apotheosis of national patriotism and self-righteousness.

Zephaniah's eschatology is not open to this with him, as with Isaiah, the doctrine of the survival of the remnant of Israel is inspired by spiritual and distinct with ethical force. The emphasis (3 12-13) on the moral idea of the remnant, a physical conception of Israel. He does not yield to Isaiah in the courage with which he denounces the high places, and he is akin to Hosea in his sense of the principle that the divine governance is only in righteousness but in love, and that the end of love is the end of Yahwé's working (3 17). Here we see the difference between the first and second generation of prophecy. The persuasion of Hosea attains only through an intense inwardness which lends a peculiar pathos to his book,

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Zephaniah, as it were, re-appears. There is no mental conflict before he can pass through the anticipation of devastating judgment to the assurance of the victory of divine love; and the sharp transitions that characterize the book are not, as with Hosea, due to sudden revision of feeling, but only mark the passage to one new topic in the circle of received prophetic truth.

The finest thing in the book—in spite of certain obscurities, which may be partly due to corruptions of the text—is the closing passage, but the description of the day of Yahweh, the *die irae dei* (1:18), which furnishes the text of the most striking of the religious hymns, has perhaps taken under hold of medieval imagination. Less satisfactory is the treatment of the judgment on heathen nations, and of their subsequent conversion to Yahweh (2:1-3). In the scheme of Isaiah it is made clear that the fall of the power that slatters the nations cannot fail to be recognized as Yahweh's work, for Assyria falls *As de Jeremia* as soon as it seeks to go beyond the limits of the divine commission, and thus the doctrine 'With us is God' is openly vindicated before the nations. Zephaniah, on the other hand, assumes that the conversions of history are Yahweh's work, and specially designed for the instruction and amendment of Israel (*de la*), and neglects to show how this conviction, which he himself derives from Isaiah, is to be brought home by the coming judgment to the heart of heathen nations. Their own gods, indeed, will prove helpless (2:11); but that is not enough to turn their eyes toward Yahweh. If, therefore, there is in his eschatology a sensible home from which Isaiah's construction is free, and a commencement of the tendency to look at things from a merely Israelite standpoint, which is so notable a feature of the later Apocalyptic.

W. R. S.

It has seemed best to the present writer to leave the preceding interesting and suggestive article substantially as it stood in 1883; and to append in a supplement such additions as seem to be now required.

The integrity of the prophecy has been much more seriously questioned than it was in 1883.

6. Recent criticism.

Kuenen (*§ 7*, 2) in 1873, whilst defending 2:13-14 against Stade, allowed—on account, chiefly, of the great contrast between the denunciation of 1:23-27 and the promises of 3:14-20—that 3:14-20 was a supplement, dating probably from shortly after the restoration in 520, 519. Schwally (*ZITW*, 1876, 213 ff., 243 ff.) ascribes to Zephaniah only 1:2-19, 21, and possibly 2:14 (concerning this passage an account of 32 and 322 2/3); 2:20-21 he treats as exile (chiefly on account of the 'remnant' 2:7, 9), and 3:1-13 as post-exilic, the 'single leading motive' appended to above by Robertson Smith, he considers to be evidence only of unity of *collection*, not of unity of *author*. Wellhausen (1872, 31-2) is suspicious of 2:3, and rejects 2:7, 9, 11; he treats 3:1-13 as a appendix, added subsequently in two stages, first 3:1-7 (cp Mic. 7:1-3), and then 3:8-13 (cp Mic. 7:7-9). 3:8-13 being separated from 3:1-7 on account of the sudden change of tone and subject, consolations and promises following immediately upon censure and rebuke, and the heathen, not the Jews, being threatened with punishment. Biddle (*St. Rev.*, 1893, pp. 101 ff.) would admit 2:13-14-17-19, and a suitable supplement 1:1; 2:13 he rejects, as inconsistent with 1:1 (Israel no longer, as in 1, the perpetrator of wrong, but the victim of wrong, which is now to be avenged); 3:1, 2, is excluded as breaking the connection between 3:1 and 3:11; and 3:14-20 is a later lyrical epilogue (1893, 11). Conill (*Rev.*, 1896, § 35, 3) agrees with Biddle. Davidson (*1890*) defends (a) 2:2 as a whole, admitting only that 2:1-3 may in parts have been expanded; the *kinā* rhythm seems intended to predominate in these verses; but in some places, especially 2:5-7, it can be restored only by considerable textual alterations, and 2:11 does not conform to it at all; in 3 he feels doubtful only about 3:10 (which is textually obscure and uncertain), and about the extremely beautiful passage 3:11-13, which seems to him to spring from a time when the judgments have already fallen upon Israel (3:1), and by its jubilant tone contrasts strangely with the dark picture of guilt 3:1-7, and even with the more sombre hopes of 3:11-13. Nowack (1892) agrees closely with Wellhausen, only rejecting 2:15 as well as 2:7, 9, 11; in 3, however, he rejects only (like Biddle) 3:1 in addition to 3:14-20. G. A. Smith (1873) accepts (2:12-13) the whole of 2:10-21; in 3 he regards 3:1 as 'obviously a later insertion,' and 3:14-20 as clearly an epilogue of praise and hope added at the close of the exile or after the return (44, 7). Baudissin (*Rev.*, 1891, p. 553 ff.) denies to Zephaniah only 2:7, 9, 11 and 3:14-20;

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he thinks 3:1-13 also to be an addition to the original prophecy which will have coincided with 2:13-14, but not necessarily by another hand or at that Zephaniah's time.

Of the passages which have been thus questioned, 2:10 may be accepted as Zephaniah's without any scruple; it forms for a prophet the almost necessary counterpart to 1. In 2:11-12 only suspicious parts are the clause 2:11 (cp the remark below on 3:1-13), which may be a gloss (Wellhausen, Nowack), and 2:12, which is more likely to have been written before the destruction of Nineveh than after it (cp also § 3). Against 3:1-13 no reasonable objection can be urged; as Biddle (1893) says, we are here in the pre-exilic Jerusalem, with all any trace of the exile and its experiences. Davidson remarks in particular that 3:1-7 is characterised generally by the same moral earnestness as 1:2-4, and 1, at the terms of 3:1-7 are such as are not likely to have been applied to Jerusalem, except in the pre-exilic period; 3:11-13 describes the Jerusalem of the future, purified by judgment, and naturally therefore dated in time from 3:6-7. Schwally's main argument (24 ff.) for rejecting 3:1 cannot be sustained; there is no sufficient reason for supposing that the nations are there gathered together *ad unum* (Isaiah in 1:2, 3:8, and post-exilic passages); they are assembled for punishment, and Israel is included among them. There is, however, a greater consensus against Zephaniah's outshooting of 2:13-14, and 3:14-20. It is objected to 2:13-14 (the oracle of Moab and Ammon) that there is no sufficient motive for the mention of these countries about 525 B.C. (the Philistines 2:7 would be on the line of much of the Septuagint towards Egypt); indeed, Herodotus expressly says that they passed by Ashkelon, 1:18, that the reproaches of 2:13 presuppose the destruction of Jerusalem, which gave occasion for them (Ezek. 25:10 ff., that see Biddle above) the attitude of the prophet towards Judah is here the exact opposite of that taken by him in 1, and that the elegiac measure, which at least predominates in 2:7-12-13, does not appear in 2:13-14. It may, however, be doubted whether the terms of 2:13 necessarily refer to the events of 606, 589, and also whether our knowledge of the times is sufficient to justify us in declaring that no adequate motive then existed for the unfavourable mention of these arrogant and encroaching (Is. 136 Am. 1-3) nations (Davidson compares Dt. 23:16); if Ezekiel, in spite of his uncompromising sense of Judah's sin (1:24), nevertheless presents strongly (25:1-17) the unfriendly attitude of Moab and Ammon, why may not Zephaniah have done the same? The argument derived from the change of rhythm possesses weight; but it implies that we are right in emending the context (2:5-7-12) so as to restore the *kinā* rhythm, and also that we have valid grounds for supposing that Zephaniah would desire to preserve rhythmic uniformity throughout the entire passage (2:1-14 have heard) is an evident reminiscence of Is. 136. 2:11, however, connects imperfectly both with 2:10 and with 2:12 (observe 'yo'ab''); and may therefore be the addition of a reader, who desiderated here the two thoughts which the verse contains; and 3:1 (the *controversy* of the nations) connects extremely badly (notice 'u' for them') with 3:11 (*the judgment* on the nations, of not, indeed, their *destruction*, 1:2 ff.). As regards 3:14-20, it is, no doubt, possible that it is, in G. A. Smith's words (733), a 'new song from God,' which came to some prophet, shortly after the return, and expressed for the remnant that survived, the 'afflicted and poor' people of 3:12, the brighter hopes which the restoration fostered. The picture which the verses delineate is, however, upon any view of their origin, an ideal one; and the question remains whether it is more than a lyrical development of the thought of 2:11-13, such as Zephaniah, realising vividly in spirit the blissful future, might have con-

1 There is manifestly some corruption in 3:20; but the homage of the nations is more consonant with the context than the homage of the exiled Jews.

stricted himself. Undoubtedly the terms of 2:1, 3:20 propose exile, whilst 2:7, 3:11 suggest nothing more than the purification of Judah in its own home; but both exile, and restoration from exile, are contemplated by Jeremiah, and Zephaniah might have added the closing verses of his book many years after 341-11 was written, at a time when exile was seen more clearly to be looming in the future. It is, however, true that 3:4-20 is more open to suspicion than 3:14-17. A final decision on the entire question will hardly be arrived at on the basis of Zephaniah alone; it will depend on the conclusion formed by the critic on passages of similar import found in many of the other prophets (cp *Introd.* 220 f., 273-300 f., 318-330-331; and Cheyne, *Pict.* to WRS, *Proph.* 28 ff.).

The text of Zephaniah, while on the whole well preserved, is in several passages open to grave suspicion, and in some unquestionably corrupt. Many of these have, however, been corrected, especially by Wellhausen, chiefly on the basis of G.

7. Text. A full discussion of the text belongs to a commentary (see esp. We., Now., and GASM.); but a few of the more notable passages may be briefly noted here: 1:3, 'and the simbling blocks with the wicked, is incongruous with the context, and prob. (We., Now.) a late gloss; 1:5b omit prob. *וְעַל כֵּן יִשְׁעוּ וְיִשְׁעוּ* and the *ו* after *וְעַל כֵּן* 'trailing them, and the worshippers of Yehoa, who swear by their king (i. e. Molech)'; 2:1 *יִשְׁעוּ יִשְׁעוּ* (Che., Bu.) 'let you shame, and be ashamed, O nati in unashamed,' is on the whole most prob. (*וְעַל כֵּן* means 'to gather stubble'; 2:2 for the first two clauses (*to chaff*) read with Wellhausen (nearly as G) 'before ye become as chaff that passeth away'; (*וְעַל כֵּן*) (*וְעַל כֵּן*) read probably (G We.) 'and Chereh shall be an habitation for shepherds' (*וְעַל כֵּן* *וְעַל כֵּן* 'with cottages'—or even 'with caves'—'for' is an impossible rendering of the existing Heb.); 2:7 read (G We.) 'and the *ו* of the sea (*וְעַל כֵּן* *וְעַל כֵּן*), and (We.) 'by the sea' for 'thereupon' (*וְעַל כֵּן* *וְעַל כֵּן*); 2:11 at least *וְעַל כֵּן* 'make lean' (cp Is. 10:17, though the word is here strange) for *וְעַל כֵּן*; 2:14 *וְעַל כֵּן* cannot be right ('all the beasts of the nations' is no translation of it)—then for *וְעַל כֵּן* ('their voice') read probably (We.) *וְעַל כֵּן* 'the owl' (Ps. 102:7), and for *וְעַל כֵּן* 'desolation,' *וְעַל כֵּן* 'the raven' (Ew., We.; cp Is. 34:11); 3:3 *וְעַל כֵּן* 'leave,' lit. *cut off*, hence *desert* (?); or 'gnaw the bones,' i. e. 'denom. from *וְעַל כֵּן* is very suspicious; 3:7 read with G We., for '... concerning her,' 'and all that I have commanded' her shall never be cut off from her eyes' (only *וְעַל כֵּן* for *וְעַל כֵּן*); 3:8 for *וְעַל כֵּן* 'to the prey' read prob., with G Pesh., Hitz., Bu., We., Now., GASM., *וְעַל כֵּן* 'for a witness'; 3:10 *וְעַל כֵּן* 'my suppliants, the daughter of my dispersed' (?) is extremely suspicious; 3:15 read, with G Pesh., and nearly all others, *וְעַל כֵּן* 'see,' for *וְעַל כֵּן* 'fear'; 3:17 Bull. (*Z. ATU*, 1885, p. 133) for *וְעַל כֵּן* proposes plausibly *וְעַל כֵּן* 'will renew (Ew. § 232 d) his love'; 3:17a 'for' (RV) is less probable than 'away from'; 3:17b is suspicious, though the clause might be rendered 'better than in RV,' upon whom [referring to 'thee'] reproach is a burden'; 3:20 'and at that time I will gather thee' yields an excellent sense, but it cannot be extracted from the existing text.

As has been remarked already (§§ 3-5), Zephaniah, in his prophetic ideals, follows largely in the steps of Isaiah. With Zephaniah as with Isaiah, the central idea is that of a judgment, to be executed by Yahwe upon Judah, which will sweep away from it the proud, the religiously indifferent, the scoffers, the men who abuse their privileges and their position (3:3 f.), and the impenitent, who will not listen to 'correction' (3:7), but which will leave behind a meek and pious remnant, who trust simply in their God (2:3 3:12 f.; cp Is. 11:2, and contrast Is. 2:11-12 17; Zephaniah, it is to be noted, emphasises more strongly than Isaiah does the particular virtues of 'meekness' and 'humility'). With Zephaniah, however, the judgment, more distinctly than in Isaiah (3:13), is a world-judgment; it embraces all nations (1:2 f. 3:8), not only Israel (1:4 f.). The figure of Yahwe's 'Day' is doubtless suggested by Is. 2:12 f., but the imagery of war and invasion, under which its approach is pictured (1:4-18), is Zephaniah's own, though

found in Isaiah in other connections (e. g. 526-30). great and abiding religious value of the book consists in the profoundly earnest moral tone which pervades and in the prophet's deep sense of the sin of his people and of the stern need which impels Yahwe, who not only too gladly repents over his people, if it will permit him to do so (1:17), to visit it with a disaster such as will purge away its unworthy men. Zephaniah's gospel has been described as 'simple and austere.' It is true, he goes back to and insists on the pathetic eloquence on the most primary and elementary of religious duties, earnestness and sincerity, life, justice and integrity, humility and a simple trust in God. A thorough purgation, the removal of the wicked, the sparing of the honest and the meek, insistence truly upon the rudiments of morality and religion; faith in its simplest form of trust in a righteous God, and character in its basal form of meekness and truth—these alone survive the judgment' (GASM., 71). He does not, as other prophets commonly do, call the wicked to repent, or dwell upon the divine grace which is ever ready to forgive the penitent; it may be that the doom seemed to him to be too imminent; the time for pleading was past; he remained only the separation of the evil from the good. But he recognises and teaches clearly the moral quality which have a value in Yahwe's eyes, and will not sweep away when the judgment comes (cp Is. 33:14). Another point which is worthy of notice is Zephaniah's comprehensive view of history—Yahwe's hand guides the movement of the nations; and by them he accomplishes his purposes of discipline, purgation, and salvation (cp Is. 10:5 f.). His ultimate purpose is not only Israel (3:11-13), but also the nations (2:16 3:9)—whether these verses be Zephaniah's or not, shall become the loyal and faithful servants of God.

Ewald, *Prophets*, 314 ff.; the Commentaries on the Minor Prophets in general (Hitz., Keil, Pusey, Wellh., Now., GASM.); A. B. Davidson in the *Camb. Bib.* (1892); Ewald, *Handb. der Proph.* (1872), pp. 122-83; Kirkpatrick, *Doct. of Prophets*, 253 ff.; J. A. Selbie's art. in Hastings' *DB*; and the discussions of Kuenen, Schwally, etc., which have been already mentioned. An apocryphal prophecy ascribed to Zephaniah (and the spirit took me, and carried me up into the heaven, and I saw angels called lords' (16), is quoted by Cle., *Alex. Strom.* 5:11, § 27; some other fragments, preserved in Coptic version, have also been discovered and published lately (see Anquetin, § 21, Schiller, *ILZ.*, 1899, col. 8 (who agrees that Steadford's 'unknown' Apoc. is probably that of Zeph. 6:11-16) 3:27 f. (see also PROPHETIC LITERATURE, § 40, SCOTLANDS, § 6, on Zephaniah and Jeremiah, with reference to the prophecies on 'the Scythians').

- W. R. S., §§ 1-5, 9 (partly); S. R. D., §§ 6-8, 9 (partly).
2. A Keshathite (1 Ch. 6:21 [9], *saḥarā* [HE., *son*] A).
3. A MAASHIATH (O), a priest, termed Zedekiah; Jer. 21:1 29:29 37:3 52:24 (HVA om.) 2 K. 25:18 (*saḥarā* [HE.]).
4. Father of Jostan (?); Zech. 6:10 14.
[All these 'Zephaniahs' have directly or indirectly a historic interest, and even if it be contended that the prophet Zephaniah must have given his name a religious interpretation (cp the statement in Is. 8:1-5), and have considered himself a guardian of the truth to p. 23, though to be sure Schwally and Wellhausen question Zephaniah's authorship of this passage) that the faithful will be protected in the day of Yahwe's anger, yet it is at any rate conceivable, and, if we consider the mass of evidence arising from parallel names, even probable, that the 'Zephaniahs' in general belonged to families of near or remote Jerahmeelite-ite, N. Arabian, affinities, and the view is capable of being defended that all the names with which 'Zephaniah' is combined in the OT (passing over Zeph. 1:1, in spite of the suggestive 'Usli') are most easily and naturally explained as names of the Negeb. From this point of view, 'Zephaniah' (cp Elizaphan and SAPHAN; also *Crit. Bib.* on Jer. 20:1) is an expansion of Zaphan or Saphan, the name of a N. Arabian district—of ZAPHON, and a parallel to the confusion which may seem to have arisen can be found in the name Eliahā (אֵלִיָּהָה), if the

1 It is worth noticing that there is a well-known Israelite genealogy (Brit. Mus., No. 1012), with this legend, אֵלִיָּהָה בֶּן זְפַנְיָהוּ, where even if אֵלִיָּהָה be rendered 'Ishakish' or 'Irawish' (so Clermont Ganneau, *PEFQ.*, 1882, p. 267), we must at any rate suppose that it is a fantastic variation of אֵלִיָּהָה אֲבִי זְפַנְיָהוּ, so that both father and son have names which originally belonged to districts of N. Arabia.

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ZERAHIAH (זְרַחְיָה) 'Yahweh has dawned.' # 35. ep Izrahiah, unless both these names are modifications of either. see ZERUB, and note that the whole body of names in the general form of those connecting Eleazar to Aaron with Zerub, etc., are names of Zerub's five sons in 1 Ch. 24, and that of Zerub's son in 1 Chr. 24, almost all being regarded as modified either as the [Z]erahiah [M.B.] or the [Z]erahiah [M.B.]... 2. Father of EPHRAIM (Ephraim), of the line of Zerubabel (Zerubabel) (Zerubabel) (M.B.)... (M.B.) See also, etc.

ZERED, THE VALLEY OF, or BROOK OF (זֶרֶד) זֶרֶד; Nu. פֶּרַרְרָא זָרַעַת [B], זָרַעַת [V], זָרַעַת [L], Du. φ ΖΑΡΕΤ [BA], but ΖΑΡΕ ΑΨ ΟΥΟΙ, ΖΑΡΕΘ [L]; 'Jerusalem Zered', named in Es' itinerary in Nu. 21:12, also in Du. 2:13, f. The prevailing tendency is to identify it with the Wady Kerak (Edlmann, Traver, Steinhilber, A. E. Chapman), a deep and narrow gorge running past Kerak in a NW. direction, to the Dead Sea. In the upper part of its course it is called the Wady 'Am el-Furq.

There is, however, reason to think that the document in Nu. 21 has come of an to us, especially so far as relates to geography, in a very distorted form. See NAVEAU, 'Ways of the Bible', Book 1, f. For this theory, which demands close examination, 'Zered' should be some place name in the E. of the Negeb, and the name 'Zered' is most easily accounted for as a corruption of Jizred (Ezra 1:1, 2).

ZEREDA, RV Zeredah (זֶרְדָּה); 1 Ki. 11:26 and Zerodathah (זֶרְדָּתָה) AV, 2 Ch. 4:17. See ZARATHAN.

ZERERATH, RV Zererah (זֶרְרָה); פֶּרַרְרָא [B], αλ [Gr] ζερραθη [M.B.], a place towards which the Midianites fled, in the story of Gideon (Judg. 7:22). See GIDEON, ZARATHAN.

ZERESH (זֶרֶשׁ); Ζωραρα [BNA], c. [A], wife of Haman the Agagite, Esth. 7:10, 11, 14, f. The importance attached by Haman to her counsel favours the view that she was originally a representative of some place or clan. Comparing Zeresh (Zeresh) and assuming that the scene of the story of Esther was originally laid in the Negeb, we may perhaps see in Zeresh (Zeresh) a mutilated form of Zerophah. Earlier critics explained it as 'golden' (Pers. zer, 'gold'). For another view see Jensen, HZA, 1892, p. 104. Cp. also PETERS, # 7, Esth. c. # 3.

ZERETH (זֶרֶת), b. Belah, a Judahite name, 1 Ch. 4:7 (אֶרֶת [B], זֶרֶת [A], אֶרֶת [L]). Perhaps a corrupt form of זֶרֶתָה (Che).

ZERETH-SHAHAR, or (AV), Zareth-shahar (זֶרֶת־שָׁהָר); ΠΕΡΑΔΑ ΑΙ ΑΙ [E], ENAB [B], ΑΡΘ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΩΡ Ε. Τ. Δ. ΕΝΑΚ [A], ΑΡΘ Ε. Τ. Δ. ΕΝΑΚ [L], a Benjamite city of doubtful name (see below), situated 'on a mountain of the valley' (Josh. 13:61—i.e., on one of the mountains E. of the Jordan valley (cp. 7:7), and not impossibly on that described at length in Jos. 17:11, 12—(see MACHERES). To the NW. of this mountain is the Wady es-Sar, with a hot spring called 'Ain es-Sar' (ZDPV 2:21, 214; cp. 'Fristram, Land of Moab, 257 ff.), in which name Bull. Zool. 2681 finds an echo of זֶרֶת, Zereth.

The name Zareth-shahar, however, seems to become clearer from the point of view adopted in the article SHESH. זֶרֶת should represent אֶרֶת 'A-shur' (cp. 1 Ch. 4:3), and שָׁהָר should come from שָׁהָר 'Zephath'. Josh. 13:20, as it now stands, may not correctly represent the original document.

ZERI (זֶרִי), 1 Ch. 25:3. In 1 Ch. 25:11 ZRI.

ZEROR (זֶרֹר); ΑΨ Δ [BA], ΑΡΑ [L], a Benjamite, ancestor of Kish (1 S. 9:10); he 1 Ch. 8:30 Zer. Marjart (Ewald, 13) prefers זֶרֶר. זֶרֶר might be possible (cp. ZERUB).

ZERUAH (זֶרְוָה); ΑΡΟΥΑ [A], on Bl. ser. col. 240, n. 2), mother of Jeroboam I. (1 K. 11:2). The name is probably a corruption of זֶרְוָה, 'a Misrite (N. Arabian) woman.' See JEROBOAM, 1, and cp. ZERUAH.

ZERUBBABEL (זְרֻבָּבֶל); ΖΟΡΟΒΑΒΕΛ, commonly ex-

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plained as = זְרֻבָּבֶל (cp. Kon. 2:4, 7, 2). 'The name of Zerubbabel in Babylon.' The name of Zerubbabel brought into connection with Zerubbabel in two Babylonian contract tablets (marked V. A. 81 and V. A. Th. 143 respectively, in Ponsen's *Texte* [1860]), ZER-UB-UB-KI, which is usually Zer- or ZR-Babih, though as a matter of fact the preceding Zardubal is found. The meaning of this name in its full form, according to C. H. W. Tischendorf, probably preserves the faithful seed [the Babylonian]. This assumes that the name is a contraction of Zerubbabel-Zardubal-hu; see, however, below.

The facts of the history of Zerubbabel are unimportant, and the OT references still appear to await fresh illumination. These references (excluding manifest interpolations in 1 Esd. 4:1, 26) are: 1 Esd. 2:2, 2:21, 2:21, 2:21, 1 Ch. 3:19, 1 Esd. 2:3, 5:2, 7:7, 1 Esd. 5:2, 6:7, 6:23, 27, 29, f. Authorities agree stating that he was son of Shealtiel (or, as third Haggin, Shaltiel), except Zerubbabel, who is silent his parentage, and the Chronicler, who makes the son of Pedaiah, and the nephew of Shealtiel. Chronicler represents him as a descendant of David. In the other passages this is not stated. He four times appears to his name the title 'governor' (1) of Judah, and Zerubbabel implies he occupies the highest position among the Jews in the home. In 1 Esd. 2:2 = Neh. 7:7 he is represented a leader of a band of captives who returned to Jerusalem, by the title 'my servant' (= Yahweh's servant) (1 Esd. 2:2, cp. Zech. 3:1), indicates that Zerubbabel has received a special mission from God, and both Haggin Zerubbabel (cp. also Ezra 5:1, f.) represent Zerubbabel Jeshua or Joshua, the high priest, as having been grieved by them to rebuild the temple. The most reliable reference of all remains. It is in the same passage of Haggin which contains the address to Zerubbabel 'my servant,' and consists of an emphatic statement that when the great overthrow of the powers (or possibly to Israel) occurs, Zerubbabel will receive the highest proofs of the divine favour and protection. These are the few dry, bare facts which find expression in the Bible. The earlier tradition, however, was certainly so meagre, and traces of the fuller record can, probably, yet be discerned. It is only becoming points to be examined are so new that there is still considerable divergence of opinion.

A provisional view, which probably contains historical truth, is as follows. The family of David, notwithstanding ruined by the catastrophe of the exile. There is a tradition, even Jehoiachin benefited by a claim of feeling towards him on the part of Nebuchadnezzar and successor, BAL-SUR-RUBACH (q. v.). It is stated that SHU-SURAZZAR (q. v.), the 'prince' (q. v.) 'governor' (q. v.), received the sacred vessels from Nebuchadnezzar, and went with a royal commission to rebuild the temple, that he did actually lay the foundation-stone, but that the building was soon afterwards interrupted. This Sheshazzar has been identified with the Shen of 1 Ch. 3:17, who is represented as a son of Jedaiah. It is supposed that Zerubbabel had succeeded him in the governorship by the year 520 B.C., when Haggai and Zerubbabel stirred up the people to resume building of the temple, and that the breaking of revolts in different parts of the Persian empire have stimulated hopes of the revival of an independent Jewish kingdom. On these see EZRA (THE GREAT), § 6, and cp. Guthe's in Kau, *Texte* (1862). That the name of Zerubbabel originally Zerubbabel (cp. Jos. Ant. xi. 3. 3) is plainly impossible even if Zerubbabel was not the same person as Sheshazzar, and was not the leader of the first migration of Jews to Palestine. According to Howarth, however, the name respecting Zerubbabel here referred to was a sufficient reason and the only one, for the reason of this particularly old passage from the canon of Ezra, and in consequence of its exclusion from the canon (C. S. Unconventional Views on the Bible, 1856, 233).

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kingdom under the Day he prince Zerubbabel. It is also held by some that there is evidence of this in the OT itself. *Zechariah* (6:1) mentions the arrival at Jerusalem of four Jews from Babylon who brought gifts of silver and gold. Wellhausen thinks that in *Zech* (6:1) the text has been deliberately corrupted with "The crown referred to must surely have been for Zerubbabel." This must either have been expressly stated or implied. Wellhausen himself is content with omitting the words referred to the high priest, Joshua, as crown of a prince when the high priest was virtually a crowned king, but it may also be held that the name Joshua has disappeared the name Zerubbabel. However, this may be the sudden disappearance of Zerubbabel from the OT political history is remarkable. It has been suggested that he may have been recalled or even put to death by the Persians, and that the attempt of Tadmor (see *TAHOM*) the sultan of Syria to stop the building of the temple may have some connection with this, or may at any rate imply a suspension of the activity of the Jews. Later we find Sanballat professing that there is a report that Nehemiah aims at the crown (*Neh* 2:10). This report was doubtless erroneous, but it may possibly be supposed to be based on the fact that a Jewish pretender had really come forward in the past.¹

For the further development of similar ideas see Sellin, *Serubbabel* (1900), where it is supposed that Zerubbabel is the martyr referred to in many places in *Is* 53, and the same writer's *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der bibl. Genealogie nach dem bibl. Text* (1909), where some reticentations are made, and the theory is placed on what appears to the writer a more secure basis. Sellin still holds that Zerubbabel came to a violent end, but no longer rests this on *Is* 53 or on any other passage of the OT. Winkler, however, is bolder. He thinks that both Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel were set aside by acts of the Persian authorities, and that, whilst Sheshbazzar was treated gently, Zerubbabel suffered the punishment of impalement; the eulogium of Zerubbabel is to be found in *Is* 53.²

Stadel (1912: 51) speaks more vaguely. "If the supreme Persian power heard of the hopes attaching to the Persian governor Zerubbabel, we can understand it did not want to come date itself to the role of a mere ruler of the province of Iudaea."

It is possible, however, that these theories need to be revised in the light of a more thorough examination of the text of the OT narratives. The story underlying *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, and the early part of *Daniel* refers, it may be held, to a subsequent change in their relations to their captors. It is unsafe to place any reliance on the proper names in their present form.

N. Arabian captivity of the Jews, and to a subsequent change in their relations to their captors. It is unsafe to place any reliance on the proper names in their present form. *נְחֶמְיָהוּ* for the common explanation of which little can be said may, like *שֶׁשְׁבַזְזָר* and *זְרֻבָּבֶל*, be a corruption (manipulated by the redactors) of *שֶׁשְׁבַזְזָר* (Ishmael). This has the advantage of agreeing with the theory, which appears to be well supported, that the names given in *1 Ch* 3:2 to the sons of 'Zerubbabel,' beginning with Meshullam (— *Ish* 3:1), are all

¹ See *Levy, Rel. Life*, 15, n. *Hitzig* supposes a more ordinary accident. He would insert the words 'of Zerubbabel and of his sons' counting for the plural 'sons'; see also *Mattin Kau. Zeit.*

² For another view see *Guthrie, JTT* 247 (Darius's division of the empire into twenty satrapies, making the post at Jerusalem superfluous).

³ See *Levy, Rel. Life*, 15, n. which was written independently of Sellin's *Serubbabel* (published in the same year 1902).

⁴ See *SILVANS OF THE LORD*. Winkler's theory, as given in *JTT* and *K. J. Zeit.*, have passed through several phases. There is a convenient summary of his present conclusions in the latter work, pp. 247 ff.

⁵ *S. W. in Babylon* 'surely cannot mean "begotten in Babylon." Rubins in *Geneal.* (1906, 65) thinks that the name was given to his son by Balaah (= Sheshbazzar) to commemorate the happy turn in the fortunes of Israel, and that the return of Jewish exiles was already as good as certain when the child called Zerubbabel was born. Marquart (*Kund.* 55), however, supports the view that Zerubbabel (*Zerubbabel*) is a Babylonian name. But the name, as explained above by Johns, does not seem at all a likely one to have been selected for a Jewish governor.

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corruptions of gentiles or others belonging to the same. That Zerubbabel was a Jew is doubtless probable, but by no means certain, and the same may be true of the other individuals mentioned. Even that they were returned exiles is doubtful. It is not the present writer's intention to discuss this period, or rather, the end of the fragments of its history, from the new point of view. But we may at any rate suggest that certain of Zerubbabel may have cared in supposing that the names of the other and good mentioned in *Zech* (6:1) were

Babylonian Jews. The persons appear rather to have been forgotten, such as are referred to in *1 Ch* 3:1, and their rights in regard to the offerings (*1 Ch* 3:1) most probably referred to in the famous prophecy (*Hag* 2:23) of *1 Ch* 3:1, however, be held that the name of Zerubbabel (*Zerubbabel*) has been substituted for that of Zerubbabel (*Ishmael*), and the view that a movement among the Jews in favour of Zerubbabel as Messianic king still appears to have a considerable degree of probability.

Rel. Life, 15, n. *Levy* (*Levy, Rel. Life*, 15, n. *Levy*) has pointed out the presence of the names in *1 Ch* 3:1, and he has shown that such names as that of Zerubbabel (*Ishmael*) are not exceptional, and evidence the author's assumption of the names in the name 'Ishmael' such as the late form of 'Ishmael' was the son of Balaah, is supported by some new material hypotheses, the basis of which, however, needs careful testing.

ZERUIAH זְרֻיָּהוּ, זְרֻיָּהוּ, 'one who is perished' with *שׁוֹרָיָה* § 71; (אֲרָיָה [HVL]), sister of David (*1 Ch* 2:19), and mother of JOAH, AMISHAL, and ASAMIT.

See at least the *Cherubim* represents; *2 S* 17:2 will be considered presently. It would be strange to suppose that in the list of David's high officers in *2 S* 17:2, Joah should be the only one whose mother's name was substituted for his father's. We have met with many cases in which the origin of a name has been disguised by the addition of a feminine ending. It is therefore not improbable that Zeruiah is an expansion of another name, and if so we cannot for a moment doubt what that name is. It is זְרֻיָּהוּ, זְרֻיָּהוּ and זְרֻיָּהוּ are several times given by an error for זְרֻיָּהוּ, זְרֻיָּהוּ, Misir in *N. Arabia* (see *Misir*, § 25), and Zerubeam's mother is by a similar error, called זְרֻיָּהוּ (Zerui), instead of Misirah. In *2 S* 17:2 the sepulchre of Asahel's father is said to have been in Bethlehem, Bethlehem probably, and from Bethlehem, and there was a fortress at Bethlehem in the *Jerusalemite* *Nephtali* (*1 Ch* 2:44). It was from this Bethlehem that Zeruiah probably came, and if so we can easily believe that his father might be called respectively by those who dwelt outside the *Nephtali* Misir, or 'Misirite,' 'Jerusalemite' and 'Misirite' being almost, though not quite, synonymous. In *1 Ch* 2:44 (KV) we meet with a place *Arith* (*Arith*), connected with the *Siphonians* (see *SAPHON*). This indirectly corroborates the view here taken. It would be a serious objection to this if the text of *2 S* 17:2 were correct. The obscurity of the passage, however (see *NABUS*), suggests a doubt. Elsewhere (see *2 S* 17:2) it is proposed to read, 'Now Amasai was the son of Amasai in Ishmael, who went in unto Abigail, the daughter of Nishai, a Misirite.'

We can now understand better the explanation ascribed to David in *2 S* 17:2, 'these met the sons of Misir' (*2 S* 17:2) Misirites by estimation (MI Zeruiah) are harsher than I'. The alternative is to connect זְרֻיָּהוּ with זְרֻיָּהוּ (*2 S* 17:2) comparing זְרֻיָּהוּ, Ziphah, 'the post' (see *NABUS*, § 71). It is true, Ziphah too admits of another explanation (*1 Ch* 3:10). What can have led Josephus to say (*Ant.* vii. 1.) that Joah's father was named *Arith*, Sirir, it is difficult to say, unless it be that in *1 Ch* 1:11, *Isaiah*, 'father of Geharashim' (a corruption of Geshirim), is called Seradah (see *SEKADAH*, beg.). T. K.

ZETHAM זֶתָם, explain as ZETHAN, זֶתָם [B], זֶתָם, זֶתָם, [A] ZHDAN [L], a Gershonite Levite; *1 Ch* 23:26 27.

¹ Cp *Koesters, Hebr.* 47 f.

² According to the theory here advanced, 'Sheshbazzar' is an alteration of a name with *N. Arabian* affinities. The first part may, in accordance with sound method, be identified with זְרֻיָּהוּ. Again, and again in the MT we find זְרֻיָּהוּ and זְרֻיָּהוּ written in error for זְרֻיָּהוּ. The second part may perhaps be a corruption of זְרֻיָּהוּ.

³ Cp *EZRA-NEHEMIAH*, § 7; *ISRAEL*, § 11; and *Inty. Is.* Prolegne, p. xxxviii; *Levy, Rel. Life*, 15; *Kaut, Hist. of the Jewish People* (Babylonian Period, etc.), 132 f.

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ZETHAN (זֵיתָן), as if 'olive' [§ 69], but the neighborhood of Bilhan [if it be ultimately from 'Jerahmeel'], and of Tarshish and Abshahar, both probably from Ashhur, suggests זֵיתָן as the original of זֵיתָן or Zethan. ZAIΘAN [B], HOAN [A], ZHOA [L]. b. BILHAN in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (7:17, §§ 3, 9 n. a), 1 Ch. 7:10f.

How deceptive apparent tree-names may be, appears from Birzith (בִּרְצִית, Dies. 'well of an olive'), the name of a son of Mahiel (from 'Jerahmeel'). Mahiel's brother's Heber (cp. Judg. 4:11), among whose sons (all probably bearing Negeb names) is Ephel (cp. Pesh. h. Jerahmeel, 1 Ch. 2:13), which may ultimately come from ZAKHATH (7:7). T. K. C.

ZETHAR (זֵתָר), ABATAZA [B&M], a chamberlain of Absurmus, Esth. 1:13f.

It seems, perhaps 'star' (Pis. zeta). But if Mshuman, Heman, Harbona, Hebron (Rehoboth), and Carear (Jerahmeel, Zethar as probably Zarephath. Cp VASUHI, ZEMSI, and see otherwise Manp. 1:11f. T. K. C.

ZIA (זֵיָא), ZOYE [BA], ZEA [L]. 1 Ch. 5:13, a name in the genealogy of GAD (7:17, i., § 13)

ZIBA (זֵיבָא, and זֵבָא; on origin, see below; 2 S. 16:4. זֵיבָא [BA], זֵיבָא [A sometimes], זֵיבָא [Josh. 17:11, 18:7]. 'Servant of the house of Saul', and, after Saul's death, of Meghithosheth or Merihad. On the obscure source of his treatment of Saul's son see MIPHIMOTH, § 2. Ziba seems to have founded an important family; he had 'fifteen sons and twenty servants'. He himself had no recorded father or tribe.

Although other views have been suggested (cp. NAMIS, §§ 1-9), we can hardly doubt that זֵיבָא or זֵבָא is a worn down form of זֵיבָא (Silon) or זֵיבָא (Sim'on) 'שֵׁיבָא' (Shme'li). Ziba, like Hog (see SATI, § 20), was apparently a N. Arabian (2 S. 17:24 16:14 19:17-20). T. K. C.

ZIBEON (זֵיבְעוֹן, 'hyena'? § 68; see below; צֵבְעוֹן [L], a Hivite (7:2) or rather (see 7:2) Horite, in the genealogy of the Esau-tribe (Gen. 36:2-20, צֵבְעוֹן [L], 7:2; 1 Ch. 1:8, צֵבְעוֹן [A], 4:1. In 7:20 he is a clan-chieftain (זֵיבְעוֹן) or clan (זֵיבְעוֹן, see SS, 57, 77-8).

In 7:24, underneath the strange, Midrash-like text of the redactor, i.e. apparently, the words 'it is the Arab who went out from the Jerahmeelites in the desert' (cp. as he led the asses') is woven out of a marginal gloss זֵיבְעוֹן, which is one of the current distortions of זֵיבָא (cp. SICHAN, 2). Another popular corruption of the same word is probably זֵיבָא (Hivite). In 7:20 Zibeon is reckoned among the sons of 'the Horite', and as a comment on זֵיבָא (Horite), there still lies, under the superfluous phrase זֵיבְעוֹן (KV, 'the inhabitants of the land'), the gloss זֵיבָא (Ishmaelite); זֵיבָא (like זֵיבָא) being one of the corruptions of זֵיבָא. We are now prepared to consider the origin of the name Zibeon, which is scarcely 'hyena', as WRS (Z. Phil. 9:6), Gray (EPY 98), and other scholars have supposed, but is rather a corruption of זֵיבָא (Sime'on), used as an equivalent of זֵיבָא (Ishmael), unless indeed it comes directly from זֵיבָא, a corruption of זֵיבָא, for which parallels can be adduced. Cp ZUA, ZIS. T. K. C.

ZIBIA (זֵיבִיָּא, 'gazelle,' cp. זֵבִיָּא [Acts 9:6]; זֵיבִיָּא [B], זֵיבִיָּא [A], זֵבִיָּא [L]), in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (7:17, § 9, ii. β), 1 Ch. 8:4.

ZIBIAH (זֵיבִיָּה, § 68) of Beer sheba, the mother of King Josiah (2 K. 22:1, 2 Ch. 24:1; זֵבִיָּה [L, in Ch. 24:1], זֵבִיָּה [Pesh. h. ziba [Vg]).

The usual explanation 'gazelle' (cp. זֵיבָא) for Zibiah and Ziba is in itself plausible, in spite of the pointing. But though such an interpretation may possibly be ancient, the theory that early Hebrew personal names were derived from animals has become so questionable that we must look in each case for some other more probable explanation.

1 The representation of צ (Ar. Ṣ) by γ is not uncommon; cp. W. Com. Sem. Gr. 42 f., and see BERGMAN, n. 1.

2 זֵיבָא is probably a fragment of זֵיבָא, of which triliteral name זֵיבָא is used as a synonym.

ZIKLAG

Now Zibia (זֵיבִיָּא) in 1 Ch. 8:9 is grouped with Jabah, Mahan, and Mahan. Judging from numerous analogies it can be doubted that of these three names (a) and (b) come from 'Jerahmeel' and (c) from 'Ishmael', while the names father and mother (Shabanam and Hodesh) are both distinct from 'Ashim' (a synonym of Jerahmeel); naturally enough dwell in the 'field (highland) of Misur, זֵיבִיָּא, as often, altered from Misur (see ABOVE, §§ 1, n. 1, 14) z. c. in 1 Arabian border-land. It now becomes probable that both זֵיבָא together with זֵיבָא (ZIVA) and זֵיבָא (ZIVA) popular corruptions of זֵיבָא (Ishmael). T. K. C.

ZICHRI (זִכְרִי, see NAMIS, §§ 32, 52, but ZACHRI, where it is suggested that this must be a name; note the ethnic affinities of the related name זֵיבָא [B&M].

1. In a genealogy of BENJAMIN (7:17, § 9, ii. β), 1 Ch. 8:9, where observe that SHIMLI, SHASHAK (probably), and JIZRI are ethnic.

2. b. Shimeel (7:17, זֵיבָא [B]).

3. b. Shashak (7:17, זֵיבָא [A]).

4. b. Jerolim (7:17, זֵיבָא [B]).

5. 'Father of Jerolim' in the developments of Jerahmeel in list of Benjaminite inhabitants of Jerusalem (Ezra 1:8, § 13 1:13). Nch. 11:4.

6. b. R. 1:15 (8:14, end), 1 Ch. 27:6. The name stands to the 'Jerahmeelite' names, Shaphathi, Maathab, Kei, Hillo, etc.

7. A Judahite, father of AMASIAH (2 Ch. 17:17; זֵיבָא, זֵיבָא [A]). Amasiah, like Amasai and Amasai, comes ultimately from 'Ishmael'.

8. An Ephraimite warrior (2 Ch. 28:7; זֵיבָא [B], זֵיבָא [B]).

9. Father of EUSAPHATH, 2 Ch. 23:1 (זֵיבָא [B], זֵיבָא [B]). Eusaphath is a variant to SHAPHATH (7:7).

10. b. Zhan, a Kothathite Levite (Ex. 6:24 [P]). Evidently a clan name, may come from Mizri (Mizri).

11. A Levite overseer, b. Elizer, b. Mose. Z. c., of N. Arabia (1 Ch. 26:2).

12. An Asaphite Levite in list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (Ezra 1:8, § 13 1:13), 1 Ch. 9:15, in Nch. 11:17, 18, ZAPHI; see ZACHRI (p). Brother of Micha (from Jerolim) and son of Asaph (perhaps from Saphath).

13. A priest of the course of Abihah, temp. Joiakim (Ezra 1:8, § 13 1:13), Nch. 12:17 B'N, Gen. זֵיבָא [B]. A predominant type of these priestly names is probably the name MISHI'AM (7:7) precedes Zibia, B'N AM (7:7) follows. Zibia must surely be a clan-name from the Negeb. T. K. C.

ZIDDIM (זִידִים, as if 'the sides'), more correctly HAZZIMIM, a fortified city of Naphtali (Josh. 19:48, זִידִים [Vg.]; ἀκκείαι [Eus. OS 221 95]). Jer. Talm. (Meg. 14) represents Hazzidim to Kejarah Hija, which perhaps Hattim, NW. of Tiber (Neub. Geogr. 207; Buhl, Pal. 210). Some MSS 10 זִידִים (so זִידִים, טִיבִים, טִיבִים). See ZIR.

It is very possible that P's work is based here upon a geographical survey of the Negeb, which included the cities of Naphtali (see ZIR, B'N, Gen. 10:13). Several of the names in 17:35-38 have the appearance of being names of the Negeb; זִידִים might be explained in the same way as זִידִים (SUDAN). T. K. C.

ZIDKIJAH (זִדְקִיָּה, Neh. 10:1 AV, RV ZEDEKI, 7:7, 5).

ZIDON (זִידוֹן, (צִידוֹן), Gen. 10:15, etc. Zidonias (צִידוֹן), Ezek. 32:30. See SIDON, PIDEUSIA, §§ 4 [12, 21 f.

ZIF, RV ZIV (זִיב), 1 K. 6:17. See MINTU, § 2.

ZIHA (זִיחָא, § 51). The family name of some post-villic NEPHUSIM; Ezra 2:41 (σικηθία [B], σικηθία [A], σικηθία [L]). Neh. 7:46 (σικηθία [B], σικηθία [A], σικηθία [L]). Neh. 11:30 (σικηθία [B], σικηθία [A], σικηθία [L]). Neh. 11:31 (σικηθία [B], σικηθία [A], σικηθία [L]). Neh. 11:32 (σικηθία [B], σικηθία [A], σικηθία [L]).

ZIIM (זִימ), 1s. 13:21, etc. AV 996. See CAL.

ZIKLAG (זִיקְלָג, in pause and in 2 S. 1 זִיקְלָג; 1 Ch. 12:12 [21 B], Gish. זִיקְלָג; usually σικελακ [B], σικελακ [A], σικε, [L]; but with the following variants σικελακ [L], σικελεγ, σικελακ [A], σικελα [A], σικελε' [N. a. mg. inf], σικελα [L]; while in 1 Ch. B has σικελα, σικελα, σικελα, and σικελα σικελα; and in 2 S. 20:1 first time B and L read σικελα; 2 S. 10:1, 13:10 σικελα; Sicelag; zankahag, zankahag).

We first hear of Ziklag as in the possession of Achish king of Gath, by whom it was given as a residence to

ZILLAH

his vassal David (1 S. 27.9 f., cp 30.14.26 2 S. 11. 1-3 1 Ch. 12.1-6). Ziklag also appears with other places in the far S. in Neh. 11.28. In Josh. 15.31 (1*) it is enumerated among the more remote towns of Judah, but in Josh. 19.5 (1*) is assigned to Simon. Conder's identification of Ziklag with Zuberikhi a site 11 m. E. by S. of Gaza, and 19 m. SW. from Beit Hanan or Elbuthnopolis (P. R. Q., 1378, pp. 12 ff.), has been generally but too hastily accepted.

The name is certainly corrupt, but not so far as entirely to obscure the true name. The two names identified by Conder begin with a different syllable, and Zuberikhi reminds us of Ar. zahabiyah, 'delicacies', a name which applies well to the three small hills, nearly conical in form, on which (see Conder) the ruins called Zuberikha stand. Ziklag is as corrupt as Abihag or the 7777 (see S.V.K.) of 2 K. 14.2. It is best to read 7777 or 7777 (cp Ass. habun, 'Glossy'), an ancient and famous city (see Bevan) represented by the mod. Habana, in the Wady Ashih, about 12 m. S. of Beersheba, on the way to Rulerbihi or Rulerbihi (see map of Syria, A. 2, after col. 1377). In Josh. 19.5 Ziklag is grouped with Bethnanaboth which should be read Bethshehadah (see MARGOLIJS). This fits in perfectly with the story of David's early while at Ziklag. The name Habunsh or Habunsh is also not improbably connected under Ithabath or Kizabath (cp 2) the lists of P. and of the Ch. and for often contain corrupt variants of the same name, given as names of distinct places or persons. This accords with the view that 2 S. 21.15.22 23-24 relates to a war of David with the Rehobothines and the Zaphathites (see HAZZELWOOD, ZEPHANIAH); the original text was misunderstood and wrongly copied. Very possibly the 'hold' (7777 to which David 'held' (2 S. 27.9) in 2 S. 21.15) and where he was when he longed for water from the cistern of Be'er-sheva, probably a 'Bethlehem' in the Negeb, was that of Habunsh, which was not far from the valley of Sarephath (text, 'Kephaim') where the Zaphathites (text, 'Pethim') were arrayed against him. Habunsh may likewise be the original of HAZZELWOOD's, of Abunzah in Gen. 26.23, and (of course) of Chelun in Judth 10. Possibly Habunsh was originally the centre of the cult of the hero ISAAC (cp 1). The above view was formed long before the appearance of Winkler's (1886, 2), where (188) it is held that Ziklag is the capital of the Kethi or Chetethites, (cp 1 S. 30.14).

Perhaps 'Zikkagim' (or Habunshim) may underlie the difficult 'Cushim' in Gen. 10.14. See MIZRAHI, col. 261, n. 1. T. K. C.

ZILLAH (זִילָה); זελλα [AEL.]; זילל, Gen. 119.23]. See CANTLES, § 9.

ZILPAH (זִלְפָּה); זελφα [ADEL.], the mother of the tribes GAD and ASHER (Gen. 30.16-17; 35.26 P); also represented as the maid of Leah (29.24 (30) J; 37.2 40-8 P). If any explanations of the name Zilpah were current in early Israel, the editors of the Genesis narratives have not preserved them. It is hardly possible, as it perhaps is in the case of Bilhah (see SVOF) on Gen. 30.9, to guess what they might have said. The nearest approach to a narrative bearing on Zilpah is Gen. 37.2. That verse seems to represent a version of the Joseph-story in which the enmity against Joseph was confined to the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah. Such a story may be a late invention to remove the reproach from the sons of Leah (Gunkel, ad loc.), in particular from Judah; but P. may have found it in sources which had more to say on the subject. The name Zilpah cannot be explained from the vocabulary of the remains of Hebrew literature. We cannot be sure, however, that Genesis as we now read it regards Zilpah as Hebrew. Her mistress is a daughter of Laban (cp RACHIL, § 16).

According to Test. VII. Patr., Naph. 1, indeed, Zilpah and Bilhah, who are sisters (cp Judah, 28.6), are daughters of a maid (παιδική) of Laban (Λεω) and of Reubens' of the stock of Abraham, who was carried captive from a place called Zilpha (where P. the name of his first-born). Elsewhere, however, the sisters are daughters of Laban himself by a concubine (1 S. 1.1 m. on Gen. 29.24 26, Gen. 24.54 74, P. R. Q. Rab. 11. 30; cp Charles, Bk. of Jud. 170).

The name Zilpah has accordingly been explained

1 For a late example see Test. VII. Patr., Naph. 1, quoted below.

2 It is against the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah that Joseph speaks to Jacob in Test. VII. Patr., Gad. 1.

ZILPAH

from the Aramaean (Hollander, Kitz) on Gen. 30.9; Baethgen, Bk. 2, 163).

In Aram. Zilpah means 'to dip, to dip, to dip, to dip' in Assyrian, where, however, there is the natural incoherence as to whether the root is זל or זלל. It occurs as זלל in the recurring phrase זלל זלל זלל, 'planning in folly.'

If the theory of Aramaean extraction was a modification of an older story (cp below), the name may have been either Zilpah (cp Bilpah, the uncle of Rebekah; Gen. 22.2), the root of which does occur in Hebrew, or the assumption that the name has been modified, C. Niebuhr (1806, I, 251) connected it with Zolophchad (7777); for a suggestion as to the real origin of which strange name, however, see MANASSIH, § 16), whilst I have formerly connected both Zilpah and Zolophchad with 'Salhad' (above, § 2, 200) near Teb. This suggestion he regards as still tenable; but his present view is different.

It has always seemed strange that such widely separated communities as Gad and Asher should be grouped as Zilpah tribes. Their agreement in bearing names of deities apparently distinct from Yahwe has been noted elsewhere (ASHER, § 1 n.; GAD, § 2), as also their Aramaean elements (ASHER, § 3; GAD, § 2). Whether they ever lived together is uncertain. It has been thought that traces of an early stay of Asher can be detected in the plain of Megiddo (cp ASHER, §§ 1-3). The presence of Bena and of Heber (cp ASHER, §§ 1-3). The presence of the Asher list (Nu. 26.44 ff.) and the same three names (of Michael is for Malchiel) in nearly the same relation in Benjamin lists (1 Ch. 8.1; 2 Ch. 19.37) and of a clan Bena in an Ephraim list would be a not unnatural result if Ephraim and Benjamin's territory had been earlier occupied by Asherites (so Steiner, Megiddo, 30 ff.). If the sons of Zilpah inasmuch in Genesis to be regarded as older than Joseph the seniority would be a natural way of representing an earlier occupation of the Ephraim highlands which must be assumed if we suppose that Asher really entered Palestine from the E. We might suppose that a Zilpah tribe was settled in E. Palestine, that part of it crossed the Jordan, and after staying a while in Ephraim moved northwards and took the name of Asher (from the older inhabitants in the N., 2 see ASHER, §§ 1-3), whilst the portion of the Zilpah tribe which remained came to be known as Gad. On the other hand it is uncertain when we are meant to place the birth of the sons of Zilpah. Even the editor need not have intended to suggest that both Gad and Asher fall between Naphtali and Issachar and between Naphtali and Joseph (cp RACHIL, § 16). The sons' births may have been grouped artificially to facilitate the narrative (cp TRIST, § 9 f.). Steiner, indeed, pleads strongly for the historical trustworthiness of the

2. Zilpah tribes.

In Arabic 'to draw near,' but Zilf a garden; in Ethiopic זילפא, 'reproach.' Adon gives a water on the way to Mekka, Zilpah in 1889 (Z. 6 p. 10, 3001 ff.).

When Steiner (Megiddo, 4*) concludes that the clans derived from Zilpah, like those derived from Bilhah, were regarded as not so fully Israelish as the Leah and Rachel tribes because they were of heathen origin, he does not allow for the possibility that Leah and her maid Zilpah are only doubles of Rachel and her maid Bilhah or, etymologically, that Leah, Rachel, and Bilhah are all corrupt fragments of Jerahmeel (Lyon, § 1), and that Zilpah (with which Mr. Hogg compares Bilpah, most appropriately from the present point of view, for among his brothers are Kennel, Jerahmeel, and Chesed - Cush) is an equally corrupt fragment of a name virtually synonymous with Jerahmeel, viz. Ishmael. Nor can the possibility be denied that 'Asher may be connected with 'Asim' or 'Ashim, one of the ethnic names of the Negeb, and Dan with Adon or Adon, another of these names (cp PARVISE, § 7, end, and see CRU. Bk.). And only a very close examination of the texts can assure us that Gad and Asher were not originally located in the Negeb. That the tradition made some of the clans which were fused with the Jacob or Israel tribe heathenish (cp 2), worshippers of gods other than Yahwe, will, however, be universally admitted. The most important passages for the textual critic are perhaps Gen. 29.1 (on which see JON. § 3) and 31.23 ff. 26 ff. (on which see CRU. Bk., GILG. 16, but note that there seems to have been a southern Gilead, referred to, e.g., in Jer. 8.22 [see CRU. Bk.], and the probable original of the much-disputed Rud, Laban, - 1, k.c.).

with Judah, Meshah, leges it can hardly and (c) come from the names of the are both derivations ally enough they 252, as often, being 14) loc. in the N. ole that both זלל זלל זלל (Zion), are T. K. C.

32, 52, but cp must be a clan-related names; § 9 ii. β), 1 Ch. 8, 14), and JEROME

of Jerahmeel?], (1 Ch. 8, § 5 (1).

name stands close Maab, Kennel,

171; ζαρει [B], comes ultimately

[B], ζαρματ

[B], ζου [A],

[P], Ithar, (Mist),

of N. Arabian

of Jerusalem

Neh. 11.17 called from Jerahmeel),

Joiakim (Euz 1.10.11.β). The probably ethnic; follows. Zilpah T. K. C.

more correctly li (Josh. 19.35; 22.1.95). The Zilpah to be W. of Tiberias some MISS read

ere upon a geo- theories of the names of the Negeb, y as זלל (see

RV ZEDEKIAH

Zidonians

CUA, §§ 4 [7],

NTU, § 2.

name of some

ουα [A], σιδ-

ουα [B], 1 Esd.,

1.11.1 (σιν)

E. CAE.

1. זִלְפָּה; in

ουα [B], σικελου

σικελου [B],

ουα [B], σικελου

ουα [B], σικελου

ουα [B], σικελου

ουα [B], σικελου

ουα [B], σικελου

ZILTHAI

Hebrew traditions, and the case can be made very plausible. Who are the 'brothers' whom Jacob finds in E. Palestine when he comes with Rachel (and Bilhah) from Laban (Gen. 31.32-37.40-54)? Must they not be brother tribes who had remained there when Jacob moved off? And, since Gad is the tribe most firmly settled there, may not these 'brothers' be represented by the name Zilpah? Steuernagel supposes that several tribes (Zilpah, etc.) accompanied Jacob on its journey up from its settlement S. of Palestine. The representation of the Zilpah tribes as younger than the four Leah tribes, but older than Issachar and Zebulun, may represent a theory as to the time of their reaching their several seats; and the theory may be correct. There are great difficulties, however. The effect of system may indeed be far-reaching. If Asher arrived somewhat early W. of Jordan, and Gad somewhat late E. of Jordan (GAD, § 8), it is difficult to see how the grouping of them as Zilpah tribes can be anything but artificial. See, further, TRIBES.

Nor is it easy to see why Zilpah is connected with Leah. There is no obvious link between Gad or Asher and Judah or the other Leah tribes. Nor is the relation of Zilpah to Leah even in the story parallel with that of Bilhah to Rachel, or Hagar to Sarah. In the cases of Bilhah and Hagar the maid's children are born before her mistress's and because the mistress has no children (cp RACHIEL, § 1*f*). In the case of Zilpah, on the contrary, Leah has no less than four children before the maid is called in. Is it possible that Leah represents two figures, the second being the mother of Zebulun and Issachar? These two sons were born after Zilpah's, and a connection among the four is more easily thinkable than in the case of the other Leah tribes. Issachar may have possessed part of the highlands of Ephraim at one time (cp ISSACHAR, § 4. n. 2, and Steuernagel, *Einteilung*, 12*f*.), and the same may have been true at an early date even of ZEBULON (2.7.1, § 7).

On the other hand, the same possibilities are not excluded in the case of the other four Leah tribes (see SIMLON, § 4). It is conceivable that Asher crossed the Jordan into Ephraim before Jacob-Rachel came to occupy the place of the older Leah tribes (so Steuernagel). H. W. H.

ZILTHAI, RV Zillethai (זִלְתַּי).

1. b. SHISHI (2.7.1) in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (2.7.1, 9 ii. β), 1 Ch. 8.20 (σαλθι [B], σαλει [A], σελαθι [L]).

2. One of David's warriors, 1 Ch. 12.20 (σεμαθι [B], γαλαθι [A], σαλαθα [L]). See DAVID, § 11 n. c.

ZIMMAH (זִמְיָה); ZE MAM [BL.], a Gershonite (Leviticus) name; 1 Ch. 6.20 (5) (ζιμμα [A]), 42 (27) (ζιμμα [B], μα [A]), 24 Ch. 29.12 (ζιμμαθ [BA]).

ZIMRAN (זִמְרָן); Sam. זִמְרָן; plausibly connected with זִמְרָ, 'antelope' [see WRS, *J. Phil.* 9.2], but cp ZIMRI, the eldest of Abraham's 'sons' by Keturah (Gen. 25.2 + Ch. 1.32; ZEβΡΑΝ [A*E], ZEμP. [A], ZEμBP. [A*β], ZOMBP. [D*β], ZEμBP. [E], ZEμPAM [L.]). The Zamareni, a tribe of the interior of Arabia (Plin. *NH* 6.32, Grotius), and Zabram, the royal town of the *κραιδοσολιτῆραι*, W. of Mecca, on the Red Sea (Ptol. vi. 7.5, Knobel) have been supposed to represent Zimran. But whether we ought to go so far from the Keturite centre—i.e., the זִמְרָן (see EAST, CHILDREN OF; REKEM) is very doubtful.

In Jer. 23.25 we find a people called 'Zimri' (Pesh. 'Zimran') mentioned with Arabia (*Ar. N. Arabia*), Elam and Madai (read 'Jehudae'), and SAPHON (on the N. Arabian border). Each disputes the connection between 'Zimran' and 'Zimri,' but, from our present point of view, wrongly. Both in Gen. 25.2 and in Jer. 23.25 a N. Arabian people is required. See ZIMRI.

T. K. C.

ZIMRI (זִמְרִי), a shortened form?—cp the name Zimrida in Am. Tab. 'of governors of Sidon and of Lachish], also in an early Bab. text, *BM Cuneif. Texte*, Pt. iv., which also mentions Zamri-hammu, Zimri-hanata the

ZIN

Amorite [Pinches]; Hommel, comparing Old compound names, interprets 'protection' [117 88, 230]; but cp ZIMRI, 2; ZAMBP[ε], [BNAF].

1. One of the sons of Zerah b. Judah (1 Ch. 7.10). Josh. 7.1 called ZAMU.

2. A descendant of Saul mentioned in a gen. of BENJAMIN (2.7.1, § 9, ii. β), 1 Ch. 8.36 (ζαμμ 9.42). Cp ZEMIRA.

3. 'Captain of the chariots,' who conspired a Elah king of Israel and killed him, and to secure own position on the throne exterminated all the rest of the family of Baasha. After a seven days' re- Tirzah he was besieged by Omri the general, who like Sardanapalis he burnt the palace over his head (perished in the ruins (1 K. 16.9-20). In 6 the Zamari and Omri are much confused).

4. b. SAUL (2.7.1, a Simeonite chief, the name to the central figure in P's narrative of the sin b'ne Israel with Midian (Nu. 25.6-18 P). Zamri brought a Midianitess named COZBI to the camp Phinehas, moved to indignation, slew them both, 'tent' (277); see We. *Prot.* 363, ET 356. PHINEHAS, and cp DIBRI. S. A.

ZIMRI (זִמְרִי); om. 6; Pesh. 'Amran'; Vg. Zamri

one of the tribes or peoples threatened with judgment by Jeremiah (or by a supplementer who assumes midai's mantle), Jer. 25.25.

A revision of the text of 22. 19-26 places it beyond all reasonable doubt that a N. Arabian people is meant. See ZIMRI, § 1.

A land called Zimri, whose king was allied to the King of Babylon and Elam (Sir H. Rawlinson, G. Smith, etc.), do exist; the right reading of the text is 'Zamri' (see *KZ* 11. Sch. 187.170). But to emend Jeremiah's 'Zimri' into 'Zamri' with Winkler (*TOP* 1202), or 'Gomeri' or 'Gimiri' (Gomer) with Rosi (*Untersuch.* 103 [1897]) and Deiss (Z 17.159 [1897]), is hardly possible if we duly criticise the MT. T. K.

ZIN (צִן, cf[ε]IN, CINA, CENA; in Nu. 31.4 EN

[B; KAI follows], CEENNAK [AF], ENAK [I, Josh. 15.3, ENNAK [B], CENNAK [B*β], CENA CINA [L.]; Eis. *Jer.* ENNA cino [OS, 253.37 11; see below]. The wilderness N. of that of PARAN (the most important place in it was Kadesh-barnea oasis (Nu. 13.21 20; 27.14 33.36 31.3 f. Dt. 32.51 15) [see A.] 3). More precisely, it was the wild mountain region (Jos. *Ant.* iv. 4.6, speaks of a mountain c Sin) rising in successive slopes from the Arabian in direction and et-Tih in another, which now bear name of the 'Azazimeh Arabs who inhabit it. WANDERINGS, WILDERNESS OF. It has been suggested that Sin may mean the 'wall' of rock within which wilderness of Zin lies (cp ZION).

The existence of צִן 'to protect' however, is very questionable, and the name looks as if it had been worn down in a of ages. Analogy favours the view that צִן (Zin), צִנָּה (ZANAS), and צִנָּה (ZANANAS), have all come, through (ZIMON), from צִנְיָה (Ishmael).

Lagarde, however, with much learning and plausibly suggests a derivation from צִנָּה, which in Aram. Ass. means 'axe,' in Ethiopic 'iron' (*Mittheil.* 2.36 cp G. Holm, *ZDMG* 32.753). Tg. Jer. gives in 31.4 (for צִנָּה צִנָּה) צִנָּה, 'the iron mountain,' presuming צִנָּה, and 6's form צִנָּה may ultimately come the same reading.

This reading, if correct, might illustrate a number of references to iron in narratives or prophecies which, as the criticism of text seems to show, relate to the Negele; see Dt. 31.1 6.4 4.20 (an iron furnace); 'Mizrim'; 8.6 ('whose stout iron'); Josh. 17.1 + Judg. 1.10 4.3 13 (Kenizites, chariot iron); 1 K. 22.11 (Zedekiah the Kenizite [see ZION KAI 'house of iron]); 2 K. 6.3 ('swimming iron'; see 18.01 11, Jer. 16.12 ('iron of ZAMON); Ezek. 27.12 19 ('Frisch [Ass. and Lavat [Jerahmeel] trafficking with iron); Am. 1.3

1 On צִנָּה (whence 'alcove'), which is used to denote princely tent, as well as the bridal pavilion, see WRS, *Kin* 121, 202; *Prophecie*, 2; *Text*, § 2 n.

2 Weizstein, in *Del. Gen.* 47.578.

ZINA

[southern] Arammites thresh [the southern] Gilead with instruments of iron. Still the method of grouping names before seeking to account for them seems to favour the preceding explanation. The crasis in **Q** and the **g** in **U** in Jer. are at any rate exceptional.

T. K. C.

ZINA (זִינָה), b. Shime'i, a Gershonite Levite (1 Ch. 23.10). In 75.11 the name becomes ZIZAH (זִיזָה). **Q**AL reads זִיזָה in both places.

ZION (יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, צִיּוֹן). The designation, properly, of the 'Jebusite' stronghold at Jerusalem, which after its capture by David received the name 'David's burg.' 2 S. 5.7.9. Various explanations of the name have been given. Gesenius (*Thes.* 1164) and Lagarde (*Übers.* 84, n. 2) derive from צָרָה 'to be dry,' cp

Syr. צָרָה, which Lag. regards as the older form. Dehtzsch (*Palmen*, 17) makes the primary form צִיָּה, from צָרָה 'to set up.' Wetstein (in Del. Gen. 4th 578) derives from צָרָה 'to protect,' so that the name would mean 'city, citadel'; cp ZIN.

It may be better, however, to add צָרָה to the group Zin, Zenan, Zanau, and Zaan, and to suppose Zion to be a descendant of the race-name 'Ishmael' through the intermediate form צִימְאַל (ZIMMAY). Another corruption of the same name is probably צִימְאֵל (see SHALOM), and this most plausibly accounts for a much-disputed name צִימְאֵל. That the first part of this name means 'city,' Sayce (see col. 249, 109) and Nestle (*Philologia Sacra*, 17) have independently seen. We must now add that צִימְאֵל is probably = צִימְאֵל, and that this is a type of corruption which occurs frequently in the OT. Jerusalem, then, according to this explanation, was originally one of the many Ishmaelite or Jerahmeelite settlements in Palestine, a view which is supported by the fact that Isaiah (29.1) calls the city of David 'Jerahmeel' (corrupted into 'Ariel'), and by the equally significant statement of the historian that after taking the stronghold David 'built round about Jerusalem and within it.' See *Crit. Bib.* It is true, David is said (2 S. 5) to have 'gone against the Jebusites,' but the Jebusites apparently owe their existence in the text to corruption, and in an earlier form of the text this seems to have been indicated by the scribe himself. As in Gen. 30.20 (see ZIMMAY) and elsewhere, the corrupt reading צִימְאַל (EV 'the inhabitants of the land') has grown out of 'Ishmaelites,' צִימְאַל being an editor's insertion to make the corrupt צִימְאֵל intelligible. The earlier text appears to have said in 7, 6, 'And the king and his men went to Jerusalem against the Ishmaelites'; 'Ishmaelites' here is a synonym of 'Jerahmeelites.' So this we must add that the 'lame' and the 'blind' spoken of in the MT (and in **Q**) of 2 S. 5.6.8 are as imaginary as the tribal name 'Jebusite'; צִימְאֵל and צִימְאַל both being corrupt fragments of צִימְאֵל (see *Crit. Bib.*, and cp MITHRASEAN, PINEHAS).

This is no digression; it had to be shown that names so closely connected as Zion, and (Jerusalem) had the same origin, and if in the course of doing so we have been enabled to show that the early historians at any rate did not infer incorrectly from the tribal name Jebusite the existence of a city called Jebus (of which the Amarna correspondence appears to have known nothing), this is perhaps at any rate a boon for future students. It is possible that the error צִימְאַל for צִימְאֵל is really a somewhat ancient one (see, e.g., Zech. 9.9). But Ezekiel (49.25) is still aware that Amorites (or Arammites, Jerahmeelites) and Hutites (rather Rehobothites) formed the pre-Israelitish population of the city of Jerusalem. Cp O.

The term 'Zion' we retain the term, as, even if a corruption, yet an ancient and a popular one) belongs properly, as shown elsewhere (JERUSALEM, §§ 17-20), to the southern part of the eastern hill, where the 'burg of David' stood. Above the 'burg' rose the temple, and in usage 'Zion' represents the temple hill (2 K. 19.11; Is. 21.21; cp 10.32). Even more commonly, however, we find it a term for the whole of Jerusalem, whether in parallelism with Jerusalem (Is. 13.30; Am. 1.2 Mic. 3.12 Ps. 102.22) or alone (Is. 17.28; Jer. 31.4 Lam. 5.11). Obvion is personified (Is. 10.11; 27.51; 52.1; 7.59; 60.14; 66.1; Zeph. 3.15 Zech. 1.17) though here an idealisation has taken place, the 'Zion' intended being really the company of those residents in the

1 That צִימְאַל and צִימְאֵל, wherever they occur, are misspelled, can hardly be doubted. They are corrupt fragments of צִימְאֵל (see MITHO). In 2 S. 5.9 the צָרָה prefixed to צִימְאַל has arisen in this way. The scribe began to write צִימְאַל without the initial צָ, and left צָ untranscribed. Afterwards, צָ was 'corrected into צָרָה.' 2 So Driver, in Hastings, *DB* 2:554a, expressing the common opinion.

ZIPH

Holy City in the period of the Second Isaiah and of Ezra who, in the orthodox sense of the phrase, 'feared Yahwe.' The phrase צִיפָּה, literally 'the daughter Zion,' is an idiomatic expression for the people of Jerusalem, Is. 15.5; 2 Jer. 4.11, etc. (see DAVIDIC R. 3). It remains to be added that 'Zion,' in 1 Macc. everywhere means the temple hill (see 1.2.6; 5.54.6; 6.2.7; 3.10.11.11.27). For a Hebrew writer, who formed his style on classical models, this was natural. Josephus, writing in Greek, does not use the name. In the NT it occurs only in quotations from the OT, except in Heb. 12.22 in fine rhetorical passage) and in Rev. 11.1.

How fond the later Jews became of the name Zion appears most clearly from the Psalms. See especially Ps. 87.5, if, with Wellhausen, we may follow **Q** S. μετρησεν [ἐπὶ ἀσθραπος], and render,

But every one calls Zion his mother,
And of it is every one native;
He himself, the Most High, keeps it!

T. K. C.

ZIOR (צִיּוֹר; צִיּוֹרָה [B], צִיּוֹרָה [B] David-superser. Ar]. צִיּוֹר [A]), a place in the hill-country of Judah (Josh. 15.34f.). It is mentioned with Arab, Beth-tappuah, Humtah, Kirjath-ania (the same is Helanai).

The names Arab and Kirjath-ania (surely from Kirjath-anai) point to the Jerahmeelite border. So also does Humtah (Arab, Hamath, Ma'alah) and perhaps Beth-tappuah (see NABATHIM). 'Hebron' in the gloss on 'Kirjath-ania' is probably (as in some other cases) a corruption of 'Rehoboth'; it may already have found this corruption in the written list which it seems to have used. 'Zior,' then, is probably a corruption of the name of some Jerahmeelite place near Rehoboth. One cannot help thinking of Misur, properly the name of a region (see MIZRAN, § 2.6), but possibly also of a town (cp Cushan-cerameel [SUCHEM]). The reading of **Q**AL may suggest an identification with ZAIR (7.27).

Van de Velde and Conder, however, identify Zior with Sc'ir or (P.E.F.O. 2.304) Sc'air, 4 m. N. from Hebron, where a tomb of Esau is shown. Eusebius (1.5.2.3.19) mentions a village Scir between Elia and Eleutheropolis.

T. K. C.

ZIPH (צִיפָּה; צִיפָּה [BAL]), whence the gentile Ziphites, or, incorrectly [see Ps. 54], Ziphims (צִיפִּים; צִיפָּה [BAL], 1 S. 23.19.25; 1 S. 51 title צִיפְּהוֹעַ [B]).

1. An unidentified town belonging to Judah, situated towards the border of Edom (Josh. 15.24 [2 B]). On the new theory which makes David carve out for himself at first a principality in the Negeb, this more southern Ziph may have a claim to be that intended in the early tradition. See 2, end.

2. A town in the hill-country of Judah (Josh. 15.35; οὐρεὶς [B]), mentioned together with Maon, Carmel, and Jutah. Its connection with the clan of Caleb, which at one time had its seat about Hebron (but see below), is expressed in genealogical form in 1 Ch. 2.42.2 and again in 1 Ch. 1.6, where Ziph and Ziphah (צִיפָּה וְצִיפָּה) are 'sons' of (the unknown) JEHALELEF (7.27). Ziph and that part of the wilderness of Judah to which it gave its name are mentioned in the account of David's outlawry (1 S. 23.14 ff.), and the surrounding hill country with its many caves supplied admirable 'hiding places' and 'strongholds' (1 S. 23.14 ff.), and cp 1 Macc. 2.11. See Conder's description of the fantastic cones and knife-like ridges of the hills of Ziph (*P.F.F.O.*, 1875, p. 43).

Ziph existed in the time of Jerome, who places it 8 R. m. from Hebron (OS² 159.14; cp 25.4. ff.). This is too much by nearly half. The true site was found by Robinson at Tell Zif, a conspicuous mound, 285.2 ft. above sea-level, and 8.9 m. S.E. of Hebron, with no trace of buildings at the present day but with some cisterns. A little to the E., on a low hill or ridge, there are broken walls and foundations; but these do not represent the city fortified by Rehoboth (2 Ch. 11. see below). Conder endeavours to show that there

1 Furness's translation (*Psalms*, 5107). But cp Che. *Ps.*, 2 and Pertholet, *Stellung*, 122.

2 μαρ[ε]ρα[ς] [BA] (MT, MESHU [7.2.]), the father of Ziph, is in 2 Ch. 11.8 mentioned along with Ziph (see B; B).

ZIPHION

never was a 'wood' in the district of Ziph (see 1 S. 23:15, EV, and see below). 'The country is emphatically a dry land, looking down on the barren wastes which lie above the Dead Sea between Masada and Engedi. There is no moisture capable of supporting vegetable growth' (PEFF, 1875, p. 45). G. A. Smith (HG 300 n., 307 p.) substantially agrees.

Among the many difficult points connected with the Hebrew traditions is this: Was the chief Calebite city Helron or K. 100:10 (Z. 15)? If the latter, then the Ziph of 1 Ch. 2:42 may be that mentioned in Josh. 10:24. And another is this: Was David's Ziph the first or the second place so called? The צִפְרֹן (Hou-sin) of 1 S. 23:15 may very well be a corruption of צִפְרֹן (Ashhur) which seems to have been a name nearly equivalent to Jerahmeel. We may also doubt about Rehoboam's Ziph, as well as about the other names in 2 Ch. 11:6-10 (see REHOBAM).

T. K. C.

ZIPHION (צִפְרֹן), Gen. 16:16 = Nu. 26:15, ZEPHION (צִפְרֹן).

ZIPHON (צִפְרֹן), scarcely 'stench,' see ZANOMI, but cp NAMES, § 106, n. 1; Δεφρώνα [B], εφ. [B¹]; צֶפֶן [A.L.], a point on the N. frontier of Canaan, Nu. 31:41. According to Furrer (ZDPV 8:23) and Soem (Bied. 2 395), the mod. Zafarāneh (Rob. gives Zafarāneh), ESE. of cr-Restān. This, however, does not suit Furrer's own view of the frontier, for Sādā (this Zedā) is SSE. of Zafarāneh, whereas it should be to the N. Hence Muhlau, in Kiehm's HWB, following Wetz. (Reisebr. 88), prefers the ruins called Zifra, fourteen hours NE. of Damascus.

There is reason to think, however, that the description originally referred to the Negeb (see ZEDAD), that Ziphon corresponds to the SIBATH of Ezekiel, and that both names are corruptions of Zarephath. See ZEDAD.

T. K. C.

ZI. צִפּוֹר. צֶפֶר; צֶפֶר; צֶפֶר; צֶפֶר [BAFL]. BALAK (Z. 22), km. N. Moab, is called 'son of Zippor' (Nu. 22:24 to 16 23:18 Josh. 24:9 Judg. 11:25), i.e., either son of a person called Zippor ('bird'), or 'native of Zarephath,' the Zarephathites being a section of the N. Arabian Misrites (see ZAREPHATH, MIZKATH, § 26). It is probable that just as the Edomite king Shaul (AV Saul) was a Misrite of Rehoboth (see B. 114), so the Moabite king Balak was a Misrite of Zarephath (unless indeed Balak was king of Musri; see MOSES, § 17). The Cushite wife of Moses bore the startlingly similar name ZIPPORAH (Z. 2). See, however, NAMES, § 62.

T. K. C.

ZIPPORAH (צֶפֶר; צֶפֶר; צֶפֶר; צֶפֶר [BAFL]), daughter of Hobab or Jethro, 'priest of Midian,' and wife of Moses (Ex. 2:21, 1; 4:25, J; 18:2, FL).

In Nu. 12:16 she is called a 'Cushite woman'; 'Misrite' would perhaps have been more accurate, but Misur (= Musri) and Cush in N. Arabia were contiguous (see CUSH, 2). On the significance of her name (probably a distortion of Zarephath), and of her connection with Moses, see MOSES, §§ 4, 7, and cp CIRCUMCISION, § 2; ZAREPHATH; ZIPPOK.

In its present form the name means 'bird'; cp NAMES, § 68. There is an Aramaic proper name צִפּוֹרָה in CBS (104) 112 122; the Greek equivalent being צֶפֶר (S. A. Cook, Aram. Gloss, 102, who refers to Cl. Jan. Rec. d'archéol. 1885, p. 23). The name Zippor (not Zipporah) occurs as a woman's name in Talm. Jer. Gittin, 53.

T. K. C.

ZITHRI, RV Sithri (סִתְרִי); for origin see SETTUR, b. Uzzi, a (Kohathite) Levite, Ex. 6:22 (σῆγρετ [B], σθηρετ [A], σθηρα [FL]).

ZIV (צִי), 1 K. 6:137 RV, AV ZIE. See MONTH, § 2 (2).

ZIZ, GOING UP OF (צִינָה הַיָּבֵשׁ), a pass in the S. of Palestine, 2 Ch. 20:16 Ἰθνη ἀναβάσιν ἀσάε [BA]. T. A. ΤΗΣ ΕΞΟΥΧΗΣ ΑΣΑΕ [L.]. The name looks suspicious; but the ordinary view that the Wady Hasāsa, by which the old Roman road leads from En-gedi to Jerusalem, is meant, is plausible.

The mention of HAZAZON-LAMAR (Z. 2) in 15:2, however, introduces a perplexing element into the geography. For a way out of the difficulty, see NIGEB, § 7.

T. K. C.

ZIZA (צִיזָה), perhaps abbrev., § 58, cp ZAZA, ZUZIM, 1. A prince of Simeon (§ 5 [ii.]), temp. Hezekiah, 1 Ch. 4:37 (אִזָּזָא [B], צִזָּזָא [A], צִזָּזָא [L.]).

2. One of Rehoboam's children by Maacah; 2 Ch. 11:20 (צִיזָא [BA]).

1 For a southern Zafarāneh (cp Rob. BR 2:195) see ASPHAR.

ZOAR

ZIZAH (צִיזָה), 1 Ch. 23:11. See ZINA.

ZOAN (צֹאן; TANIC [BNA]), an Egyptian city (Vg., and Eg. Identify it with Tanis, certainly correct). The city had the name S'ant, in Coptic times, Dj (also Dhaue, Djani). The Greeks called it Τάρανς (C). The modern Arabic name is Sān. Consequently the name must have been pronounced Sā'ne, Sā'ne, the Hebrews (following the later habit of dropping feminine termination [1]).

The city, the capital of the 14th nomos of Egypt, near the NE. edge of the Delta, was situated on the right bank of the Tanitic branch of the Nile, a plain which is at present, in summer, a marshy prolongation of the Menzaleh lake, in winter a salt-desert. The modern village of Sān is inhabited mostly by nomads. The adjoining mound, Sān el-haḡar, 'Sān,' was excavated first in part by Mariette in 1833, then completely by Petrie (in 1883-84, see Tanis I 2, 1885). There were found many statues, sphinxes, obelisks, etc., belonging to a large temple, begun and completed by kings of the sixth dynasty, continued in the twelfth dynasty, and completed by the great builder among the Pharaohs, Rameses II. See, on fragments of the largest monolithic colossus king of Egypt, § 37. The temple seems to have had a length of about 1000 ft. King Psusennes of the twenty-first dynasty built a huge wall of bricks around it. The importance of the city is shown by the fact that Rameses II. seems to have resided there and that the twenty-first dynasty originated from the city. Esarhaddon's and Assur-bani-pal's time, Sānu or Sānu was the seat of a prince; on its sack by the Assyrians see TIRHAKAH. In Strabo (802) it still figures as a considerable place. Of its ultimate downfall not much is known.

The biblical mentions are as follows. In Is. 19:11 the princes of Zoan represent Egypt (13 with No. Memphis). In 30:4, the Israelites are blamed for sending embassies to Zoan; the passage looks as if the Pharaohs were still residing at Zoan at times. Ezek. 30:14, Zoan stands parallel with the old capital Upper Egypt, No, which shows that in Lower Egypt only Memphis can have rivalled Tanis in importance. Perhaps it is thus to be explained that Ps. 78 (12 speaks of the wonders done 'in the land of Egypt, the field of Zoan' in Moses' time. Zoan-Tanis seem to have been considered as the capital of Egypt, or at least of the Delta, in the time of the psalmist. It is inferred that Zoan was the residence of Pharaoh Moses' time and that 'fields of Zoan' and Goshen were equivalent expressions has often been drawn by scholars, especially by Brugsch, who tried to show the identity of Rameses and Zoan.² Brugsch's arguments however are fallacious (although Rameses II. may have resided here, see above); certainly Goshen cannot have extended to the surroundings of Tanis.

The curious remark Nu. 13:22 (Helron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt) seems to imply that the writer considered Tanis as one of the oldest cities of Egypt. Indeed, we can trace it to the sixth dynasty (see above); as capital of the nome it may belong to prehistoric times. Chronological conclusions about the date of Helron's foundation cannot, of course, be drawn from the biblical remark, whether taken literally or not.

W. M. M.

ZOAR (צֹאן; in Gen. 19:22 צֹאן; צֹאן; צֹאן).



1 See RAMESES, § 3, on Brugsch's argument (followed by Ebers, Durch Gosen, 402), and EXODUS, § 10.

2 A stele of the time of Rameses II., found at Tanis, was curiously dated 'year 400 of king Set.' If this date has a historical basis, it must mean that about 1700 B.C. the cult of Set was established (by Hyksos-kings?), not that Tanis was then founded, as some scholars have assumed.

ZOBAB

[BADELQ]; צוּבַ [L.]; in Gen. 13 to צוֹפּוּרָא [ADEL]; in Jer. 48:34 צוֹפּוּרָא [BNA]; Vg. Segor, a locality mentioned in Gen. 13:10 14:2 19:22 27:43 Dt. 34:15 15:15 Jer. 48:34. It is commonly placed to the SE. of the Dead Sea, which may be correct so far as Is. 15:5 and Jer. 48:34 are concerned, but hardly for Gen. and Dt. (loc.).

There is in fact a considerable body of evidence for the view that the chief seat of the southern Israelish legends was the Jerahmeelite territory, bordering on Musri and Edom. See ISAAC, JACOB, and especially SOLOMON AND DAVID. The play on the meaning of 'Zoar' in Gen. 19:22 is only accounted for, if the true name of the city was צוֹרָא, or rather צוֹרָא מִיִּסְרַר (MISRUR). The 'Zoar' of legend was really 'MISRUR'; it was one of the cities of Musri in N. Arabia, towards S. Palestine, (cp MISRIVIA, § 2 (b)). Upon the new theory, Gen. 13:10 where 'Zoar' appears to be distinctly placed in the Jordan valley, originally ran thus, 'And Lot lifted up his eyes, and saw that the whole of Jerahmeel (צוֹרָא מִיִּסְרַר), a primitive corruption of צוֹרָא, was well-watered, (before Yahw destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah) like the garden of Yahuwe, like the land of Misrim, in the direction of Misrur.' There, however, it is probable that Misrur really means the land of Misrur; צוֹרָא מִיִּסְרַר may be omitted as an unintelligent alteration of 'הארץ אשר ב' (cp GARDEN, § 4, n) prefers reading צוֹרָא 'Zoar' (Pesh. 9). But surely 'like the land of Egypt' was clear enough, without a limiting or explanatory appendage. 'Egypt', however, is not to be expected in this context, and the Hebrew tradition centre (as new evidence appears to show) in the Negeb and the N. Arabian border. For the later traditional view of Zoar see MOZAB, and on the whole question of the original Zoar cp SOLOMON, § 7.

ZOBAB (צוֹבָבָה, צוֹבָבָה [BAL]), or more fully ARAM-ZOBAB (צוֹבָבָה אֲרָם, צוֹבָבָה אֲרָם [ANR]), or ARAM-ZOBAB (צוֹבָבָה אֲרָם, 2 S. 10:6, but RV ARAM-ZOBAB), the home of one of David's 'thirty' (2 S. 23:36); ΔΥΝΑΜΕΩΣ ΒΑ, ΜΑΚΚΑΒΑ [L.], also the name of an Aramæan state, whose king Hadadezer was defeated by David (2 S. 8:1-14 10:15 ff.). In 1 S. 11:47 'the kings of Zobah' are said to have been defeated by Saul, and in 2 Ch. 8:3 Solomon is asserted to have taken Hamath-zobah (צוֹבָבָה אֲרָם, צוֹבָבָה אֲרָם [L.]); the latter designation is thought to imply the same (erroneous?) conception of the importance of Zobah which is found in (a) 2 S. 8:3; § 10:15-10:16, but not in the narrative (b) which contains 2 S. 10:14-10:16. This at least is clear, that in the respective strata of narrative different views of the position of the kingdom of Zobah are suggested. If the view implied in the former stratum (a) is correct, the idea that David was one of the mightiest monarchs of his time is not an extravagant one, for here the kingdom of Zobah under Hadadezer is represented as dominating the whole of Syria, whereas in the latter stratum (b) Zobah appears with BETU-REHOB, MAACATH, and ISHBOB or TUB, as an ally of the Ammonites. This difference of view has been explained by the supposition that two different Zobahs have been confounded (see DAVID, § 9, with n. 2, where references are given for the evidence). One, to the N. of Damascus and Hamath, rich in copper (2 S. 8:3), was conceivably the mit Nuhassi² of the Am. Tablets (37:5 15:22, etc.), if Nuhassi means 'copper' (נְחָשִׁית), according to Halevy's theory (REV 20:219; cp COPPER, § 3). The other Zobah corresponds to the 'districts of Subit', referred to by Asur-lam-pal (KB 2:217), and was S. of Damascus, perhaps (so W. JOF 1:467) between Hamran and the Sea of Galilee. Two cities of the former Zobah (as we may provisionally say) are named in 2 S. 8:8, viz., Bethah and Berothai (on these see TEBAH, BERTHAI, BERTHAI).

¹ Marquart's suggestion (see JUEL, 5) to read צוֹבָבָה is only a step towards the right solution (see § 2).

² This, however, is probably due to a partisan of Saul, who wishes his favourite to vie with David (SAUL, § 3).

³ Halevy supports this by the conjecture that צוֹבָבָה is a contraction of צוֹבָבָה אֲרָם, 'bright yellow', and compares צוֹבָבָה אֲרָם, 'copper'. Chaleis was on the slopes of Antilibanus (cp W. JOF 1:467). On the situation of Nuhassi, cp Flinders Petrie, Syria and Egypt, 179.

ZOHELETH, STONE OF

The preceding theory assumes the general accuracy of the MT of the passage of 2 S. referred to. There is, of course, no reason, however, to hold that this assumption is

2. New theory. The Aram with which David had relations was, according to the still discoverable earlier form of the tradition, not the northern but the southern Aram—i.e., the Jerahmeelites of the Negeb, and, if we use the many parallels and analogies of other restored passages, it is not difficult to recover the probable originals of names of places miswritten by the redactor. It should, however, first of all be noted to the credit of Winckler that, notwithstanding the combination of Beth-rehob and Zobah, and the designation of Hadad-ezer, king of Zobah, as Beth-rehob, he has suggested that both names represent one and the same state (67 1141 f.). This is, in fact, very near the truth. The statement in 2 S. 8:3 should probably run thus, 'And David smote Hadad [i.e., a native of Rehoboth, king of Zobah,] when he went to turn him [David] back from the river of Misrur'. Verse 8 in its original form probably spoke only of one royal city, viz., Rehoboth; of this Bethah gives one and Berothai another corruption. In 10: the allies of the line Ammon were probably given as Aram-rehoboth (to which Aram-zobah was probably a gloss), Maacath (the southern Maacath), and Tubal; Helam in 2 Ch. 10:7 represents Jerahmeel (place-name). In 1 S. 14:47 (Jerahmeel-zarephath); see SAUL, § 5. In 2 S. 23:37 we need not question the reading, 'Izal, b. Nation, of Zobah'; 'Zobah' here too represents 'Zarephath', while 'Izal' (like 'Izal' and 'Gial') is a popular corruption of 'Jerahmeel'. That 'Zarephath' should sometimes be used comprehensively, sometimes with a narrower reference, affords no ground for surprise. 'Zarephathites' is constantly used widely, and yet primarily, of course, it merely meant the people of the city of Zarephath. On 'Hamath-zobah' (Maacath-zarephath), 2 Ch. 8:3 see SOLOMON, § 7.

Nöldeke (BZ 1:12) places Zobah 'nearly in the region of Emesa.' Elsewhere (see MOZAB) it is suggested that Merom (Josh. 11:57) may be the second or more southerly Zobah.

T. K. C.

ZOBEBAH (צוֹבְבָה), with 'Anub' and the 'families of Aharel, the son of Harum,' is (perhaps) connected genealogically with Tekon (MT Coz [צוֹבְבָה], 1 Ch. 48:36) [B]. צוֹבְבָה [A], צוֹבְבָה [L]. See TUKOBA.

ZODIAC (צוֹדִיאַק, Job 38:32 RV¹⁹, EV MAZZAROTH [צוֹדִיאַק]). See also STARS, § 3 (d).

ZOHAR (צוֹהָר, § 66; 'reddish-white?' see COLOURS, § 7; צוֹהָר [BADEL]).

1. Probably the name of the clan to which Ephron the Hittite (from Rehobothite [L]; see REHOBOTH) belonged (Gen. 23:25). Possibly we should read צוֹהָר, ZEHAR.

2. b. SIMON (§ 9); see Zerah (4).

3. b. Ashbur, a Judahite (1 Ch. 4:7; Kr. צוֹהָר, 'and Zohar.'

RVmc; Kt. צוֹהָר, see IZHAR, 2; καὶ σ. [B], καὶ εἰσαρ [L]).

ZOHELETH, STONE OF (צוֹהֵלֶת, 'Serpent-Stone' [B]). This stone was evidently sacred, like the fountain En-rogel beside which it stood, and in the building which enclosed it Adonijah, as claimant of the crown of Israel, probably held his sacrificial feast (1 K. 19).

Gk. readings are: λίθου τοῦ ζωελήθ [A], . . . τὸν ἐν ζωελήθ [L], λίθου τοῦ ζωελήθ [B]; cp παρα τῆς πηγῆς τῆς ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ παραδείσῳ, Jos. Ant. vii.144.

There must have been something remarkable about it. Very possibly it was overlaid with a 'brilliant' metal called צוֹהָר, zohelith, and corresponding to the Ass. zohalu.¹ There were two brazen pillars before the temple at Jerusalem (1 K. 1:17 2:1). The 'stone of Zohelith' may have been a ruler pillar of the same sort. Some writers would place Zohelith in the rocky way near the village of Sidwan (Sidhani) called Zaihwelch. 1 K. 1:17 implies that those who were with Adonijah could see what went on in the valley of Kedron; this, however, would have been quite easy from Zaihwelch (see Buhl, Pil. 94; Baed. 100).

Wollhausen (Heid. 146) suggests a connection with the 'brilliant planet Saturn (cp the Ar. proper name Zohal).

¹ The vague notice in 2 S. 8:1 (where צוֹהָרִים represents צוֹהָרִים) probably comes from another source.

² Read, with Winckler, צוֹהָרִים אֲרָם, צוֹהָרִים אֲרָם.

³ In Ezek. 47:15 the names should probably be Maacath, Rehoboth, Zarephath (see SURAIM and Coz. Bih.).

⁴ Note that no extra number of warriors is put down for Beth-rehob.

⁵ Cp the passages cited by Del. Ass. III B, s. p. 'zahalu.'

ZOHETH

Others (e.g. WRS, KS 2: 172, and Benzinger, KZ 7: 4) doubtfully connect the sacred fountain and stone with the Dragons Well of Neh. 2:13 (see DRAGONS). Zoheth might mean 'serpent.'

ZOHETH (זֹהֶת) and BEN-ZOHETH (זֹהֶת בֶּן-), sons of Ishi, a descendant of Judah, 1 Ch. 4:20 (זֹוֹאֵן [B], זֹוֹאֵן [A], זֹוֹאֵן [L]).

ZOPHAR (זֹפָר); צֹפָר, צֹפָר [B] - צֹפָר, - צֹפָר [A], צֹפָר [L]), a name in a genealogy of ASHER (זֹפָר, § 42), 1 Ch. 7:13/14

ZOPHAI (זֹפָי), 1 Ch. 6:26 [11], see ZUPH.

ZOPHAR (זֹפָר); צֹפָר [BNAAC]), one of Job's friends, a Naamathite (Job 2:11; 11:20; 42:9 [and 17:6] [B]). NAAMATH (זֹפָר) was in SW. Judah; but the clan which settled there was doubtless of Gileadite and therefore of Edomite extraction (cp 'Naam,' 1 Ch. 4:15). The poet must have reckoned 'Zophar' as an Edomite.

Probably the writer took the name from the notices in Gen. 36:11-13; 1 Ch. 1:36, where צֹפָר (Gen) or צֹפָר (Ch)—both forms miswritten for צֹפָר (see C)—occurs among the sons of Eliphaz, son of Esau. (See ZEPHAI.) Still, 'Naamathite' is hardly the name we expect. Possibly צֹפָר may have come from צֹפָר, and this, by transposition, from צֹפָר. Zophar, then, like Eliphaz would be called a Temanite.

Dozy's correction (see Di., 20), צֹפָר, 'a man of RAAMATH' (זֹפָר), and Hamael's, צֹפָר, 'Mincaim' (cp C, δ Μινκαίος and, 2:11 12:17, δ Μινκαίω βασιλεύς), seem less plausible.

T. K. C.

ZOPHIM (צֹפִים, צֹפִים [BAFL]), apparently a mountain-district (צֹפִים, see FIELD, 1), where was the 'height of the Pisgah,' Nu. 23:14. Dillmann, but not Kautzsch (HS), renders צֹפִים 'the field of watchers,' and supposes that there in times of danger watchers were stationed, or else that there diviners were wont to scan the heavens or the flight of birds for omens.

In Nu. 21:20, however, 'the height of the Pisgah' is said to be 'in the highland of Moab,' or rather (see MOAB, § 4) 'of Misur.' This suggests that צֹפִים is a corrupt or mutilated form of the name of a region or a clan—i.e., either of צֹפִים or of צֹפִים. It was in fact probably a mountain not far from Zarephath that was meant in the original story. See further NEBO 3, § 2.

T. K. C.

ZOPHIM, RAMATHAIM. See RAMATHAIM.

ZORAH (זֹרָה, as if 'hornet'; cp זֹרָה; צֹרָה). A city repeatedly mentioned, but not easy so to locate as to suit all the textual phenomena. It was closely connected with the story of Samson; but the scene of this story seems to have been differently viewed at different times (see SAMSON). It was Danite—of that there can be no doubt (Judg. 13:2, צֹרָה [B]; Josh. 19:41, צֹרָה [B]).

Zorah is included in the same group with Eshtael and Ashna, among the cities of the Shēphēlah (Josh. 15:33, AV ZORAH, צֹרָה [B]); but the kernel of the name Eshtael (Shaol or Sael) is probably Jerahmeelite. It is also mentioned in Neh. 11:29 (AV ZAREAH, om. BNA, צֹרָה [L]) and in 2 Ch. 11:10 as fortified by Rehobam; but in both passages there seems upon critical grounds to be reason to think that the original text referred to places in the Negeb. In 1 Ch. 2:53 we find the ZORATHITES (AV ZAREATHITES, צֹרָתִים, צֹרָתִים [BA], צֹרָתִים [L]) among the families of Kirjath-jearim, cp 1 Ch. 42 (צֹרָתִים [B], צֹרָתִים [A], צֹרָתִים [L]); also in 2:54 where the ZORITES (צֹרִים, צֹרִים [B]) . . . צֹרִים [A], צֹרָתִים [L]), together with the MANATHITES (Z. 7, and cp MANATHITES) are sons of Salma the 'father' of Beth-lehem. But the genealogy is Gileadite; jearim in Kirjath-jearim may represent 'Jerahmeel'; SHOBAL and SALMA are N. Arabian names, and Beth-lehem certainly represents Beth-jerahmeel, a name which, in such a context, we naturally assign to the Negeb. Iphrath too is primarily a name of the Negeb. It would seem therefore that in spite of the assignment of Zorah to the Shēphēlah in Josh. 15:33, and its combination with Ashna in Josh. 19:41, we must admit that a confusion has been made by the redactors of the OT texts between a Zorah in the Shēphēlah and a place of a similar name (probably צֹרָה Zor, or צֹרָה Zur, or even צֹרָה Misur), and of equal strategic importance, in the Negeb, not far from Beth-jerahmeel (confounded by redactors sometimes with Beth-lehem in Judah, sometimes with Ayabot).

The Zorah of the Shēphēlah would be the modern Sar'a, which stands on an eminence on the N. side of

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the Wady Sar'a, opposite Beth-shemesh and 1. from Jerusalem. On the importance of the see GASIM. 1167 213 ff. The Zorah (?) of the N. cannot venture to locate.

ZOROBABEL (ζωροβάβελ [Ti. VII]), M. AV, RV ZURUBABEL. See GENEALOGIES, II.

ZOROASTRIANISM

Table with 2 columns: Names and Man, judgment; Early obscurity and Ethics; Ancient accounts and Worship, Magi; Zoroaster and History, origin; Date, sources and Influence on Israel; Ormazd, Ahraman and Resurrection, 'Wisdom'; Other spirits and Dualism; Literature.

Of Mazdaism, the religion of the Perso-Zoroaster is regarded as the prophet; hence the is often called Zoroastrianism.

1. Names for Persian religion. writers, however, more usually of the doctrine of the Magi. It is easy to say with certainty who not we are entitled to interchange the three Mazdaism, Zoroastrianism, and Magism, as were synonymous. Positive info regarding the religious cond Western Iran during the oldest period is almost entirely wanting.

2. Early obscurity. It is not at certain, for example, of what faith Cyrus was an adherent. With reference, moreover antecedent conditions in Eastern Iran, which played an important rôle in the early develop the Persian religion, our sources are very scanty out. Our oldest positive witnesses for the Mazda are the comprehensive inscriptions of D through which runs a strong vein of faith and devotion. Darius never wearies of glorifying and good guidance of the supreme god, Ah (Ormazd). The other gods are mentioned only ally. Religious matters are often spoken of quite style of the later Avesta. The greatest evil is false the spirit of falsehood, the adversary (cp 'Sra Mazda, is not mentioned by any name. We are fore confronted by the question,—Is the mere Mazda itself a positive proof of the Zoroastrian of the early Persian religion, or must the doctrine explicitly present as the essential mark of the teaching? Herodotus, moreover, our oldest a says nothing of Ahriman in his account of the of the Persians, nor does he mention the Zoroaster. Accordingly, C. de Harlez dis view that the Persians under the first Acha were Zoroastrians. He also lays stress on the the laural rites of the Persians, as pictured in dotus (1:14), are directly opposed to the Zoi injunctions. Darmesteter rightly objects that the intention of Darius to publish a creed or a faith. Herodotus, in a well-known passage (1 describes only the religious usages of the Persi expressly states that he does not know the wh regarding their customs connected with the di the bodies of the dead. Darmesteter therefor to the conclusion that the Zoroastrian religio force in Persia at the time of Darius I. In however, it was only the priestly caste of the N was bound to rigid observance of the rule. An lity the religious prescriptions and usages did so binding a force nor so wide a scope as they l at the time of the Sassanians. Windischm already expressed the conviction that Darius successors were genuine Zoroastrians, the nam mazda being as inseparable from the religio aster as the name of Christ was from Chr This supposition would become a certainty of right in his conclusion that the Persian calenda is distinctly Zoroastrian in its naming of mo

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ZOROASTRIANISM

days, had been introduced at the time of Darius, about 505 B.C. The entire question as to the Achemenians being Zoroastrians is still under discussion. We know, at least, that ARTAXERXES I. and his successors were Zoroastrians.

For references consult C. de Harlez, *Avesta*, 1221, *Introd.*, x, xvii, cxx; Darmesteter, *SBE* 4 (1882), *Introd.*, xlv (and ed. 1892); *Le Zoro. Avesta* (3 vols., 1893), vol. 3, *Introd.*, lxx; Windischmann, *Zoroastriische Studien* (1893), 121; West, *SBE* 47 (1897), *Introd.*, xlv.

According to Herodotus (1132) no Persian could sacrifice without a Magian priest. This indirectly proves that there was a religious connection between the Persians and the Magians.

3. Greeks on Magi.

Everything implied in the statements of the Greeks regarding the usages and the doctrines of the Magi is genuinely Zoroastrian. The Magi allowed the bodies of their dead to be torn by dogs and birds of prey. They regarded it as a laudable act to kill many ants, snakes, and other vermin as possible, whilst they held the life of a dog as sacred as the life of a man (Herod. 1146). Marriage of near relations was with them a pious custom (Strabo, 1522). All these things are treated with some fulness in the Avesta. Plutarch (*de Is. et Os.*, 49) explains the Magian zeal for destroying all unclean animal life on the ground of the Zoroastrian theology, and quite in accordance with the Avesta, as follows: 'Among plants, they attribute the one to the Good Divinity, the other to the Evil Genius; similarly with regard to animals; the dog, birds, and the hedgehog belong to the Good Divinity; the water-rat belongs to the Evil One. On this account they esteem him fortunate who has killed the most of these beasts.' Plutarch (*Id.*) gives a sketch of the doctrines of the Magians. He clearly develops the outlines of the dualistic system; the two primeval spirits and their incessant warfare; creation and counter-creation; the division of the universe; its limited existence; the end of the evil principle; the regeneration and purification of the world (*de Is.*, 47; partly drawn from Theopompus).

Arcanios was mentioned for the first time beside Ormazdes in a lost work of Aristotle, according to Diogenes Laertius (proem 7). The name of Zoroaster occurs earlier in a fragment (2) of Nautilus, and in Plato (*Utop.*, 122), who calls him the son of Ormazdes. For Western writers Zoroaster is always the Magus or the founder of Magianism (Plut., *Id.*; Plato, *Id.*; Diog. Laert., proem, 2; other passages in de Harlez, *op. cit.*, 189; Max Duncker, *GrAb.*, 459). The ancients also give some details as to the childhood of Zoroaster and his hermit life (Pliny, *HN* 39.2; Plutarch, *Zoro.*, 4; Dio Chrysostom, 200). They call him sometimes a Bactrian, sometimes a Median or Persian (ep Jackson in *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, 15222). No reliance can be placed on their references to his extreme antiquity. Herennippos of Smyrna placed him 5000 years before the Trojan War; Nautilus, 6000 years before Xerxes; Aristotle assigned him a similar antiquity (Pliny, *HN* 30.1.1; Diog. Laert., proem, 2; ep Jackson, *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, 171, and *Zoroaster*, 150-172). Agathias (2 24) rightly remarks that it is no longer possible to determine with any certainty when he lived and legislated. 'The Persians,' he adds, 'say that Zoroaster lived under Hystaspes, but do not make clear whether by this name is meant the father of Darius or another Hystaspes.'

What the Greeks regard as the doctrines of the Magi the Iranians themselves call the doctrines of Zoroaster. The native accounts bring the personality of Zoroaster into the foreground. To him alone Mazda vouchsafed the Law and the Holy Faith, and ordained him as the teacher of men. The Avesta, or Zoroastrian bible, makes only occasional reference to the external circumstances of Zoroaster's life, for the part of the Avesta which was specially devoted to the story of his life, the so-called Spend-Nask, is lost. Its contents, however, have been worked into the Pahlavi literature, which in three places gives a description of his life. These interesting accounts, two of which occur in the fifth and seventh books of the Dinkard and one in the Zartusht-namak,² have been translated by E. W. West

1 Contrast Is. 66 3 (see Dog, § 2).
2 This form part of the *Selections of Zdsparom.*

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under the title, 'Marvels of Zoroastrianism,' in *SBE* 47 (1897).

These narratives have a mythical tinge that is quite oriental; they are not histories, they are legends. Already in the Avesta Zoroaster appears for the most part as a legendary personality.

He stands in personal intercourse with the divinity. At his appearing all nature rejoices (*Fard.*, 134.15) he enters into conflict with the demons and rids the earth of their presence (*Fard.*, 17.15); Satan approaches him as tempter to make him renounce his faith (*Vendidad*, 19). The story of his life is a succession of marvels. The divine powers themselves aid him into his high calling, and during the whole of his prophetic career they stand by him with their counsel.

Many scholars therefore have regarded the personality of the prophet as purely mythical (Darmesteter; Kern, according to Tiele, *Konfessionen*, § 99). This is certainly going too far. There is no reason to doubt the existence of the religious founder, Zoroaster; he lives too strongly in tradition. The legend of Zoroaster is not one to be deprived of all historical foundation.

Zoroaster's real name is Zarathushtra, Modern Persian, Zardusht; it seems to mean, 'Possessor of old canals.' His father was Pourushaspa, of the noble family of the Spantimas, his mother Dughdihová. Regarding his native place there is a double tradition. According to one, the house of his father was situated in Arvāna Vaejo upon a hill of the river Daraja (the modern Darja, in northern Azerbaijan, and Zoroaster was born there. According to the other tradition he came from Rāgha (Rai; see RAGT.) in Media proper. In Sassanian times, Rāgha as well as Atropatene was an important seat of the priesthood. In Rāgha resided the Zarathushtrótoma, the supreme head of the church. The riddle of the contradiction has been solved by Jackson. According to a statement of Shahrastran, Azerbaijan was the home of Zoroaster's father, whilst his mother was by birth from Rai (Jackson, *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, 15223; Darmesteter, *SBE* 4 *Introd.*, xlvii).

5. Traditional data.

The most important traditional data of Zoroaster's life are as follows. When he was thirty years old, in a vision upon the bank of the river Darja, the archangel Volhmanno appeared to him and invited him to a conference with Mazda. This first meeting, which is recorded also in the Avesta (*Yasna*, 43), is to be regarded as the coming of the new religion and as the beginning of a new era of the world. Seven other conferences followed in the next ten years. In the first two years, at the command of the Lord, Zoroaster preached the new doctrine to the Kayis and Karpans—*Id.*, the ruling idolatrous priests of the land—in the presence of the prince of the region, a Turanian; but without effect. The injunction of 'next of kin' marriage shocked them. He then betook himself to Seistān, to Parshatagin, who allowed himself to be converted, but not in public. It was only Zoroaster's own cousin, Maidyōi-mānōgha, who first openly professed himself his disciple, so that the prophet disheartened cries out: 'In ten years I have won only a single man!' Mazda now sent him to the court of King Vishtāspa. There he had first to undergo cruel imprisonment; but after two years he finally overcame the opposition of the idolatrous priests and converted the king. At this time also the brother of the king, Zairiv iri, as well as the king's son, Spentōlāta, and both the Vizirs, namely, the brothers Frashaoshtra and Jāmāspa, became wholly devoted to him. Zoroaster lived to see the great religious war with King Arjaspāspa, who invaded Iran with the Hyaxnas and was defeated, but met his death by the hand of a Turanian, it is said, at the age of 77 years and 40 days. The Avesta does not definitely express itself regarding the home of King Vishtāspa; it is only the latest tradition that locates the seat of the king, and also the scene where Zoroaster successfully taught, in the E. and especially towards Bactria.

If there is anything historical in these notices it is the

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figure of the royal patron and protector Vishtaspa, 'who with his weapon broke a path for the truth, and became the arm and support of the Zoroastrian religion, and freed it from the chains in which it had lain bound, and raised it to power and spread it abroad' (*Yashé*, 13-2-1-5). His influential consort Hutaosa appears to have led the way by good example. Zoroaster found strong support at the court, moreover, in the two brothers, Frashaoshtra and Jamaspa. The Gāthās never mention the name of the king without mentioning with praise his two zealous and faithful counsellors. To both of these Zoroaster was related by marriage; he married Hvogvi the daughter of Frashaoshtra; and Jamaspa married Zoroaster's daughter, Pouruhistā.

As to the era of Zoroaster, the extravagant dates given by the Greeks have no value. Modern investiga-

6. Date. tion avoids mere guesses and places more reliance on the native statements. We have two dates given by tradition. The one makes a period of 272 years intervene between the beginning of the religion (see above, § 5) and the death of Alexander the Great (323 B.C.); whilst according to the other, the religion had existed in purity for about 300 years before the invasion of Alexander. According to the first statement, Zoroaster would have lived from 625 B.C. to 348 B.C. West makes the second statement the basis of his reckoning, and taking account of a slight omission in the traditional chronology makes the dates 600-583 B.C. (cp. *SBA*, 47, Introd. xxvii and xxxviii). These numbers fall within historical times, and the former comes near the era of the historical Vishtaspa (Hystaspes), the father of Darius I. With this Hystaspes, who was satrap in Parthia, it was formerly usual to identify the Vishtaspa of the Avesta. This identification, however, falls to the ground, at least for the present, because of the totally different ancestry of the historical Hystaspes and of the Vishtāspa of the legend.

The chief source of information regarding the teaching of Zoroaster is the Avesta. This was redacted in the time of the Sassanids; it is drawn,

7. Teaching : however, in part at least, from older **sources.** sources and tradition. To the oldest tradition belonged the so-called Gāthās. They contain remnants of the addresses and sermons, delivered before the assembled court, and put by tradition into the mouth of the prophet, who is conceived of as teaching, exhorting, and seeking to win recruits for his cause. The Gāthās themselves are distinguished in two respects from the 'younger (later) Avesta.'

First, the person of Zoroaster appears much less legendary in the Gāthās. The scenes of his activity and teaching are placed much more vividly before our eyes. His relation to his patrons is much more close and real. The Gāthās are marked by many personal allusions and references which are unknown to the younger Avesta. Secondly, the celestial world is much more predominantly abstract. Material and naturalistic divinities like Mithra are foreign to the Gāthās. The external cult and ritual sink almost entirely into the background. The holy drink, the Haoma, is not mentioned.

These two considerations, however, are not enough to enable us to distinguish sharply between the Gāthā Zoroastrianism as the pure and original doctrine on the one hand, and the later Zoroastrianism as systematically developed and corrupted by the older popular faith on the other. The Gāthās are really not properly dogmatic and doctrinal sermons; they are rather prophetic sayings, promises, and injunctions intended specially for the narrower community of the faithful and initiated; they represent the esoteric side of Zoroaster's teaching in its ideal bearing rather than its outward rules and statutes. The Gāthās are rather the philosophy of Zoroastrianism; the younger Avesta is rather its theology together with the systematic elaboration of the Zoroastrian doctrine.

The supreme God is Ahurō Mazdāo (Anc. Per., *Auramazda*, Mod. Per., *Hormazd* or *Ormazd*), 'the wise lord.' He is called also Spentō Mainyush—i.e., 'the holy (lit., weal-bringing) spirit'—and he is the

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creator and regent of the world. His so-

8. Zoroastrian- ever the universe, however **ism :** tested by his foe, the fiend **Ormazd.** Angro Mainyush—i.e., 'the **Ahriman.** evil-spirit.' In the beginning

these twin spirits existed independently of each other; they became aware of their opposing character (cp. *Yasna*, 30-3) and swore an eternal feud (cp. *Yasna*, *Bundahish*, i, 11). Both spirits possess creative power, which manifests itself in the one positively and in the other negatively. Ormazd is light, life, and the soul of all that is pure and good; in the world he is law, order, and truth. His Ahriman, is darkness, filth, death, and reaction; that is evil in the world; lawlessness and life from him. Ormazd has his throne in the 'light' of heaven, in Paradise; Ahriman rules in the cold north, in the endless darkness of Hell, from where he breaks forth from time to time. Ormazd possesses omniscience and prescience; Ahriman possesses backward knowledge (*Bundahish*, i, 11). Ormazd always comes too late, and has to look at evil when they are past. For the time being the two counterbalance one another. The complete sovereignty of Ormazd is to come to pass in the future. The ultimate triumph of the good spirit is a demand of the religious conscience and the chief aim of Zoroaster's revelation. His doctrine is dualistic so far as it sets up two opposing primeval powers, not however, quite consistent; the two principles are not endowed with equal power. The dualism of Zoroaster is only an episode in the existence of the world, who is the supreme and only god from the beginning of the world, and remains so to eternity.

In the realm of light, Ormazd is the sovereign. As a spirit, it is true, he is invisible to men; he is not immaterial. A flaming, firm, exalted, and beautiful body is attributed to him. The heavenly role. In his exalted majesty he is the ideal ruler of an oriental king. The other divine powers, the genii are his creation, helpers, overseers, and his instruments and his leaders in the war against Ahriman.

Next to him he has six archangels, the Spentas, 'the Immortal Holy Ones'; he himself is counted with them as the seventh. They resemble the ministers of some sovereign. They sit round about Ormazd, and he holds counsel with them.

9. The **Amesha** **Spentas.** and he holds counsel with them. In the Gāthās they are already represented as the guardian spirits of creation, entrusted to them, and are regarded as tutelary divinities over the kingdoms of nature. The names of the Amesha Spentas are: (1) Vohu Manah (*vōroia*), Good Mind—i.e., the good principle, the good, the principle that works in man in favour of him; (2) Ashem Vahisstem (*āshēstia*), correspondence; this divinity acts also as genius of the flocks, or generally Ashem Vahisstem (*āshēstia*), correspondence; that is true, good, and right—ideas which, to Zoroaster, are practically identical—upright law and rule, also presiding over fire. (3) Kh-hahrem, generally called Vairim (*vōroia*), the power and kingdom of metals; also the genius of metals. (4) Armaiti (*arōia*), or Ardibeh, docility and obedience, early represented as the goddess of the earth. (5) Haurvatāt (*haurovat*), holiness, perfect health, the genius of the health-giving waters. (6) Ameretat, the goddess of plants.

The other good spirits of Ormazd are under the name Yazata (*Yezds*), 'angels,' partly religious and ethical abstractions of Zoroastrianism like Rām (Uprightness) or Ashi Vanuhit

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Reward of Piety. In part they are the unforgotten forms of Aryan mythology, such as Mithra and Verethraghna (the genius of Victory, the Iranian counterpart of the Indian Indra Vrtrahan), or they are the familiar personifications of natural phenomena such as the sun, the moon, fire, wind (cp Herod. I. 111). In the Gathas most of the Yazatas are not mentioned— even such as hold quite an important place in the later system and ritual, like Mithra. It is only Spashta (divine obedience) and Atar, the fire, the son of Ormazd, that play a more important rôle. For the younger Avesta, special mention must also be made of Anahita, goddess of the waters, and of the Fravashis (Fravert), the spiritual prototypes of man and of the good creation and at the same time the guardian spirits of the pious.

Ahri-man also has his infernal hosts which he created for the conflict with Ormazd.

11. Other evil spirits. These are endowed with less individuality, however, than those of the kingdom of light. The Druj (Lie, Falshood), for example, is opposed to Asha; Akem Manu (Bad Thought) to Vohu Manu; and Armaini to Taromaiti (Wide or Pre-sumption). In the Gathas, the Druj is mentioned more often than Ahri-man himself. In the later texts, the word Druj signifies a special class of female demons. The most familiar of these is Nasu, the corpse spirit. The schematic system of later times has also given Ahri-manian counterparts to each of the other Amesha Spentas. Myriads of demons, Daevas (Devs), make up the mighty horde of Ahri-man. They embody all the disturbing elements in nature and the baser instincts in man. Of most of them we know only the names. The best-known among them is Aeshma, the demon of Wrath (see *ASMAN* 185).

As soon as the two spirits encounter each other their active or creative, and at the same time permanent, contact begins. The history of this conflict is the history of the world. Every move of Ormazd is met by a counter-move (*paityira*) of Ahri-man.

12. The conflict. Whatever the good spirit creates, the evil spirit solties, or, as the text says, 'just like a fly he rushed out upon the whole creation' (*Bundahish*, iii. 17). No sooner has Ormazd created the world than Ahri-man brings upon the earth distress in the form of plague and noxious creatures. Ormazd brings into existence the primeval bull (prototype of all animals); Ahri-man tortures it to death with hunger, sickness, and blows, and its soul (Geish Uruva) complains before the throne of Ormazd about the violence it has had to suffer. Ormazd comforts the soul of the creature with the assurance of the future coming of Zoroaster (*Vasna*, 20; *Bundahish*, 4). Ormazd creates the first man (Gaya Marenan); Ahri-man invites against this man Astu-Vilhoth, the demon of death, and thus sets death in opposition to life.¹

A great cleft runs through the entire world and divides it into two great camps—the kingdom of light and the realm of darkness. All creation is divided into that which is Ahura's and that which is Ahri-man's. This division extends even to the language. Whenever mention is made of face, ears, hands, and feet, of activity, speaking, going, striving, a sharp distinction is made in the expression between good and evil beings. The two spirits do not carry on the struggle in person. They leave it to be fought out by their respective creations and by creatures which they send into the field. The field of battle is the present world.

In the centre of the battle is man; his soul is the object of the war. Man is a creation of Ormazd, who therefore has the right to call him to account. Ormazd, however, created him free in all his decisions and in his actions, therefore he is accessible to the influences of the evil powers. This freedom of the will is clearly expressed in *Vasna*, 3111: 'Since thou, O Mazda, didst at the first create our being and our souls in accordance with thy mind, and didst create our understanding and our life together with the body, and works and words in which man according to his own will can frame his confession, the liar and the truth-speaker alike lay hold of the word, the knowing and the ignorant each after his own heart and understanding. Armaini searches, following thy spirit, where errors are

¹ This story is by some wrongly connected with the story of Adam in Genesis.

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found. Man takes part in this conflict by all his life and activity in the world. By a true embodiment of faith, by every good deed, by continually keeping pure his body and his soul, he imparts the power of Ahri-man and strengthens the power of goodness, and establishes a claim for reward upon Ormazd; by false confession, by every evil deed and delinquent, he increases the evil and renders service to Ahri-man.

The life of man falls into two parts—its earthly portion and that which is lived beyond the grave. The lot assigned to him after death is the result and consequence of his life upon earth. No religion has so clearly grasped the ideas of guilt and merit. A strict reckoning of the works of men here below will be kept in heaven. After death, at the end of the third night, the soul arrives at the head of the Chivato Peretu, or Accountant's Bridge, over which lies the way to heaven. Here takes place the reversing and disclosure of all its past life, the *judicium particulare*. The angel Mithra and the angel Rashnu make up the account and reckoning (*SBE* 2125), or Rashnu the Just weighs the good and the evil deeds over against each other in the impartial balance that does not vary a hair's breadth in favour of any man, not even a monarch (*SBE* 2115).

13. Man, here and hereafter. Perhaps in ancient times the bridge itself was conceived of as a sort of automatic scale. In the case of the soul of the just whose good deeds outweigh his evil acts, the bridge becomes wide and easy of crossing; and at this moment his own religion comes to meet him in the shape of a beautiful maiden, and accompanies him to Paradise (Gardemânen), where Vohu Manu receives him (*Vend.* 1930-31). In the case of the soul of the wicked, however, the bridge becomes as narrow as the edge of a razor, and when he reaches the middle of it he falls off and is plunged headlong into hell (*SBE* 1742).

14. Judicium particulare. Should the evil and the good be equally balanced, the soul passes into an intermediate stage of existence (the Hamestakâm), and its final lot is not decided until the last judgment.

Man, however, has been smitten with blindness and ignorance; he knows neither the eternal law nor the things that await him after death. He allows himself only too easily to be ensnared by the craft of the evil powers who seek to ruin his future existence. He worships and serves false gods, being unable to distinguish between truth and lies. Thus it came about that Ormazd graciously determined to open the eyes of mankind by sending a prophet to show them the right way of salvation. According to the later legend (*Vend.* 21), Ormazd at first wished to entrust this task to Yima (Jamshid), the ideal of an Iranian king; but Yima, the secular man, felt himself unfitness for it and declined the office. He contented himself therefore with establishing by order of the Lord in his paradise (*vata*) a heavenly kingdom in miniature, to serve at the same time as a pattern for the heavenly kingdom that was to come. Zoroaster at last was found fit for the mission. It was not without special reason, the Gathas believe, that the calling of a prophet should have taken place precisely when it did. It was, they held, the final appeal of Ormazd to mankind at large. Like John the Baptist and the apostles of Jesus, Zoroaster believed that the fitness of time was near, that the kingdom of heaven was at hand. Through the whole of the Gathas runs the pious hope that the end of the present world is not far off. Zoroaster himself hopes along with his followers to live to see the decisive turn of things, the dawn of the new and better aeon. Ormazd will summon together all his forces for a final decisive struggle, and break the power of evil for ever; by his help the faithful will achieve the victory over their detested enemies, the *diēva* worshippers, and render them powerless. Then the great act (*vik*) will be accomplished. Ormazd will institute a universal world judgment (*judicium universale*).

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¹ For parallels see Che. *OPs.* 439, note cc

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By means of an ordeal of fire and molten metal he will separate the good from the wicked and will judge strictly according to justice, punish the wicked, and assign to the good the hoped-for reward. Ahriman will be cast, along with all those who have been delivered over to him to suffer the pains of hell, into the abyss, where he will thenceforward be powerless.

Forthwith begins the one undivided kingdom of God in heaven and on earth. This is called, sometimes the good kingdom, sometimes simply the kingdom. Here the sun will for ever shine, and all the pious and faithful will live a happy life that no evil power can disturb, in the fellowship of Ormazd and his angels for ever.

In one respect with regard to this, there has come about in the later writings a change that is easy to understand. In them the catastrophe and renovation of the world are placed in a far distant future. Whereas in the Gāthas Zoroaster himself is more or less clearly designated as the Saoshyant—i.e., the predestined saviour of the world—the later writings look for the appearance of this Saoshyant only at the end of the present aeon.

The Avesta does not contain any definite statement as to the division of time in the existence of the universe (yet) p. Fracm. *Vend.* 2.24).

According to the *Bundehesh*, the duration of this world is 12,000 years divided into periods of 3000 years each (p. Plat., *de Is.* 47). In the first 3000 years Ormazd creates his creation in its spiritual form or proto-type, without Ahriman being aware of it. At the beginning of the second period Ahriman raises himself from hell into the light and perceives the state which Ormazd has obtained. In this period both spirits create their material creation. At the beginning of the third era Ahriman invades the creation of Ormazd, and during this period good and evil counterbalance each other. At the beginning of the tenth millennium, Zoroaster appears, and a new prophet is to spring from his seed after each of the three remaining millennia. As the last of these Messiahs the real Saoshyant shall appear.

The Saoshyant with his helpers will accomplish the renovation of the world (*frashō-kereti*). Ormazd will raise the dead and the Saoshyant will assemble them all in one place. Everyone must descend into the great flood of molten metal. To the pious this lake will seem like a flood of warm milk; but to the wicked it will feel as if they were wading in molten metal. Then, in the name of Mazda, the Saoshyant will distribute unto everyone a reward according to his works. Ormazd will hurl Ahriman powerless back into hell, which is filled up with the molten metal, and the world will become purified for ever and for aye (*Bund.* 30). The younger (later) Avesta speaks of the end of the world and of the last things only in brief allusions. The idea of the resurrection of the dead is quite familiar to it and seems to be referred to several times even in the Gāthas.

The moral and ethical teachings of Zoroastrianism are sound and consistent. The moral code is summed up in the three words: "good thoughts, good words, good deeds." Man must enlist in the service of Ormazd and devote himself to the good cause with his whole being, and he must do every injury possible to Ahriman. This fundamental principle dominates the entire religious code and all the ecclesiastical legislation. Because of the general utility of its precepts this code represents a high standard of civilisation when we consider the early times to which it belongs. It imposed upon the faithful the duty of worshipping Ormazd and his spirits, of prayer, sacrifice, the inviolability of his creatures, the sacred respect for the cow (emphasised especially in the Gāthās), attention to agriculture and arboriculture, irrigation of dry lands, extermination of noxious animals, charity toward one's co-religionists, and the observance of absolute truthfulness. Above all stands the law of chastity. The faithful shall preserve purity, both of body and of soul. The soul must be kept pure from heretical doctrines and the influences of the Devs, the body must be kept from coming into contact with unclean persons, with corpses, filth, or other Ahrimanian objects. Man also must not in any way defile the pure elements of Ormazd such as fire, water, and earth. This love of purity,

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which as a principle is already proclaimed in the Gāthas (*Yasna*, 48.5), has led to the adoption of the scrupulous washings and lustrations and elaborate ceremonies of purification, as well as of many strict customs such as the exposing of corpses on the Towers of Silence (*Dakhmas*). According to strict logic, of against the precepts of the law cannot be undone in the heavenly account they can be counterbalanced by a surplus of good works. The elaborately developed system of Zoroastrianism fixed the doctrine of equity with mathematical precision, and definitely assigned certain useful and pious works as acts of penance for certain sins. But corporal chastisements also prescribed; these, in the main, were for the purpose of driving out the Devs that had taken possession of the sinner's body. In later times, however, matters were made easier for the sinner. For corporal punishment monetary fines could be substituted, and absolution soon became more and more a means of grace to be sought only at the hands of the church. Confession to a high priest, sincere repentance and reform, removal of sin from the body (*SRL* 2165 and *Vend.* 3.71), such a confession it was obligatory to recite one of the confessional formulas (*Yasna* 31), in which the literature abounds.

The cult of the Zoroastrian religion was without parallel. The sacrifice is described by Strabo (7.32). The sacrifice formed the central point.

17. Worship. The Magi, sacerdotal gifts which were offered to the deity and milk, and more especially sacred drink Haoma. The main stress was laid on prayer and the ascription of glory to God.

The systematic development of the teaching of Zoroaster and of the Zoroastrian law is embodied in the work of the priesthood which through their exclusiveness became an hereditary caste. In the later times they were called Magi; in the language of the Avesta they are termed Athavayan; but even in the sacred texts the word Magi occurs in a few instances. The Athavayans were the privileged guardians of the religion and the leaders of worship. They alone could perform sacrifices (*Herod.* 1.12), and carry out the ecclesiastical punishments and penances; they alone could interpret the law. They exercised a sort of spiritual guardianship over the laity. Every young man, after his receipt into the community of the faithful, or Mazdayasni, had to select a spiritual guide, a father-confessor (*K.* 1.12). The priesthood never attained political power—or even claimed it.

After the fall of the Achaemenide (330 B.C.) Zoroastrianism lost greatly in power and dignity. It was subsequently

18. History of Zoroastrianism. It was subsequently rehabilitated, however, by the Sassanians, under whom it reached its highest period. It was at this epoch that the clergy advanced to a firmly constituted hierarchy, and Zoroastrianism became the official religion of the state, favoured and protected by the government. The foundation of sects was at the period not infrequent (p. *Maon* in *Z.BP.*). The Zoroastres flourished under Yazdegerd (419-457 A.D.). They represented Ormazd and Ahriman as twin sons proceeding from the fundamental principle of a limitless time (*Yasna akarūta*). The Mithraic religion (200 A.D.), with the terrible persecution of the following century, was a deathblow to Zoroastrianism. In Persia itself only a few followers of Zoroaster are now found (in Kirman and elsewhere). The Parses in and around Bombay hold to Zoroaster as prophet and adhere to the ancient usages; but their doctrine has reached the stage of a pure monotheism (see *Parses*, *Z.BP.*).

If we inquire into the origin of the Zoroastrian religion we must not lose sight of the fact that everything which is written on this point must necessarily rest upon mere conjecture. Tradition has obliterated every trace of the actual process by which the faith came into existence, and of the particular factors which were active in its formation. As for the tradition is concerned the candidate doctrine was revealed by Ormazd in its entirety. Already in the Gāthās the belief in inspiration predominates; nevertheless we are allowed to read between the lines other things as

tion of the most elaborate cere-
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We are denied, however, a clear insight into the popular religion before Zoroaster and into the ancient doctrines of the Magi, to whom Zoroaster must have had certain relation, whatever the exact extent of that relation may have been.

The Mazda religion is distinguished from the nature-religion of kindred peoples by its dogmatic character and by the unity of its structure. There is a fundamental idea in it which is developed with absolute logic. It is the fundamental dogma of the two spirits, a tenet which contains both the problem of the world and the solution of its origin. This doctrine, not only in its beginning and foundation, but also, in part at least, in its detailed structure, is the product of a single creative personality; and that personality was Zoroaster. It was a new religion that Zoroaster taught. This must not be taken, however, to mean that everything in Zoroastrianism is absolutely new. Zoroaster himself says that his desire was to purify the religion (*Kištōt*, 14.1). In its fundamental teaching as well as in its completely elaborate—stone Zoroastrianism shows unmistakable traces of the old Aryan religion.

In common with the people of India, Zoroastrianism has the cult of fire and of Homar; it has also in common with India the name of the chief sacerdotal priest, *Zoša* (Sk. *ṛṣi*), of the gods Mithra and Verethraghna, and the enforcement of nine purificatory precepts. The Zoroastrian doctrine of the weighing of good and bad deeds in the balance, which determines the fate of the soul after death, has its faithful counterpart in the Indian doctrine of *karma* and in the balancing of *dharma* and *adharma* in *Mānu*, 12.21.6. It is only with Zoroaster, however, that this doctrine is developed in its most practical and, if one may say so, business-like form. Already in Śatapatha Brāhmana (11.2.7.13) we meet with the conception of the scale in heaven, on which good and evil deeds are weighed. The threefold division according to thoughts, words, and deeds, is as familiar to the Hindus as to Zoroaster.

It has been believed that foreign influences even are traceable in Zoroastrianism; but this remains a quite obscure point. The isolated analogies with Turanian, Assyro-Babylonian, and Hebraic conceptions cannot be accepted as giving convincing proof of actual borrowing on the part of Zoroastrianism (cp. C. de Harlez, *Des Origines des Zoroastrianisme*; L. A. Ragzom, *The story of Media, Babylon, and Persia* (1888), p. 147; Tiele, *Kompendium*, par. 109; Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, 3, introd. lxxiv and lxxij). The hypothesis of Darmesteter that the doctrine of the Gāthās was influenced by Gnosticism, has hardly found any adherents.

The dualistic idea of Zoroaster is not adequately explained by conceiving it as a remodelling of the old mythological opposition between gods and demons, influenced and favoured by the sharp contrasts in nature in the Iranian land (Duncker, 102; Darmesteter, *Ormuzd et Ahriman*, 88 271; Ed. Meyer, *Gl I* 151f.). Such an account still leaves unexplained the transformation and radical change of the Aryan *devas* (gods) into the Zoroastrian *daēvas* (devils). Just as the fiendish demons, *daēvas*, are opposed to the good god Ahura in Zoroastrianism, so the *devas* and *asuras* have been placed in opposition in India from the earliest times. In the oldest literature this opposition is not as yet one of pronounced hostility; but it soon becomes so. The *devas* remain gods, the *asuras* become demons. Between these two phenomena of contrasted meanings there must be a connection of cause and effect. They point to an old opposition in the Aryan world of the gods, expressed by the words *deva*, *asura*, which grew to be more and more distinct and sharp with both races, but in exactly opposite directions. In Iran the contrast seems to have led at first to two distinct cults, to an Ahura cult and to that of the *Daēvas*. This seems to have been the religious condition of affairs in Iran when Zoroaster appeared. We meet with hints in the Gāthās which show us that the people were divided between these two opposing cults. The opposing parties are not separated by distance in space or by difference of race; they are found side by side. 'Hard by the believer in Ahura dwells the worshipper of the *daēvas*,' complains

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Zoroaster. Not two cults, but two stages of culture, are struggling for the primacy; the Ahura worshippers represent the higher phase, they are breeders of cattle, and in their eyes the cow is a sacred animal; the worshippers of the *daēvas* on the other hand maltreat the cow and slaughter it in their sacrifices. From this religious difference and dissension Zoroaster seems to have received his first impulse for appearing in public. As an adherent of Ahura whose attribute is 'The Wise One' and as prophet, he will warn men against false teachers and priests, and amidst the differences of creeds and beliefs he will guide them to the wiser choice in order to save their souls. What the other party worship as gods under the name of *daēvas* are in reality powers by whom unwitting mankind is led to its destruction—evil powers, false gods, devil. Such is the position from which all his teaching starts, and thus the change in the conception of *daēvas* was a natural development. From the *daēvas* proceeds all the evil in the world. But Zoroaster's speculation does not stop here. The *daēvas* themselves anon become manifest to him as being but the instruments of a higher principle, that is the spiritual enemy, Ahriman. This Ahriman or evil principle is the most characteristic product of Zoroastrian speculation. From the schism or religious dualism of his time he derived the idea of the dualistic scheme of the universe which has impressed its character upon the whole of the religion called by his name.

The literature of the subject has been cited in the course of the article. Consult especially Tiele, *Kompendium der Religionsgeschichte* (last of all) Ed. Meyer, *Gl I* 151-153 (1894). On Zoroaster's life, A. V. Williams Jackson's *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran* (New York, 1907) may be specially recommended. See also the references in Cheyne, *Os*, (see below).

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The question of the influence of Zoroastrianism on Jewish religion can only relate to post-exilic Jewish religion. There is no evidence of any Persian influence on Jewish belief before the exile; in reference which has been supposed in Ezek. 8.6 to a Persian custom is based on a mistake (see *Crit. Bib.*). During the Babylonian exile, though contact with Persians was doubtless possible, it was the religion of Babylonia that naturally exercised more influence than any other on the Jews. In the Babylonian hymns we find a near approach to the Jewish conception of God, and to the Jewish view of sin, whilst the Babylonian view of the divine creatorship is surpassed in grandeur only by the Zoroastrian.

In the period which we may conventionally call post-exilic, Persian influence, or, more definitely, the influence of Mazdaism can more easily be supposed. The Jews in Palestine cannot have been subject to much direct influence of this kind. It was rather indirectly, through the large Jewish colonies E. of the Euphrates and the Tigris, that Palestinian Judaism was affected by Persia. These colonies, as we know, kept up an intercourse with the community in Judaea. It is very possible that the idea of bringing what Artaxerxes is represented as calling 'the wisdom of Ezra's God which is in his hand' (Ezra 7.25) in book form to Jerusalem was, if not suggested, yet strengthened by the existence of a book-religion in Persia, and it would be unreasonable not to suppose that Jews in and near Persia gained some acquaintance with the Zoroastrian religion, and were influenced by it. The high moral tone of the best Persians (see the inscriptions of Darius) and of their religion could not but attract the best Jews (cp. Mal. 1.1), and the Persian folk-lore would be equally attractive to Jews of a less spiritual turn of mind. We need not, of course, suppose an acquaintance on the part of the Jews with Zoroastrian literature; the ideas of book-religions are not propagated exclusively by the sacred writings. Eschatological and demonological ideas, in particular,

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were likely to be communicated by word of mouth, and it is in the field of eschatology, angelology, and demonology that Persian influence on Judaism may most surely be recognised.

Later post-exilic Persian or Zoroastrian influence is not easy to prove. Jewish scribes and editors had other objects than that of enlightening the historical students of to-day, and official religious writers were doubtless anxious to check foreign influences, and to conceal the tokens of their existence. Even the protests of official writers, however, are useful to the historical student. The belief in Satan, as we find it in the OT, is thoroughly Jewish, and yet it would hardly have assumed its actual form with all the indirect influence of the belief in Ahriman against which it became a protest (see SATAN). So too the ancient benediction called *Yahweh must* have had a polemical intention, and yet the custom of reciting it at dawn was no doubt influenced by a similar Zoroastrian usage.

It would somewhat strengthen the case for Persian influence on the Jews if we had other linguistic proofs besides the supposed derivation of ASMODEUS (*q.v.*) from Aeshma-daeva.

Such proofs, however, are wanting, nor can the generally accepted Zend etymology of Asmodeus be called quite certain, owing to the imperfect correspondence of the qualities of the two demons.

22. Later. The question needs examination in connection with the story of Tobit (may we refer in advance to a new explanation of Asmodeus in *Crit. Bib.*?), which seems to have passed through several phases. It is clear, however, that, as time went on, Persian and Babylonian influences in combination were more and more felt by the Jews. Hence it is difficult to say whether the seven evil spirits of Mt. 12:45 are to be traced to Babylon or to Persia, and whether the Book of Revelation (a Jewish even more than a Christian work) strikes us more by its Persian or by its Babylonian affinities.¹ Such a competent authority as E. W. West can see hardly any difference between the Devil of this book and the Zoroastrian Ahriman, whilst the eschatology of the later Zoroastrian books has a most striking resemblance to that of Revelation. The contest of Michael and his angels with the dragon and his angels is closely parallel to the contest between Vohmanô 'Good Mind' and the powers of evil, and to the 1000 years' conflict with Azhi Dahaka (the destructive serpent). Nor is the awful 'lake of fire' wanting in the later Zoroastrian books.

The seven 'men,' i.e., angels, in Ezek 9:2, together with the seven archangels of Tobit may supply evidence of an earlier date for Persian influence, though (without here raising the question as to the original setting of the story of Tobit) it may be admitted that the Persian Amshaspands developed out of Babylonian germs. In fact, it is becoming more and more clear that we cannot always draw a sharp distinction between original and imported Persian beliefs. The influence of Babylonian upon Persia must have begun earlier than used to be supposed. The religion of Aïra-mazda, in spite of its primitive Aryan roots, must have been influenced, like the religion of Yahwé, by that of Babylonia. For instance, both the seven chief good spirits and the seven chief evil spirits of Zoroastrianism have indisputable Babylonian affinities. Probably, however, it would be correct to say that Gabriel and Michael and their companions are more directly akin to the Zoroastrian Amesha Spentas or Amshaspands (whose names are not less significant) than to the Igigi, or friendly genii, of the Babylonians. But the seven Amshaspands, even if borrowed, were modified Hebraistically. Yahwé not being (as analogy would have required) one of the seven.² Cp ANGELS, § 4, n. 1.

¹ Gunkel in his able work (*Schöpfung u. Chaos*) has unduly ignored the Persian elements.

² Cp Mills, 'Zendavesta' (*SBE*), 3145.

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It is also not improbable that the belief in guardian angels (Mt 18: 10-12) was promoted by the Zoroastrian doctrine of *Fravashis* (which may also fit the Jewish belief in the angelic hosts) — a doctrine has its roots in primitive Sumerian beliefs.

That the *fravashis* originally meant the spirits of the dead (*manes*) is certain, but that this conception early with another — that of the heavenly prototypes of all be the good creation, which were idealised and regarded as divine or heavenly hosts even by the Jews is equally certain. The conception of prophetic visions (cf. Sumerian-Akkadian, 'my god' or 'my goddess' in the Babylonian hymns is to be understood of a guardian spirit akin to the worshippers' 'better self' or in other words 'fravashi' (*OP. 400*), Cp Dele, *h. l.* 554; de Lardacq, *Iranid.* 1818, 1819; Mills, *Zendavesta* (*SBE*) *Cassidy's Philosophy of the Mazdaean Religion* *Philosophical Studies*, 197 p.; Spiegel, *Iran. Acterthumkund* *Ueb.* 1874, 1875, 456.

How early the resurrection-idea appeared among the Jews, is uncertain (cp ESCHATOLOGY, index).

23. Resurrection. The possibility of escaping death is certainly implied in the story of the three men in the furnace; but this story was, even if not unknown popular before the post-exilic period. It appears to have a Babylonian origin (see EXOD. 11). We have a much safer ground when we connect the Jewish belief in the resurrection with Zoroastrianism. Zoroastrian eschatology had a profoundly moral import which have been congenial to the Jews. The leading Jewish religion no doubt adopted the resurrection doctrine long after it had been grasped by individuals. They adopted it cautiously, so cautiously that we can only suppose that it arose quite naturally out of necessities felt in their own spiritual life. The resurrection was certainly not the case, unless Jewish religion is viewed as a quite exceptional product. In consequence, it was felt that the caution of the earlier Jews was unnecessary. The resurrection might not have made general, and the retribution of the wicked made as conspicuous as that of the righteous. The awards of the righteous would only then their full attractiveness when the punishment of the wicked had been made as complete as possible. Time went on, the holiness of Jewish life and belief became still greater, and it is possible that Messiah's function of raising the dead (Jn. 5:25, 28) unconsciously copy of the function assigned to the Saoshyant (the Benefactor One) in the Avesta.¹

The Zoroastrian origin of the doctrine of the resurrection and of the renovation of the world is not probable. It is based almost to a certainty on what have proved the late origin of Is. 65 f., which expresses the hope of the new heavens and the earth² (65:17-66:22), and of Is. 24:27, in which not only the promise of the abolition of death in the text be correct, see *Crit. Bib. ad loc.*), but distinct anticipation of the resurrection of the Israelites³ (26:14). This limitation of the hope of the Israelites we may, as suggested above, ascribe to the caution of the religious leaders of the Jews.

¹ Whose name will be the victorious Saoshyant, and whose name will be Astavertata. He will be Saoshyant, for he will benefit the whole bodily world; he will be Astavertata who makes the bodily creatures rise up, because as a creature and as a living creature, he will stand against destruction of the bodily creatures, to withstand the Evil Demon of the 'deadened brood' (*OP. 131:26*, *Iranid.* transl.). The *Book of Daniel*, which is an expansion of general Zoroastrian elements, is much more explicit (see ch. 12: 13).

² Dr. Charles seems to hold in pronouncing the ex of this hope an anticipation, perhaps from Mazdean (*Eschatology*, 122 ff.). The reference in Is. 51:16 to a renovation of the heavens and the earth, has been commonly regarded as merely figurative. This is probable, if Is. 51:16 is regarded as a part of the Second Isaiah's work. If, however, chaps. 40-55 were appended to chaps. 40-48 in the time there is fairly good reason for not minimising the force of the language.

³ It perhaps gives the hope a wider scope; it renders ἀναστήσειν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκθαύραται αὐτοὺς τοῖς μύθοις. See *SROZ.*, I, 6 Heb. 172.

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The results here arrived at are not affected by Darmesteter's later views in the Avesta, for the views are extremely difficult to justify, and Darmesteter in fact admitted that the defeat of Ahuramazda, the resurrection, and the resurrection of the world, were already dramatically fixed in the time of the Achaemenidae.

It is much less certain and yet far from improbable, that the interest of the later Jews in 'Wisdom' was stimulated by a kindred phenomenon in Zoroastrianism.

24. 'Wisdom.' The stress laid in the Avesta and elsewhere on the two kinds of Wisdom (heavenly and earthly) reminds us of the references to two kinds of Wisdom in Job and Proverbs. In later times the Jews identified the heavenly Wisdom with the Law; they took up, it seems, with enthusiasm the Zoroastrian idea of the pre-existence in heaven of the personal divine Law. It is also just conceivable that the comparatively high morality of the pre-Maccabean Judaism may be partly due to the influence of the morality of Zoroastrianism. Certainly the Zoroastrian phrase, 'good thoughts, good words, good deeds,' might have been taken as a motto by the Jewish wise men and psalmists, and if the received text of Ps. lii 17-19-23 is correct, it will be reasonable to compare the expressions of the hope of immortality and resurrection which that text may be held to contain, with expressions of the same hope in the Githas. It may justly be questioned, however, whether the received text is correct. There are phenomena which no grammatical or exegetical subtlety can explain away, which seem to compel us to assume corruption of the text. But on this, we should certainly not be greatly surprised to find the hope of a future life emerging in any part of the Psalter, this book in all its parts being certainly a work of the Persian and Greek periods.

It has also been conjectured that the early myths of Genesis have a Zoroastrian origin. This view, however, was possible only before the wonderful discoveries in the libraries of Assyria. The ultimate sources of these early myths are probably N. Arabian and Babylonian, whilst the second Fargard of the Zoroastrian writing called the Vendidad, in its present form, may even have been influenced by the narratives in Genesis. It is true, the Lahunlic and Midrasitic statements on the First Man exhibit strong Persian elements. But this is only what might be expected in the later Judaism. It is remarkable that under the Sassanid kings Zoroastrianism appears to have been in some degree affected by Jewish influences—a slight compensation for the long-continued unbeliefness of Jewish to Zoroastrian belief.

Here this brief survey must close. A full exegetical treatment of the Biblical passages would have unduly extended this article. Enough of the close resemblance between Judaism and Zoroastrianism has been brought home to the reader. Elsewhere a parallel between Zoroaster and John the Baptist has been suggested. But, if we may follow the most respected authorities, this comparison does not go far enough. Indeed, there is no figure equal in interest to Zoroaster's; he is a prophet, reformer, sacred poet all in one, and has left an abiding impress on a faith which is as strongly moral as the Jewish, and without some acquaintance with which neither the later Judaism nor the later Christianity can be as helpfully appreciated.

26. Literature. An attempt to reconsider the relation of Judaism to Zoroastrianism on the basis of the sacred texts, and of the most modern authorities, is to be found in Cheyne's 'Origin of the Psalter' (1891), pp. 357, 364-369, 433-441; 'Possible Zoroastrian Influences on the Religion of Ancient Israel,' *Expos. Times*, June, July, August, 1894; 'The Book of Psalms, its origin and relation to Zoroastrianism,' *Scientific Studies in memory of A. Kohler*, 1897, pp. 111-119; *Jews. Kel. Life after the Exile*, 74, 83, 151, 157, 210, 251, 255 ff. See also Moulton, *Expos. Times*, May 1893.

1 Le Zendavesta, 12 lxxiii.
2 See Che. *Expos.* 575, 6; *Jews. Kel. Life*, 157.
3 See CHAPMAN, *DIEZEL*.
4 Darmesteter, *Une prière judio-persane*, Paris, 1861.

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Pls. 157 ff (essay by a Zoro. scholar putting forward the same general view and the same leading facts as the first named work); *Stave. *Lehrb. d. Avesta** (1891), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1892), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1893), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1894), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1895), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1896), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1897), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1898), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1899), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1900), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1901), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1902), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1903), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1904), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1905), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1906), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1907), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1908), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1909), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1910), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1911), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1912), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1913), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1914), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1915), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1916), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1917), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1918), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1919), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1920), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1921), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1922), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1923), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1924), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1925), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1926), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1927), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1928), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1929), *Lehrb. d. Avesta* (1930).

ZORZELLEUS (ZOPZELLEUS) (Z), 1 Esd. 5:39. See BAR 11:11, 2.

ZUAR (Z) (Z); COZAPZ (B), an Issacharite (Nu. 1:11).

ZUPH (Z) (Z); DE, LE, AV (Z), RV SUR (Z).

ZUPH (Z) (Z) as a 'homonym'. The 'land of Zuph' (1 S. 9:2) is a place (B), a place (L), the district about the mentioned city where Samul and Saul met. In 1 S. 9:2 (Z), a place (Z), a place (L); and 1 Ch. 6:1-2 (20), Kr, a place (Z), a place (L) the descent of Elkana (his apparently traced back to an ancestor Zuph, 1 Ch. 6:26 (14), however, gives the name as Zuphite) or as we might vocalise, Zuphite—the 'Zuphite' (Z) (Z) (B).

Most critics also find ZUPH (Z) (Z) at the end of the verse, may, it is thought, be a gloss. If, therefore, 'Zuph' in 1 S. 9:2 is the same as 'Zuph' in 1 S. 14:1, then 'Zuph' will mean probably the district held by

It appears, however (see RAMATHAIM-ZOIM), that the MT of 1 S. 14:1 (which has ZUPH) depends on a very corrupt, and that noise can be made of ZUPH or Zuph, which is probably incorrect. The case is the same with 'Zuph' in the phrase 'the land of Zuph' of Zuph in Manasse Ephraim (commonly so-called) we know nothing, and the appended reference to such a land (in the geography of Saul's journey into great confusion, ZUPH or ZUPH in 1 S. 9:5 is very possibly a corrupt fragment of ZUPH or ZUPH, if it is the Mizpah referred to in 1 S. 7:17 and 10:1-2 (24) (25) shows, specially connected with Samul. See also the notes on 1 S. 9:5, 10:1-2 (24) (25).

Winkler notes (see *Geogr. (GZ)*) that the land of Zuph (cp. Ramathaim-zoim) is in the territory of Benjamin before the reduction of its borders by David (also, according to Winkler, captured Benjamin and excluded from it 'the hill country of Ephraim'). There is also the possibility that 'the hill-country of Ephraim' spoken of was in the Negeb, and that ZUPH, as well as ZUPH, comes from ZUPH. There does appear to have been a southern Ephraim, and though to find it in 1 S. 9:4 would subvert all our theories, yet we must leave the question open whether the home of Saul may not have been in the Negeb, improbable as this may seem.

ZUPH is also supported by 1 Ch. 6:20 Kth. On the form ZUPH (1 Ch. 6:10) cp. Kth. *Shofar*, 'Chron.' ad loc. In 1 S. 14:1 Williamson, Klostmann, Marquet, read זופים ZUPH of Ephraim.' 1, K. C.

ZUR (and its possible compounds). We find ZUR, Zur (sur), used as a synonym for God or as an element in a compound title descriptive of God as the Mighty One, in Is. 17:6, and in many late exile and post-exilic passages.

See Is. 32:4, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

Among these passages Is. 32:4, 18, 30, 1 S. 2:18, 41, Hab. 1:12 are especially important, because here ZUR appears to have become altogether a synonym for 'God.' To these we may perhaps add Josh. 15:53, where BIR-ZUR (Z) may mean 'house of ZUR' = 'house of God.' Are we to suppose that phrases like

1 Is. 30:29 and Hab. 1:12 are probably late; see the commentaries of Marti and Nowack.
2 In Ps. 75:6 we should probably read זור זור nor זור, but זור (cp. 81:19 (18)).
3 Hammel (1877, 120, cp. 100) also compares the royal name זור (Bir-sur) in the inscription of Panamun, king of Sam'al (8th cent.), and the S. Arabian woman's name Zur'addana.

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'rock of my salvation' are suggested by an early divine title זר ('rock')? If so, the author of Dt. 32 and those who followed him did but revert to an ancient usage when they employed Zur and Yahwé synonymously. And if this early divine title existed among the Hebrews, we may, not without some plausibility, regard the four personal names ELIZUR, PEDAHZUR, ZURIEL, and ZURISHADDAI (all in P) as ancient names preserved by the late Priestly Writing.

The literary evidence, however, is not favourable to this view; and on the sole ground of the place-name Bethzur (which can quite well be explained 'rock-house' or 'rock-place') we cannot venture to regard as beyond all doubt the early existence of a divine name Zur. If, therefore, the four names referred to really contain the (late) divine name Zur, they must be artificial coinages of P. But it is an objection to this view that P never employs the title זר of God. Are we to suppose, then, that P derived the names from some other late, post-deuteronomic writer?

The difficulty can only be removed by a keener criticism of the MT. As the result of this we have found elsewhere that the four names are probably corruptions of ethnics or gentiles. The corruptions in the proper names of P are so numerous that this theory has to be seriously considered. See PEDAHZUR, ZURIEL, ZURISHADDAI. Cp also PASHHUR; if this word be a corruption of Pedahzur, we get another set of references to this name. The date of Jer. 20 (Pashhur chapter), however, is questioned (see JEREMIAH II, § 6).

On the biblical passages, cp Gray, *HPN* 105 ff., and on Jewish views of the meaning of Zur see Wogand, *Z. 171* 19 § 5 ff. ('90). T. K. C.

ZUR (זר), abbrev., perhaps from זרם, Mišsur in N. Arabia [see MIZRAIM, § 2b] cp Rekem = Jerahmeel, Reba = 'Arâb; צור [BAFL]. 1. A Midianitish chief. Nu. 25 13 318 Josh. 13 21.

2. A name in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (q.v., § 9 ii. β), cp ZEROR (1 Ch. 8 30 צור [A] = 9 36 צור [BN.A]). His mother bears the Jerahmeelite name MAACAH (Che.). See JQR 11 110-113, §§ 10 ff.

ZUZIM

ZURIEL (זריאל), as if 'my rock is El,' but below; צוריהל [BAFL], b. Abihail, 'prince' of families of Merari (Nu. 3 35)†.

The name taken by itself might be a combination of names of God (cp ZUR). But if Abihail is a (popular) corruption of 'Jerahmeel' (see MAHALATH, and cp זריהל, if correct 1 Ch. 2 29) and if 'Mahl' is a corruption of 'Jerahmeel' ('Merari' of 'Miri' (q.v., 'belonging to Misur or Musri for S. Palestinian border)], or from some other ethnic (cp MES it is probable that זר is simply an affirmative, and that implies a clan-name זרי, possibly from זור, and ultimately צרם. Cp צרתי (SOPHERETH). T. K. C.

ZURISHADDAI (זרישדיי), § 43, as if 'my rock Shaddai,' but see below; צור[ε]ισδαδαι [BAF]. צורιαδαι [L], father of the Simeonite prince Shimeiel, Nu. 16 (212, צורιαδαι [F]; 7 36 41 101). Under the form SALASADAI he is mentioned along with his son SHELUMIEL (q.v.) in the compiled genealogy of Judith (8 1, σαλασαδαι [B], σαλα. [A], σαρι. [C]. See GENEALOGIES I, col. 1662, n. 1.

זר (Zur) and זרי (Shaddai?) may both be names of God ZUR, SHADDAI. But names (especially in P) being so corrupt, it is not improbable that both were originally ethnics and ultimately come respectively from צרם (Zarephath) זריהל (Ishmael). See ZURIEL and SHADDAI. Ashur = southern Geshur, with which the Simeonites may have been connected. Possibly, too, the Danite name, AMMISHADAI (אמישדי), may be a distorted form of Ishmael, and SHELUMIEL (q.v.) may also have a tribal reference. T. K. C.

ZUZIM (זוזים), a people on the E. of the Jordan. Gen. 14 5† (cp HAM). Sym. Ζουζιμοι, GABL זוזימוי, perhaps reading either זוזים (Klo, *Gesch.* 107) or זוזים (Pesh. זוזים, 'the mighty ones,' and the form זוזים, ZAMMIM. See EMMI). At any rate, we cannot venture to connect name with that of the Roman military station Ziza, SE Heshbon. Sayce's theory (*Crit. Mon.* 160 f.) is also hazardous. Probably the Zuzim are to be identified with ZAMMIM (q.v.), and are a branch of the Rephaim—probably of the Šārephāthim. זוזים may in fact have come from צריזים (Perizzites (though the plur. of צריז does not actually occur); צריז itself may be a corruption of צרתי. See PERIZITE, REPHAIM. T. K. C.

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